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SPEECH AND NARRATIVE: CHARACTERISATION
TECHNIQUES IN THE "AENEID".

A thesis submitted as a requirement for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
the Faculty of Arts of the University
of Glasgow.

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Department of Humanity,
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September, 1984

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TO MY MOTHER AND FATHER

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iii
Summary	v
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE - <u>Turnus Books 7-12</u>	
Section 1 / Turnus Book 7.....	20
Section 2 Turnus Book 9.....	33
Section 3 Turnus Book 10.....	58
Section 4 Turnus Book 11.....	72
Section 5 Turnus Book 12.....	89
CHAPTER TWO - <u>Aeneas Books 1-6</u>	
Section 1 Aeneas Book 1.....	117
Section 2 Aeneas Book 2.....	151
Section 3 Aeneas Book 3.....	171
Section 4 Aeneas Book 4.....	191
Section 5 Aeneas Book 5.....	210
Section 6 Aeneas Book 6.....	235
CHAPTER THREE- <u>Aeneas Books 7-12</u>	
Section 1 Aeneas Book 7.....	269
Section 2 Aeneas Book 8.....	275
Section 3 Aeneas Book 10.....	288
Section 4 Aeneas Book 11.....	308
Section 5 Aeneas Book 12.....	323
CONCLUSION	357
Appendix 1	361
Appendix 2	364
BIBLIOGRAPHY	367

Summary

The thesis provides a comprehensive analysis of the characterisation of two of the major figures in the Aeneid, Aeneas and Turnus. Particular attention is paid to their direct speeches, all of which are examined and, where relevant, compared to Homeric models and parallels. To this purpose considerable use is made of the indices in Knauer's Die Aeneis und Homer. A more general comparison is made between the dramatic (direct speech) role of Aeneas and those of Homer's Achilles (Iliad) and Odysseus (Odyssey). An appraisal is made (from the viewpoint of depiction of character) of the relationship between the direct and indirect speeches in the Aeneid. Reasons are given to suggest that it is not mere chance, or for the sake of variety, that certain speeches of Aeneas and Turnus are expressed in oratio obliqua. In addition, the narrative portrayal of Aeneas and Turnus is considered in apposition to that of the speeches. A distinction is drawn between Vergil's direct method of characterisation (direct speeches) and his indirect methods (narrative/oratio obliqua).

Inevitably, the analysis involves major consideration of the Roman values which pervade the work. All speeches, thoughts and actions of Aeneas and Turnus are assessed in terms of pietas, impietas, furor, virtus, ratio, clementia, humanitas (etc.). It is shown that individual concepts (such as pietas and impietas) are reflected in Vergil's direct and indirect methods of characterisation. The workings of fate and their relevance to the pietas-concept are discussed throughout.

Introduction

The appearance of yet further research on the Aeneid calls for some justification. The already large critical corpus devoted to the poem requires us to question the need for each new work. There is a view that "everything has been said on Vergil" (not, in my opinion, a rare view amongst Latinists) which may not be mere defeatism but a recognition of the achievements of critics in this field. It reflects a suspicion amongst some scholars that recent works on Vergil are less likely to alter established views than perhaps they ought to be.¹ There seems to be a feeling in some quarters that we are now getting further away from what Vergil meant by the Aeneid, than closer to it.²

The plethora of critical discussion on the Aeneid may not extend to every aspect of the poem but it certainly extends to the two major characters who are the subjects of this thesis. It is not always easy, after all, to write something of substance on the poem without making some kind of statement about Aeneas or Turnus. The Aeneid is about people; Trojans, Greeks, Carthaginians and Italians: to discuss the issues of the poem is to discuss the major figures who feature in it. All the more surprising, perhaps, that there exists, to my knowl-

¹See, for example, Jasper Griffin's review of five new works on the Georgics in Classical Review 31 (1981) 23ff.

²See K. Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, A. Critical Description (London, 1968) 1f:- "Understanding and appreciation of the poem, however, have seriously deteriorated. We are near the point where the poem is read for its past reputation. The next stage is oblivion."

edge, no systematic and comprehensive analysis of the characterisation of Aeneas and Turnus. Exactly what is meant by "systematic" and "comprehensive" will become apparent as the discussion proceeds. What we find in its place in the available secondary literature is what might be called "selective analysis"; in which the critic selects a passage or passages of the text to exemplify or support a particular view of a character. Thus in his important contribution to the study of the characters, Viktor Pöschl³ selects passages which help him to demonstrate his major points. In his study of Aeneas, for example, he cites the following passages: 1,94ff.; 1,119; 12,438ff.; 1,204ff.; 1,208f.; 4,331f.; 2,726ff.; 4,393ff.; 4,441ff.; 2,626ff.; 10,464f.; 5,1ff.; 5,868f.; 11,1ff.; 11,94ff.; 10,758f.; 11,108f.; 6,475f.; 6,719ff.; 1,94ff.; 1,437f.; 3,493ff.; 12,435ff.; 6,103ff.; 8,131ff.; 4,361; 6,460f.; 5,709f.; 12,435f.; 8,362ff. Pöschl could, no doubt, have expanded his analysis of Aeneas to include further references, but as it is he limits the selection to these thirty. This procedure I call "selective", because, although the scholar clearly has a comprehensive knowledge of the poem, he presents his analysis of the characters by discussing or citing only certain references to them. Pöschl's approach to the characters is not unique but could be described as the standard critical

³V.Pöschl, The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid (tr. G. Seligson, Ann Arbor, 1962) 34ff.

method.⁴ Inevitably in this method more references to the character are excluded than included. One wonders if Pöschl might have presented a different view of Aeneas had he discussed, for example, 10,510-605, 11,81f. and 12,945ff. In short, a fully comprehensive analysis is worth attempting to obtain a fully rounded view.

The natural temptation in selective analysis of character, whether intentional or not, is to highlight some issues at the expense of others, on occasions suggesting or seeming to justify a point of view which may not be completely accurate, because it tells only part of the story. At the risk of being selective ourselves, let us look briefly at an episode of the poem and three critical reactions to it, which tell us something about selective analysis of character. In Book 12, oaths are sworn by Aeneas (176ff.) and Latinus (197ff.) and a treaty formed in anticipation of single combat between Aeneas and Turnus. The Rutuli however renew the fighting, and then the Trojans too take up arms. Aeneas reacts as follows:-

"At pius Aeneas dextram tendebat inermem
 nudato capite atque suos clamore vocabat;
 'quo ruitis? quaeve ista repens discordia surgit?
 o cohibete iras! ictum iam foedus et omnes
 compositae leges, mihi ius concurrere soli,
 me sinite atque auferte metus; ego foedera faxo
 firma manu, Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra'."

(12,311-7)

⁴ I can think of no appraisal of Aeneas or Turnus which does not follow similar lines, although a variation in this method is provided by G. Binder, Aeneas und Augustus: Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der Aeneis (Meisenheim am Glan 1971), who provides a detailed analysis of Aeneas' entire role in Book 8 (but Book 8 only).

In the subsequent turmoil Aeneas is wounded (318ff.) and healed, with divine assistance (383-440), before rejoining the battle in great rage. Three of the responses to this episode are as follows:-

1. "And not only is the hero heroic and humane, but he is a just man and keeps faith; when in the twelfth book, the Rutulians break the treaty, and his own men have joined in the unjust combat..." (he quotes 12,311-5), "he claims for himself alone...the right to deal with Turnus, the enemy of humanity and righteousness".⁵
2. "At this moment Aeneas's wrath breaks forth without restraint (adsurgunt irae, line 494), and he who shortly before had urged calm ('o cohibete iras') now reacts (498-9) with a display of violence rarely paralleled elsewhere in the epic because it is utterly purposeless".⁶
3. "Battle is joined: a 'love' of war possesses all. Messapus is described as 'greedy' (avidus) for the confounding of the truce. Vergil's Stoic sense that all passionate emotions are allied and all destructive and pernicious is evident here in his choice of vocabulary and imagery. How does Aeneas respond to all this? Impeccably. He identifies the cause (or a cause) - passion - and seeks to stem it, 313ff.

'quo ruitis? quaeve ista repens discordia surgit?
o cohibete iras!...'

But then ill-luck takes a hand..."⁷

⁵W. Warde Fowler, Religious Experience of the Roman People (London, 1911) 423.

⁶M.C.J. Putnam, The Poetry of the Aeneid (Camb. Mass., 1965) 173.

⁷R.O.A.M. Lyne, "Vergil and the Politics of War" C.Q. 33 (1983) 197.

It should not be imagined that these three responses to Aeneas' behaviour reflect the entire critical work on the speech.⁸ Nevertheless they do adequately exemplify the approach of Vergilian scholars to aspects of character.⁹ All three critical discussions are selective in the sense that the scholars have chosen to emphasise certain words of Aeneas in order to support their individual points of view about his character. In each case Aeneas' speech is quoted only in part, and different parts at that. Warde Fowler cites 311-15, Putnam 314(a) and Lyne 313f. All of them, for different reasons, stress Aeneas' restraint and rectitude as he urges his men to contain their anger (o cohibete iras! 314). Therefore, the student of Vergil who reads these critical views would (rightly, it seems to me) gain the impression that it is in Aeneas' nature to abide at all costs by a sworn treaty and that this fact is conveyed by the speech. The student would be wrong, however, to think that this is the only thing conveyed by the speech. Aeneas communicates two ideas as opposed to the one referred to in these critical discussions. The first part of the speech (313-315a) conveys Aeneas' moral sentiment that it is wrong to break a treaty which has been solemnly agreed with sworn oaths. As pius (311) suggests, Vergil here underlines Aeneas' pietas, and his restraint in the face of provocation. The second part of the speech (315b-317)

⁸This speech is fully discussed below, p.329f. A. Boyle, Ramus 1 (1972) 72f., also cites 311-4 as though the rest of the speech did not exist.

⁹An approach that cannot be said to have changed substantially throughout this century.

communicates Aeneas' pragmatic sentiment, that if the treaty is broken completely, then he himself will lose his opportunity to fight and kill Turnus. His joy in response to the initial offering of the treaty (12, 107-12) was due partly to the fact that he saw an opportunity to sate his desire for vengeance. Now before his eyes he sees his opportunity slipping away. Moreover, the words that Vergil puts into Aeneas' mouth (mihi...soli 315; Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra 317) clearly echo those of Turnus as he approaches Pallas (solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas/ debetur 10, 442f.). Vergil evokes in our minds the death of Pallas and, by means of verbal repetition,¹⁰ invites a comparison between Aeneas and Turnus. Aeneas desperately wishes to ensure that the Rutulian's action in killing Pallas will soon have its consequences.

Because all three critics concentrate on the first part of the speech, rather than both parts, they stress Aeneas' moral sentiment at the expense of the pragmatic. They seem to do so because the latter part is largely irrelevant to the point of view that they wish to project. Thus, whilst they succeed in demonstrating their own points of view, they fail to convey the full sense of Aeneas' motivation. At best this can give us an adequate, partial picture of Aeneas, and at worst it can give us a false one. The fact is, that selective analysis of character offers no opportunity for an overall perspective. Moreover, particular lines of Vergil's text can be to

¹⁰ For the full verbal repetitions conveying the idea that Aeneas alone (solus) is obliged (debere) to kill Turnus, see below, p.62f. and 73ff.

scholars what economic statistics are to politicians: certain parts can be taken from the whole to support an argument which is not always an accurate reflection of the entire material available. It is possible by this method even for eccentric interpretations of Aeneas and Turnus to be given a semblance of validity by the quotation of isolated lines in their support.¹¹ The progress made this century on these two characters shows that this is not generally the case, yet at the same time it is clear that a more comprehensive approach is justified and necessary. In this thesis, an attempt is made to analyse comprehensively, rather than selectively, the roles of Aeneas and Turnus throughout the poem. This involves an analysis of Books 1-12 (excluding 9) in the case of Aeneas and 7-12 (excluding 8) in the case of Turnus.¹² Inevitably, not every reference to them is given the full possible attention, but it is hoped that by this new, systematic approach to the characters, further progress on this subject may be made.

¹¹B. Otis, Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry (Oxford, 1963), is a prime offender. He discusses (357) the brutal aristeia of Aeneas (10, 510-605) and cites only those lines which help to explain his furor (515-7). He discusses the death of Turnus (381f.) without reference to Aeneas' furor, although Vergil gives emphasis to it (12, 945ff.). Others highlight Aeneas' furor in an attempt to blacken his character:- (Putnam, 151ff., A. Boyle, Ramus 1 (1972) 63ff. and 113ff.; S. Farron, Acta Classica 20 (1977) 204ff., etc.). We are unlikely to make progress in analyses of character when critics select those passages that suit them, and discard those that do not.

¹²These books are, naturally, discussed in the same order as that in the poem, although I begin with Turnus, for in his case, we see more immediately and clearly the kind of techniques which Vergil employs.

Before proceeding with an introductory look at some of the speeches of Aeneas and Turnus, let us propose that Vergil was "in control" of his material, rather than controlled by it, and that he devised methods of characterising these two heroes which were deliberate and designed to convey a particular effect. Given Vergil's status as an epic poet, this is not a bold assumption and, in any case, the truth of it will, I think, become apparent as we proceed through the text. Clearly, a method of crucial importance to the epic poet is the way in which he employs the speeches to present the desired picture of the relevant character. In recent years the importance of the speeches has been more widely recognised. In the introduction to his work on the subject, Gilbert Highet notes that a gap has been left by scholars who allot no separate treatment to the speeches.¹³ Highet attempts to fill the gap by treating the speeches separately. He places emphasis on the direct speeches with particular reference to the rhetorical aspects. To this purpose he classifies them under curious headings - "Formal and Informal Speeches" - with the latter being sub-divided into "Factual and Emotional Speeches". Further division follows with comment on Prophecies, Descriptions... Greetings, Farewells, Threats, Challenges, Prayers and so forth. The work is particularly useful for reference, and has detailed numerical classifications contained in the appendices. Highet largely rebuts the suggestion made by Roman critics that Vergil was more an orator than a

¹³G. Highet, The Speeches in Vergil's "Aeneid" (Princeton, 1972) 8.

poet.¹⁴ As the headings and divisions might suggest, however, Highet does not try to assess Vergil's more subtle literary techniques. Although he recognises the importance of the speeches for characterisation¹⁵, Highet's treatment of this aspect is descriptive rather than analytical.¹⁶ This is largely inevitable given his interest in rhetorical aspects and the fact that the speeches are treated separately; yet the reader is entitled to feel that important questions about characterisation remain unanswered. The aim of this thesis is to answer these questions:- Does Vergil have criteria for allocating or not allocating speeches to Aeneas and Turnus at given moments or situations? If so what are they? Why on occasions does Vergil use indirect speech (oratio obliqua) or free indirect speech (style indirect libre¹⁷) in preference to the direct speech? Are there reasons for the long periods throughout which Aeneas utters no

¹⁴Ibid. 3ff. and 277ff. P. Annius Florus wrote a dialogue in the second century A.D. entitled Vergilius orator an poeta?, after which the controversy survived until late in the fourth century A.D. Highet directs much of his attention to this question.

¹⁵15ff. ("The Speeches and Their Speakers"), and 185ff. ("The Speeches and Their Models").

¹⁶On occasions he is so insensitive as to be a lesson in how not to assess characters - "Turnus is a man of action. In combat he talks little. Also, he is subject to fits of depression when he scarcely speaks (e.g. Aen.12,219-221)", (210). But Vergil has just stressed the inequality of the match and implies that Turnus too is aware of it.

¹⁷Such as in Book 4,283f. and 9,67f. The French term Style Indirect Libre is more associated with the modern novel than with ancient epic, though it seems applicable for the latter. See R. Pascal, The Dual Voice (Manchester, 1977) with a full bibliography in the notes; and S. Ullmann, Style in the French Novel (Cambridge,1957). See also below, p.40f. and 195ff.

direct speech, but is a protagonist in the narrative? In what ways do Vergil's methods of characterisation differ from those of Homer and how do they affect the reader's perception of the characters in the Aeneid?

Most scholars are aware of the importance of Knauer's fundamental work¹⁸ which has provided detailed comparison of the works of Homer and Vergil. Apart from Knauer's own inferences about the modelling of the Aeneid on the Homeric works, the exhaustive indices encourage further investigations and comparisons. It is an important method of this thesis to exploit Knauer's indices to compare every speech of Aeneas and Turnus in the poem, and some narrative references, with their Homeric models. On some occasions there is little to be gained by such comparison, for some alleged parallels, at least in their situations, are far from close. On other occasions there is no Homeric parallel at all which, paradoxically, can, in itself, be a significant fact. Departure from Homeric detail can tell us as much about Vergil's aims and methods as imitation of it. In further cases there is a clear parallel between two speeches or episodes, but in these too there are usually differences which tell us something about Vergil's own design. The testing of the speeches against their Homeric background shows, amongst other things, that Vergil employed different, more considered methods of characterisation and made no attempt to create the same vivid, three-dimensional figures as Homer.¹⁹ The failure of critics to recognise

¹⁸G.N. Knauer, Die Aeneis und Homer (Göttingen, 1964).

¹⁹See below, p. 361ff.

this, particularly in the case of Aeneas, has brought much criticism on Vergil who has been accused of failing to create a hero the equal of Homer's Achilles.²⁰ As we shall see, the comparison of Aeneas' role with those of the Homeric models, shows that he never made the attempt. It has now been long established that Aeneas is a new kind of hero with different motivation and priorities from the Homeric heroes²¹, yet little attention has been paid to the different techniques that Vergil employs to present him. There is a case for studying the poet's craft in depicting his characters.

Let us look briefly at Vergil's alteration of one Homeric episode in the Aeneid to see the difference in the presentation of character. In Aeneid 10 and 11, Aeneas is shown preparing to commit human sacrifice in response to the death of Pallas.²² Vergil modelled the episode on the sacrifice by Achilles in the Iliad of twelve Trojan youths after Patroclus' death.²³ This is where the similarity ends, for the poets' methods of presentation differ considerably - a fact strangely ignored by critics who discuss this passage.²⁴ Homer

²⁰T.E. Page, The Aeneid of Virgil I-VI (London, 1970) XVII spoke for many scholars of his time when he wrote, "Moreover, Virgil is unhappy in his hero. Compared with Achilles his Aeneas is but the shadow of a man." Cf. W.Y. Sellar, The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age (Virgil) (Oxford, 1877) 389f.; T.R. Glover, Virgil (London, 1930) 211; and more recently, M.R. Ridley, Studies in Three Literatures (London, 1962) 63f. See also R.D. Williams, Virgil (Oxford, 1967) 30ff.

²¹See R.D. Williams' summary of the changing views on Aeneas - Virgil (Oxford, 1967) 30ff.

²²For a full analysis of this episode, see below, p. 315ff.

²³See Il. 18, 333-7; 21, 26-33; 23, 19-23; 23, 175-83.

²⁴Hightet, 208 n.26 points out that Aeneas does not utter a speech; but from this he draws no conclusions.

refers to Achilles' sacrifice on three separate occasions totalling 22 lines. In these Achilles utters two direct speeches, once promising to perform the sacrifice and once when he actually does so.²⁵ Moreover the Homeric episode is described clearly in a logical sequence - (a) the promise of sacrifice, (b) the capture of the youths, (c) the sacrifice itself. Homer's detail makes the act vivid and dramatic, with a gruesome touch as well.²⁶ The reader has not the slightest doubt of what Achilles has done or why he has done it. Vergil's presentation is different. Reference is made on two occasions to the sacrifice in six lines of obscure narrative.²⁷ Unlike Achilles, Aeneas utters no speech referring to any aspect of human sacrifice. In fact the obscure nature of Vergil's narrative at this point leaves it unclear whether or not sacrifice even takes place. It is possible for other than the most careful reader to miss the reference or to forget that the act is ever considered.²⁸

We need not question Vergil's familiarity with the Iliad, nor his ability to manage his own material. There is no doubt that he could easily have written the episode along Homeric lines with a vivid and dramatic presentation of the act. The fact that he chose not to do so must be

²⁵Il. 18,333ff. and 23,180ff.; see, too, 23,20ff. and p.316 n.13

²⁶...χαλκῷ δηϊόων, Il. 23,176.

²⁷10,517-20 and 11,81-2.

²⁸A fact which perhaps explains the comparative lack of discussion about it. See Boyle's discussion, Ramus 1 (1972) 68f. and 86, n.22. T. Crane, "A note on Aeneas' human sacrifice". Aeneid 10,517-20" C.W. 67 (1973) 176-7, argues, somewhat implausibly, that Aeneas has little to do with the sacrifice, but merely sends the youths to Evander.

accorded the same significance as the fact that he links Aeneas with sacrifice at all.²⁹ Comparison with Homer shows us that Vergil employed more intricate methods of characterisation, according to the requirements of the story. In this case, for his own good reasons, Vergil, unlike Homer, obfuscates the brutal reality of the hero's act. He does so by using the indirect (or narrative) method of characterisation where Homer on the whole uses the direct (or direct speech) method. We will see that a great difference between the two poets is the store placed by Vergil on indirect techniques of characterisation, which in some cases alter the reader's perception of a character from that of the Greek model. In many cases, as here, this is done by using simple narrative description instead of direct speech and narrative; but Vergil also exploits more subtle techniques which are foreign to Homeric epic.

One such technique is the poet's use of oratio obliqua to describe the words or thoughts of Aeneas and Turnus. On some occasions this is used because Vergil wishes to keep the tempo of the narrative. This is the case in 12,758ff. when Aeneas threatens awesome consequences if any of the Rutulians gives Turnus his sword:-

"ille simul fugiens Rutulos simul increpat omnis
nomine quemque vocans notumque efflagitat ensem.
Aeneas mortem contra praesensque minatur
exitium, si quisquam adeat, terretque tremantis
excisurum urbem minitans et saucius instat."

(12,758-62)

²⁹Williams, ad 10,519, "Nothing would have been easier than for Virgil to omit this ghastly act of Achilles in his reworking of the story; therefore the fact that he has included it must be accorded its full significance".

By presenting the speech indirectly, Vergil retains the fluency in his description of Aeneas' relentless surge to victory. There are other occasions, however, when Vergil seems to use oratio obliqua as a means of presenting a character's sentiments or behaviour in a less prominent way than the direct speech. If an epic poet wishes to project a character into the limelight, he will do so by means of long or repeated direct speeches. The most dramatic figure in the Aeneid is Dido, for she utters, in Book 4 alone, nine speeches totalling 189 lines - more than Aeneas does in the entire "Iliadic" Aeneid.³⁰ Vergil has gone to great lengths to present her vividly, in her tragic predicament, by intensive application of his direct method of characterisation. The queen is thus a realistic, three-dimensional figure - an "open book" as Austin calls her.³¹

Conversely, Vergil was aware that should he desire, for whatever reason, to withdraw a character from the dramatic limelight, yet still present that character's words or thoughts, then oratio obliqua is the ideal means of doing so. There are many examples of this indirect method of characterisation, perhaps the most obvious being the depiction of Aeneas in Book 5. In this book, Aeneas utters 12 speeches, all of which, to some extent, represent his pietas.³² Following the burning of the

³⁰ Aeneas utters 345 lines in the first half of the poem and 182 lines in the second. Dido's "dramatic" role is even more significant given the fact that Book 4 is the shortest book in the poem - 705 lines.

³¹ R.G. Austin, Aeneidos Liber Quartus (Oxford, 1966):- "One of the difficulties in understanding Aeneas is Virgil's very reticence. Dido is an open book: Aeneas we see only in half-glances, half-revelations...", ad 393.

³² See the full discussion, below, p.210 ff.

ships, however, Aeneas lapses into despondency about his mission, and even considers remaining in Sicily:-

"At pater Aeneas, casu concussus acerbo
nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas
mutabat versans, Siculisne resideret arvis
oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras."

(700-703).

Just as Aeneas' general concern to follow the fates is the cornerstone of his pietas, so here his forgetfulness of them (oblitus fatorum) indicates his impietas. Vergil's use of oratio obliqua makes it unclear whether Aeneas actually utters these sentiments or not. The hero is deeply concerned about the Trojans' possibility of succeeding in their fated mission.³³ Given the extent of their labores on land and sea, this must be seen as a natural, human reaction to added misfortune. Yet despite this, Vergil does not seek to present vividly the despair of Aeneas. Had he wished to do so, he could easily have depicted these sentiments by a direct speech. If, as we have assumed³⁴, Vergil is a careful and deliberate poet, then the fact that he chooses not to do so is in itself significant, and tells us something about his own approach to character-presentation. It seems most likely that Vergil chooses not to present this speech directly because it would highlight a temporary feature of Aeneas' character which he does not want to emphasise. It is not

³³R. Heinze, Virgils epische Technik (Leipzig, 1903) 269f., saw this episode as a turning point in the character and fortunes of Aeneas; C.M. Bowra, From Virgil to Milton (London, 1945) 62, expressed disbelief that the hero should consider abandoning the mission. Neither these nor any other critic, to my knowledge, questions Vergil's use of oratio obliqua at this point.

³⁴Above, p.8

the work of chance that Aeneas' only indirect speech in Book 5 conveys his single moment of impietas. Just as Vergil obscures Aeneas' human sacrifice in two terse narrative references³⁵, so here he obscures the reality of Aeneas' impietas by means of oratio obliqua. That this effect is deliberate and calculated is shown by similar instances throughout the poem.

Because there are two methods of characterisation at work - direct and indirect - we will see that the characterisation of Aeneas and Turnus in the narrative of the poem does not always reflect that in the direct speeches. Vergil seems to have felt no obligation to conform to a strict, uniform picture of either character. If we were to treat separately only the narrative references to Turnus in Book 9, we would inevitably conclude that he is like a wild animal who, with irrational rage, seeks only death and destruction to anyone who stands in his path. But it is pietas and virtus that come through in the direct speeches.³⁶ Similarly, Aeneas in Book 4 is consumed with doubts and regret about leaving Carthage, but we would never know it from his direct speeches alone, because it is his pietas that is stressed in these. Throughout the romance and in his great dilemma of how to approach Dido with the news of his imminent departure, Aeneas is a character of the narrative with no dramatic role to play. Only when he has conquered his doubts, and thus regained his pietas, does Vergil present him directly.³⁷

³⁵ See above, p.12.

³⁶ For the full discussion, see below, p.33ff.

³⁷ See below, p.194ff.

We will see that by his two methods of characterisation - direct and indirect - which may convey different things with different force, Vergil is able to ensure that the reader's perspective of a character conforms to his (the poet's) wishes. He can thus give prominence to one dimension of character and relegate other dimensions to the narrative. The two techniques are complementary. In presenting directly only some of Aeneas' sentiments in Book 4 (and elsewhere) Vergil is not creating a false picture, for there is no conflict between speech and narrative. Given that Aeneas' doubts and natural passions at Carthage are obscured in the narrative, the view that he is a cold, non-three-dimensional figure³⁸ is an understandable one. Nevertheless, close reference to the narrative tells us that he was in love with Dido and found it difficult to leave Carthage.³⁹ Thus Vergil projects an image of his hero in the direct speeches which is not utterly true, for it does not tell the entire story. Moreover, we shall see from the comparative numerical analysis of the speeches⁴⁰ that Vergil places less reliance on the direct method of characterisation than does Homer. The direct speeches make up a considerably smaller proportion of the Aeneid than they do in the Iliad or Odyssey. Accordingly, Aeneas has a smaller dramatic role than his Homeric counterparts, which further limits his rapport with the reader - a fact which Vergil knew and actively exploited.

³⁸ See above, p.11 n.20.

³⁹ See, for example, Book 4, 221; 332; 395 and 448.

⁴⁰ See Appendix 1., p. 361ff.

Yet not only are Vergil's characters depicted in a different way from Homer's, but, inevitably, they also act in accordance with a specifically Roman set of values. It could be said that such values as pietas, fides, virtus, ratio, humanitas and their antonyms form the basic infrastructure of the poem. Certainly, it is impossible to analyse comprehensively either Aeneas or Turnus without detailed reference to them. Accordingly, all the speeches of these two heroes and many narrative references to them are appraised in terms of these Roman ideas. The importance of this approach was seen in the preceding discussion, in which it was suggested that Aeneas' pietas or impietas was Vergil's criterion for the allocation or non-allocation of direct speeches. This idea will be extended and exemplified in the detailed analysis of the poem. The value of comprehensive analysis of character in the work of a master poet is that patterns begin to emerge which indicate his aims and methods of characterisation. We will see that such patterns emerge in the case of both Aeneas and Turnus⁴¹.

It is anticipated that this thesis will fill a gap in the corpus of critical works on Vergil by providing a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the characterisation of Aeneas and Turnus. It is "comprehensive" in that it follows their entire roles in the poem; and "systematic" in its application of a consistent method throughout. This method falls, broadly speaking, into three sections: first an analysis of the speeches (direct

⁴¹On occasions Vergil deliberately breaks his own pattern, and this too helps us to ascertain and understand his techniques of characterisation.

and indirect) including comparisons with Homeric models; second, an appraisal of the poet's use of speech and narrative to depict character; and third, detailed consideration of the Roman values which pervade the work. The validity of this new method will, I hope, become apparent as we proceed through the text.

Turnus Book 7

We are aware as early as Book 6 (89) that a hero, another Achilles (alius...Achilles), stands between Aeneas and the fulfilment of his mission. We learn that his name is Turnus (7,55f.), an especially handsome youth¹ of noble blood who earnestly seeks the hand of Lavinia, only daughter of King Latinus. In this Turnus has the support of the queen, Amata, but the omens for such a marriage are unfavourable for Lavinia must wed a foreign husband (58ff.). Latinus interprets the omen to mean Aeneas, who has recently arrived in Latium, and terminates his understanding with Turnus.² Latinus thus promises Lavinia to the Trojan king (268ff.).

Juno hopes to capitalise on the new situation and sends Allecto, one of the Dirae, to sow the seeds of discord throughout long-peaceful Latium.³ She infects Amata (341ff.), who rouses the matres into a Bacchanalian frenzy. The queen has long favoured Turnus⁴ as a future son-in-law but now sees her daughter promised to a foreign husband. Already in a state of high indignation (344f.), Amata quickly succumbs to the will of Allecto, and leads the women (including Lavinia) into the forests.

¹ For Turnus as a iuvenis, see 7,420, 435, 446, 456; 9,16, 806; 10,623, 686; 11,123, 530, 897; 12, 19, 149, 598. Cf. 12,216ff. and discussion, p. 101f.

² 7,365f.

³ 7,46 "(Latinus)... longa placidas in pace regebat"; although see 7,423-6 and Conington, ad 7,423.

⁴ Although I see no evidence that Amata wants Turnus for herself (so P.F. Burke, "Virgil's Amata", Vergilius 22 (1976) 24ff.). See J.C.B. Foster, "Divine and Demonic Possession in the Aeneid", Liverpool Classical Monthly 2(1977) 119ff.

Having infected Amata, the demon Allecto sets her sights on Turnus. She comes to him in the middle of his sleep in the dead of night (413f.). This is "a time when the conscious, rational and moral self is dormant".⁵ His sleep signals his vulnerability to the demon and his own peace of mind⁶ even in the face of an apparent threat. Vergil contrasts the tranquillity of his sleeping state with the violence of his awakening (445ff.). Allecto appears at his bedside as the aged priestess Calybe, wearing the sacred fillet and the sacerdotal olive branch.⁷ She incites him (421ff.) to arm against the Trojans so that he may retain both his bride and his sceptre. This action, she claims, is sanctioned by Juno and the other gods; he must fight for what is rightfully his. To this appeal Turnus reacts as follows:-

"Hic iuvenis vatem inridens sic orsa vicissim
ore refert: 'classis invectas Thybridis undam
non, ut rere, meas effugit nuntius auris;
ne tantos mihi finge metus. nec regia Iuno
immemor est nostri.

⁵ S.G.P. Small, "The Arms of Turnus" T.A.Ph.A. 90 (1959) 246 n.10. Cf. Pöschl, 91, who states that his destiny now belongs to the powers of darkness.

⁶ C.J. Fordyce, Aeneidos Libri VII-VIII ad 7, 414, compares Geo. 3, 435 and Aen. 4, 522f. and 555. In Book 4, 522ff. Dido's dementia is demonstrated by her lack of sleep, whilst everyone in general and Aeneas in particular (certus eundi 4, 554) enjoy peaceful sleep. Prior to the demon's intervention, Turnus, despite the arrival of the foreigners, is as calm and secure as is Aeneas (4, 553f.), who has just regained his pietas.

⁷ There is an apparent irony that "Calybe" awakens Turnus espousing war with the symbol of peace on her person; cf. 7, 154; 8, 116, 128 and 11, 332 for the olive branch as a symbol of peace. For the olive branch as a symbol of the priest, see also 6, 808f. and 7, 750f.

sed te victa situ verique effeta senectus, 440
 o mater, curis nequiquam exercet, et arma
 regum inter falsa vatem formidine ludit.
 cura tibi divum effigies et templa tueri;
 bella viri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda'."
 (7,435-44).

Turnus' reply to "Calybe" has the tone of an authoritative rebuke. He is aware that a fleet has landed (436f.), but that is no reason to dream up panic⁸ (438). He prefers to place his faith in Juno herself (438f.)⁹ and thinks that old age must have overtaken "Calybe's" wits (440ff.). By Turnus' own standards, "Calybe", in urging physical action against the Trojans, has unjustifiably transcended her role as templi sacerdos (443) and as a woman (444)¹⁰.

Even as he is speaking, however, tremors of terror afflict Turnus (445ff.). Her failure to convince him of her point of view and the rebuke she receives for the attempt drive Allecto into a fierce anger. She reveals her true appearance (447f.) and declares that she is one of the Dirae (454f.). Having already infected Turnus by means of snakes (449f.), she now smites him with a blaze of fire (456f.). Allecto's actions have an immediate

⁸ See Williams, ad 438-9.

⁹ In his treatment of this episode, Foster (ibid.n.4)125, argues that Turnus on the whole does not show Juno high regard. See his interesting discussion and also that of V. Buchheit, Vergil über die Sendung Roms (Heidelberg, 1963) 71ff.

¹⁰ There are three Homeric parallels (Knauer, indices, ad loc.). In Il. 6, 486-93, Hector tells Andromache to return to her work in the house rather than grieve uselessly. In Od. 1, 346-59 and 21, 344-53 Telemachus, in his moments of confidence, rebukes his mother by telling her to return to her (i.e. woman's) work. In none of these cases does the Homeric woman attempt the same kind of mischief as "Calybe", and thus Turnus can be seen as having more justification in rebuking her. R. Coleman, "The Gods in the Aeneid," G&R 29 (1982) 151, notes the Homeric and Roman nature of Turnus' retort, esp. 7, 444.

effect (456-74).¹¹ Turnus now possesses the insane love of war (461) and Juno's plan is in part fulfilled. Allecto is now ready to spread elsewhere her destructive furor.

Scholars have never wholly agreed on the meaning of Turnus' encounter with Allecto. Is she a personified external force whose actions metamorphose an innocent man?; or is she a symbol of an inner psychological transformation in Turnus?:-

"dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?"
(9,184-5).

It is important to the meaning of the poem to answer these questions. If Turnus' will is not his own and he is the victim of a hostile, demonic force, then he could properly disclaim responsibility for his subsequent actions. If, on the other hand, Allecto is merely the symbol of an inner change of mood in Turnus, then he himself is clearly responsible for beginning and protracting an impious war for his own selfish reasons. In short the Allecto episode is fundamental to our more general conception of the Italian hero.

Clearly both views cannot operate at the same time.¹²

¹¹ Turnus' passions are likened to the boiling water in a cauldron (462ff.) which is modelled on Il. 21,362ff. - the boiling of the Xanthus. Amata has already been likened (378ff.) in her furor to a spinning top; see discussion, p.25ff. and also Pöschl 91f. D. West, J.R.S. 59 (1969) 40ff. and Philologus 114 (1970) 262ff., gives detailed analyses of the similes in the poem.

¹² Although some critics almost suggest that they can. Small describes Turnus as a man who "irrationally loves war for its own sake" as well as being transformed by Allecto (Small, T.A.Ph.A. 90 (1959) 245ff.); and Williams, ad 7, 406f., "His (Turnus') mind is twisted - by Allecto, or by his own qualities perverted by events..." See also W.S. Anderson, The Art of the Aeneid (New Jersey, 1969) 68.

Turnus cannot at once be the innocent victim of a demon as well as the demon itself. Let us consider the view that Allecto is the symbol of the inner irrational element in Turnus' own nature. One critic¹³ has written that "Turnus... is predisposed to Allecto's point of view: it is his natural masculine contempt for elderly female advice that makes him resist at first...". This argument has found considerable favour;¹⁴ Turnus arrogantly rebukes "Calybe", thereby demonstrating his basic nature. Thus Vergil shows that Turnus and Allecto are at one in that the hero's nature makes him sympathetic to the cause of war. He responds to Allecto in her true self as a demon, but rebukes her as a harmless old woman. The divine intention corresponds to Turnus' own motivation: Allecto symbolises his natural passion for war.

This stated view, however, does not bear close examination of the text. We have seen that Turnus is notably unconcerned by the arrival of the Trojans. His tranquil sleep (414f.) is as much a measure of his peace of mind as Dido's insomnia (4,522ff.) was of her furor. When prompted into war (421-34), Turnus' natural inclination is to peace (436ff.). His speech stresses his pietas, in his belief that Juno is not forgetful of his welfare (438f.). There is an incredulity on his part that she should be dreaming up such great fears and he reprimands her for

¹³ Otis, 325.

¹⁴ Cf. Williams, ad 7,406f. and Highet, 44 and 212. It is not essentially a new idea, however; see H. Nettleship, "Suggestions Introductory to a Study of the Aeneid" in Lectures and Essays (Oxford, 1885) 109ff., and Heinze, 184, both of whom argue that Turnus is the enemy of the state.

doing so (440ff.). It is clear that Turnus rebukes her because she has woken him in the middle of the night for what he sees as misguided fears. It is "Calybe" who propagates the evil course of war, and Turnus who recognises and rejects it. All of this stands to the Rutulian's credit;¹⁵ the attempt to coerce him into arms has failed and Allecto must resort to force (445ff.). It is as a result of this force that Turnus quickly changes from the restrainer of violence to its prime mover.

In this question of individual free-will, the infection of Amata and that of Turnus can, with some profit, be compared. The two episodes are of similar length (Amata 65 lines, Turnus 69),¹⁶ yet there are evident differences. Prior to Allecto's intervention Amata and Turnus are described as being in contrasting states of mind:-

(1)... "quam (Amatam) super adventu Teucrum Turnique
hymenaeis
femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant."
(344-5)

(2)... ".....tectis his Turnus in altis
iam mediam nigra carpebat nocte quietem."
(413-4).

In the former case, the anger of Amata corresponds to the intention of Allecto: they are fundamentally at one. It could be argued that Amata is "predisposed to Allecto's point of view",¹⁷ in the sense that she is angry that her

¹⁵"That Turnus hesitates on the brink of the abyss focuses and enhances his tragedy", Pöschl, 95.

¹⁶The Amata episode is described in 341-405, and the Turnus episode, 406-474. See Buchheit, 102ff., who also compares aspects of these episodes.

¹⁷ Otis, 325.

daughter is to marry the Trojan king instead of Turnus. There is no drama in the Amata/Allecto encounter because there is no conflict of wills. Allecto has no speaking role in her dealings with Amata whereas in the following episode she has the major speaking role. The dramatic nature of the encounter between Allecto and Turnus is built upon this strong conflict of wills.

In this context it seems difficult to justify Kenneth Quinn's view,¹⁸ that "whereas Amata had to be made mad to make her act irresponsibly in flagrant disregard of her duty as wife and queen, Turnus is an easier case: the irrational element is already there; all Allecto needs to do is touch it off (Heroic Impulse) by representing to Turnus that his honour has been affected." The critic underplays the anger of Allecto; for it is because Turnus will not respond to the threat to his honour that force must be used.¹⁹ Allecto uses only one snake (unum... anguem 346) to infect Amata, whilst in her anger, she casts two at Turnus (geminos...anguis 450). In addition she casts a flaming torch at Turnus (456f.) whilst no such weapon is used on Amata. The contrast could scarcely be more explicit: greater force is needed to infect Turnus because his resistance is the greater. His own will, unlike Amata's, conflicts with the demon's wishes.²⁰

¹⁸ Quinn, 181.

¹⁹ E. Fraenkel, "Some Aspects of the Structure of *Aeneid* VII" *J.R.S.* 35 (1945) 4, makes the same mistake when he says that Allecto "rouses the passions of the young warrior."

²⁰ Given this conflict it would seem that Turnus' subsequent furor is determined by powerful forces outside his own will, rather than his own design. It is noteworthy that J. Perret, *Virgile* (Paris, 1965) 131, argues that in the traditional version of events in Latium, Turnus was motivated simply by jealousy. This more natural, human reaction to the arrival of Aeneas was deliberately excised from Vergil's version of the story.

In the earlier episode, Amata utters a direct speech both before and after the infection scene (359-72 and 400-403). Turnus makes only one direct speech which is immediately before Allecto's angry outburst. He utters no direct speech in Book 7 after the infection scene. In each episode there is a speech reported indirectly (Amata 389-91 and Turnus 468-70). The sequence of their speeches in the relative episodes is as follows:-

<u>Amata</u>	<u>Turnus</u>
1/ Infection by Allecto, although only partially (341-58).	1/ Appearance and speech of Allecto disguised as Calybe (406-34).
2/ Amata's direct speech to Latinus (359-72).	2/ Turnus' direct speech in reply to Allecto (436-44).
3/ Amata becomes wild with <u>furor</u> (373-400).	3/ Allecto's retaliatory speech and the infection of Turnus (445-57).
4/ Speech in <u>oratio obliqua</u> calling aloud to Bacchus (389-91).	4/ Description of the <u>furor</u> of Turnus (458-74).
5/ Amata's direct speech to the Latin women (400-403).	5/ Indirect speech of Turnus to his followers (468-70).

We have seen²¹ that the encounter between Allecto and Turnus is more dramatic than that between Allecto and Amata, chiefly because of the greater conflict of wills. Allecto does not speak in the queen's presence and Amata remains unaware of Allecto. We may also note that the indirect speeches of Amata (389-91) and Turnus (468-70) each follow a vivid simile: Amata is like a spinning top (378ff.) and Turnus a boiling cauldron (462ff.). Turnus is boastful and confused:-

"*ergo iter ad regem polluta pace Latinum
indicit primis iuvenum et iubet arma parari,
tutari Italiam, detrudere finibus hostem;
se satis ambobus Teucrisque venire Latinisque.*"
(467-70).

²¹ Above, p. 25f.

Vergil's use of oratio obliqua adequately conveys Turnus' distorted rationality but we might reasonably have expected a more direct presentation. Here after all is the poet's perfect opportunity to present forcefully the full effects of Allecto's action. As it is, however, Turnus, unlike Amata, utters no direct speech following his infection by Allecto. Vergil here has sought, for his own reasons, to avoid a vivid, dramatic presentation of Turnus. He clearly chooses to present the furor of Turnus at this point by means of the indirect method. This is not a unique technique in the presentation of Turnus in Book 7: the Rutulian on his next appearance is described as follows:-

"Turnus adest medioque in crimine caedis et igni
terrorem ingeminat: Teucros in regna vocari,
stirpem admisceri Phrygiam, se limine pelli."

(577-9).

Turnus' war cry echoes the basic points made originally by "Calybe" and rejected by the hero: the Trojans are to be given Turnus' sceptre which is an insult the Latins should not bear. Their own race will become mingled with (effeminate) Phrygian stock. Turnus is in the same state of furor in both uses of oratio obliqua. We begin to see that Turnus' state of mind is Vergil's criterion for the allocation of a direct or indirect speech. The poet's intention in these two cases of oratio obliqua seems to be to withdraw Turnus from the precise focus of the reader's attention at the moments when he is at his most irrational. It is the "sane" Turnus who delivers the one direct speech by him in Book 7. Following his infection by Allecto, Turnus is a character of the narrative in Book 7. Vergil thus uses two methods to portray Turnus - the direct and

indirect methods - corresponding to the direct speeches on the one hand, and the indirect speeches/narrative on the other. This dichotomy of presentation becomes increasingly apparent as we follow Turnus through the poem.

By comparing the presentation of Dido in Books 1 and 4, let us briefly hypothesise on the reason for two methods of character portrayal in the case of Turnus. The plot of the tragedy of Dido is comparatively straightforward. She is a beautiful²² queen, accustomed, like Aeneas, to grief²³, who in adverse circumstances attempts to build her own city. She is so possessed of humanitas that Aeneas feels unable to repay her.²⁴ Vergil also stresses her iustitia and pietas.²⁵ Despite her humanity, and in part because of it, Venus, Cupid, and Juno conspire for their own ends to manipulate her person. As a result of the gods' machinations she consummates her love for Aeneas and mistakenly calls it marriage.²⁶ Aeneas' decision to continue his mission and leave for Italy leads to the decline and the tragic suicide of the queen. We might divide the tragedy into three sections:-

1. Arrival of the Trojans and generous welcome of Dido.
2. The manipulation of Dido, firstly by Venus and Cupid, and then by Venus and Juno. The cave scene.
3. Aeneas' decision, at Mercury's prompting, to leave: decline and death of Dido.

²² I, 496.

²³ I, 340ff. and I, 630.

²⁴ I, 595ff.

²⁵ I, 446ff. and I, 507ff.

²⁶ 4, 172.

The infection of Dido by Cupid occurs long after her initial appearance in the poem²⁷, allowing us a view of her real nature. When fully in control of her own will, she bestows great generosity on the Trojans, and Vergil emphasises the point. The tragedy of Dido is the story of steady decline from dignity and humanity to despair and death.

The tragedy of Turnus is more complex. Vergil places himself in something of a dilemma, for he wishes that Turnus both be prime mover of a disastrous war (in Book 7), and the poem's final tragic hero (in Book 12). It is to achieve the first end that Turnus' infection by Allecto coincides with his initial appearance in the poem. Yet this in itself causes problems, in that, for the sake of coherence of plot, Turnus must be seen still to possess this demonic furor until shortly before his death, for it is furor which helps to bring about that death. The furor of Dido lasts essentially for one book²⁸ whilst that of Turnus lasts for six.²⁹ In these same six books Vergil must also convey the noble qualities required of a potential tragic hero without, at the same time, detracting excessively from the portrayal of his furor. No reader/audience will feel pity and fear³⁰ for a character who,

²⁷The focus on Dido's character begins at 1,335ff., and Venus' intention to infect her begins at 1,657ff.

²⁸i.e. specifically Book 4, although we could include Book I, 657-756.

²⁹i.e. Books 7-12 although, of course, Turnus does not appear in Book 8.

³⁰For Turnus as a tragic hero, see Pöschl 91ff., and G. Duckworth's discussion, "Turnus and Duryodhana" T.A.Ph.A. 92 (1961) 81ff. See also J.B. Garstang, "The Tragedy of Turnus" Phoenix 4 (1950) 47-58. For the contrary view, see W. Ehlers, "Turnus" R.E. 7A (1948) 1413.

however innocent he may originally have been, is presented throughout purely as a violent and irrational warrior. The death of such a person would properly be greeted as a positive relief.

Vergil circumvents this dilemma by presenting³¹ the furor of Turnus indirectly (narrative/oratio obliqua), whilst portraying his virtus and pietas in the direct manner (oratio recta). These concurrent strands of characterisation allow the development of Turnus' noble spirit and also the continuity in his state of furor. We thus gain a composite picture of Turnus which, at the poem's close, allows us to reflect upon his piety and noble courage on the one hand and his destructive, demonic furor on the other.

Turnus' final appearance of Book 7 is enclosed in the description of the Italian forces:-

"Ipse inter primos praestanti corpore Turnus
vertitur arma tenens et toto vertice supra est.
cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram 785
sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis;
tam magis illa fremens et tristibus effera flammis
quam magis effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnae.
at levem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io
auro insignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos, 790
argumentum ingens, et custos virginis Argus,
caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna."
(783-92).

This vivid picture of Turnus in his armour conveys a range of meanings. Small,³² who examines in detail the mythological references, points out that the chimaera is a

³¹ In Books 7, 9, 10 and 11. The poet's technique changes in Book 12; see p. 89ff.

³² Small, T.A.Ph.A. 90 (1959) 243ff. See also Buchheit, 108ff.

symbol of archaic violence and is chosen by Turnus who is unaware of its implications. Just as the mythological monster is slain by a great hero, Bellerophon³³, with the help of Athena and Pegasus, so too Turnus will be killed by Aeneas with divine assistance.³⁴ Moreover, the chimaera is chthonic³⁵ and breathes forth fire: Turnus can be identified with chthonic forces and has just been infected by the hell-fury Allecto. Fire was Allecto's weapon (7, 456f.) and the torch becomes a significant weapon of Turnus in Book 9.³⁶ Io, like Turnus, is the victim of a terrible transformation at the hands of a deity, having been turned into a heifer by Jupiter and further tormented by Juno.³⁷ The metamorphosis of Io corresponds to the infection of Turnus by Juno/Allecto. Thus this combination of bestial violence and victimisation by a deity, which is symbolised in his armour, reflects Turnus' transformation in Book 7, and foreshadows his future roles in the poem. In response to "Calybe", Turnus argues against

³³ See *Il.* 6, 179ff. Knauer, in his indices (ad loc.), compares Vergil's picture of Turnus' arms with this Homeric passage. There is, however, no close Homeric model. See Pöschl, 96, for a discussion on this subject.

³⁴ Small, 245, writes that "so too will Turnus be destroyed by Aeneas with the help of Venus and other deities". The deities more closely involved in the destruction of Turnus are Jupiter (12, 791ff.; 843ff.) and the Dira (12, 843ff.; 896ff.). Small misses the point that Turnus, in the beginning, is infected by a fury and brought to defeat by one at the end. See discussion, p. 112ff.

³⁵ It features in the description of the monsters in the jaws of hell (6, 288), and has an association with volcanic fire and violence - a fact which makes Vergil's reference to Mount Etna (*...Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignes.* 786) all the more relevant. Small, 245ff., expands on these ideas.

³⁶ Note 9, 69ff.; 530ff.

³⁷ Inachus (792) is Io's father and is also Turnus' ancestor (7, 371-2). Moreover, Juno is pictured (286-7) as coming back from Argos, the city of Inachus. For a discussion of these references, see Foster, *L.C.M.* 2 (1977) 117ff.

the course of war, but after his infection at the demon's hands, fierce and irrational violence becomes one of his chief characteristics.

Section 2

Turnus Book 9

The narrative of Book 9 opens as follows:-

"Atque ea diversa penitus dum parte geruntur,
Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
audacem ad Turnum. luco tum forte parentis
Pilumni Turnus sacrata valle sedebat."

(1-4)

The furor of Turnus, which was his trademark after his infection by Allecto (7,445ff.), is noticeably absent from his character at the outset of Book 9. As in his initial appearance in the poem (7,413ff.), Turnus can be characterised by his calmness.¹ He sits placidly in a sacred vale in the grove of his grandfather,² Pilumnus. The reference is brief and unspecific yet Vergil seems to be indicating Turnus' pietas³ and equanimity. His description as audacem (3) in no way contradicts this apparent state of calm. The adjective audax is not part of Vergil's vocabulary of furor, but is used more generally to describe a much milder state of mind. At 8,110 the young Pallas is described as audacem on which Servius⁴ comments as follows:-

¹See Conington, ad 9,4, "Turnus is represented as at ease when Iris comes to rouse him".

²Or great-grandfather (sic Williams, ad 9,4).

³Pietas in the sense that he sits in the sacred vale of an ancestor. Note also 9,16ff. and the discussion below, p.

⁴Servius, ad 8,110. Cf. W. Ehlers, R.E. 7A (1948) 1413.

"audacem autem dicit ubique Vergilius, quotiens vult ostendere virtutem sine fortuna: unde etiam Turnum audacem vocat (IX,3)". Turnus is described as audacis Rutuli, prior to his infection by Allecto (7,409), in contrast with his state of furor (7,458ff.) where he is amens (7,460). This supports the view that audacem represents Turnus' natural courage (virtus) seen in the context of his allotted destiny, rather than a state of demonic furor.⁵

Iris suggests to Turnus (6-13) that Aeneas' absence is a prime opportunity for an attack and that he should not hesitate to mount it. Turnus reacts to this as follows:-

"agnovit iuvenis duplicisque ad sidera palmas
sustulit ac tali fugientem est voce secutus:
'Iri, decus caeli, quis te mihi nubibus actam
detulit in terras? unde haec tam clara repente
tempestas? medium video discedere caelum 20
palantisque polo stellas. sequor omina tanta,
quisquis in arma vocas.' et sic effatus ad undam
processit summoque hausit de gurgite lymphas
multa deos orans, oneravitque aethera votis."
(16-24).

In Iliad 18,⁶ Iris appears before Achilles urging him to defend the body of Patroclus over which a great battle is being fought:-

⁵Had Vergil wished to convey Turnus' furor at this point, ardentem could have provided a suitable alternative for audacem (9,3). For the view that audacem signifies Turnus' impetuosity and consequent moral flaw, see Williams, ad 9,3 and 7,406f.

⁶Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

ἀλλ' ἄνα, μὴδ' ἔτι κείσο· σέβας δέ σε θυμὸν ἰκέσθω
 Πάτροκλον Τρωῆσι κυσὶν μέλπηθρα γένεσθαι.
 σοὶ λώβη, αἶ κέν τι νέκυς ἰσχυμμένος ἔλθῃ." 180
 Τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς·
 "Ἴρι θεά, τίς γάρ σε θεῶν ἐμοὶ ἄγγελον ἦκε;"
 Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε ποδὴννεμος ὤκεία Ἴρις·
 "Ἥρη με προέηκε,|

(Il. 18,178-84)

Although unsure as to which of the gods is responsible for the sending of Iris,⁷ Turnus raises his hands in a gesture of reverence to heaven.⁸ This solemn gesture emphasises the pietas of Turnus as it does in the case of Aeneas (1,93 and 5,686) and Anchises (2,688 and 6,685). Moreover, Turnus' vows before battle, and the washing of his hands before so doing, follow the Roman custom.⁹ The sudden appearance of Iris direct from Olympus, and the subsequent belief that the gods will support his course of action, make the moment a highly emotional one for Turnus. This episode and its profound effect upon Turnus must be borne in mind when considering his confidence (fiducia 126) in battle during the early stages of the war.

Achilles, by contrast, merely replies to Iris (τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ... Ἀχιλλεύς 181). Where Turnus displays great

⁷ Servius, ad 9,22, suggests that Turnus is unclear whether Iris has been sent by Jupiter or Juno. Turnus' opening line to his speech at 9,128, however, may imply that he believes it to be Jupiter. The tragedy of Turnus is anchored on his delusion that Jupiter and the other gods support his course; cf. 10,667ff.; 12,634f., 646f. and 894f., and discussion below, 106ff.

⁸ Pöschl, 97, notes that "Like Dido he (Turnus) starts upon the road to destruction with religious rites and prayers." It is an interesting example of Vergilian "framing" that Juno (via Iris) prompts Turnus into battle (9,6ff.) and then withdraws him when the going gets too rough (10,633ff.). In both cases Turnus responds emotionally and with piety, and raises his hands to the heavens (9,16f. and 10,667).

⁹ See Conington, ad 9,23.

reverence to Iris (18ff.) and to the gods generally (22-4), Achilles' reply is more casual. Both heroes immediately recognise the goddess, although Vergil alone stresses the point (agnovit iuvenis 16). In the Aeneid recognition of divine signals reflects upon the pietas of the character concerned. In Book 1 (314ff.) Venus deceives her son about her true identity until her actual departure, when she gives him a sign of her true person (1,402ff.).

Aeneas does not fail in the recognition:-

"Ille (Aeneas) ubi matrem
agnovit tali fugientem est voce secutus..."

(1,405-6).

Turnus' reaction to Iris echoes that of Aeneas to Venus:-

"agnovit iuvenis duplicisque ad sidera palmas
sustulit ac tali fugientem est voce secutus..."

(9,16-17).

Turnus and Aeneas do not have the same opportunity to speak with the respective deities as does Achilles. Iris and Venus, once recognised, do not offer a reply and are already in the process of disappearing (fugientem 1,406 and 9,17). Venus provides Aeneas with information which is useful in his continuing quest both for survival and for a city (1,335-68). It is advice which gives assistance to Aeneas at a time when he is despondent with his ill-fortune; yet for all this, Aeneas is left feeling emotionally aggrieved that his own mother should deceive him at such a time. The encouragement given to Turnus (9,6-13) is, by contrast, utterly destructive; yet the hero, ironically, is appreciative and joyful that he should receive omina tanta (21). He believes that he has the support of the gods and in this is tragically misguided. Having been infected already with demonic furor

by Allecto (7,445ff.), Turnus is now duped into a belief in his own destiny which is at odds with the true course of fate.¹⁰ The comparison between the Iris (Book 9) and Venus (Book 1) episodes effectively demonstrates that the difference between Aeneas and Turnus lies more in the treatment meted out by the gods than in their individual reverence for the divine order. Both heroes are characterised by their essential piety. In Book 7 (436ff.) Turnus prefers to place his faith in Juno rather than to accede to "Calybe's" imprecation; therefore, he is depicted as one not by nature so prone to violent passions as he is worshipful towards the gods. The implication is that, had Juno herself called him into arms instead of "Calybe", then he would have heeded the call. The Allecto episode is devised as such to convey Turnus' unwillingness to begin a war unless called upon to do so by a deity. In Book 9 that call is made and Turnus obeys unquestioningly.¹¹ Both episodes exemplify his pietas.

The speech of Iris (6ff.) reflects Juno's fear that Turnus may be missing an opportune moment for success in the field. The absence of Aeneas is as significant for the action of Book 9 as is his return for Book 10: in the former Turnus is allowed pre-eminence on the battlefield, whilst in the latter he is eclipsed by his Trojan counterpart. Juno, in prompting Turnus, is concerned, as always,

¹⁰ Coleman, G & R 29 (1982) 151, notes that Juno's intention here is to keep the pressure on Turnus who otherwise "might have reverted to a more circumspect attitude." This pressure is applied in two ways; first a demonic infection against his will (7,406ff.) and second, an appeal, based on deception, to his piety.

¹¹ Where Allecto physically fires his passions, Iris deludes his more rational faculties. Turnus is thus transformed emotionally and intellectually.

with the short-term and seeks, where possible, to delay the fates and damage Trojan interests at every turn.

Turnus is described as in the middle of the battle-line, which moves over the plain like the Ganges or the Nile (25ff.).¹² The Trojans follow Aeneas' parting commands by placing the emphasis on defending the camp rather than meeting the enemy on the plain (40ff.). In our next view of Turnus, he heads the line¹³ of twenty chosen equites to whom he shouts:-

"ecquis erit mecum, iuvenes, qui primus in hostem - ?
en..."¹⁴

(9,51-2).

Turnus casts the spear¹⁵ which commences the battle (52f.). He leads his men with an exemplary virtus (note mecum...primus 51) - a quality to which a Roman audience would not be averse. His brief speech rouses the spirit of his men who follow him with a great roar (54f.). The Trojans have no stomach for a fight and remain within the camp¹⁶ (55ff.). The narrative now focuses again upon Turnus:-

¹²Anderson, 76, links the description of the rivers to Turnus who is "swollen, powerful and quiet." The simile is, however, better linked to the entire battle-line (sic Williams, ad loc.).

¹³Note the stunning picture of Turnus on a Thracian horse with white spots, and wearing a golden helmet with a red crest (49f.). In the other pictures of Turnus in his armour (7,785ff. and 9,731ff.) Vergil uses the red crest or plumes as a symbol of Turnus' furor. At 9,49f., however, the picture is of grace and beauty designed, it seems, to complement the presentation of his virtus at 51f. Cf. the arms of Aeneas at 10,270ff., and discussion below, p. 290ff.

¹⁴Higbet, 215, notes that "his war-cry is too short and asymmetrical to have a Homeric counterpart; but his situation and his excitement resemble those of Hector driving his chariot up to the Achaean wall in I. 15,343-55."

¹⁵"The throwing of the spear was the Roman mode of declaring war.", Conington, ad 9,52.

¹⁶In any case, by staying within the camp, they follow the orders of Aeneas (9,40ff.).

"huc turbidus atque huc
 lustrat equo muros aditumque per avia quaerit.
 ac veluti pleno lupus insidiatus ovili
 cum fremit ad caulas ventos perpessus et imbris 60
 nocte super media; tuti sub matribus agni
 balatum exercent, ille asper et improbus ira
 saevit in absentis, collecta fatigat edendi
 ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces:
 haud aliter Rutulo muros et castra tuenti 65
 ignescunt irae; duris dolor ossibus ardet.
 qua temptet ratione aditus, et quae via clausos
 excutiat Teucros vallo atque effundat in aequum?
 classem, quae lateri castrorum adiuncta latebat,
 aggeribus saeptam circum et fluvialibus undis, 70
 invadit sociosque incendia poscit ovantis
 atque manum pinu flagranti fervidus implet.
 tum vero incumbunt (urget praesentia Turni),
 atque omnis facibus pubes accingitur atris.
 diripuerunt focos: piceum fert fumida lumen 75
 taeda et commixtam Volcanus ad astra favillam."
 (57-76).

Vergil's picture of Turnus takes the following form:
 he concentrates firstly on his exemplary virtus (47-53);
 second, its effect on his men (54-7); and third, his
 demonic furor (57-76). Thus, there are two pictures of the
 hero (Turnus vir/dux apparently in possession of ratio;
 and Turnus furens, who most certainly is not), which are
 separated by the narrative shift at 54-7. It is note-
 worthy that the first picture of Turnus (vir/dux 47-53)
 contains a direct speech (51-2) whilst the latter (Turnus
furens 57-76) is described in the narrative which contains
 free indirect speech (67-8).¹⁷

The above passage contains many of the words which we
 come to associate with the concept of furor in the Aeneid

¹⁷See below, p. 40f.

(note turbidus, asper, improbis ira, fervidus, fremet, ardet). The simile of Turnus as a wolf thirsty for the blood of lambs is one of the most powerful in the Aeneid. The closest models are from the Iliad - 11,548ff. and 12,299ff.¹⁸ The Homeric similes describe Aias and Sarpedon as lions, fierce with hunger, attempting to attack a herd of cattle (11,548ff.), and a flock of sheep (12,299ff.). Aias is forced on to the defensive whilst Sarpedon is on the attack. The alteration in each of their emotional states is attributed to the power of Zeus (11,544 and 12,292f.). Nevertheless Aias and Sarpedon are in their normal states of mind; they are fierce and courageous fighters who, in their individual situations, bear resemblances to the situations of lions. Homer's similes concentrate upon their roles in the action whilst Vergil focuses on the psychological and physical attributes of the man. Turnus is like a wolf, not only in his physical situation but also in his psychological state. The poet is "striving to characterise Turnus as the personification of demonic forces",¹⁹ and spares no image in his attempt to convey the message (note esp. 62-4).

For all his fierce effort, Turnus is unable to break into the camp (65-6). At this stage, Vergil poses a question:-

"qua temptet ratione aditus, et quae via clausos
excutiat Teucros vallo atque effundat in aequum?"
(67-8).

¹⁸There are similar comparisons in Od. 6,130ff. and Apollonius 1,1243ff.

¹⁹Pöschl, 99. A comparison of the similes referring to Turnus and Aeneas is given by Pöschl at 97ff. For more detailed analysis of the similes in the Aeneid, see D. West, J.R.S. 59 (1969) 40ff. and Philologus 114 (1970) 262ff.

Turnus' dilemma is how to get into the camp or how to force the Trojans from their rampart and on to the plain? The poet describes the dilemma in free indirect speech (style indirect libre). This technique²⁰, which is more commonly associated with the modern novel,²¹ is where the narrator asks a question or conveys sentiments for the character, rather than presents them directly (oratio recta) or indirectly (oratio obliqua). Thus in this case, Vergil directly asks the reader how Turnus is to resolve his dilemma of either getting into the camp or forcing the Trojans out. Similarly, at 4,283f., Vergil asks the reader what Aeneas is to do or how he is to approach the queen?²² (heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furem/ audeat adfatu?...4,283f.). Free indirect speech contains aspects of both direct and indirect speech and is used by Vergil as an alternative to them. On some occasions (as at 9,67f. and 4,283f.) it is by no means certain whose sentiments are being expressed - the narrator's, the character's or both. Thus it is included as one of Vergil's indirect methods of characterisation because it falls in the narrative, and does not allow the reader to focus as clearly on the character in his dilemma as would a direct speech. The narrator asks the questions of the reader: the character meanwhile acts out the dilemma.

²⁰ For other examples of this technique in the poem, cf. 4,283f., 9,399ff., 12,486f.

²¹ Roy Pascal in The Dual Voice (Manchester, 1977) considers the presence of free indirect speech in the nineteenth-century European novel, and especially in the works of Goethe, Jane Austen, Georg Büchner, Dickens, George Eliot, Trollope, Flaubert, Zola and Dostoyevsky.

²² For a full discussion of this episode, see below, p. 194ff.

The following summary helps us to see Vergil's techniques of characterising Turnus up to this point:-

The Speeches of Turnus (up to 9,76)

<u>Oratio Recta</u>	<u>Oratio Obliqua/Free Indirect Speech</u>
1/ 7,436-444: <u>Turnus vir/dux</u> . He is sane and unresponsive to "Calybe's" war-cry. He possesses <u>pietas</u> .	1/ 7,467-70: <u>Turnus furens</u> , (note surrounding narrative 456-474). He calls his men into war and boasts of his prowess.
2/ 9,18-22: <u>Turnus pius</u> . He displays reverence to Iris and the other gods.	2/ 7,578-9: <u>Turnus furens</u> . Here he "redoubles terror" (<u>terrorem ingeminat</u> 578) and abuses Aeneas (579).
3/ 9,51-2: <u>Turnus vir/dux</u> . He displays exemplary courage which rouses his men.	3/ 9,67-8: <u>Turnus furens</u> (note surrounding narrative 57-76): he is like a savage wolf.

The pattern is clear: the direct speeches project his positive Roman qualities (pietas and virtus) whilst the narrative, indirect speeches and free indirect speech present his demonic furor. The speeches presented indirectly are contained within narrative passages which describe his furor. Vergil clearly seems to have avoided allocating to Turnus a direct speech at a time when he is possessed with demonic rage.

With the failure of his efforts, Turnus decides to burn the Trojan fleet, which lies adjacent to the camp (69ff.). The attempt parallels that of Hector to burn the Greek ships in Il. 15,716ff. In Turnus' case, however, the use of fire has a deeper symbolic significance.²³ Vergil externalises the fire within him which was planted originally by Allecto (7,456ff.). In the Homeric case,

²³See Pöschl's discussion, 103; cf. B.M.W. Knox, "The Serpent and the Flame", A.J.P. 71 (1950), 379-400.

fire is the natural and convenient weapon for the task, whilst in the Vergilian it also symbolises Turnus' state of mind. Vergil thus extends the Homeric level of meaning.

Cybele and Jupiter ensure that Turnus fails in his effort to fire the ships by metamorphosing them into nymphs (77-122). The reaction of Turnus is as follows:-

"Obstipuere animis Rutuli, conterritus ipse
turbatis Messapus equis, cunctatur et amnis
rauca sonans revocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto.
at non audaci Turno fiducia cessit;
ultro animos tollit dictis atque increpat ultro."
(123-7).

The sense of these lines is that "The Rutulians were amazed, Messapus terrified, even the river god recoils, but not Turnus."²⁴ At non (126) indicates the strong contrast between 123-5 and 126. The pause at the end of line 125 helps to strengthen the contrast. In the reaction of Turnus (126), two words are crucial - his description as audaci and his unaltered confidence (fiducia). We have seen²⁵ that audax is a neutral word to which Servius²⁶ applies the meaning of virtus sine fortuna. It is not, in the Aeneid, used to describe furor (as are fervidus, turbidus, furens, ardens, improbis ira, violentus, amens and trepidans). Some see it as meaning "rash"²⁷ or the possession of "boastful self-confidence"²⁸, yet the more traditional meaning of "bold" seems to convey the Vergilian sense. Audax implies no authorial criticism.

²⁴Williams, ad 126.

²⁵Above, p. 33f.

²⁶Servius, ad 8,110.

²⁷Anderson, 77.

²⁸Williams, ad 9,123f.; cf. K. Büchner, P. Vergilius Maro : der Dichter der Römer (Stuttgart, 1955) 384f.

On the use of fiducia one critic²⁹ has written that "the meaning of Turnus' fiducia here is shown in the ensuing speech by which he tries to minimize the purport of this fearful event. He is not, he declares, terrified by the fates (Nil me fatalia terrent - 133)." The argument is that Turnus is aware that the fates are against him, but superficially disguises his fear and fights against them. Yet Otis' selective method of criticism has again distorted the facts: nil me fatalia terrent does not mean that Turnus knows the course of fate and refuses to accept it, for he qualifies his own statement:-

"...nil me fatalia terrent,
si qua Phryges prae se iactant, responsa deorum..."
(133-4).

Turnus means, "The decrees of fate, such as the Trojans boast, do not frighten me." The appearance of Iris so shortly beforehand gives him the (misguided) confidence that his course is the right one and will prevail. The contrasting reactions to the miracle of the ships of Turnus and the others do not demonstrate that the hero hides his fear better, but that he has no fear.³⁰

Turnus' tragedy hinges on the fact that, out of misguided confidence, resulting from the prompting of a deity, he incorrectly reads the omen. It is in this spirit of confidence that Turnus addresses his men:-

²⁹Otis, 347.

³⁰Turnus' fiducia is passed to the others following his speech of encouragement:-
(Nisus speaking) "cernis quae Rutulos habeat fiducia rerum:
lumina rara micant, somno vinoque soluti
procubere, silent late loca." (9,188-90).

"Troianos haec monstra petunt, his Iuppiter ipse
 auxilium solitum eripuit, non tela neque ignis
 exspectans Rutulos. ergo maria invia Teucris, 130
 nec spes ulla fugae: rerum pars altera adempta est,
 terra autem in nostris manibus, tot milia gentis
 arma ferunt Italae. nil me fatalia terrent,
 si qua Phryges prae se iactant, responsa deorum:
 sat fatis Venerique datum, tetigere quod arva 135
 fertilis Ausoniae Troes. sunt et mea contra
 fata mihi, ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem
 coniuge praerepta; nec solos tangit Atridas
 iste dolor, solisque licet capere arma Mycenis.
 'sed periisse semel satis est': peccare fuisset 140
 ante satis, penitus modo non genus omne perosos
 femineum. quibus haec medii fiducia valli
 fossarumque morae, leti discrimina parva,
 dant animos; at non viderunt moenia Troiae
 Neptuni fabricata manu considerare in ignis? 145
 sed vos, o lecti, ferro qui scindere vallum
 apparat et mecum invadit trepidantia castra?
 non armis mihi Volcani, non mille carinis
 est opus in Teucros. addant se protinus omnes
 Etrusci socios. tenebras et inertia furta 150
 [Palladii caesis summae custodibus arcis]
 ne timeant, nec equi caeca condemur in alvo:
 luce palam certum est igni circumdare muros.
 haud sibi cum Danais rem faxo et pube Pelasga
 esse ferant, decimum quos distulit Hector in annum. 155
 nunc adeo, melior quoniam pars acta diei,
 quod superest, laeti bene gestis corpora rebus
 procure, viri, et pugnam sperate parari."

(128-58)

Hight describes Turnus' speech as the "most extensive and elaborate cohortatio in the epic"³¹, whilst also seeing it, somewhat implausibly, as one of only two speeches where Turnus "appears to advantage".³² Even here,

³¹Hight, 87.

³²Ibid. 44.

however, he sees the speech as ending "in over-confidence".³² The closest model³³ for the speech is from Iliad 8:-

Ὡς φάτο, Τυδείδης δὲ διάνδιχα μερμήριζεν,
 ἵππους τε στρέψαι καὶ ἐναντίβιον μαχέσασθαι.
 τρὶς μὲν μερμήριξε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
 τρὶς δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων κτύπε μητίετα Ζεὺς 170
 σῆμα τιθεὶς Τρώεσσι, μάχης ἑτεραλκέα νίκην.
 Ἐκτῶρ δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὖσας·
 "Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι ἀγχιμαχηταί,
 ἄνδρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.
 γινώσκω δ' ὅτι μοι πρόφρων κατένευσε Κρονίων 175
 νίκην καὶ μέγα κῦδος, ἀτὰρ Δαναοῖσι γε πῆμα·
 νῆπιοι, οἳ ἄρα δὴ τάδε τέλχεα μηχανώωντο
 ἀβλήχρ' οὐδενόσωρα· τὰ δ' οὐ μένος ἄμδν ἐρύξει·
 ἵπποι δὲ ῥέα τάφρον ὑπερθορέονται ὀρυκτῆν.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ νηυσὶν ἐπι γλαφυρῇσι γένωμαι, 180
 μνημοσύνη τις ἔπειτα πυρὸς δηλοῖο γενέσθω,
 ὥς πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρήσω, κτείνω δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς
 Ἀργείους παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀτυζομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ."

(Il. 8,167-83).

The thundering of Zeus three times from Mount Ida (170) signifies to Hector that he will prevail in battle; and well might he have confidence, for it is clear that, at this stage, the king of the gods does support the Trojan cause. It is for this reason that Poseidon is reluctant to join with Hera in giving open support to the Greeks, lest he offends Zeus (209-11). As it is, Hera rouses Agamemnon to strengthen resistance against Hector - an action which results in the Trojan failure to burn the

³² Ibid. 44.

³³ Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites Il. 8,497-541 as a model for the speech of Turnus; in this Hector states that he tried to crush the Achaeans beside the ships but darkness came and forced an end to the fighting. He calls on his men to take food and rest, and resume the fighting in the morning. Given that most of Turnus' speech (Aen. 9,128-58) is an exhortation in the face of an omen, Hector's speech (Il. 8,173-83) would seem a closer model than his later one (Il. 8,497-541).

ships (212ff.), Zeus too takes pity on the Greeks and sends to them an omen of success (245ff.) which stiffens their resolve. Zeus changes his stance in the action according to the dictates of his emotions. Hector's failure to keep the support of Zeus has an immediate but limited effect on the battle, and little is made of it by Homer. The failure of Turnus, however, to read the omens properly has long-term tragic implications, in that he begins a war which he is destined to lose. One understands that had he not been prompted by Iris into war and read the signs properly, he might have recognised the futility of his course. Juno's victory at this early stage is that by sending Iris, she convinces Turnus that his path is the right one.

The opening lines of Turnus are straightforward, in that he interprets the miracle of the ships as favourable to him. Turnus' reference to Jupiter (128) implies his belief that it was the king of the gods who sent Iris.³⁴ Turnus' gibes at Trojan courage (auxilium solitum, 129 etc.) reflect their reluctance to join battle: such a sneer is typical of a cohortatio and follows the Homeric model, (cf. Hector to his men, νήπιοι, οἳ ἄρα δὴ τάδε τεύχεα μηχανόωντο / ἀβλήχρ' οὐδ' ἐνόσωρα ... (8,177-8)).

At 133ff. the reasoning becomes more complicated: the fateful oracles of the Trojans do not bother Turnus because they have been fulfilled with their arrival in Italy (133-6). Turnus has his own fate which is allied to the punishment of injustice committed by Aeneas. He sees Aeneas as

³⁴ Iris is chiefly the messenger of Zeus in the Iliad. At the end of Aen. Book 9 (803ff.), Jupiter does send Iris - to demand the withdrawal of Juno from the battlefield. Turnus' mistake, in thinking that Jupiter has sent Iris to him, is thus to be seen as understandable.

another Paris and himself as another Menelaus/Agamemnon (136ff.). It can rightly be objected at this point that Aeneas is no Paris for he has not carried off Lavinia nor done anything improper in Latium. Aeneas' arrival in Italy, however, is the catalyst for an alteration in the status quo, as a result of which Turnus stands to lose his "bride". The charge of stealing his bride which Turnus flings at Aeneas (coniuge praerepta 138) should be taken figuratively and in the context of a rhetorical speech. At 140 Turnus imagines that one of his men complains sed periisse semel satis est,³⁵ which seems to mean that the Trojans are paying again for their treatment of the female sex in taking Helen (Paris) and now "stealing" Lavinia (Aeneas).³⁶ Turnus, therefore, continues his rhetorical exaggeration of Aeneas' action and inflates his own role as righteous avenger. He will make them pay (again) for "taking" another man's woman, as the Greeks punished them at Troy. He compares the walls of the Trojan camp to the walls of Troy (142ff.). Turnus now calls his men into action³⁷ (146ff.) and suggests that he will need only virtus rather than arms from Vulcan (Achilles/Iliad) and one thousand ships (as had the Greeks). Nor will he need to use cunning like the wooden horse; but he will attack their walls with fire in broad daylight. At this point we expect Turnus to lead the

³⁵Highet, 88, describes 140-2 as "the most intrusive piece of rhetoric in the whole Aeneid".

³⁶For the difficulties in 9,140-2, see Conington's detailed comments, and Williams, ad loc.

³⁷The character assassination of Turnus extends beyond the critical works and into the translations. In his translation of the Aeneid (London, 1952), C. Day Lewis renders o lecti (146) as "my storm troops", thus conveying the idea that Turnus is similar to a German general or Nazi of the second world war.

charge³⁸ but, rather surprisingly, he calls his men to take their rest, since the better part of the day is gone (156-8). There is little to support the view that "This is a serious blunder. A commander should always seize the favourable moment to attack. Vergil intended this to show Turnus' immaturity of character and his inadequacy as a tactician: contrast with it Aeneas's order... (12, 565-573)." ³⁹ Vergil intended no such thing. The cessation of battle, because of nightfall, is required to introduce successfully the episode of Nisus and Euryalus (176ff.). The intense cohortatio followed by the breaking off of battle reflects the exigencies of the plot rather than an active desire on the poet's part to blacken his character. Nisus and Euryalus are able to move among the sleeping Rutuli because Turnus has assuaged the fears of his men at the metamorphosis of the ships. Vergil, therefore, composes a capable rhetorical speech for Turnus, followed by nightfall and the cessation of battle. The technicalities of battle-strategy have no place in epic, and one wonders, in any case, if Vergil would have known the difference between a good tactician and a bad one.

Does Turnus believe the sentiments in his speech or is it a rhetorical exercise, half-believed,⁴⁰ designed to encourage his men at a crucial moment? The narrative introduction to the speech (123-7) and the description of

³⁸The reader might have expected the charge at 146f. (cf. 9, 51f.).

³⁹Hight, 88. For an occasion where Vergil does portray Turnus failing to take his chance on the battlefield, because of his furor, see 9, 756ff. and discussion below, p. 57.

⁴⁰Sic Quinn, 200, "The tone of the passage (133-8) seems to imply Turnus is half aware that fate is against him..."

the subsequent relaxation of the Rutuli (188ff.)⁴¹ certainly suggest that Turnus is utterly sincere in his speech. Servius⁴² suggests that Turnus' claim to his own fate (136-7) is false; yet Conington⁴³ points out that "the falsehood...depends to some extent on the sense given to fata (137) which Servius understands of oracles, but which seems rather to mean destiny,... In this sense Turnus might assert his belief in his own destiny, though it might not have been expressly revealed to him, founding it, as he seems to do here, on his conviction of the goodness of his cause...". This is clearly the case; but Conington does not cite the importance of the Iris episode to Turnus' sense of his destiny. Turnus is unsure of his future, yet the appearance of Iris and the apparent justice of his cause engender a confidence (fiducia) which holds firm, even in the face of an apparently unfavourable omen. The tragedy of Turnus is anchored on his eventual anagnorisis⁴⁴ that he has been deluded, and that fate/the gods do not support his course but are, in fact, actively hostile to it.

During the night, Nisus and Euryalus embark upon their daring exploit (176ff.). They creep into the camp of the Rutuli and begin to murder as many of the sleeping enemy as they are able. They are seen at their work, however, by a returning column of enemy horsemen, as a result of which they are both killed. The episode ends dolefully when Euryalus' mother learns of her son's death and needs

⁴¹ See above, p. 44 n. 30.

⁴² Servius, ad 134.

⁴³ Conington, ad 137.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 35 n. 7 and discussion below, p. 106ff.

to be helped away in the depths of despair (473ff.).

The description of this adventure occupies almost half of Book 9 (176-502). The remainder of the book (503ff.) is concerned with the battle for the Trojans' camp. Despite the fact that Turnus is the major character in this section, he utters only five lines of direct speech.⁴⁵ Vergil's emphasis is on action - narrative description of the furor and battle achievements of Turnus.

At 9,535ff., Turnus attempts to fire the wooden tower which overlooks the Trojan camp:-

"princeps ardentem coniecit lampada Turnus
et flammam adfixit lateri,..."

(535-6).

As we have seen⁴⁶, Turnus' use of fire externalises the fire within him. The attempt to burn the tower succeeds and it comes crashing to the ground (540ff.). Helenor and Lycus manage to escape from the wreckage only to find themselves in the hands of the Rutuli. Helenor hurls himself into the thickest of the enemy lines, whilst his companion Lycus runs for his life only to find Turnus behind him:-

"increpat (Turnus) his victor: 'nostrasne evadere, demens,
sperasti te posse manus?'"

(560-1).

The speech has no direct model⁴⁷ from the Iliad but such a battle taunt is standard practice for the heroes of Homer and Vergil. Turnus proceeds to rip Lycus from the wall to which he is clinging. The action is described in a vivid double-simile:-

⁴⁵ 560-1, 741-2 and 747-8.

⁴⁶ Cf. 9,69ff. and discussion above, p. 39ff.

⁴⁷ Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

"qualis ubi aut leporem aut candenti corpore cycnum
 sustulit alta petens pedibus Iovis armiger uncis,
 quaesitum aut matri multis balatibus agnum 565
 Martius a stabulis rapuit lupus. undique clamor
 tollitur: invadunt et fossas aggere complent,
 ardentis taedas alii ad fastigia iactant."
 (563-8).

The simile is modelled on Il. 15,690ff., 17,674ff.
 and 22,308ff.⁴⁸ In the first of the Homeric similes (15,
 690ff.), Hector is, when on the battlefield, like an
 eagle that sets upon harmless birds which feed beside the
 river. The second (17,674ff.) describes Menelaus, who
 glances (παταίνων) like an eagle on a hare prior to the
 kill. In the third simile (22,308ff.), Hector swoops on
 Achilles like an eagle on a lamb or hare.⁴⁹ In each of
 the three Homeric similes the hero likened to the eagle
 makes no kill. The first describes the manoeuvre of
 Hector at the ships rather than a kill in battle. Mene-
 laus' eagle-like glance is intended for Antilochus, whom
 he wishes to send as a messenger. In the third example,
 Hector (the eagle) is himself eventually killed by
 Achilles (the lamb or hare). Hector and Achilles are like
 these animals only in one specific battle-action. The
 simile in no way represents any disparity between the two
 in a more general sense.⁵⁰ Turnus, however (eagle; and
 wolf), plucks Lycus (hare, swan; and lamb) from the wall:
 the simile represents the nature and unevenness of the
 contest. The poet does not mention the death-blow because
 the simile makes clear the result of his action. We might

⁴⁸Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

⁴⁹For Homeric models for the lupus (566), see above, p. 40.

⁵⁰Pöschl, 199 n.27, also makes this point.

add finally that this description of Turnus as an eagle or wolf further helps to convey the furor of Turnus.⁵¹

At 672ff., the brothers Pandarus and Bitias open the gates to the Rutuli, inviting them to hold battle there.⁵²

Turnus is far away at the time:-

"Ductori Turno diversa in parte furenti
turbantique viros perfertur nuntius, hostem
fervere caede nova et portas praebere patentis.
deserit inceptum atque immani concitus ira
Dardanium ruit ad portam fratresque superbos."
(691-5).

The furor of Turnus (note furenti; immani concitus ira) is emphasised in a similar way to the earlier narrative description (9,57ff.). Turnus rushes the gate and kills a series of Trojan heroes including Bitias. Pandarus, seeing the death of his brother, decides to shut the gate. Turnus, however, is now inside like a monstrous tigress⁵³ amongst a herd of cattle:-

"...demens, qui Rutulum in medio non agmine regem
viderit inrumpentem ultroque incluserit urbi,
immanem veluti pecora inter inertia tigrim. 730
continuo nova lux oculis effulsit et arma
horrendum sonuere, tremunt in vertice cristae
sanguineae clipeoque micantia fulmina mittit.
agnoscunt faciem invisam atque immania membra
turbati subito Aeneadae. tum Pandarus ingens 735
emicat et mortis fraternae fervidus ira
effatur: 'non haec dotalis regia Amatae,
nec muris cohibet patriis media Ardea Turnum.
castra inimica vides, nulla hinc exire potestas.'
olli subridens sedato pectore Turnus: 740

⁵¹See Pöschl, 91ff.

⁵²The episode is based on Il. 12,127ff. in which Poly-
poetes and Leonteus guard the gate of the Greek camp.

⁵³The simile of the tigress has no specific Homeric
model, (Knauer, indices, ad loc.).

'incipere, si qua animo virtus, et consere dextram,
 hic etiam inventum Priamo narrabis Achillem.'
 dixerat. ille rudem nodis et cortice crudo
 intorquet summis adnexus viribus hastam;
 exceperere aurae, vulnus Saturnia Iuno 745
 detorsit veniens, portaeque infigitur hasta.
 'at non hoc telum, mea quod vi dextera versat,
 effugies, neque enim is teli nec vulneris auctor'."
 (728-48).

As at 9,59ff. and 563ff. the poet here likens Turnus to a wild animal in order to stress his demonic furor. Williams⁵⁴ compares Turnus in this episode to Diomedes (Il. 5,4f.) and Achilles (Il. 22,131f.). The latter of these is more appropriate in that Hector's fear of Achilles is like the Trojans' fear of Turnus. Vergil, however, concentrates almost solely on Turnus, who is terrifying in his size (730, 734); his eyes flash with a nova lux (731), and his armour rings out terribly (731-2). The Trojans recognise the invisam faciem and immania membra (734) causing them to become agitated. Vergil describes Turnus from the Trojan point of view - he is a fierce and hateful sight with a huge frame and furious manner.

Pandarus is the first to speak. He too is huge (ingens 735) and blazing with anger (fervidus ira 736). His speech (737ff.) displays the self-confidence and abusiveness which typify Homeric and Vergilian battle-dialogue. Turnus replies to Pandarus in a similar spirit, suggesting that if he has virtus, he should join battle and then repeat to Priam (i.e. in Hades) that he met another Achilles. Both Pandarus and Turnus are thus out-

⁵⁴Williams, ad 731f.

wardly confident and contemptuous towards the opponent. Yet, whilst their speeches have a similar tone, the introductions to them do not:-

1. "tum Pandarus ingens
emicat et mortis fraternae fervidus ira
effatur..."

(735-7).

2. olli subridens sedato pectore Turnus...

(740).

Pandarus is raging with anger because his brother has just been killed by Turnus before his very eyes. Nevertheless, Pandarus' furor is given description by Vergil only on the brink of his speech. Turnus, by contrast, has been portrayed in the narrative throughout the episode as the personification of demonic forces (esp. 691ff. and 728ff.). The irrationality of his mind has been emphasised throughout. Given this narrative description, and that of his dementia shortly afterwards (sed furor ardentem caedis-que insana cupido/ egit in adversos. 9,760-1), we might well have expected fervidus ira to apply to Turnus rather than to Pandarus. In fact we find the opposite introduction (sedato pectore 740) which, if anything, helps to convey a sense of rationality.⁵⁵ Vergil does not use such contrasts lightly: in Book 12 the rational Latinus utters a speech (19-45), sedato corde (18), in response to an utterance (11-17), by turbidus (10) Turnus. The poet's purpose is to contrast Latinus' rationality and calmness

⁵⁵ It also suggests that Turnus is untroubled by the threats of Pandarus. He is confident in battle and expects to kill his enemy. It is interesting to note that when Turnus and Aeneas finally meet in combat, the latter, who has no doubts about victory, addresses the Rutulian saevo pectore (12,888).

with Turnus' frenzy.⁵⁶ The same sort of contrast applies here in Book 9 as Turnus and Pandarus exchange words. The fact that Turnus utters a speech, sedato pectore (740), during the battle for the camp in Book 9, and then another in Book 12 in a state of frenzy (turbidus 10), in contrast with the rational Latinus (sedato corde 18), is a measure of the difference in Vergil's presentation of Turnus in Book 12 from that of the earlier books.⁵⁷

Pandarus casts his spear first but it is turned away from Turnus by Juno (743ff.). Turnus replies that Pandarus will not escape his dart:-

"...neque enim is teli nec vulneris auctor."
(748).

Williams⁵⁸ interprets this as meaning that Turnus "who wields the weapon and inflicts the wound is not one from whom escape is possible". In this interpretation is has the same function as talis⁵⁹ - that it is qualitative of Turnus showing the grounds for his assertion (747-8a) that Pandarus will not escape. On another level, however, the phrase may mean that that "man" (i.e. Turnus himself) "is auctor neither of the weapon, nor of the wound". In other words, Turnus is aware of a divine presence which will deal a death blow to Pandarus. This is relevant because Juno has just directed Pandarus' spear away from Turnus. The Rutulian may be aware of the presence and influence of a deity⁶⁰ on the battlefield.

⁵⁶ See discussion below, p. 92f.

⁵⁷ See above, p. 31 and below, p. 89ff.

⁵⁸ Williams, ad loc.

⁵⁹ Sic Servius, ad 745.

⁶⁰ Cf. Turnus' awareness of the presence of Juturna in battle, 12,632ff.

At 9,802ff., Juno, following a command from Jupiter (via Iris), does not dare to continue her support for Turnus, as a result of which the hero gives way, unable to hold his ground (806-7). Earlier (764) she is described as lending Turnus viris animumque. Although Turnus is somewhat cryptic at 748, it seems possible (especially given the prompting of Turnus by Iris 9,2ff. and Juno's influence in battle 745f.; 764; 802ff.) that this reflects his confidence in the assistance of a deity.⁶¹

Pandarus' death is described vividly by Vergil (9,749ff.). The Trojans disperse in terror and Turnus is now wild with blood-lust:-

"Diffugiunt versi trepida formidine Troes,
et si continuo victorem ea cura subisset,
rumpere claustra manu sociosque immittere portis,
ultimus ille dies bello gentique fuisset.
sed furor ardentem caedisque insana cupido
egit in adversos."

(756-61).

This is a most vivid statement of Turnus' furor. Vergil points to the fact that his blood-lust has tactical disadvantages which deny him victory. At a crucial moment Turnus is unable to make the correct tactical decision. There has been a tendency in recent times⁶² to see this statement as the poet's moral criticism of the behaviour of his character, who is so preoccupied with killing the enemy that he fails to take his opportunity. There seems no reason, however, to extend the meaning this far. Vergil simply points out that had he opened the gates and let in

⁶¹If this were the case, the speech would, of course, display his pietas.

⁶²See, for example, Otis, 348 who notes that "It is furor and caedis insana cupido that undo him. His violence is both morally reprehensible and tactically stupid." That Turnus' missed opportunity is "tactically stupid" is the point of Vergil's comment (756ff.); that it is "morally reprehensible" is Otis' subjective opinion.

his comrades, Turnus might have ended the war there and then.⁶³ This is Turnus' highest point in battle but even here it is tainted with failure because of a wasted opportunity. The poet does not criticise or condemn Turnus, but simply shows that, by missing his chance, Turnus condemns himself.

With Juno's assistance (764) Turnus remains supreme, yet the exhortation by Mnestheus (781-7) helps to turn the tide of battle. Little by little (paulatim 789) Turnus is forced to give way. He is like a lion which is savage, yet terrified, trying to find a way through a horde of spear-bearing huntsmen⁶⁴ (792ff.). Twice again he attacks the line but is driven back (799ff.). When Juno leaves the battlefield on the insistence of Jupiter, Turnus is finally driven back into the river. Thus Tiber receives him (816ff.), washes the carnage from him and returns him joyful (laetum 818) to his allies.⁶⁵

Section 3

Turnus Book 10

In the early stages of Book 10, Turnus is characterised both from the divine and Trojan points of view. Venus (20-2) describes his success in the battle for the camp and his swollen pride (tumidus 21). Juno naturally

⁶³Cf. Il. 16,698ff. where Homer states that Patroclus would have taken Troy had not Apollo assisted the Trojans (Knauer's indices, ad loc.).

⁶⁴Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Il. 11,548-55 (Aias as a lion driven back by dogs and country men) as the closest model.

⁶⁵F. Klingner, Virgil (Zürich, 1967) 550ff., considers this final scene in greater detail and makes comparisons with Homer, Livy and Ennius.

presents him in a more favourable light (63ff.): she touches on his ancestry (76), stressing the fact that the war is being fought on his native land (75). Jupiter (104ff.), by contrast, emphasises his impartiality and the need for fate to take its own course (rex Iuppiter omnibus idem./ fata viam invenient. 112-3). Whilst on his mission in Etruria, Aeneas describes to Tarchon the violenta...pectora Turni (151).¹ Moreover, the nymph Cymodocea, likewise representing the Trojan viewpoint, describes Turnus as perfidus...Rutulus (231-2) in reference to the breaking of the treaty (7,475ff.).² She points out that his fixed intention is to prevent the union of Trojans with Arcadians/Etruscans (238ff.).

The re-appearance of Aeneas brings renewed encouragement to the besieged Trojans (262ff.). He raises the blazing shield (261-2) and the Trojans respond with a shout (262-3). Turnus and his captains are surprised by the increased activity on the ramparts of the camp and then they realise that the whole sea is full of ships (267-9). Aeneas in his armour (270ff.) is an ominous sight; his helmet peak blazes, a flame pours from his crest and his golden shield vomits vast fires. He is like a blood-red comet or fiery Sirius which brings misfortune to mortals: "The effect of Aeneas' return to the scene of battle is to bring as certain disaster on his enemies as Achilles' return did"³ (cf. Il. 22,26ff.). The awesome sight however, does not deter Turnus:-

¹Scholars often note that violentus and violentia are used only of Turnus in the poem; see Conington, ad 10,151.

²See Conington, ad loc., "Turnus could not fairly be charged with this".

³Williams, ad 272f. For a more detailed discussion of 10,270ff. and its implications, see below, p. 290ff.

"Haud tamen audaci Turno fiducia cessit
 litora praecipere et venientis pellere terra.
 [ultro animos tollit dictis atque increpat ultro]
 "quod votis optastis adest, perfringere dextra.
 in manibus Mars ipse viris. nunc coniugis esto 280
 quisque suae tectique memor, nunc magna referto
 facta, patrum laudes. ultro occurramus ad undam
 dum trepidi egressisque labant vestigia prima.
 audentis Fortuna iuvat.'
 haec ait, et secum versat quos ducere contra 285
 vel quibus obsessos possit concredere muros."
 (276-86).

The reaction of Turnus to the sight of Aeneas and his men parallels his reaction to the miracle of the ships.⁴ His fiducia, however mistaken, is free from pretence and holds firm despite seemingly threatening omens. The closest Homeric model⁵ for the speech is Nestor's exhortation to the Argives beside the ships:-

"ὦ φίλοι, ἀνέρες ἔστε, καὶ αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
 ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ δὲ μνήσασθε ἕκαστος
 παῖδων ἢ δ' ἀλόχων καὶ κτήσιος ἢ δὲ τοκῆων,
 ἡμῖν ὅτεψ' ζώουσι καὶ ᾧ κατατεθνήκασιν
 τῶν ὑπερ' ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ γουνάζομαι οὐ παρεόντων 665
 ἐστάμεναι κρατερῶς, μὴδὲ τρωπᾶσθε φόβονδε."

(Il. 15,661-6)

Vergil alters the priorities from the Homeric model: the order of the latter is "Be men; have αἰδῶς in your hearts in the sight of other men; think of your children, wives, property and parents". Turnus' speech links

⁴ at non audaci Turno fiducia cessit; (9,126).
haud tamen audaci Turno fiducia cessit... (10,276).
 On Vergil's use of audax (audaci 10,276), see above, p. 33f.

⁵ Knauer, (indices) ad loc., also compares Il. 18,305-309, in which Hector tells Polydamas that in the morning he will face Achilles and he will not shrink from battle. Turnus' exhortation (10,276-86) is closer, however, to that of Nestor (Il. 15,661-6). Highet, 216, also compares the words of Achilles to the Myrmidons (Il. 16,207-8), and of Patroclus to Meriones (Il. 16,630).

prayer and action: he and his men have already prayed for victory in battle and the moment is now at hand (279).

Turnus' in manibus...viris (280) amounts to a periphrasis of Nestor's ἀνέρες ἔστε (661).⁶ Each man should be mind-

ful of coniunx⁷, tectum, magna facta and laudes patrum.

The Homeric hero's first priority is his own glory - his appearance in the eyes of other men after which he thinks of family and possessions. Turnus, however, does not stress any concept of shame or glory. He appeals for virtus, because by it alone can their prayers be answered.⁸ Through virtus their families and property will be made secure and they will live up to the exempla of their ancestors. Turnus stresses more than Nestor the practical benefits of courage (audentis Fortuna iuvat 284): the spiritual benefits which accrue for the hero are complementary.

Aeneas' appearance in battle begins to turn the fighting in the Trojans' favour (310ff.). Vergil briefly narrates his battle-exploits before presenting the more general conflict (345ff.). Then begins the poet's narration of the death of Pallas - a key episode in the plot of the Aeneid. Evander's son is characterised by his

⁶Although Knauer cites Il. 3,128b; 15,741a and 16,630a as closer models.

⁷It is a notable departure from the Homeric model that Turnus places coniunx (coniugis 280) first. We may infer that this reflects Turnus' own priority following the "taking" of Lavinia; cf. coniuge praerepta (9,138).

⁸The pietas of Turnus and his men is implied by votis (279).

natural boldness⁹, his virtus¹⁰ and his youth.¹¹ He succeeds in killing many Latins and helps to turn the tide of battle before encountering Turnus who, on seeing the young Arcadian, reacts as follows:-

"Interea soror alma monet succedere Lauso
Turnum, qui volucris curru medium secatur agmen.
ut vidit socios: 'tempus desistere pugnae;
solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas
debetur; cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset.'" (439-43)¹²

R.D. Williams,¹³ quoting Servius (aspere et amare dictum), describes the speech as barbaric, "savage in the extreme" - behaviour which "alienates the reader's sympathy". Indeed we do sympathise with Pallas, the brave young man fated to an early death at Turnus' hands. In the context of heroic behaviour in the Aeneid and Iliad, however, Turnus' speech does not stand out for its cruelty. Turnus is eager to kill Pallas in order to destroy a relationship between father and son¹⁴, yet at the end of the poem he is shown pleading to Aeneas for the sake of his own father. Aeneas in the spirit of vengeance seeks out Turnus just as Turnus had sought out Pallas:-

⁹ audax...Pallas (8,110), see above, p. 33f.

¹⁰ fidite ne pedibus. ferro rumpenda per hostis est via... (10,372-3).

¹¹ iuvenis (10,445).

¹² The closest model for Turnus' speech is Sarpedon to the Lycians at Il. 16,422-5. Sarpedon dashes forward to meet Patroclus bringing a sigh of sorrow from Zeus (16,433ff.), who realises that his son is about to die (cf. Hercules and Jupiter in Aen. 10,464-73). Turnus, in dashing forward, brings about Pallas' death in the short term, and, as a consequence, his own in the longer term.

¹³ Williams, ad 443.

¹⁴ M. Owen Lee, Fathers and Sons in Virgil's "Aeneid": Tum Genitor Natum. (Albany, 1979), examines this theme.

"solus ego in Pallanta feror, solus mihi Pallas¹⁵
debetur; cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset."
 (10,442-3).

At a later stage, Aeneas addresses his men as follows:-

"...mihi ius concurrere solus;
 me sinite atque auferte metus; ego foedera faxo
 firma manu, Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra."
 (12,315-7).

Aeneas then begins to "track" Turnus:-

"solum densa in caligine Turnum
 vestigat lustrans, solum in certamine poscit."
 (12,466-7).

Pallas is somewhat bewildered by the iussa superba
 (445) and Turnus' huge frame (446). He retorts (449-51)
 that by his actions he will win praise either with the
 rich spoils or with his own death; his father, he says, is
 equal to either. The blood of the Arcadians runs cold¹⁶
 at the sight of Turnus who is like a lion:-

"utque leo, specula cum vidit ab alta
 stare procul campis meditantem in proelia taurum,
 advolat, haud alia est Turni venientis imago."
 (454-6).

The simile has a Homeric model:-¹⁷

ὥς δ' ὅτε σὺν ἀκάμαντα λέων ἐβίησατο χάρμη,
 ὦ τ' ὅρεος κορυφῇσι μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθαι
 πίδακος ἀμφ' ὀλίγης· ἐθέλουσι δὲ πιέμεν ἄμφω·
 πολλὰ δέ τ' ἀσθμαίνοντα λέων ἐδάμασσε βίηφι·

825

(Il. 16,823-6).

¹⁵Perhaps the most important echo of Turnus' speech comes from Aeneas' final speech in the poem:-
 "solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas..." (10,442)
 "...eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas..." (12,948).
 Many of these verbal repetitions in the deaths of Pallas and Turnus seem to have gone unnoticed. For further discussion, see above, p. 6 and below, p. 73ff.

¹⁶Cf. 12,216ff. and 928ff. where Vergil concentrates on the response of the Rutuli to Turnus' combat with Aeneas.

¹⁷This seems the closest model although Knauer cites Il. 16,756b-758 and Il. 16,487-489.

In the Homeric passage, Hector is the lion and Patroclus the boar. The parallel is appropriate for Hector's killing of Patroclus leads to the vengeance of Achilles, just as Turnus' killing of Pallas leads to Aeneas' revenge. Conington¹⁸ notes that Vergil places the simile "at the beginning instead of the end of combat and has treated the details accordingly". The simile anticipates the combat to come. We might, however, have expected a simile more in keeping with the fears of the Arcadians (452) and the impares vires of Pallas (459). A bull is far from being a defenceless animal and is in fact larger than a lion. Vergil clearly follows the Homeric passage in likening Turnus, the victor, to a lion, but differs from Homer in likening Pallas, the victim, to a bull rather than a boar. The important thing about the bull-image is the aggression of the bull (meditantem in proelia 455): a boar and still less a hare, lamb (etc.) would not attack. Vergil stresses the comparative size, strength and age¹⁹ of Turnus as a means of conveying the unevenness of the match and evoking our sympathy for Pallas. Yet although it is clear that Turnus has the physical qualities to defeat him, the aristeia of Pallas (365ff.) and the likening of him to a bull against a lion (454ff.) allow us to anticipate a fight which is not altogether one-sided.²⁰

As he casts his spear Pallas prays to Hercules:-

"per patris hospitium et mensas, quas advena adisti,
te precor, Alcide, coeptis ingentibus adsis.

¹⁸ Conington, ad loc.

¹⁹ See above, p.20 n.1.

²⁰ Otis, 356, suggests that the simile stresses the ease of Turnus' victory.

cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma cruenta
victoremque ferant morientia lumina Turni."
(460-3).

Pallas' prayer reflects his own plans for Turnus, balancing the latter's plans for him (441-3). Pallas' intentions are no less cruel - that Turnus whilst half-dead should see his own armour being taken from his limbs and that his dying eyes should bear the sight of Pallas as victor. In fact the young, inexperienced warrior elsewhere too expresses considerable desire for the spoils of battle:-

"haec arma exuviasque viri tua quercus habebit."
(10,423).

"aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis
aut leto insigni..."
(10,449-50).

The speeches of Pallas and his desire to despoil the body of Turnus belong firmly to the conventions of heroic behaviour. It is a poignant irony that after the combat it is the dead Pallas who is in fact despoiled. Yet, by stressing, on three occasions, Pallas' own desire for the spoils of battle, Vergil indicates that Turnus, in this matter, merely conforms to a normal mode of conduct on the battlefield. For all the ferocity of Pallas' intentions (460-3), his words lack the force of those of Turnus (441-3), for we already sense his defeat at the hands of the Rutulian.²¹ This anticipation is confirmed forthwith when Hercules laments (464f.) the fate of

²¹ Many scholars (see, for example, A.H.F. Thornton, "The Last Scene of the *Aeneid*" *G & R* 22 (1953) 82ff.; Otis, 355ff. and Klingner, 578) compare Turnus' behaviour as he kills Pallas to Aeneas' behaviour as he kills Lausus (10, 810ff.). For a comparative discussion of these episodes, see below, p. 305ff.

Pallas with tears, and Jupiter comforts him with a brief statement on the workings of fate (467-72).

Pallas throws his spear which actually grazes the shoulder of Turnus, who casts his spear at the young Arcadian and replies as follows:-

"aspice num mage sit nostrum penetrabile telum." (481).
The weapon finds its mark and kills Pallas. Turnus bestrides the body and speaks out to the Arcadians:-

"'Arcades, haec' inquit 'memores mea dicta referte
Euandro: qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto.
quisquis honos tumuli, quidquid solamen humandi est,
largior. haud illi stabunt Aeneia parvo
hospitia.'"

(491-5).

Turnus proceeds to take the belt-buckle from Pallas' body, at which point Vergil comments as follows:-

"quo nunc Turnus ovat spolio gaudetque potitus.
nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae
et servare modum rebus sublata secundis!
Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque
oderit."

(500-505).

In Iliad 16,830ff.²², Hector verbally abuses Patroclus, whom he has just struck with a mortal wound. The vultures, says Hector, will now eat his corpse, for he has no intention of allowing the Greeks to take his body. The dying Patroclus warns Hector (16,844ff.) that he too will soon die at the hands of Achilles. A great battle is fought over Patroclus' corpse but Hector wins the day and takes the armour from his body. As Hector puts on the spoils, Zeus comments as follows:-

²²Knauer, (indices) ad 10,491-495a.

"ἄ δέϊλ', οὐδέ τί τοι θάνατος καταθύμιός ἐστιν,
 ὅς δὴ τοι σχεδὸν εἴσι· σὺ δ' ἄμβροτα τεύχεα δύνεις
 ἀνδρὸς ἀριστῆος, τὸν τε τρομέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι·
 τοῦ δὴ ἑταῖρον ἔπεφνες ἐνὶ ἡέα τε κρατερόν τε,
 τεύχεα δ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἀπὸ κρατός τε καὶ ὤμων 205
 εἴλεν· ἀτάρ τοι νῦν γε μέγα κράτος ἐγγυαλίζω,
 τῶν ποιῶν ὃ τοι οὐ τι μάχης ἐκ νοστήσαντι
 δέξεται Ἀνδρομάχη κλυτὰ τεύχεα Πηλεΐωνος."

(Il. 17,201-8).

Where Hector takes Achilles' armour from Patroclus' body, Turnus takes only the baldric, and makes no attempt to keep or abuse Pallas' body.²³ The killing of Pallas prompts Aeneas' urge for vengeance just as the killing of Patroclus brings Achilles back into the fray. Turnus' taking of Pallas' baldric has a special significance, however, for, at the end of the poem, Aeneas, who had considered showing mercy to the wounded Rutulian, catches sight of it, and, in a wild rage, plunges his sword into Turnus' breast (12,938ff.).²⁴ One view of the death of Turnus is that his previous behaviour, especially in the killing of Pallas and the taking of the baldric, is so worthy of censure that his own death is a just requital. Justice, therefore, prevails over injustice - the guilty are punished for their sins. Vergil's comment (10,500-505) is seen as the narrator's open support for such a view.²⁵

The reader should be cautious in accepting lightly this view. Turnus has acted within the heroic code: his boastfulness and his seizure of the spoils are common

²³Highet, 216, notes "For his (Turnus') speech over the body of Pallas (Aen. 10,491-495) it is hard to find a parallel, since a Homeric hero normally does not send a victim's corpse back to his kinsmen".

²⁴For a full discussion of the death of Turnus, see below, p. 106ff. and p. 346ff.

²⁵See, for example, Otis, 356.

modes of behaviour on Vergil's and Homer's battlefield. The gentle Vergil was no doubt conscious of Turnus' brutality at this point, yet had he wished to blacken the Rutulian's character, he could easily have done so more effectively and made the issues more clear. He could, for example, have omitted the three references to Pallas' desire for spoils, and thereby highlighted Turnus' taking of the baldric as a singular act of barbarity. Alternatively, he might have had Turnus arrogantly refuse, like Hector, to give up the body and feed it instead to the dogs or vultures. On the contrary, Vergil seems to have been scrupulous in presenting Turnus here in a standard heroic mould. Vergil's "editorial" comment (500-505) does not highlight unnatural evil or barbarism on Turnus' part, but simply that his joy in the spoils is premature. He is, like Hector (Il. 17,201ff.), unaware of the consequences of his action. Zeus leaves us in no doubt what the consequence will be for Hector (... οὐδέ τί τοι θάνατος καταθύμιός ἐστιν, / ὅς δ' ἄρ' οἱ σχεδὸν ἐλαί, 17,201-2), but Vergil is not as specific: there will be a time when Turnus will regret the day he killed Pallas, and his joy will turn to terror and sorrow.²⁶ The reader is under no illusions as to what will happen to Turnus as a result of the death of Pallas, for Jupiter has just made it clear that his days are numbered (467ff. and esp. 471f.). Vergil's comment (500ff.) causes the reader to anticipate Turnus' death as a direct result of the death of Pallas. Although the comment is intrusive, it refers to action and consequence rather than guilt and punishment.

²⁶Quinn, 272, suggests that Turnus regrets his action long before his plea to Aeneas (12,931ff.).

The death of Pallas has its important consequences for Turnus even in the short term. The fury of Aeneas (510ff.) swings the balance of the battle in favour of the Trojans. So great is his aristeia²⁷ that Juno fears for the life of Turnus and pleads to Jupiter on his behalf (611ff.). The reply is not encouraging to her, for Turnus' death can only be delayed, with no reprieve possible (622ff.). In the knowledge of this she devises a scheme to draw him away from the battlefield by fashioning a phantom Aeneas to trick Turnus (636ff.). The Rutulian, who is duped completely, casts a spear at the phantom, which turns in flight:-

"tum vero Aenean aversum ut cedere Turnus
credidit atque animo spem turbidus²⁸ hausit inanem:
'quo fugis, Aenea? thalamos ne desere pactos;
hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas.'
(647-50).

When he pursues the phantom, Turnus ends up helplessly cast adrift in mid-stream. Realising that he has been deceived, he reacts as follows:-

"respicit ignarus rerum ingratusque salutis
et duplicis cum voce manus ad sidera tendit:
'omnipotens genitor, tanton me crimine dignum
duxisti et talis voluisti expendere poenas?
quo feror? unde abii? quae me fuga quemve reducit? 670
Laurentisne iterum muros aut castra videbo?

²⁷For a full discussion of this important episode, see below, p. 294ff.

²⁸The description of Turnus as turbidus (648) prior to his speech differs from Vergil's more general technique, in Books 7, 9, 10 and 11, of presenting Turnus' furor solely in narrative passages. The opening of Book 12 (1-106) marks a startling departure from this technique for Turnus' furor is presented vividly in both speeches and narrative (see discussion above, p. 31 and below, p. 89). At 10,648, however, the reference to him as turbidus seems largely to reflect Turnus' pleasant, but somewhat confused surprise, that Aeneas is actually fleeing from battle.

quid manus illa virum, qui me meaque arma secuti?
 quosne(nefas)omnis infanda in morte reliqui
 et nunc palantis video, gemitumque cadentum
 accipio? quid ago? aut quae iam satis ima dehiscat 675
 terra mihi? vos o potius miserescite, venti;
 in rupes, in saxa(volens vos Turnus adoro)
 ferte ratem saevisque vadis immittite syrtis,
 quo neque me Rutuli nec conscia fama sequatur.'"
 (666-79).

After uttering these words Turnus tries three times to fall on his sword and three times to get back to the battlefield, but on each occasion Juno stops him from doing so (680-6). Finally, he is borne by the stream to Ardea (687f.).

Turnus' speech (668ff.) reflects his utter confusion and ignorance of what is happening to him (ignarus rerum 666). He is far from thankful for being rescued from battle (ingratus...salutis 666). His gesture of raising both hands in prayer (667) underlines his pietas: he expresses strong emotions when Juno withdraws him from battle as he did when (via Iris) she prompted him into it (9,1ff.).²⁹ In his speech Turnus is characterised by his pietas and by his utter horror that his virtus may now be called into question. He directs his speech to Jupiter (668) because, since the appearance of Iris, he has believed (mistakenly) that Jupiter supports his course.³⁰ In fact it is only as Turnus' death approaches that Jupiter is shown to take an active interest in the Rutulian.³¹ Turnus' recognition that Jupiter does not support his

²⁹ See above, p. 34ff.

³⁰ See discussion above, p. 35ff.

³¹ 12, 843ff.

course begins at 10,666ff.³² Never again does he possess the same unqualified confidence in battle.³³ Nevertheless, Turnus' sentiments here would have been well appreciated by a Roman audience.³⁴ Although he is dazed and confused about what is happening to him, he perceives all too well the consequences of his disappearance from the battlefield. He realises that desertion is a disgrace (668f. and 675ff.) and that Jupiter has inflicted severe penalties on him (669). In his state of confusion (670) he wonders if he will look again on the Laurentine walls or camp (671). But he does not think only of himself: what will happen to his men who followed him and his standard? (672). He expresses horror that he has left them facing death: he even now sees them scattered everywhere and hears the groans, as they fall (673f.). In confusion, unsure of what to do (675), he asks what earth can now gape deep enough for him? (675f.). He prays passionately (note, volens vos Turnus adoro 677) that the winds show pity and drive the raft aground where neither Rutuli nor conscia fama may follow him (676-9).

It is a measure of Turnus' emotional response that he is depicted asking nine successive questions expressing his despair, disbelief and shame at having left the

³²And ends at 12,894-5:- non me tua fervida terrent/
dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis.

³³Quinn, 228, "Turnus is never quite the same again; he realizes, perhaps, that he has been saved from certain death. Never again does he face Aeneas with the same brash self-assurance".

³⁴Coleman, G & R 29 (1982) 152, "To have left his comrades... and saved his own skin is the last thing Turnus would have done, if he had been in full possession of himself. The divine intervention that effects his rescue does so by compelling him to act out of character."

battlefield.³⁵ Vergil underlines Turnus' pietas not only in his prayer to Jupiter (667ff.) and to the winds (676ff.) but also in his love and concern for his men. It is often forgotten that Turnus, like Aeneas, is conscious of his pastoral duty.³⁶ In falling short of his own heroic ethos and in appearing to desert his men, Turnus sees death as the only honourable action. Juno, however, contrived the phantom Aeneas as a means of averting his death and thus she will not let him die now. The reader senses, however, that as a result of the events described in Book 10, the time is fast approaching when even Juno will be unable to rescue her champion.

Section 4

Turnus Book 11

The opening of Book 11 sees Aeneas performing vows to the god of war for his recent victory.¹ He urges his men (14ff.) to take confidence from the victory. He tearfully prepares the body of Pallas for its return to Pallanteum (29ff.). Aeneas is still consumed with guilt that the young man was killed under his tutelage (haec mea magna fides.²). The Latin envoys arrive asking for

³⁵ Vergil uses the same technique to evoke the reader's sympathy for Dido. In her state of sleepless despair Dido interrogates herself, asking nine successive questions before deciding, like Turnus (10,676ff.), to kill herself (see 4,534-552).

³⁶ There is a strong tendency amongst some critics to highlight Turnus' superbia and pay little attention to his virtus and pietas; see for example D.C. Earl, The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome (London, 1967) 66ff., who stresses Turnus' superbia, but neglects, at any point, to refer to the interference of the gods in his person.

¹ For a full discussion of the role of Aeneas in Book 11, see below, p. 308ff.

² 55ff.; cf. 10,515-17.

a moratorium so that they too can tend their dead (100ff.). Aeneas freely grants their request, lamenting Latinus' decision to side with Turnus in the first place (113ff.). He would like to grant a truce to the living as well as the dead (111). Turnus, he says (115), should have met him in single combat. Drances takes up the point that Turnus (and not all the people) must be responsible for his own actions (quaerat sibi foedera Turnus 129³). Drances' aim is to alienate all support from Turnus by stressing the selfish nature of his cause. He himself, by contrast, would take great pleasure in assisting the Trojans in the building of their fated walls (130f.). The body of Pallas is returned to the doleful Evander who makes long lamentation (152ff.). He does not blame the Trojans for what has happened (164ff.), but he has a strong interest in the death of Turnus:-

"vadite et haec memores regi mandata referte:
quod vitam moror invisam Pallante perempto
dextera causa tua est, Turnum natoque patrique
quam debere vides."

(176-9).

Evander's demand for vengeance links the deaths of Pallas and Turnus.⁴ When Turnus says that Pallas is owed (debetur 10,443) to him, he means that the enmity of the Rutuli and the Arcadians now makes such vengeance both an obligation and a pleasure.⁵ Whilst Pallas is the object

³See Drances' speech, 124ff.

⁴Cf. the following:-

"solus ego (Turnus) in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas
debetur;" (10,442-3)

"ego (Aeneas) foedera faxo
firma manu, Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra."
(12,316-7).

⁵For the war between the Latins and Arcadians, see Book 8, 55; 146-7; 474; 492-3.

of Turnus' special obligation, he is, at the same time, owed to the fates because his time has elapsed. Jupiter himself makes this clear⁶ and Evander, all too late, also sees the work of destiny:-

"'nec vos arguerim, Teucri, nec foedera nec quas
iunximus hospitio dextras: sors ista senectae
debita erat nostrae.'" (11,164-6).

The fulfilment of Turnus' own obligation, by killing Pallas (10,441ff.), coincides with the fulfilment of the fated will (10,464-72; 11,164-6). Thus, in Pallas' death, human obligation corresponds with the working of destiny. This is true also in the death of Turnus: Aeneas' obligation to Evander (to kill Turnus) corresponds with the fated will. The active presence of Jupiter and the Dira in the defeat of Turnus⁷ demonstrates this unanimity of purpose. The pietas of the hero at the end of the poem rests on the fact that in killing Turnus he fulfils his obligation to Evander,⁸ and in so doing acts in accordance with the will of fate.⁹ The effect of Evander's speech (11,152-81) is to make the reader anticipate inexorable consequences for Turnus for his action in killing Pallas.

Both sides bury their dead, but it is the Italians who suffer worse:-

⁶10,467ff.

⁷See 12,843ff., 869ff. and (esp.) 914.

⁸Hence the significance of the echo Pallas...Pallas (12,948); (cf. Pallanta...Pallas (10,442)).

⁹See discussion below, p. 346ff.

215

Aeneas, in Book 12 :-

 $(11, 220-1).$ $(10, 442-3).$

(12, 315-7).

"solum densa in caligine Turnum
vestigat lustrans, solum in certamina poscit."¹⁰
(12,466-7).

The image of the hunt is prevalent as Aeneas, in Book 12, tracks Turnus with determined single mindedness.¹¹ As Turnus had called Pallas into single combat, so he is called into single combat with Aeneas. The repeated use of solus stresses that Turnus' action in killing Pallas has, for him, inexorable consequences.

The negative reply of Diomede to the legation of the Latins exacerbates still further the position of Turnus. Diomede stresses¹² the strength in arms of the Trojans and the need to negotiate a peace. Diomede's reply, reported by the Latin envoys, precedes the debate and comes as a fillip to the peace party who oppose the course of Turnus. Latinus¹³ opens the debate and agrees with the sentiments of Diomede: nobody is at fault for the reversal of fortunes in the war, but the Trojans are of divine stock and peace must be secured. To that end, Latinus proposes an initiative: the Trojans can settle on a tract of land which is part of Latinus' own domain. Should this not meet with their approval the Latins will build ships for them to venture elsewhere. Furthermore, one hundred envoys should be sent bearing gifts and branches of peace. Latinus urges peace at all cost.

Drances now rises for an attack upon Turnus. The poet's description of him (336-42) is far from flatter-

¹⁰Cf. also 11,434 and 442; 12,16.

¹¹See Putnam, 171f. and the discussion below, p. 336f.

¹²11,252-293.

¹³11,302-335.

ing. He is notably hostile to Turnus, showing invidia towards his gloria. He is wealthy and has a good tongue, but is not a man of action. He is, in this sense, the complete contrast to Turnus. Drances is a capable adviser and has maternal nobilitas, but his paternal rank is uncertain (and, by implication, ignoble). Vergil forcefully presents Drances in an unfavourable light, thereby developing our sympathy for Turnus.

Drances' speech (343-75) reflects the characteristics given him in the narrative introduction. He sarcastically hopes that the violence of Turnus will not prevail in the debate, and that he will have freedom to speak. He taunts Turnus as fugae fidens (351) comparing him adversely with valiant Aeneas. He quickly pursues the key issue which, notably, was omitted by Latinus - the betrothal of Lavinia. With brilliant rhetoric¹⁴ he links that issue to the munera mentioned by Latinus (333), and suggests that Lavinia too should be a gift for Aeneas. He hopes that the violentia of Turnus will not stop the king from giving her to his worthy son-in-law (egregio genero 355). Drances chooses words deliberately calculated to spark the violentia of Turnus that he ostensibly fears. He returns (360ff.) to his basic charge that Turnus should fight his own battle rather than subject his people to an unwanted war. He should pity his people (miserere tuorum 365¹⁵) by fighting Aeneas in single

¹⁴Highet's analysis, 58f., of Drances' speech concentrates on rhetorical aspects.

¹⁵The repetition of these words (miserere tuorum, 12, 653), by Saces, signifies the eventual victory of Drances over Turnus. Cf. 12,644 and discussion below, p. 106ff.

combat.¹⁶

Turnus now rises to utter the longest of his speeches in the poem (378-444). We last saw him in his pursuit of the phantom Aeneas (10,633-88). The Trojan victories in the war (10,510ff.), the episode of the phantom Aeneas (10,633ff.), the likelihood of vengeance for the death of Pallas (10,467ff., 501ff.; 11,178ff.), and Turnus' growing isolation from his own people (11,213ff.), exacerbated by Drances, have recently conveyed to the reader the deepening predicament of Turnus. Yet for all this he is not resigned to defeat. As he rises to speak, he is consumed with violentia; Drances has succeeded in his intention:-

"Talibus exarsit dictis violentia Turni."

(376).

The description of his violentia¹⁷ in the introductory narrative would seem, on the face of it, to convey the same sort of picture of Turnus in his furor as did the narrative passages in Book 9.¹⁸ The difference is that in this case Turnus' rage is shown to have a rational explanation in that it results from Drances' personal and vitriolic attack. In his speech Turnus always displays a measure of control - "The prince's reply, although forceful and passionate, is not in the slightest degree incoherent."¹⁹ He begins by an attempt

¹⁶For the Homeric model for Drances' speech see below, p. 83f.

¹⁷See above, p. 59 n.1.

¹⁸See, for example, Book 9, 57-76, 691ff., 730ff., 760f. and discussion above, p. 39ff.

¹⁹Hight, 59.

to discredit Drances by contrasting the latter's verba with his own magna facta. When war requires hands, Drances is the first to the senate so that he can use his tongue (379ff.).²⁰ When the situation requires action, Drances fills the senate-house with words, uttered in safety whilst rampart-walls keep out the enemy and the trenches are not yet swimming in blood (379ff.). Turnus tells him (383ff.) to thunder on in eloquence, as he is accustomed, and charge Turnus himself with cowardice, when Drances' own right hand has created so many slaughter-heaps and he adorns the battle-fields everywhere with trophies. Should Drances desire to show his vivida virtus (386) he need only to face the enemy who are not far away: are they going to face them?, why does he delay?, will his war spirit always reside in a windy tongue and flying feet? (386-91).

Turnus moves to rebut the charge of defeat (pulsus ego? 392).²¹ With rhetorical exaggeration, he quickly recounts his victories on the battlefield: the Tiber has risen high with Trojan blood, and he has killed Pallas, other Arcadians, Pandarus, Bitias and one-thousand others (392-8). All the while Turnus continues his abuse of Drances (foedissime 392). He then rejects Drances' assertion (362) that there is nulla salus bello (399ff.). He tells Drances to carry on confusing all with panic and extolling the strength of a twice-conquered people (400ff.).²² He sarcastically rejects the idea that the

²⁰For the Homeric model for Turnus' speech, see below, p. 83ff.

²¹Cf. Drances' charge at 366.

²²For a detailed discussion of 400-409, see R.D. Williams, C.P. 61 (1966) 184ff.

Trojans are infallible and that Drances' words have any truth: "If we believe you the Myrmidons are terrified of the Trojans, and the Aufidus is in full flight backwards away from the sea"²³ (403-5). Turnus now addresses Drances in the third person, calling on his audience to look at how the scoundrel feigns fear of his own harsh words (406f.). The cowardly Drances he says (408f.) has nothing to fear from his right hand.

At 410ff. the mood changes. Turnus controls his anger and proceeds to address King Latinus:-

"nunc ad te et tua magna, pater, consulta revertor. 410
 si nullam nostris ultra spem ponis in armis,
 si tam deserti sumus et semel agmine verso
 funditus occidimus neque habet Fortuna regressum,
 oremus pacem et dextras tendamus inertis.
 quamquam o si solitae quicquam virtutis adesset! 415
 ille mihi ante alios fortunatusque laborum
 egregiusque animi, qui, ne quid tale videret,
 procubuit moriens et humum semel ore momordit.
 (410-18).

In his address to Latinus, Turnus adopts a more solemn tone (410); he describes the king as pater²⁴ and his proposals (302ff.) as tua magna...consulta. The reader imagines that Turnus pauses after 409 as he prepares to address Latinus. The fact that he can control his anger at this point, in order to argue passionately and rationally for the continuation of the war, helps to support the view that his violentia is strictly directed towards Drances. Turnus is in control of himself - able to revile Drances forcefully, and then to restrain himself for a passionate appeal to Latinus. If all is lost

²³Williams, ibid. 186.

²⁴As did Drances. at 356.

and the balance of battle cannot swing in their favour, then let them pray for peace and stretch out idle hands. Yet he states that if they display their accustomed virtus, anything is possible. Turnus counts as fortunate²⁵ and noble in heart any man who dies in battle rather than see helpless hands stretched forth. These are fine heroic sentiments which would not have been lost on a Roman audience. It is better to die with courage, says Turnus, than to gain life with cowardice. We are aware, however, of the deeper significance of Turnus' sentiments, for we already anticipate his death. As things turn out, Turnus, for all his virtus, is unable to defeat Aeneas in battle and is himself reduced to stretching out helpless hands in a plea for mercy.²⁶ In so doing, Turnus ends up acting out his greatest fear.

Turnus now reasserts (419ff.) his confidence that the Italians together have the strength to defeat the Trojans. Why give up on the threshold of battle? Fortune, says Turnus (425-7), often brings the bad before the good, and, in any case, the Trojans too have had their losses. Diomedes will not be of help to the *Latins*, but they have Messapus, Tolumnius, the leaders of many nations, and the flower of Latium and the Laurentine fields (428-31). There is also Camilla with her horse-column and squadrons. He has great reliance on the warrior-maid: it is her death at the end of the book that signals a further stage in Turnus' gradual iso-

²⁵Cf. Aeneas at 1,94ff. and Andromache, 3,321ff.

²⁶See 12,930ff. and discussion below, p. 115f.

lation.²⁷

Turnus now proceeds to state (438-44) that he will face Aeneas. At the same time he acknowledges the greatness of the man (magnum praestet Achillem...licet (438-40)²⁸ and the fact that he has arms made by Vulcan himself. Although stating his preparedness to face Aeneas in single combat, Turnus seems to do so with little confidence. The tone of his final lines is that "I will meet him if I have to; my valour is second to none":-

"ibo animis contra, vel magnum praestet Achillem
factaque Volcani manibus paria induat arma
ille licet. vobis animam hanc soceroque Latino 440
Turnus ego, haud ulli veterum virtute secundus,
devovi. solum Aeneas vocat? et vocet oro;
nec Drances potius, sive est haec ira deorum,
morte luat, sive est virtus et gloria, tollat."
(438-44).

Turnus conveys in the indicative his willingness to meet Aeneas in single combat if necessary - ibo animis contra... (438). He consigns himself to Latinus and all the Latins (440ff.). His description of Latinus as his father-in-law (socero...Latino 440) conveys his hope that Lavinia may still become his bride. Thus Turnus replies in full to Drances, who had described Aeneas as Latinus' distinguished son-in-law (egregio genero 355).²⁹

²⁷The reference to Camilla here of course foreshadows her aristeia (11, 498ff.), and her death (11, 794ff). Tolumnius also dies (12, 460) and Messapus is mentioned for the final time (12, 661f.) desperately sustaining the Italian lines.

²⁸Note the change in Turnus' attitude to Aeneas at Book 12, 1-106, especially 14f.; 52f.; 75f. and 97-100. See discussion below, p. 89ff.

²⁹Cf. the references of Latinus and Amata to Aeneas as their son-in-law at 12, 31 and 12, 63. The mere mention of Lavinia as the wife of Aeneas drives Turnus into a wild frenzy.

Moreover, Turnus re-affirms his virtus in which he claims he is second to none of his fathers. As a means of demonstrating this, and as a reply to Drances, he repeats the challenge thrown up at him (220f., 374f.) that Aeneas calls him alone (442). Turnus prays that he does call (vocet oro 442), which conveys his wish that Aeneas formally challenge him in his hearing as the situation demands.³⁰ Turnus will handle the matter as he sees fit whether for good or bad and Drances should keep out of it (443f.). Although Turnus could not be called enthusiastic at the prospect of meeting Aeneas, he should not be described as a timid coward either.³¹ He accepts the challenge of Aeneas, albeit with some hesitation, at a time when there is a real possibility of having to fulfil his promise.³² The debate of the Latins takes place at a time when the prospect of single combat is a real one. Drances' point was that nobody else need die if Turnus accepts the challenge. Turnus agrees to meet Aeneas: it is the Trojan attack that makes redundant any talk of single combat (445ff.).

Turnus' speech has three main Homeric parallels.³³ The abuse of Drances by Turnus (esp. 378ff.), resembles that of Thersites by Odysseus (Il. 2, 246-64). Thersites had argued (225ff.) that he did not wish to fight in order to fill the coffers of Agamemnon with booty.

³⁰Conington, ad loc.

³¹As Otis suggests, 367f.

³²At 12,1ff. the Latins, who are broken in war, are described as looking to Turnus to fulfil his promise to fight Aeneas.

³³Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites these three parallels as well as Il. 7, 357ff., Paris to Antenor. Highet, 210ff., gives a detailed comparison of Turnus' speech and its Homeric models.

He would prefer to go home. Odysseus (246ff.) reprimands him in no uncertain terms, and even strikes him (265f.), getting the approval of all the Greeks for doing so: "Thersites had gnawed at the foundations on which the world of Odysseus was erected".³⁴ In the Homeric case the mischief-maker is justly rebuked. Drances, too, is presented in an unfavourable light (esp. 336ff.), yet he is seen to achieve his ends, if only in the long term. To an extent the reader always senses that Drances is the victor in his encounter with Turnus. Drances is a far more powerful threat to Turnus than is Thersites to Agamemnon or Odysseus; nor does Turnus have any apparent support against this personal attack, as Agamemnon is supported by Odysseus.³⁵ Turnus is characterised increasingly by his gradual isolation. Drances' taunts bite deep into him, to the extent that Turnus thinks of them even as he prepares, for the final time, to face Aeneas in single combat.³⁶

In his dispute concerning the state of the war and the measures necessary to win it, Turnus resembles Hector in his speech to Polydamas (Il. 18,285-309).³⁷ The latter counsels Hector (18,254ff.) to withdraw to the city for the night in order to escape the furious Achilles. Hector in anger (18,285ff.) replies that he will not be penned up in walls when there is glory (κῆδος

³⁴M.I. Finley, The World of Odysseus (Penguin,1972) 130.

³⁵Although Turnus does have his supporters (11,222-4), Vergil places the emphasis on the increasing power of his detractors, particularly Drances.

³⁶12,644.

³⁷Cf. also Il. 7,357ff., Paris to Antenor.

294) to be won.³⁸ They will stay by the ships and resume battle at dawn. Hector will not flee from Achilles in battle. At a later stage, as he faces death (Il. 22,99ff.), Hector has good cause to regret *rejecting the* advice of Polydamas which was good counsel from a friend. Vergil's Drances, unlike Polydamas, actively seeks the downfall of his leader and political enemy - behaviour for which there is no Homeric parallel. Hector is an isolated figure as he faces death at Achilles' hands but it is essentially a physical isolation: Turnus, however, undergoes a process of estrangement from his people even before he finds himself alone facing Aeneas. Turnus' tragedy is deepened by this isolation from his own people before the single combat.

In his acceptance of single combat, Turnus resembles Paris in his willingness to fight Menelaus (Il. 3,59-75) for Helen and other possessions (κτῆμαθ'...72). In this episode Hector's pressure on Paris to do so (39ff.) resembles that of Drances on Turnus. The difference is that Turnus' virtus is publicly called into question by Drances and he dare not refuse the challenge. Paris has been slurred by Hector in private, and he agrees readily, if not eagerly, to fight Menelaus. Turnus, unlike Paris, has at no point been characterised as shrinking from battle and thus Drances' taunts can be seen to have less substance than Hector's. In fact, Paris agrees that

³⁸ Cf. Turnus' reference to gloria (11,444), and see Earl's discussion 66ff. where he argues that "Turnus... was an anachronism. His ferocious virtus, his gloria were as much outdated as the separate Italy he defended." Had he made the attempt, Earl would have found it difficult to show that Turnus is a more ferocious hero than Aeneas. That desire for gloria to some extent motivates Turnus, but not Aeneas, is, however, less open to question.

Hector has not gone too far in his rebuke.³⁹ Whereas Paris' acceptance of single combat can lead to a formation of a truce, Vergil creates circumstances where Turnus cannot. The Trojans have broken camp and in battle-array move across the plain: the Latin debate breaks up in chaos.

Turnus reacts to the news that the Trojans have broken camp, in the following way:-

"'immo,' ait 'o cives,' arrepto tempore Turnus,
 'cogite concilium et pacem laudate sedentes; 460
 illi armis in regna ruunt.' nec plura locutus
 corripuit sese et tectis citus extulit altis.
 'tu, Voluse, armari Volscorum edice manipulis,
 duc' ait 'et Rutulos. equitem Messapus in armis,
 et cum fratre Coras latis diffundite campis. 465
 pars aditus urbis firmet turrisque capessat;
 cetera, qua iusso, mecum manus inferat arma.'"
 (459-67).

The re-commencement of open hostilities causes an abrupt end to the debate and allows Turnus to claim some measure of moral victory in the dispute over war-policy.⁴⁰ He feels that his arguments in the debate have been proved right: they are sitting discussing peace while the Trojans are moving in for war. Yet despite Turnus' short-term victory in the debate, the reader still senses that Drances will eventually succeed in his ambition. There is the unmistakable feeling

39 "Ἕκτορ, ἐπεὶ με κατ' αἴσαν ἐνείκεσας οὐδ' ὑπὲρ αἴσαν,-

(Il.3,59)

40 Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no close model for this episode, although he compares Turnus' two speeches (459ff. and 463ff.) with Il. 2,796f. and 802-806 in which Iris (as Polites) prompts Priam into war (796ff.) and gives Hector advice on how to command his forces (802ff.).

that Turnus, as he enthusiastically commands his troops, is not disappointed that single combat is no longer a realistic option.⁴¹

Latinus leaves the council disturbed by events and cursing himself for not receiving Aeneas as his gener (469ff.). As preparations are made for the renewal of the conflict, Amata, Lavinia and the matres pray to Pallas Athena that the goddess may break the spear of the Phrygian pirate and lay him low (477-85). Meanwhile, Turnus furens arms himself for battle (486). Gleaming in his brilliant armour he runs down from the high fortress, exults in courage and anticipates the enemy with hope (487-91). He is likened to a horse freed from the yoke that flees the stalls for the open plains and heads either for the pastures where the mares feed or rushes to a well-known river⁴² (492ff.). Turnus, as he goes into battle, has the natural courage and impetuosity of the horse, and has the same joy in the freedom to pursue his desired course. The "yoke" that constrained Turnus for a time was the truce and the debate during which battle ceased. Moreover, single combat, and not the renewal of battle, looked, during this time, a distinct possibility for Turnus. Because of the Trojan attack, however, Turnus, like the untethered horse, can go on to the plain to follow the course that he most

⁴¹This is largely confirmed when Turnus is depicted approaching battle (12,324ff.) with new enthusiasm when he sees that Aeneas is injured and absent from the battlefield.

⁴²That the horse is pictured thinking of the mares may suggest that Turnus is thinking of Lavinia as he rushes back into battle.

desires.⁴³

Turnus' role in Book 11 comes to an end as that of Camilla begins. The warrior-maid offers (502ff.) to help Turnus by engaging the enemy cavalry. Turnus responds to her with gratitude - o decus Italiae virgo (508). He tells her (511ff.) that from reports reaching him improbis (512) Aeneas has sent forward his light-armed troop to scour the plains, whilst he himself marches to the city crossing the heights of the mountain. Turnus states (515f.) that he will lie in ambush and block the passage at both ends; and he tells Camilla with other squadrons to engage the Tyrrhene horse.⁴⁴ This they prepare to do, and Turnus proceeds (522ff.) to find a suitable place to lie in wait for the enemy.⁴⁵

⁴³The simile is modelled on Il. 6, 506ff. in which Paris, who has been prompted into battle by Hector (6, 326ff.), is likened to a stalled horse that breaks its tether and runs on to the plain before going to the pastures of mares. The simile is clearly more appropriate to Turnus' state of mind as he has recently (378-444) argued with passion that they should continue the war. Paris has had to be prompted on to the field of battle: as Heyne (ad loc.) expresses it: "Ad Turnum tamen convenientius translata puto, quam de Paride fuerant pronuntiata: contra quam Popio visum. Nam in Turno summa alacritas et festinatio ac discursatio."

⁴⁴Knauer, (indices) ad loc., offers no Homeric parallel for the speech of Turnus.

⁴⁵The point of the episode seems to be to bring Camilla on to the battlefield and withdraw Turnus from it. Turnus could no doubt be criticised for preparing an ambush - which is not the most heroic of battle-tactics; yet clearly, in his terms, he is justified in doing so, because Aeneas himself circumvents the plain.

Section 5

Turnus Book 12

Before proceeding with an analysis of Turnus' role in Book 12, let us look briefly at some of the points that have been suggested in the context of the earlier books. We saw¹ that initially Turnus is ill-disposed to the course of war when "Calybe" comes to him (7,413ff.) and, as a result, Allecto violently compels him to follow her wishes. It was suggested that after the infection scene Vergil uses two methods to present the two essential elements in Turnus' character: his more positive Roman values (Turnus pius; Turnus vir/dux) are presented by the direct method (direct speeches and associated narrative), whereas his irrational, demonic furor is presented indirectly (oratio obliqua/free indirect speech/narrative). Thus at no point in the early books (7, 9, 10, 11) does Vergil present directly the idea that Turnus is utterly out of control, although he describes the full extent of his furor in the narrative. It might be objected, however, that Vergil's depiction of Turnus is less contrived than this, that the poet exploits the narrative because it is the best and easiest means of relating to the reader the furor of his character. Moreover, Turnus has been impetuous and boastful in some of his speeches in the earlier books;² are these not symptoms of furor? In any case, how is the poet to present directly and vividly the full extent of Turnus' demonic rage?

¹See above, p. 21ff.

²See, for example, 10,441ff.; 491ff.; 649f.

These questions are answered by reference to the portrayal of Turnus in the opening section of Book 12 (1-106). From the outset Turnus is depicted as being in an implacable rage:-

"Turnus ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos
defecisse videt, sua nunc promissa reposci,
se signari oculis, ultro implacabilis ardet
attollitque animos."

(1-4)

The fact that the book opens with the name of Turnus³ signals Vergil's immediate intention to concentrate almost solely on him (1-106). Turnus sees that the Latins are broken by defeat and that now everyone looks to him to fulfil the promises made during the earlier debate (11,434ff.); but all the more he burns implacably and lifts high his spirits. Immediately Vergil reinforces this initial picture of Turnus' furor by means of a vivid simile (4-8). Turnus is like the lion in the Punic fields, wounded⁴ by hunters, that rejoices as he tosses his mane, snaps the huntsman's implanted dart and roars with a bloodstained mouth. The lion is a picture of natural beauty and courage, but it is its conspicuous violence and bloodthirstiness (fremet ore cruento⁵ 8) on which Vergil focuses:-

³Cf. Book 4, 1, At regina... which foreshadows Dido's importance in the book.

⁴The "wounding" of Turnus here parallels that of Dido in Book 4, 1-5. On this subject, see Pöschl, 109ff. and Putnam, 155f.

⁵Putnam, 156, compares fremet ore cruento 12,8 with the picture of Furor impius in Book 1 - post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento, 1,296.

"haud secus accenso gliscit violentia⁶ Turno."
(9).

As in the other similes of Turnus as a wild animal⁷, this too has its Homeric parallels.⁸ In Il. 5,134ff. Diomedes is likened in battle to a lion that has been wounded by the shepherd but not killed and thus rages all the more amongst the flock. In Il. 20,164ff. Achilles rushes upon Aeneas in battle like a furious lion which is wounded by a spear and rages all the more. Thus the Homeric similes refer to the actions in battle of these two heroes. Similarly, in Book 9, Turnus was likened to a wolf (59ff.), an eagle or wolf (563ff.), a tigress (730) and a lion (792ff.). In Book 10 he is, as he approaches combat with Pallas, compared to a lion (454ff.), and in Book 11, 492ff., he returns to the battlefield like a horse that has been freed of its tether. These earlier similes reflect not only Turnus' physical situation in battle but also his psychological state. Thus, in his attack on the Trojan camp (9,59ff.), Turnus resembles a wolf both in his manoeuvre in attacking the enemy (60ff.), and in his desire for blood (62ff.). The simile of Turnus as a wounded lion here in Book 12 (4ff.), however, differs from these earlier similes and from its Homeric models. In this case Turnus makes no manoeuvre or action in battle: the emphasis is purely on Turnus' psychological state - the wounding of his pride

⁶On Vergil's use of violentus and violentia, see above, p. 59 n.1.

⁷For a full list of the similes used to describe Aeneas and Turnus, see Pöschl, 98f.

⁸Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites Il. 5,136b-42 as the closest model and also refers to Il. 12,41-48 and Il. 20,164b-173.

and his furious response to it. In using the simile of a wild animal to place emphasis purely on Turnus' state of mind and not on any kind of action in battle, Vergil alters his technique from that of the earlier books.

It is in this state of furor that Turnus now addresses the king:-

"tum sic adfatur regem atque ita turbidus infit: 10
 'nulla mora in Turno; nihil est quod dicta retractent
 ignavi Aeneadae, nec quae pepigere recusent.
 congregior. fer sacra, pater, et concipe foedus.
 aut hac Dardanium dextra sub Tartara mittam,
 desertorem Asiae(sedeant spectentque Latini), 15
 et solus ferro crimen commune refellam,
 aut habeat victos, cedat Lavinia coniunx.'"

(10-17)⁹.

It is noteworthy that Vergil introduces Turnus here as turbidus (10), for on the whole he avoids using descriptions denoting furor prior to that hero's speeches in the earlier books.¹⁰ There is no more obvious case of this than at 9,736ff. when Pandarus utters his speech fervidus ira (736) and Turnus utters his sedato pectore (740).¹¹ Pandarus' anger results from the death of his brother shortly beforehand (703ff.; 736), whilst Turnus' calmness results from his confidence in battle. Nevertheless, given that Vergil so strongly describes Turnus' furor (730ff. and 756ff.), we might well have expected the introductory phrase (740) to stress furor rather

⁹Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites Il. 3,59-75 as a Homeric parallel - where Paris agrees to meet Menelaus. The parallel, however, is not a close one.

¹⁰For an exception, see 10,648 and discussion above, p.69 n. 28.

¹¹See discussion above, p.54 and also R. Beare, "Invidious Success: Some Thoughts on Aeneid XII" P.V.S. 4 (1964-5) 18f.

than ratio. The poet's decision not to do so follows his general method in Books 7, 9, 10 and 11 of avoiding a vivid presentation of Turnus' furor in the direct speeches, and in the introductions to the speeches. Here in Book 12, however, the position is reversed; Turnus is turbidus (10) and King Latinus replies sedato corde (18). Vergil, at the outset of Book 12, alters his earlier method of presenting Turnus by stressing consistently, both in speech and narrative, the demonic furor that holds him. The abuse that Turnus hurls at his enemies further underlines the point. He describes the Trojans as ignavi Aeneadae (12) and Aeneas as desertorem Asiae (15). Conington notes¹² that ignavi is "the constant taunt of the Rutulians against the Trojans": this is certainly so, but in the earlier books such abuse is notably absent from the direct speeches of Turnus. The Rutulian comes closest to such behaviour in his two long speeches (9, 128-58 and 11, 378-444),¹³ yet both of these are strongly rhetorical and a better gauge of Turnus' skill as a general and politician than they are of the extent of his irrationality. In neither case is Turnus out of control and thus he limits the derogatory comments to the needs of the situation.¹⁴ At 11, 438 he even praises Aeneas as surpassing mighty Achilles - ...vel magnum praestet Achillem...¹⁵ It is significant

¹²Conington, ad 12, 12.

¹³Note sceleratam...gentem (9, 137).

¹⁴His self-control is best seen at 11, 410 when he steadies himself to reply to Latinus in a calmer tone than to Drances.

¹⁵See discussion above, p. 82f.

that Turnus' only unqualified, irrational abuse of the Trojans in the earlier books is described in oratio obliqua:-

"Teucros in regna vocari,
stirpem admisceri Phrygiam, se limine pelli."
(7,578-9).

Turnus expresses the same kind of abusive sentiments here in Book 12 (11ff.), but Vergil presents them directly (oratio recta) rather than indirectly (oratio obliqua). Either Turnus will kill the Asian deserter and thus refute the charge of cowardice, which they all face, or be defeated in battle allowing Lavinia to pass to his opponent.

Latinus replies (19ff.) that Turnus has the regna of his father Daunus and has taken many towns with his own hand. Latinus too has "gold and willingness to give it."¹⁶ There are other suitable maidens whom he could marry. Latinus relates the oracle that Lavinia must wed a foreigner and refers to his own part in breaking his obligations to Aeneas.¹⁷ He appeals to Turnus implicitly¹⁸ to refrain from a fight which he will lose. He urges him to show pity for his aged father (miserere parentis/ longaeui 43f.)¹⁹ who remains sorrowful (maestum 44) in Ardea.

¹⁶Williams, ad 12,23.

¹⁷Latinus' reference to Aeneas as son-in-law (genero 31) seems to have the same kind of effect on Turnus as did that of Drances (egregio genero dignisque hymenaeis... 11,355), even though the king, of course, is not attempting to provoke him. Amata, too, refers to Aeneas as a possible son-in-law (...generum Aenean 12,63) which drives Turnus into a deeper frenzy (12,71ff.).

¹⁸Latinus never actually asks him or appeals to him directly (as does Priam to Hector II. 22,38ff.) not to fight Aeneas.

¹⁹Turnus' appeal to Aeneas, Dauni miserere senectae (12,934), thus contains a strong element of irony.

The speech of Latinus prompts the following reaction from Turnus:-

"haudquaquam dictis violentia Turni 45
flectitur; exsuperat magis aegrescitque medendo.
ut primum fari potuit, sic institit ore:
'quam pro me curam geris, hanc precor, optime, pro me
deponas letumque sinas pro laude pacisci.
et nos tela, pater, ferrumque haud debile dextra 50
spargimus, et nostro sequitur de vulnere sanguis.
longe illi dea mater erit, quae nube fugacem
feminea tegat et vanis sese occulat umbris.'" (45-53).

In Il. 22,25ff. Priam sees Achilles gleaming menacingly in his armour, and pleads with Hector (38ff.) not to face him in combat, but to come inside the gates to safety. Priam, however, fails to persuade him:-

" οὐδ' ἔκτορι θυμὸν ἔπειθε. " (Il. 22,78).²⁰

In Turnus' response to the speech of Latinus, Vergil has heightened the emotional reaction. The king's suggestion that he give up his claim to his rightful son-in-law Aeneas is almost too much for Turnus. Not only do these words fail to bend his violentia²¹, but his fury actually rises higher and grows worse by the act of healing (45f.). The medical allusion is appropriate: Turnus' divinely-infected furor has become a sickness that plagues him. So furious is he at this point that for a time he is even unable to speak (47). When he actually does speak he asks Latinus to put away

²⁰Knauer, (indices) ad 12,45b. Hector utters no speech in between the appeals of Priam (38-76) and Hecuba (82ff.).

²¹The poet's use of violentia at line 8 and 45 is most emphatic.

his anxiety²² and let him barter death for glory (48f.). Turnus, too, can be effective in battle and blood flows from his strokes (50f.). He ends his speech with another contemptuous reference to Aeneas: his goddess mother will be far from him, unable to shelter the runaway in a cloud contrived by a woman and conceal herself in unreal shadows²³ (52f.). This abuse of Aeneas by Turnus complements that at 14f. Moreover, there is no close Homeric parallel for the contemptuous language of Turnus.²⁴ In both speeches (11ff. and 48ff.) and in both introductions to them (1-10 and 45-7) Vergil underlines forcefully the furor and violentia of Turnus.

Amata now also pleads with Turnus to forgo battle with the Trojans (56-63).²⁵ If Turnus is killed, Amata says, then she will end her life rather than, as a captive, see Aeneas as her gener. Amata's speech parallels that of Hecuba (I. 22, 82ff.) who, after Priam, pleads with Hector not to fight Achilles. Hecuba however has no more success than her husband: they cannot persuade the heart in him:-

" οὐδ' Ἑκτορι θυμὸν ἐπειθον..." (I. 22, 91).

²²Williams, ad 45, notes the emphasis that Vergil places (45-8) on the strong emotional reaction of Turnus to Latinus' appeal. Hector, by contrast, does not reply to the appeal of Priam (I. 22, 38-76).

²³Turnus' reference is to the shielding of Aeneas by Aphrodite in I. 5, 311-8. Knauer, (indices) ad loc. compares I. 3, 380bf.; 20, 321f.; and 20, 443bf. which are other instances of divine intervention on the battlefield.

²⁴Although there are cases when Homeric heroes are abusive: see for example, I. 1, 149ff. (Achilles to Agamemnon), and I. 3, 39ff. (Hector to Paris).

²⁵Putnam, 161, compares Amata's speech with that of Dido at 4, 314-19.

Turnus' reaction is again very different from Hector's²⁶; for in response to Amata's words, Lavinia, who is with her mother, glows red with a deep blush (64-9).²⁷ Turnus reacts as follows:-

"illum turbat amor figitque in virgine vultus. 70
ardet in arma magis paucisque adfatur Amatam:
'ne, quaeso, ne me lacrimis neve omine tanto
prosequere in duri certamina Martis euntem,
o mater; neque enim Turno mora libera mortis.
nuntius haec, Idmon, Phrygio mea dicta tyranno 75
haud placitura refer: cum primum crastina caelo
puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit,
non Teucros agat in Rutulos; Teucrum arma quiescant
et Rutuli; nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum;
illo quaeratur coniunx Lavinia campo.'" 80
(70-80).

Turnus now becomes still more agitated and fired into arms. As he looks on Lavinia, his love for her, here mentioned for the first time, throws his mind into turmoil. Thus, for the third time in succession, the introduction to the speech stresses the Rutulian's furor. The speech to Amata takes the same form as that to Latinus (48ff.). He first renounces any possibility of refraining from single combat and states that he is not free to delay his death. As he pleads to (pater 50) Latinus, so too he begs (mater 74) Amata not to send him

²⁶ Hector utters nothing directly to his mother in response to her appeal, but speaks instead to his own great spirit (Il. 22, 99ff.). Vergil, by his direct method of characterisation at this point, concentrates on the added frenzy which each appeal to Turnus brings.

²⁷ The exact reason for Lavinia's blush is unclear to the reader and perhaps also to Turnus. The dramatic function of the blush, however, is that it helps to propel Turnus into a deeper frenzy. The issue of Lavinia's betrothal is an important motivating force for Turnus: see 7, 578f.; 9, 136ff.; 12, 17; 12, 80; 12, 937.

forth with tears - a bad omen going into battle (72f.). Turnus sends Idmon as a messenger to organise the combat for the following dawn. In saying this he again abuses Aeneas by referring to him as a Phrygian tyrant (75). So deluded is his mind at this point that he thinks Idmon's message will be unwelcome (haud placitura 76) to Aeneas. Nothing could be further from the truth.²⁸ When Turnus states, during the debate of the Latins, his preparedness to meet Aeneas (11,438ff.), he does so with little enthusiasm or confidence, because, when in control of himself, he realises the stature of his opponent. Similarly, here in Book 12, he states his readiness to meet Aeneas and even prepares to do so, but the realities of such a match have not yet come home to him. His belief that Aeneas will not be pleased at the prospect of single combat signifies the fact that his irrational frenzy is now all the more intense.

Although combat is not planned until the next day (76ff.), Turnus calls for his horses forthwith (82), and prepares himself for battle by putting on his armour (87ff.). The incongruity is deliberate on the poet's part, representing Turnus' impetuosity for battle and conveying the delusions that cloud his mind.²⁹ Combat may not be till the morning, but that doesn't bother Turnus in his state of mind! He carefully dons his armour before addressing his spear:-

"...quassatque trementem
vociferans: 'nunc, o numquam frustrata vocatus

95

²⁸ See 12,107ff.

²⁹ Cf. Heinze, 225 n.1 and Pöschl, 113.

hasta meos, nunc tempus adest: te maximus Actor,
 te Turni nunc dextra gerit; da sternere corpus
 loricamque manu valida lacerare revulsam
 semiviri Phrygis et foedare in pulvere crinis
 vibratos calido ferro murraque madentis.' 100
 his agitur furiis, totoque ardentis ab ore
 scintillae absistunt, oculis micat acribus ignis,
 mugitus veluti cum prima in proelia taurus
 terrificos ciet atque irasci in cornua temptat
 arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacescit 105
 ictibus aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena."
 (94-106).

This is Turnus' final speech in the opening section of Book 12 and the one in which he hurls the most vociferous abuse at the absent Aeneas.³⁰ The reader understands that the intensity of Turnus' furor is now at its peak. He calls on his spear to stretch out the body of Aeneas allowing him to tear away the breastplate of the effeminate Phrygian, with his hair "crimped with hot curling irons"³¹ and dripping with myrrh. Turnus could scarcely be more abusive: we are far away now from Turnus' open respect for the prowess of Aeneas expressed during the debate of the Latins.³² In his wild state of fury Turnus is unaware of what he does and says. Moreover, the narrative conclusion to this section further underlines his frenzy (101ff.). He is like a bull going

³⁰The closest Homeric model for the speech is from Il. 19, 400-403 in which Achilles addresses his horses Xanthus and Balius, telling them to return him safely from battle and not leave him dead, as they did Patroclus, on the battlefield.

³¹See Williams, ad 100, who compares the abuse of Aeneas by Turnus here to that by Iarbas in Book 4 (206ff., and esp. 215ff.).

³²11, 438.

into battle that bellows, charges a tree-trunk, challenges the winds and paws the flying sand.³³ Thus Vergil ends this section as he began it - by stressing, in a simile of a wild animal, the furor and violentia of Turnus (cf. 4ff.).

Concerning this early portrayal of Turnus in Book 12, two points need to be reiterated. First, it is clear that by underlining forcefully the furor of Turnus, both in speech and narrative, Vergil departs from the methods of characterisation used in the earlier books. He thus projects vividly Turnus' affliction to an extent not seen earlier in the poem. The effect is to convey to the reader the fact that Turnus' frenzy is now at its most intense.³⁴ Second is the fact that, although Turnus is in a rage from the first line of Book 12, he seems to sink deeper into a state of turmoil. His abuse of Aeneas becomes progressively more volatile as he loses all control of himself, totally unable to grasp the realities of his words and actions.

As both sides settle for the swearing of the treaty, Juno calls on Iuturna, Turnus' immortal sister, to assist him in his present position and try to stave off his fated day (142ff.). At this point Aeneas and Latinus begin the swearing of oaths and solemnly form the treaty (175-215).³⁵ Vergil focuses on the response

³³Commentators compare the simile of the bull to the picture of the bull in *Geo.* 3, 209ff. and esp. 232ff. See Pöschl's discussion, 113f.

³⁴For the reasons why Vergil alters his presentation of Turnus at the beginning of Book 12, see above, p. 30f. and below, p. 357f.

³⁵For a discussion of this episode, see below, p. 326ff.

of the Rutulians as they watch the prince approach the altar:-

"At vero Rutulis impar ea pugna videri
iamdudum et vario misceri pectora motu,
tum magis ut propius cernunt non viribus aequis.
adiuvat incessu tacito progressus et aram
suppliciter venerans demisso lumine Turnus
pubentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor."
(216-21).

As in the Pallas episode (10,439ff.) Vergil uses the inequality of the match and the comparative youth³⁶ of the underdog as a means of generating sympathy for the hero who is destined to be defeated.³⁷ It is Pallas who is the iuvenis in the earlier combat (10,445; 464), and Turnus who has a huge frame (corpus...ingens 446). At other points in the deaths of both Pallas and Turnus the poet suggests that the contests are not altogether one-sided³⁸; but here he stresses forcefully the relative youth of Turnus (221) who is pallid as he proceeds in silence, humbly worshipping the altar with downcast eyes.³⁹ The reader infers that the realities of single combat with Aeneas have now come home to him, as the moment arrives to turn words into actions. Vergil, at this point, stresses his pietas but there is no mention of fury now. The Rutulians who now react

³⁶For Turnus as a iuvenis, see above, p.20 n.1.

³⁷See Beare, P.V.S. (1964-5) 18ff. who argues that Turnus is troubled at this point by a premonition of death.

³⁸See 10,454-6 (and discussion above, p.63f) and 12,715ff. (and discussion below, p.343). See also 12,521ff. (and p.338f.)

³⁹Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites Il. 3,340-345 as a Homeric parallel for this picture of Turnus. This describes the initial encounter of Paris and Menelaus, both armed for battle. It is not a close parallel.

with sympathy for the position of Turnus are responsive to the urgings of Iuturna (229ff.) who plays on their sense of shame at watching one man fight for all of them. Soon even the Laurentines and Latins change their minds on the matter (240). With a sense of inevitability, following a divine signal - a golden bird of Jove catching a swan (247ff.), - a spear is thrown (by Tolumnius) in violation of the treaty. The turmoil of battle resumes but Aeneas urges his men to contain their anger (311ff.)⁴⁰ only to be wounded for his trouble (319ff.). He is forced to leave the battlefield, to which Turnus reacts as follows:-

"Turnus ut Aenean cedentem ex agmine vidit
 turbatosque duces, subita spe fervidus ardet; 325
 poscit equos atque arma simul, saltuque superbus
 emicat in currum et manibus molitur habenas.
 multa virum volitans dat fortia corpora leto,
 seminecis volvit multos aut agmina curru
 proterit aut raptas fugientibus ingerit hastas. 330
 qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri
 sanguineus Mavors clipeo increpat atque furentis
 bella movens immittit equos, illi aequore aperto
 ante Notos Zephyrumque volant, gemit ultima pulsu
 Thraca pedum circumque atrae Formidinis ora 335
 Iraeque Insidiaeque, dei comitatus, aguntur:
 talis equos alacer media inter proelia Turnus
 fumantis sudore quatit, miserabile caesis
 hostibus insultans; spargit rapida ungula rores
 sanguineos mixtaque cruor calcatur harena."⁴¹ 340
 (324-40)

⁴⁰ See discussions above, p.3ff. and below, p.329ff.

⁴¹ Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares the simile of Turnus as sanguineus Mars with Il. 13,298-303 (Meriones and Idomeneus going into battle like Ares and his son Φόβος). Vergil's simile reiterates the irrational frenzy of Turnus. D. West, Philologus 114 (1970) 262ff., compares in detail Vergil's simile with its Homeric model.

Vergil juxtaposes Aeneas' attempt to restrain his men (311ff.) and Turnus' renewed vigour (324ff.) at the broken treaty and the sight of his opponent leaving the battlefield. Again the Rutulian, in a state of renewed furor, sees some hope (subita spe fervidus ardet 325) of avoiding single combat and gaining victory in the war. Thus immediately he involves himself in the fighting and kills many of the enemy (328ff.). In battle he is like sanguineus Mars himself who clashes his shield, purposing war and driving on his furious horses. Thrace groans with the sound of the hoofs; and the forms of black Fear, Anger and Ambush accompany the god. These personifications of abstract qualities which attend Mars convey vividly the effect that Turnus has on the Trojans as he moves amongst them slaying without mercy. The simile depicts the power of Turnus in battle and the effect that he has on the morale of the enemy: it is a suitable prelude to the aristeia of Turnus (341-82) in which the poet names thirteen of the enemy victims. In this long catalogue of death, Turnus utters only one speech, to the dead Eumedes:-

"En agros et, quam bello, Troiane, petisti,
Hesperiam metire iacens: haec praemia, qui me
ferro ausi temptare, ferunt, sic moenia condunt."

(359-61).

In typical heroic fashion Turnus taunts his victim⁴²:
Eumedes came to measure out the land for buildings, but

⁴²We might compare Turnus' words to Eumedes to those already uttered (10,649f.) to the phantom Aeneas. Knauer, indices ad loc., compares the words of Menelaus (Il. 13,620f.) who has just killed Peisander.

now he measures it out with his body. The reader senses dramatic irony in Turnus' boast (360f.), that these are the rewards for those who dare to tempt him with the sword; thus they build their walls. In the turmoil of battle Turnus has again lost his grip on reality: only recently did he narrowly avoid single combat with Aeneas. In his moment of triumph the prospect of such treatment being meted out to him does not enter his mind.

Turnus does not have long to wait, however, before being faced again with the prospect of meeting Aeneas in battle. The Trojan's wound is healed with divine assistance (383-440) and he quickly returns to the battlefield (441ff.). The Trojans move forward in attack, bringing the following response:-

"vidit ab adverso venientis aggere Turnus,
videre Ausonii, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
ossa tremor; prima ante omnis Iuturna Latinos
audiit agnovitque sonum et tremefacta refugit."

(446-9).

The re-appearance of Aeneas and the subsequent battle-charge of the Trojans causes a tremulous chill to run through the inmost marrow of the Ausonians. Even Iuturna flees in terror. Turnus, too, sees them coming, but Vergil makes no clear reference to his reaction. Unlike 9,126⁴³, Vergil does not contrast Turnus' fiducia

⁴³Note the reactions of those present to the miracle of the ships:-

"Obstipuere animis Rutuli, conterritus ipse
turbatis Messapus equis, cunctatur et amnis
rauca sonans revocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto.
at non audaci Turno fiducia cessit;
ultro animos tollit dictis atque increpat ultro..."
(9,123-7).

Cf. also Turnus' reaction to the re-appearance of Aeneas in battle (10,276ff.). Unlike these two earlier episodes, Vergil has not sought at 12,446-9 to contrast the reaction of Turnus with those around him.

and virtus with the fear of others. The situation has now changed, and the reader might infer that the reaction of the Ausonians (447f.) is also the reaction of Turnus. Aeneas slaughters many of the Rutuli, but he does not bother to chase those fleeing from him; for it is Turnus alone whom he seeks (450-67).⁴⁴

Iuturna's attempt to keep Turnus alive now becomes more desperate. She flings Metiscus, his charioteer, from the car and in disguise takes over the reins herself (468ff.). She is able to keep her brother away from Aeneas (473ff.), who is at a loss how to catch him (483ff.). Vergil narrates the carnage that Turnus and Aeneas cause on the battlefield (500ff.). They are like fires moving through a dry forest, or thickets rustling with laurel, and like foaming rivers coming from the mountain-tops and rushing towards the sea (521ff.). The emphasis is thus on the furor of both Aeneas and Turnus and on the destruction that they leave behind them.⁴⁵ Aeneas decides (554ff.) to attack the city and, in so doing, force the issue of single combat. As a result of this, the queen Amata, thinking that Turnus has been killed in battle, takes her own life, causing great lamentation in the city (593ff.). Turnus hears the sounds of their mourning and says:-

"'hei mihi! quid tanto turbantur moenia luctu?
quisve ruit tantus diversa clamor ab urbe?'
sic ait, adductisque amens subsistit habenis."
(620-2)⁴⁶

⁴⁴ See discussion below, p. 335f.

⁴⁵ The simile is discussed more fully below, p. 338f.

⁴⁶ Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no Homeric parallel for this speech.

In response to the lamentation in the city Turnus is anxious and confused (amens 622), but he has no doubts what to do next. Iuturna attempts to keep him away from the city where Aeneas battles against the Italians (625ff.). Turnus, however, replies as follows:-

"O soror, et dudum agnovi, cum prima per artem
foedera turbasti teque haec in bella dedisti,
et nunc nequiquam fallis dea. sed quis Olympo
demissam tantos voluit te ferre labores? 635
an fratris miseri letum ut crudele videres?
nam quid ago? aut quae iam spondet fortuna salutem?
vidi oculos ante ipse meos me voce vocantem
Murrarum, quo non superat mihi carior alter,
oppetere ingentem atque ingenti vulnere victum. 640
occidit infelix ne nostrum dedecus Ufens
aspiceret; Teucris potiuntur corpore et armis.
exscindine domos (id rebus defuit unum)
perpetiar, dextra nec Drancem dicta refellam?
terga dabo et Turnum fugientem haec terra videbit? 645
usque adeone mori miserum est? vos o mihi, Manes,
este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas.
sancta ad vos anima atque istius inscia culpae
descendam magnorum haud umquam indignus avorum'."

(632-49).

The closest Homeric model⁴⁷ for Turnus' speech is that of Hector (Il. 22,99ff.) who questions his own best policy - to face Achilles or to seek to avoid single combat. There are similar features in both speeches. Turnus' fear of Drances' taunts (644) resembles Hector's fear (22,99-102) that Polydamas will reproach him if he goes inside the gates. Polydamas had earlier urged Hector (18,254ff.) to lead his men inside the city to avoid Achilles. Although both feel a sense of responsi-

⁴⁷Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

bility for the defeats of their armies (Il. 22,101f.; 107; Aen. 12,638ff.) and do not wish to be taunted with it, Hector is more conscious of the tactical error that he has made. Polydamas is not the enemy of Hector as Drances is of Turnus.⁴⁸ The courage that both heroes show in their speech is seen to be prompted partly by a possible threat to their reputations as warriors. Turnus, for the first time, sees that events are out of his control. There is a resignation to defeat in Turnus' speech not to be found in Hector's. Turnus' tragic anagnorisis begins here as he finally realises that the gods, whom he once thought had supported his course, are in fact actively against him (634f., 647). Just before his death he receives an even clearer sign of Jupiter's enmity (12,861ff. and 894f.). Hector sees no divine opposition and has some hope of victory:-

βέλτερον αὐτ' ἔριδι ξυνελαννέμεν ὅττι τάχιστα·
εἶδομεν ὀπποτέρῳ κεν Ὀλύμπιος εὖχος ὀρέξῃ." 130

(Il. 22, 129-30).

Hector braces himself to face the mighty Achilles, but Turnus braces himself for death (636, 646ff.). Aeneas is not mentioned in Turnus' speech because death is the Rutulian's enemy. Turnus, it could be argued, is the more courageous for this reason: that he goes to face Aeneas anticipating defeat and death.⁴⁹ Certainly, his

⁴⁸ See the discussion of Turnus' speech, 11,378-444, and its Homeric models, above, p.78ff. See also Highet's discussion, 214f.

⁴⁹ Hector has to be duped into facing Achilles, by Athena disguised as Deiphobus (Il. 22,224ff.), although, of course, this fact does not detract from the reader's pity for him on his death. The difference between the two heroes is that Turnus sees certain death approaching far earlier than does Hector.

sentiments in this speech would have been well appreciated by a Roman audience: all is lost and the gods are against him but he will not turn his back and flee, but will die a death worthy of his great ancestors.

Turnus' reference to Drances (644) has an ironic postscript when a messenger arrives urging him to pity his people (miserere tuorum 653). Drances had urged him to do so in the debate of the Latins (miserere tuorum 11,365). The verbal repetition signifies Drances' victory over Turnus who now goes to face Aeneas. All the news is bad: Aeneas is causing havoc; Latinus is wavering in his allegiances, the queen has taken her own life, and the city is on the brink of capitulation. Turnus reacts as follows:-

"obstipuit varia confusus imagine rerum
Turnus et obtutu tacito stetit; aestuat ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
et furiis agitated amor et conscia virtus.
ut primum discussae umbrae et lux reddita menti,
ardentis oculorum orbis ad moenia torsit
turbidus eque rotis magnam respexit ad urbem."
(665-71).

Turnus is stunned and confused by the changing, disastrous picture of events.⁵⁰ At the one time he is motivated by pudor, luctus, amor, furor and virtus. The reader may recall the description of Dido at night (4, 522ff. and esp. 531f.) who, before taking her own life, is tormented by conflicting and destructive passions. As Turnus turns to the walls and looks back to the city

⁵⁰As we might expect, there is no close Homeric parallel for the picture of Turnus here, although Knauer compares Antilochus' reaction to the news that Patroclus is dead (Il. 17,694ff.).

it is his furor that Vergil stresses (ardentis oculorum orbis 670, turbidus 671). A further sign now indicates Turnus' worsening situation: a tower which the Rutulian himself had built is destroyed by fire (672ff.). He reacts as follows:-

"*iam iam fata, soror, superant, absiste morari;
quo deus et quo dura vocat Fortuna sequamur.
stat conferre manum Aeneae, stat, quidquid acerbi est,
morte pati, neque me indecorem, germana, videbis
amplius. hunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem.*"
(676-80).

In this speech⁵¹ Vergil continues the depiction of Turnus' tragic anagnorisis that his fated day is at hand. He realises that the fates prevail and that he must follow where god's will and hard fortune call, by going to face Aeneas. He accepts, too, the bitterness that comes in death and refuses to suffer disgrace. Turnus seeks to give vent to his last madness before death. He seems to recognise here (680) that furor has been his characteristic quality and that it has led him to the brink of death. In this mood of determination Turnus rushes amongst the ranks like a rock that crashes headlong from a mountain-top bringing over everything in its path (681-92).⁵² He utters the following speech:-

⁵¹Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Il. 22, 297-305 in which Hector realises that Athena has duped him into facing Achilles; see above, p.107 and below, p.113. Hector, of course, is caught in a trap, whereas, theoretically, Turnus could still avoid single combat.

⁵²Vergil juxtaposes the simile of Turnus as a rock crashing from the mountain-top (12, 684ff.), and that of Aeneas approaching the scene like Athos, Eryx or Appenninus (12, 701ff.). The former conveys headlong descent and turmoil (note turbidus 685), whilst the latter conveys great stature and survival. See Pöschl's discussion, 130ff. Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Il. 13, 137b-142, in which Hector and the Trojans move forward like a boulder that falls from a cliff. The river that brings the rock away in Homer is γελαῖππος ("swollen", "flooding") whereas it is turbidus in Vergil, conveying the state of Turnus' own mind.

"'parcite iam, Rutuli, et vos tela inhibete, Latini;
quaecumque est fortuna, mea est; me verius unum
pro vobis foedus luere et decernere ferro.'"

(693-5).

Thus here, for the third time, Turnus utters his readiness to fight Aeneas⁵³; but the reader is aware in this case that the issue will at last be decided, and that he will have to turn words into actions. Aeneas immediately breaks off from the fighting and with joy approaches Turnus.⁵⁴ Significantly, Turnus is the first to strike (728ff.), but the perfidus ensis breaks and he is compelled to flee. Aeneas is in complete control as Turnus runs for his life like a terrified stag (749ff.).⁵⁵ Aeneas threatens death to anyone who gives Turnus his sword (760ff.). Aeneas attempts to pull his spear from the stump of a tree, sacred to Faunus, and use it to pursue Turnus (766ff.). The Rutulian reacts as follows:-

"tum vero amens formidine Turnus
'Faune, precor, miserere' inquit, 'tuque optima ferrum
Terra tene, colui vestros si semper honores,
quos contra Aeneadae bello fecere profanos.'"
(776-9)⁵⁶.

⁵³Cf. 11, 434ff. and 12, 11ff.

⁵⁴For discussion of 697-727, see below, p. 342f.

⁵⁵The closest Homeric parallel is Il. 22, 188ff. where Achilles, the hound, chases Hector, the stag. D. West, Philologus 114 (1970) 267ff., compares Vergil's simile with that of Homer and Apollonius Rhodius (2, 278-83). Hector, of course, is armed (unlike Turnus, whose sword is broken), yet flees at the very sight of Achilles (22, 136ff.). D. West, "The Deaths of Hector and Turnus" G & R, 21 (1974) 21-31, is surely right in his suggestion (22), that Vergil could not have Turnus run from Aeneas at the sight of him, for he has been avoiding him for quite a time already.

⁵⁶Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Il. 22, 169ff. in which Zeus, somewhat regretfully, watches the desperate flight of Hector.

Turnus is now in a state of utter terror (amens formidine 776), and prays for pity from the god to whom he has shown reverence in the past. The Trojans by contrast have desecrated the sacred tree⁵⁷, and Turnus hopes that as such the god may hold fast the spear of Aeneas in the tree-stump. This he does until Venus releases it (786f.) in anger at Iuturna's act in giving Turnus his sword (783ff.). Turnus is not without his divine supporters but those supporting Aeneas are greater by far. As Vergil switches his attention to the divine realm (791ff.)⁵⁸, Aeneas and Turnus, both armed, stand facing each other in breathless combat (788ff.).

Jupiter appeals to Juno (793ff.) to cease her actions in supporting the opponents of the Trojans, and ends his speech commanding her to do so (ulterius temptare veto. 806). Juno finally accepts her husband's will but asks that the Latins retain their name and their tongue when mixed with the Trojans. Juno seeks that Italian virtus be a powerful element in the new Roman stock (808-28).⁵⁹ Jupiter happily gives his assent to these requests (830-40), and states that a race will rise up surpassing men and gods in pietas; nor shall any nation with equal zeal celebrate her

⁵⁷For the significance of this reference, see below, p. 345.

⁵⁸In so doing Vergil departs from the description of Homer who places the conversation of the gods in the middle of the pursuit. On this see West, G & R., 21 (1974) 22f.

⁵⁹The conversation between Jupiter and Juno thus has significant implications for Romans and Italians of Vergil's day. See West's discussion (ibid. 24ff.) and Williams, ad 791f.

honour. Against this background of reconciliation and hope, Jupiter sends one of the Dirae to meet Iuturna as an omen. The Dira changes into a small bird, an owl,⁶⁰ and makes for Turnus:-

"hanc versa in faciem Turni se pestis ob ora
fertque refertque sonans clipeumque everberat alis.
illi membra novus solvit formidine torpor,
arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit."
(865-8).

The appearance of the Dira not only terrifies him as a symbol of death but actually weakens him in battle.⁶¹ Turnus' failure to lift the huge stone to throw at Aeneas (896ff.) is shown to result from the novus torpor (867) that afflicts him (note 914). Turnus is infected at the outset by one of the Dirae and brought to defeat by one at the end. At the beginning, the Dira was sent by the opponent of fate, and at the end, being sent by Jupiter, she is herself the symbol of fate. The impossibility of Turnus' situation, the overwhelming superiority of Aeneas and the Dira, is recognised by Iuturna (872ff.). Turnus' tragedy is also hers, for she, now an immortal, must forever mourn his passing and never see him again, even in the shades below.

With the departure of his goddess sister, the Rutulian now stands alone against Aeneas and the Dira. The Trojan now calls him forward with fiery words - "what is the delay now?"⁶², why do you now draw back,

⁶⁰ Cf. the owl (bubo) as a sign of ill-omen for Dido (4, 462f.).

⁶¹ The significance of the Dira is also discussed below, p. 346ff.

⁶² Cf. Turnus' words nulla mora in Turno... (12,11).

Turnus?..." (889ff.). Turnus replies as follows:-

"ille caput quassans: 'non me tua fervida terrent
dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis.'" (894-5).

Turnus now tragically and finally realises that he is the enemy of Jupiter and the gods. It is their hostility that he fears and not the fierce words of Aeneas. These sentiments are not unlike those expressed at 12, 632ff. when Turnus first hears the cries of lamentation from the city: it is not Aeneas that he fears but death and the gods.⁶³ Turnus' anagnorisis that the gods in general, and Jupiter in particular, do not support his course and that he in fact is their enemy is prolonged for 300 lines with each new turn bringing him closer to death. In the *Iliad*, Hector, by contrast, is not aware of divine hostility, nor is he the object of any, until, at the very end, Athena, disguised as Deiphobus, persuades him to face Achilles (*Il.* 22, 226ff.).⁶⁴ Only when he has cast his spear and stands helpless does Hector realise that the gods have called him into death. Turnus is duped into the war,⁶⁵ but, unlike Hector, he is not duped into death. He recognises the enmity of the gods at an earlier point, sees his forthcoming death well in advance, but he is the most courageous of tragic

⁶³ See above, p. 69ff.

⁶⁴ On *Aen.* 12, 894bf. Knauer, (indices) compares *Il.* 22, 250-259 and 17, 175-8. The former of these parallels is where Hector tells Achilles that he will flee from him no longer. The parallel is not close, for Hector, at this point, unlike Turnus (12, 894-5), is unaware that Athena is working against him.

⁶⁵ See 7, 406-74 (and discussion above, p. 21ff.), and 9, 1-24 (and discussion above, p. 33ff.).

heroes and at no point betrays his virtus. He attempts to pick up a huge stone (896ff.) but he struggles to lift it and throws it only part of the way because successum dea dira negat (914). The hostility of Jupiter, which Turnus fears so much, is thus brought directly on to the battlefield. By her actions in weakening Turnus, the Dira helps to make him entirely vulnerable to Aeneas. The situation is now utterly hopeless for Turnus (915ff.).

Aeneas casts his spear and wounds Turnus in the thigh.⁶⁶ He sinks to the ground, and in front of his people stretches out his hands before uttering his final words:-

"ille humilis supplexque oculos dextramque precantem 930
protendens 'equidem merui nec deprecor' inquit;
'utere sorte tua. miseri te si qua parentis
tangere cura potest, oro(fuit et tibi talis
Anchises genitor)Dauni miserere senectae
et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis, 935
redde meis. vicisti et victum tendere palmas
Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx,
ulterius ne tende odiis."

(930-8).

In Iliad 22,326ff.⁶⁷ Hector is mortally wounded in the neck by Achilles, but is still able to utter two final speeches to the victor (338ff. and 356ff.). In the first of these he pleads that Achilles should not allow his body to be eaten by the dogs, but rather that he

⁶⁶The final scene of the poem and its implications are considered in more detail below, p. 347ff.

⁶⁷Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites Il. 22,338-343 as a model for Turnus' speech. This is the first of Hector's two speeches following his wounding by Achilles.

take bronze and gold from his family and allow his body to be given the proper funeral rites. Achilles replies (345ff.) that he will not accept ransom, but will feed Hector's body to the dogs and birds. Hector then reminds Achilles (356ff.) of the day to come when Apollo and Paris will slay him at the Scaean gates. The important difference at the climax of the Aeneid is that Turnus is merely wounded in the thigh and pleads for life itself. He does not question Aeneas' right to do with him as he wishes, but he asks that the Trojan take thought for Daunus his aged father by sending him home alive or dead. Yet it is life that Turnus seeks: Aeneas has won, the Ausonians have seen him stretch out his hands in defeat, Lavinia is now the victor's - "don't carry your hatred further."

In having Aeneas' spear deal only a superficial wound, rather than a mortal one (as does that of Achilles), Vergil creates a tension at the end of single combat not present in the Homeric episode. Because of the situation both Turnus and Aeneas are compelled to respond to the possibility of life or death, rather than death alone. In his position Turnus can only wait for Aeneas to finish him off, or beg for mercy. That he chooses the latter means that he lives out his greatest fear⁶⁸ in front of all his people.⁶⁹ Hector attempts to run away at the very sight of Achilles⁷⁰, but he is

⁶⁸ See 11, 416ff. and discussion above, p. 80ff.

⁶⁹ It also forces a response from Aeneas. For the implications of Aeneas' denial of mercy, see below, p. 348ff.

⁷⁰ Il. 22, 136ff.

never humiliated as Turnus is. The loneliness and humility of Turnus as he pleads to Aeneas ensure the reader's sympathy for his plight, but the death blow has not yet come, and the reader earnestly hopes that it may not. Vergil generates pity for the wounded Turnus and makes us hope that his death may somehow be avoided, that reconciliation amongst humans can follow that amongst the gods, that fate will not run its course. Thus, in the killing of Turnus by Aeneas, Vergil makes us follow a Iunonian course, in that we regret the progress of fate rather than rejoice in it.

Chapter II

Section 1

Aeneas Book 1

It is no accident that in the Odyssey Homer delays the first appearance of Odysseus until almost one-fifth of the poem has elapsed.¹ There are many reasons for this delay, not least of which is that it allows Homer to stress the personal qualities of the man by indirect techniques of characterisation. The so-called Telemacheia demonstrates the κλέος and ἀρετή of Odysseus - that he is a great and respected man who is sorely missed by his household. His glorious personal history, which is narrated to Telemachus by Nestor, Menelaus and Helen² is contrasted with the present sorry state of his house. Odysseus is needed desperately back in Ithaca. The dreadful behaviour of the suitors necessitates their eviction and punishment. The Telemacheia induces us to anticipate the appearance of Odysseus himself (Book 5) and the vengeance that he will eventually exact (Book 22ff.). Thus, although he does not actually appear in the first four books, Odysseus is always at the forefront of our attention. When he does appear (5,149ff.), we are well acquainted with his character, his exploits at Troy and the cost to Ithaca of his absence.

The first appearance of Aeneas in the Aeneid could

¹The Odyssey is composed of 12,110 lines. Odysseus' first appearance in Book 5,171ff. is after 2,392 lines.

²See Od. 3,103ff.; 4,78ff. and (esp.) 4,235ff.

scarcely be more different; the hero utters his first speech after only 93 lines, with his name being first mentioned at line 92.³ The first mention of his name thus coincides with his initial dramatic appearance, which is itself noticeably early. Whereas Aeneas is anonymous until line 92, Odysseus is named 9 times in the first 103 lines of the Odyssey.⁴

It would be absurd to suggest that there is ever any doubt as to the identity of the virum in the first line. The naming of Aeneas (92) merely confirms the understanding of the reader. The prooemium introduces the hero in the context of his labores and magna facta - "the hero, his purpose, its significance, are succinctly clear."⁵ Aeneas has left Troy to come to Italy by fate's decree (1-3) and suffers greatly from the enmity of Juno even though he fulfils the will of fate (4ff.). He is a man distinguished by his pietas,⁶ yet this quality does not save him from affliction at the gods' hands (8ff.). Juno proceeds to display considerable malevolence towards Aeneas from the outset. She desires the supremacy of Carthage yet the fates decree that such power will fall to Rome. Undeterred by such decrees and in direct opposition to them, Juno asks the willing Aeolus (65ff.) to create a great storm

³See R.G. Austin, Aeneidos Liber Primus (Oxford, 1971) ad 92.

⁴Odysseus is named 78 times prior to his opening speech (5, 149ff.).

⁵Austin, ad 1-7.

⁶insignem pietate virum 10.

which will overwhelm the Trojan fleet as it approaches Italy. Aeolus quickly obeys⁷ and, as a result, day becomes night and the winds clash together. The storm is described vividly by Vergil (81ff.). Aeneas reacts with considerable trepidation:-

"extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra;
ingemit et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas
talìa voce refert: 'o terque quaterque beati,
quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis 95
contigit oppetere! o Danaum fortissime gentis
Tydide! mene Iliacis occumbere campis
non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens
Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis 100
scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit!'"
(92-101).

The speech is modelled⁸ on that of Odysseus in reaction to the great storm created by Poseidon:-

καὶ τότε Ὀδυσσεύς λυτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ,
ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς δὴν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·
"ὦ μοι ἐγὼ δειλός, τί νύ μοι μήκιστα γένηται;
δεῖδω μὴ δὴ πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν,
ἦ μ' ἔφατ' ἐν πόντῳ, πρὶν πατρίδα γαῖαν ἰκέσθαι,
ἄλγε' ἀναπλήσειν· τὰ δὲ δὴ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται,
οἷοισιν νεφέεσσι περιστέφει οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν
Ζεὺς, ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον, ἐπισπέρχουσι δ' ἄελλαι
παντοίων ἀνέμων· νῦν μοι σὼς αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος.
τρισμάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις οἱ τότε ὄλοντο
Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ, χάρι' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι φέροντες.

⁷The storm parallels that created by Poseidon to punish Odysseus (Od. 5, 291ff.). See Pöschl's important discussion, 24ff.

⁸Knauer, (indices) ad loc. Highet, 188ff. discusses Aeneas' speech and its Homeric parallels. His conclusion (191) however, is not altogether satisfactory: "It is clear, therefore, that Vergil when introducing Aeneas wished to present him in a situation comparable to that of Homer's Odysseus, but with a character somewhat more chivalrous and Achillean."

ὥς δὴ ἐγὼ γ' ὄφελον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν
 ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μοι πλείστοι χαλκήρεα δοῦρα
 Τρῶες ἐπέριψαν περὶ Πηλείωνι θανόντι.
 τῷ κ' ἔλαχον κτερέων, καὶ μεν κλέος ἦγον Ἀχαιοί·
 νῦν δέ με λευγαλέφ θανάτῳ εἴμαρτο ἀλῶναι."

(Od. 5,297-312).

When Odysseus utters his speech of despair in response to the storm, the reader is aware of his great battle exploits, his family and the troubles that afflict his household. We know of his close relationship with the gods and also of the malevolence of Poseidon.⁹ We have followed the voyage of Odysseus on the raft from the outset at Calypso's island. Thus when the storm breaks over Odysseus and he laments his ill-fortune, the hero is a familiar, dramatic figure.¹⁰ The prooemium of the Aeneid, by contrast, has informed the reader merely that the hero is a Trojan who has fled the city, who has a unique destiny and who is ill-treated by the gods despite his pietas. The reader's first view of Aeneas is his reaction to the storm. Odysseus wishes that he had fallen at Troy for a specific reason: that he would have received funeral-rites and fame (κτερέα and κλέος 311), but as it is he faces the prospect of a miserable death at sea (λευγαλέφ θανάτῳ 312). Death at Troy brings honour and fame; death at sea does not. Similarly, in Il. 21,273ff.¹¹, Achilles fears that he is about to drown in the Scamander. He prays to Zeus (273ff.) in a

⁹For Pallas Athena's love for Odysseus, see Od. 3,221ff. For the gods' love for him, but Poseidon's hatred, see Od. 1,19ff. and 5,282ff.

¹⁰See Odysseus' earlier speeches Od. 5,173ff. and 215ff.

¹¹Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

state of utter pessimism believing that his mother has deceived him in the manner of his death (275ff.), and wishes for a more heroic end (279ff.). The prospect of a λευγαλέος θανάτος (281) brings the same despair to Achilles as it does to Odysseus (Od. 5,297ff.): the manner of death is as important as death itself. Death by drowning is not an end worthy of a man of Achilles' ἀρετή; such a death is better suited to a swineherd boy (282). Death at the hands of Hector would have been a worthy end: the stature of the slayer reflects on the slain.

In response to the storm that overcomes him and his men, Aeneas is filled with both terror and despair.¹² His limbs are loosened¹³ and he stretches out his hands to the stars.¹⁴ Such is his despair that dying ante ora patrum (95) seems like good fortune. He thinks automatically of other Trojans¹⁵ (pietas) - Hector and Sarpedon both dead at Troy - and, although a survivor, believes that he now suffers a worse fate. Aeneas cries

¹²In his discussion, T.R. Glover, Virgil (London, 1930) 210 argues that never again do we see Aeneas in such despair. Comparison with his reaction to the burning of the ships (5,700ff.) would suggest otherwise. The view of Heinze, (266ff., and passim) and that of Pöschl, (36ff.) is that Aeneas' character develops throughout the first half of the poem: they see 5,700ff. as a final hesitation, a turning point in his character. See my discussion below, p. 229ff.

¹³solvuntur frigore membra 92. Vergil uses the same formula to describe the limbs of the dead Turnus (12, 951). Aeneas moves from a position of vulnerability at the beginning to one of dominance at the end.

¹⁴The motif of stretching out arms generally denotes pietas. Cf. 2,688; 5,686; 6,685 and 9,16.

¹⁵Pöschl, 35, also makes this point.

out with a sense of melancholy and nostalgia. As he faces death he thinks not of glory but of his Trojan homeland and its former inhabitants. Thus Troy has a special significance for Aeneas that it does not have for Odysseus. We can say in short that "Aeneas' supreme value is not kudos but pietas."¹⁶

Vergil has been criticised for showing Aeneas in a moment of great weakness at the very outset of the poem.¹⁷ Yet the poet has good reasons for conveying from the first the depths of despair into which his hero has sunk. Vergil shows that the labores have taken their toll of his hero's morale. Aeneas displays qualities of melancholy and nostalgia, both of which result from his pietas in the face of adversity. Moreover, the storm and Aeneas' reaction to it represent the dramatic preparation to the Dido episode. The despondency of Aeneas is reinforced throughout the first book. Vergil wishes us to understand that Aeneas' state of mind makes the prospect of respite at Carthage all the more enticing. Thus, even in the first scene in which Aeneas appears, Vergil has one eye on the Dido episode.

¹⁶M.O. Lee, Fathers and Sons in Vergil's Aeneid: tum genitor natum (Albany, 1979) 182.

¹⁷Servius, ad 92, criticises Vergil's use of the Homeric model. See the comments of Austin, ad 92, and A.J. Gossage, "Aeneas at Sea" Phoenix 17 (1963) 131ff. G. Carlsson, "The Hero and Fate in Virgil's Aeneid", Eranos 43 (1945) 129n.2, suggests that, like at 5,700ff., Aeneas here is oblitus fatorum. The difference is that at no point in the earlier speech (1,94ff.) does Aeneas actually consider abandoning his mission. Vergil stresses Aeneas' pietas in the earlier episode and impietas in the latter.

Having survived the storm, Aeneas climbs on to a high peak to search for his missing men (180ff.).¹⁸ He sees no ship but spies a herd of stags and proceeds to shoot seven of them - one for each of his ships (184-93). The episode is modelled¹⁹ on Od. 9,152ff. and Od. 10,153ff. In the former, Odysseus and his men shoot a large number of goats. All his comrades join him in the hunt but Odysseus himself receives the largest portion; his own ship receives ten goats whilst the others take nine (159f.). Although all of the men take part in the hunt, Odysseus, by virtue of his rank as an ἀγαθός, receives special treatment, ("ἔμολ' δὲ δέκ' ἔξελον οἷφ'." 160). In Od. 10,153ff. Odysseus happens upon a stag and kills it, thereby staving off hunger. Homer describes vividly the shooting of the stag and Odysseus' struggle with the carcass. Aeneas shoots seven stags providing food for his seven ships but he is not described as having any problem lifting them. Vergil does not concern himself with the details of the hunt. His priority is to present Aeneas (and Achates²⁰) fulfilling the physical needs of his men, who seem to remain passive spectators throughout. The poet thus stresses Aeneas' pastoral role, his pietas.

Yet for all his success in the hunt, Aeneas cannot have peace of mind.²¹ He uses the newly acquired source

¹⁸ A fact which exhibits his pietas.

¹⁹ Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

²⁰ For Achates' role in the poem, see Austin, ad 188.

²¹ See B. Otis' discussion of Vergil's techniques here in "The Originality of the Aeneid" in Virgil, D.R. Dudley ed., (London, 1969) 52ff.

of food as a means of raising the spirits of his men:-

"*o socii*(neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum),
o passi graviores, dabit deus his quoque finem.
vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis 200
accestis scopulos, vos et Cyclopia saxa
expertis: revocate animos maestumque timorem
mittite; forsitan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.
per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas 205
ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.'

Talia voce refert curisque ingentibus aeger
 spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem."

(198-209).

Knauer²² cites *Od.* 10,174-7 and 189-97, and 12,208ff.
 as the closest Homeric models for Aeneas' speech. In
 the former, Odysseus utters two speeches urging his men
 to join him in eating the beast he has just killed and
 in so doing stave off hunger (174-7). He invites his
 men to think of the options open to them in this strange
 land (i.e. Aeaëa - Circe's island). Odysseus himself
 can see no option and tells his men so (193); for he
 has seen the island from the peak with only thick bush
 to be seen with smoke rising from the middle (193-7).
 In the latter model (*Od.* 12,208ff.) Odysseus speaks to
 the *ἑταῖροι* as their ship approaches Scylla and
 Charybdis:-

"ὦ φίλοι, οὐ γάρ πώ τι κακῶν ἀδαήμενός εἰμεν
 οὐ μὲν δὴ τόδε μέϊζον ἐπὶ κακὸν ἢ ὅτε Κύκλωψ
 εἴλει ἐνὶ σπηΐ γλαφυρῷ κρατερῇφι βίηφι
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔνθεν ἐμῇ ἀρετῇ βουλῇ τε νόῳ τε
 ἐκφύγομεν, καὶ πού τῳδε μνήσεσθαι ὀΐω.
 οὐδ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ εἶπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες.

210

²²Knauer, (indices) ad loc.; see Austin's note, ad 198ff.

ὑμεῖς μὲν κώπησιν ἀλὸς ῥηγμῖνα βαθεῖαν
 τύπτετε κληΐδεσσιν ἐφήμενοι, αἳ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς 215
 δώῃ τόνδε γ' ὄλεθρον ὑπεκφυγέειν καὶ ἀλύξαι·
 σοὶ δέ, κυβερνήθ', ὦδ' ἐπιτέλλομαι· ἀλλ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
 βάλλειν, ἐπεὶ νηὸς γλαφυρῆς οἰήϊα νωμῶς.
 τούτου μὲν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς ἔεργε
 νῆα, σὺ δὲ σκοπέλου ἐπιμαίεο, μή σε λάθῃσι 220
 κεῖσ' ἐξορμήσασα καὶ ἐς κακὸν ἄμμε βάλησθα."
 Ὡς ἐφάμην, οἳ δ' ὦκα ἑμοῖς ἐπέεσσιν πίθοντο.
 Σκύλλην δ' οὐκέτ' ἐμυθέομην, ἄπρηκτον ἀνίην,
 μή πῶς μοι δέισαντες ἀπολλήξειαν ἑταῖροι
 εἰρεσίης, ἐντὸς δὲ πυκάζοιεν σφέας αὐτούς. 225

(Od. 12,208-25)

In the earlier model (Od. 10,174-7 and 189-97) Odysseus is characterised by his basic instincts for survival and his forthright pessimism. He states bluntly that he can think of no device that will ease their plight. In the second case Odysseus is more reticent as to the dangers ahead. He urges his men to have confidence in his own natural abilities (ἐμῇ ἀρετῇ βουλῇ τε νοῦ τε 12,211). His men will survive if they do as he says. He does not elaborate on Scylla (225ff.) in case his men should panic, yet he is still quietly confident that his ability as leader can overcome the dangers. It is his instinct for survival that necessitates reticence on the subject of Scylla.

Aeneas tells his men that they have suffered greater misfortune than this; some god will assist them now as before.²³ The Trojans have survived Scylla and the rocks of the Cyclopes and they must now put away their fear and press ahead with their journey. The fates are

²³Cf. deus (Aen. 1,199) and Ζεὺς (Od. 12,215).

pointing to Italy as their new home (205f.).²⁴ Odysseus hopes for deliverance by Zeus (215) from the dangers they are about to face, and Aeneas too hopes that some deus (199) will end their ordeal. Nothing in the Homeric models, however, corresponds to Aeneas' fata/fas (205f.). Vergil's hero sees labours which must be borne both in the short and the long terms. Mere survival is not enough; they must complete their fated mission.

Despite his exhortation Aeneas' heart is full of despondency (208f.). He stoically feigns hope in order to lift the spirits of his men. Both men and mission are foremost in his mind, and at this stage he sees that the prospects are bleak. Aeneas' despondency arises from his pietas; so strong is his commitment for the Trojans to follow the fated way that obstacles are intolerable. Moreover, he has a genuine concern for the safety of his missing men and groans (gemit 221) as he thinks about them. Vergil describes him as pius Aeneas (220) for this reason, because he, more than anyone (praecipue 220), is preoccupied with their safety.²⁵ This is the first use of the epithet in the poem, and again here we see the link between pietas and despondency: not until his men are safely with him again does Aeneas become content.²⁶

²⁴ On Aeneas' knowledge of the name Latium (205), see Conington, ad loc.

²⁵ For pius and pietas to describe Aeneas, see Austin, ad 10; A.S. Pease, Aeneidos Liber Quartus, (Darmstadt, 1967) ad 393; P. Boyancé, La Religion de Virgile (Paris, 1963) 58ff.; and J.P. Brisson, "Le 'pieux Enée'!" Latomus 31 (1972) 379-412.

²⁶ See especially 1,595ff.

The encounter between Venus and Jupiter (223ff.) is prompted by the goddess' fear for her son and his mission. She expands upon the Roman theme first intimated in the prooemium. She expresses concern that Jupiter has somehow changed the course of destiny (quae te, genitor, sententia vertit? 237). Is this treatment the reward for piety? (hic pietatis honos? 253). Jupiter replies (257ff.) that nothing has changed: the fates are firm that Aeneas will found Rome. He proceeds to spell out the glorious future of Rome - the Italian wars, Alba Longa, and the Iulii descended from Iulus himself. There will be no bounds on Roman greatness (imperium sine fine dedi 279). The glory of Rome will continue with the rule of Augustus. The gates of war will be closed and Furor impius (294) will have its hands bound behind its back.²⁷ Jupiter demonstrates his good faith by sending Mercury to ensure that Dido (fati nescia 299) should not mistreat the stranded Trojans.²⁸

At 305ff. we return to the action on the human level.

²⁷The reference here to Furor impius is significant for the theme of the Aeneid in general, and for the deaths of Dido and Turnus in particular. In my view, however, the reference has misled many scholars to the view that furor is, by definition, impius. We will see, on the contrary, that furor and pietas are, in Aeneas' case, perfectly compatible. For the concept of pius furor and its victory over impius furor, see below, p. 303ff.

²⁸This on the whole seems a superfluous gesture, although Dido, after her flight from Tyre (340ff.), is somewhat xenophobic (562ff.). See R.C. Monti, The Dido Episode and the Aeneid (Leiden, 1981) 77 for the view that the gesture of Jupiter reflects a prejudicial attitude against the Carthaginians on Vergil's part.

Pius Aeneas (305)²⁹ attempts to explore the surrounding countryside. After hiding his remaining ships he proceeds, with the shadowy Achates, along a path and suddenly encounters his mother dressed like a Spartan maiden or Thracian Harpalyce. Her utterance to Aeneas (321-4) furthers this pretence as she asks them whether they have seen her sister chasing a wild boar. Aeneas replies as follows:-

"nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum,
o quam te memorem, virgo? namque haud tibi vultus
mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; o, dea certe
(an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?),
sis felix nostrumque leves, quaecumque, laborem 330
et quo sub caelo tandem, quibus orbis in oris
iactemur doceas; ignari hominumque locorumque
erramus vento huc vastis et fluctibus acti.
multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra."
(326-34).

The speech is modelled on Odysseus' supplication to Nausicaa after his awakening on the beach:-

αὐτίκα μείλιχον καὶ κερδαλέον φάτο μῦθον·
"Γουννοῦμαί σε, ἄνασσα· θεός νύ τις ἢ βροτός ἐσσι;
εἰ μὲν τις θεός ἐσσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν, 150
'Αρτέμιδι σε ἐγὼ γε, Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοι,
εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε φηὶν τ' ἄγχιστα ἔϊσκω·
εἰ δέ τίς ἐσσι βροτῶν, τοὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσι,
τρισμάκαρες μὲν σοὶ γε πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,
τρισμάκαρες δὲ κασίγνητοι·"

(Od. 6, 148-55).

The Homeric speech in its entirety (149-85) is by far the longer³⁰ (37 lines as opposed to 9) consisting

²⁹For his pietas here, see Austin, ad loc.

³⁰Odysseus' speech is also the model for that of Aeneas to Dido (1, 595ff.). See below, p. 149f.

of a verbose appeal to the princess. Odysseus' personality comes to the fore as he questions Nausicaa's very mortality. He is prepared to use the amount of flattery that the situation demands. There is no question in Odysseus' own mind that Nausicaa is mortal³¹: Homer makes it clear that he utters a μελίχλιον καὶ κερδαλέον ... μῦθον (148). He is characterised by his strong instinct for survival: "Odysseus's first encounter with Nausicaa was perhaps the severest test of tact and resourcefulness in his whole career."³²

Where Odysseus confronts a mortal, Aeneas is confronted by a goddess. Aeneas quickly realises Venus' immortality but he cannot identify her and address her as he would like. He is not in the mood for flattery but is eager for assistance. Unlike Odysseus, who frightens the Phaeacian women except for Nausicaa, whom he attempts to put at ease with a gentle speech, Aeneas is himself addressed before he has the opportunity to speak. Aeneas does not fear for his own survival in a strange land as Odysseus does (Od. 6,119f.). Aeneas answers Venus (326) with haste in order to supplicate her as a goddess.³³ His pietas is shown both in his

³¹Odysseus addresses Nausicaa as ἄνασσα (149) and γύναι (168) whilst Aeneas addresses Venus in disguise as virgo (327) and dea (328). Once over the shock of encountering the "maiden", Aeneas has no doubts about her immortality.

³²W.B. Stanford, The Ulysses Theme, (Oxford, 1954) 52. Stanford seems to go too far however in suggesting (ibid. 52) that Odysseus has "gentle sensibility towards a young unmarried girl's feelings" whilst thinking perhaps of his own sister Ctimene or his son Telemachus (who could have been born a girl).

³³Cf. Aeneas' speech to the vision of Hector at 2,281ff. and Austin's notes, (Aen. 2) ad 281 and 282.

supplication and in the urgency with which it takes place. One line only (326) is devoted to answering her question, three lines (327-9) show his reverence towards her, and four lines concern the plight of him and his men (330-3). We are reminded that the basic difference in situation between that of Odysseus and Aeneas is that the former is utterly alone attempting to survive, whilst the latter feels personal responsibility for the welfare of his men. The final line of Aeneas' speech (334) also stresses his pietas: many a victim will fall for her at the altars. With the assistance of the goddess Aeneas hopes to lead his men out of their predicament.

Venus denies her immortality by implying (335ff.) that she is a Tyrian maiden. She explains some facts about the country into which Aeneas has come. She tells him of Dido's suffering at Tyre, her husband cruelly murdered by her own brother and her subsequent flight to Africa where she founded the city of Carthage. The speech is long by Vergilian standards (36 lines), partially doing the work of the narrative, and displays a sympathetic view of Dido. It is a poignant irony that such a narration should come from the deity most responsible for Dido's death. The speech itself functions as a dramatic preparation for Dido herself.³⁴ At this point we begin to anticipate the entrance of the queen. At the end of her speech

³⁴We might contrast the lack of a similar detailed dramatic preparation in Aeneas' case. See above, p. 117ff.

(369f.), Venus questions the Trojans: who are they?, where have they come from? and where do they go? Aeneas responds as follows:-

"quaerenti talibus ille	370
suspirans imoque trahens a pectore vocem:	
'O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam	
et vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum,	
ante diem clauso componat Vesper Olympo.	
nos Troia antiqua, si vestras forte per auris	375
Troiae nomen iit, diversa per aequora vectos	
forte sua Libycis tempestas appulit oris.	
sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste penatis	
classe vehe mecum, fama super aethera notus;	
Italiam quaero patriam, et genus ab Iove summo.	380
bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor,	
matre dea monstrante viam data fata secutus;	
vix septem convulsae undis Euroque supersunt.	
ipse ignotus, egens, Libyae deserta peragro,	385
Europa atque Asia pulsus."	

(370-85)

Aeneas' speech is made imo...a pectore (371) - a formula which reflects the strong emotion with which he speaks.³⁵ In addressing her as O dea (372), he refuses to accept her claim to mortality (335ff.). He is all too aware of his own suffering and is at pains to stress his labores: the day would end before he could narrate to her the extent of them (372ff.). In Od. 3,113-7³⁶ Nestor tells Telemachus that he could not describe the woes of the Achaeans at Troy, had he five or six years. In Od. 11,328-30 Odysseus narrates to the Phaeacians the story of his vévula; he could not describe the shades of women that he

³⁵Cf. 1,485; 2,288; 6,55; 11,377; and 11,840.

³⁶Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites these three Homeric parallels.

saw "before the immortal night would pass away" (πρὶν γὰρ κεν καὶ νύξ φθίτ' ἄμβροτος. 330). In Od. 14, 196-8 Odysseus tells Eumaeus that it would take a full year to tell of the suffering he endured. In each of the Homeric parallels the hero reflects upon past occurrences. The great difference in Aeneas' case is that misfortune is still real and still being experienced: his despondency is all the more intense because his suffering is real both in the past and present.

In the second part of the speech (375ff.), Aeneas elaborates on the wanderings of the Trojans and intersperses the view that he has suffered unjustly. He contrasts his self-acknowledged pietas with the hardship and misfortune that he has had to endure. He particularly stresses his own pietas: sum pius Aeneas (378)³⁷, penatis...veho (378-9), fama super aethera notus (379), genus ab Iove summo (380), matre dea monstrante viam data fata secutus (382). We might agree that querentem (385) "summarises the content of his speech."³⁸ Aeneas believes that he acts in a right and dutiful manner (378-9) and that his fame stretches to the heavens, yet he must still wander unknown and destitute (384). There is a striking contrast between notus (379) and ignotus (384) showing Aeneas' sense of his own worth and the unjust treatment he feels that he receives at the gods' hands. In the Homeric parallel to Aeneas' speech³⁹, Odysseus laments

³⁷James Henry, Aeneidea (London, 1873) ad 381, gives an elaborate and passionate reply to the criticisms of C.J. Fox who found Aeneas' self-introduction too much to bear. See also W.B. Anderson, "Sum pius Aeneas" C.R. 44 (1930) 3f.

³⁸Williams, ad 384-5.

³⁹Knauer, (indices) ad 378f.

the troubles that the gods have placed upon him yet he evinces a resilient acceptance of such woes. He never implies that he deserves better:-

εἴμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν
ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καὶ μὲν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει.

20

(Od. 9,19-20).

Odysseus is addressing Alcinous about whose mortality he has no doubts. He expects nothing of the king other than to be treated with hospitality (ξενία). He does not complain about his lot to Alcinous for this would achieve nothing. Aeneas complains to the "maiden" before him out of hope that she, as a goddess (372), might actively assist him in his predicament. He feels that he has done all that could have been asked of him (pietas), and expects to be spared the wrath of the gods.

Venus proceeds to taunt Aeneas by ignoring his self-introduction (quisquis es 387). She directs him to Carthage where he will be re-united with his men (389ff.). She points to an omen (393ff.) - twelve swans scattered by an eagle are seen either to reach the land, or peer down on the land already reached.⁴⁰ On their return the swans sport with flapping wings and circle the sky uttering musical cries. Aeneas' ships, too,⁴¹ are either in the harbour or approach it under full sail. It is implied that his men are joyful to be safely beside land. Aeneas should merely proceed where the way leads him (401).

As she turns to go away there is a bright flash from her neck, a divine fragrance from her ambrosial hair,

⁴⁰ Sic Austin, ad 396.

⁴¹ Cf. reduces 390 and 397. Page, ad loc., has an excellent note on the omen.

and her dress flows down to her feet (402ff.)⁴².

Aeneas recognises his immortal mother:-

"ille ubi matrem 405

agnovit tali fugientem est voce secutus:
 'quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis
 ludis imaginibus? cur dextrae iungere dextram
 non datur ac veras audire et reddere voces?'
 talibus incusat gressumque ad moenia tendit. 410
 at Venus obscuro gradientis aëre saepsit,
 et multo nebulae circum dea fudit amictu,
 cernere ne quis eos neu quis contingere posset
 molirive moram aut veniendi poscere causas."
 (405-14).

Venus acts in two different ways: first, for her own reasons, she betrays her own identity on the point of departure, thus showing playful cruelty towards her son. In so doing she makes all the worse Aeneas' despondency: he is resentful and confused as to why they cannot join hands and hold converse. Venus' second act is to cover Aeneas and Achates in a protective mist (411f.) so that no one is able to see or delay them (413f.). In the reader's eyes (but not Aeneas') Venus' second action negates the first: at Venus (411) signifies the contrast in her two actions. She has deceived him and made him feel utterly deserted, but her genuine concern is not seriously in question. The mist symbolises the love and protection of mother for son.⁴³ Vergil does not allow the reader to feel deep pathos for the hero whose real welfare is so clearly ensured. Jupiter, too, has prophe-

⁴² Cf. the Iris/Turnus episode in Book 9, 1ff. and discussion above, p. 33ff.

⁴³ This, it seems to me, is its primary function. Austin, ad 411, stresses the dramatic purpose of the mist for lines 498-578; and Otis, 65, argues that "the mist is also a symbol of his (Aeneas') spiritual removal from the scene".

sied Aeneas' eventual foundation of his line in Italy (1,257ff.) so that the reader knows that all will be well for the despondent hero. It has been noted⁴⁴ that "we are reminded that after the death of Anchises Aeneas has no family comfort; he cannot even embrace his goddess mother, and his son is too young to help. In crudelis tu quoque he summarises his despair." The death of Anchises causes Aeneas considerable grief as does that of Creusa at Troy.⁴⁵ The structure of the early books of the poem, however, does not allow the reader a glimpse of Aeneas' close personal experiences. At this stage of the poem we know nothing of Anchises or of Creusa, and scarcely anything of Ascanius.⁴⁶ Although recognising the frustration and anger of Aeneas as he cries out to his departing mother, the reader is unable to sympathise with him for the loss of a wife and father who heretofore are unmentioned. Yet whilst our empathy and sympathy for Aeneas are strictly limited by a wealth of detail about his glorious future and a lack of detail about his past, we recognise instantly his pietas as he fruitlessly appeals to his mother. Vergil stresses the bond which the son feels for his mother.⁴⁷

Aeneas moves on to observe the city (418f.) and marvels at the fine achievements of the builders (421ff.).

⁴⁴Williams, ad 407f.

⁴⁵For the effect of the death of Anchises on Aeneas, see 3,707ff. and Book 5, passim. For the death of Creusa, see 2,730ff.

⁴⁶See 1,267f. and 288.

⁴⁷There is no close Homeric parallel for this speech (409ff.) of Aeneas.

They are like bees in the young summer (430ff.). The sight of this flourishing new city brings Aeneas to exclaim:-

"O fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!"⁴⁸
(437).

Conington⁴⁹ notes that "the want of a city is the keynote of the Aeneid". In a state of homelessness⁵⁰ Aeneas can only look with envy upon those who have a city. This speech too stresses his pietas - his urgent desire to follow fate by building his own city. His despondency here reflects his inability to achieve this fated end. In his position of insecurity Aeneas sees Dido as a fortunate woman, yet if we look forward we may sense an element of irony in his words. Fortune smiles on Dido for only a brief part of the poem: her material prosperity is unable to help her psychological ruin as Aeneas departs.

Aeneas and Achates proceed amongst the townspeople shrouded in the mist (439-40). We are reminded again that, although dejected about his state of homelessness (437), Aeneas' goddess mother is ensuring his protection and welfare. There is a contrast between mood and reality - the dispirited hero (437) and the very harmlessness of his plight as symbolised by the mist (439-40).

Aeneas' spirits rise when he sees the temple wall being built in reverence to Juno. He anticipates the

⁴⁸Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no Homeric parallel.

⁴⁹Conington, ad loc.

⁵⁰Some scholars have referred to Aeneas as a 'D.P.' - a Displaced Person; see, for example, M. Di Cesare, The Altar and the City: A Reading of Vergil's "Aeneid" (New York, 1974) 1ff.

arrival of the queen (454) but suddenly sees a frieze on the temple walls (456ff.) showing with graphic detail the war at Troy.⁵¹ Aeneas reacts as follows:-

"constitit et lacrimans 'quis iam locus' inquit
'Achate,
 quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?
 en Priamus. sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi,
 sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.
 solve metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.'
 sic ait atque animum pictura pascit inani
 multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine vultum."
(459-65).

In Od. 6, 324ff.⁵² Odysseus prays to Athena that he may go to the city of the Phaeacians and be made welcome there. Athena hears his prayer but does not help him immediately, out of fear of Poseidon (328ff.). Odysseus proceeds into the city and is met by Athena in disguise (7, 14ff.). Athena sheds a mist (ἁλῦς) around him (7, 41ff.) because Odysseus is dear to her (...φίλα φρονέουσ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ 7, 42). The mist in the Homeric case has little symbolic value but is simply a means devised by Athena of disguising Odysseus from the xenophobic Phaeacians. Unlike the Vergilian case, there is no contrast between the mood of the hero and the reality of the situation. Odysseus is characterised by his trepidation (7, 81ff.) rather than his gloom, and appears unaware that he is concealed at all. Homer is unspecific on this point:-

"...καὶ τότε δὴ ῥ' αὐτοῖο πάλιν χύτο θέσφατος ἄηρ."
(7, 143).

⁵¹For a detailed discussion of this passage, see R.D. Williams, "The Pictures on Dido's Temple (Aeneid 1. 450-93)" C.Q. 10 (1960) 145ff.

⁵²Knauer, (indices) ad 459-65, cites Od. 8, 85-92 as the closest model- Odysseus' tears in response to Demodocus' song. See below, p. 138.

The mist merely disperses (γέω): it is never implied that Odysseus is actually aware of it. The difference is that in Vergil, Aeneas and Achates clearly have some control over when to appear into the light of day.⁵³ It is significant that Aeneas remains despondent out of fear for his lost men (pietas).

The description of Dido's temple (446ff.) parallels that of Alcinous' palace in the Odyssey.⁵⁴ Homer describes the physical features of the building and the gardens (7,81ff.). Odysseus is amazed at the sight (133ff.) before proceeding with his appeal to Arete (146ff.). In so doing he gains the goodwill and hospitality of the Phaeacians and begins the story of his adventures (7,241ff.). He tells the Phaeacians about his seven years on the island of Ogygia with the goddess Calypso. He does not, however, mention his name, his destination or that he fought at Troy. On the next day Demodocus, the minstrel, sings of the Trojan war, of Odysseus, Achilles and Agamemnon (8,72ff.). Odysseus weeps (8,83ff.), seen only by Alcinous who, with a good sense of the moment, suggests that the games commence. Odysseus performs admirably in the games and earns the respect of the Phaeacians. Demodocus sings again (8,266ff.), this time of the adulterous love of Aphrodite and Ares. There follows dancing, an exchange of gifts and a feast. Demodocus is asked by Odysseus (8,487ff.) to sing of the wooden horse. This he does and the story gives great glory to Odysseus. Again the hero weeps

⁵³See 514ff. and 579-89.

⁵⁴Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

(8,521ff.), seen only by Alcinous, who now asks him (8,550ff.) for details of himself; did one of his relations die at Troy?

Odysseus' fame is so great that it has penetrated the mythical world of the Phaeacians. Book 8 reasserts the greatness of the hero which was first emphasised in the Telemacheia (Books 1-4). The games show that his physical stature and abilities are still great. He is equal to or better than the best of men, and we already anticipate vengeance against the suitors. Odysseus' fame is such that the Phaeacians will make an avid audience for the narration of his adventures (Books 9-12).

In a similar way the Carthaginians are aware of Aeneas and his exploits. Aeneas' recognition of this fact allows him to think with confidence for the first time (450ff.). The pictures signify to Aeneas that the inhabitants possess humanitas, and that his own fama has extended to the shores of Africa (488). That the frieze appears on a temple wall signifies the pietas of the inhabitants. Where he expected to find barbarians⁵⁵, he discovers a people who care for humanity and its suffering.

Aeneas is, therefore, in a position of advantage: unlike Odysseus (7,133ff.) he has foreknowledge that his own fame has reached such distant shores. Moreover, in the Homeric case the tears of Odysseus (8,83ff. and 521ff.) have a dramatic function.⁵⁶ Alcinous sees the weeping hero and feels compelled to ask the reason for

⁵⁵Austin, ad 461f.

⁵⁶See W.R. Johnson's discussion, Darkness Visible (Berkeley, 1976) 99ff.

such a response to the tales of Troy (8,577ff.).

Odysseus answers by narrating his adventures; the tears effect the story. Aeneas, too, sheds tears,⁵⁷ in response to the frieze - a clear parallel to those of Odysseus. The difference is that in Aeneas' case the tears do not have a dramatic function. Instead they serve to underline the hero's essential quality, his pietas, as he laments the deaths of his compatriots. No reaction, like that of Alcinous, is possible from Dido because she is still unaware of his presence.

Aeneas' speech in reaction to the frieze also reflects his pietas. As he casts his eyes over the temple wall he laments the lot of Priam (461) and regrets the ill-fortune suffered by his countrymen (460) and notes that Carthaginians too show sympathy for the lot of mankind.⁵⁸ (461f.). Aeneas then demonstrates his concern for Achates - solve metus...aliquam tibi...salutem (463): "It is characteristic of Aeneas that he tries to comfort his companion."⁵⁹ Thus, as it is presented both in the narrative and the direct speech, Aeneas' reaction can be seen to underline his pietas.

⁵⁷lacrimans 459; largoque umectat flumine vultum 465; lacrimans 470 (see also 485). Page, ad 459, criticises the three references to tears as "feeble": see Austin's comment, ad loc. In the underworld Aeneas sees the shade of Dido and is described three times as shedding tears (6,455, 468 [see below, p.258] and 476). The significant difference is that his tears at Carthage help to underline his pietas, whilst those in the underworld do not. See below, p.254.

⁵⁸Lines 461f. have been the subject of endless debate; see Austin's note, ad loc.; and also, A. Parry, "The Two Voices of Virgil's Aeneid" Arion 2 (1963) 66-80; and A. Boyle, Ramus 1 (1972) 74ff.

⁵⁹Austin, ad loc.

Whilst Aeneas is still in a state of wonder at the frieze on the temple-wall, Dido suddenly appears in his view (494ff.). We have been expecting her appearance for a considerable time. Venus (335ff.) narrated Dido's misfortunes at Tyre and her subsequent flight to Africa. As he looked around Carthage, Aeneas himself anticipated the queen's arrival (reginam opperiens 454). Moreover, by placing Penthesilea furens at the very climax of the frieze (490ff.), the poet further develops the reader's anticipation of Dido's arrival.⁶⁰

Dido is described on her arrival as especially beautiful (forma pulcherrima Dido 496). She is surrounded by a throng of youths (497) and is likened to Diana on the banks of the Eurotas or along the ridges of Cynthus (498ff.). The simile is modelled on Nausicaa's likeness to Artemis in Od. 6,102ff.⁶¹ where the princess is singing whilst playing ball-games. Probus⁶² criticised the appropriateness of Vergil's simile claiming that it was better suited to Nausicaa's singing and playing than Dido's directions to her people. Vergil's borrowing from Homer, however, is different for deliberate reasons: the likening of Dido to Diana creates more complex verbal echoes and associations which reach throughout the work.⁶³ Nausicaa's

⁶⁰ See Pöschl's discussion, 147 and G. Williams, Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid (New Haven and London, 1983) 68ff.

⁶¹ Knauer, (indices) ad loc., also compares Od. 4,122 in which Helen is like Artemis with a bow of gold (χρυσήλακτος).

⁶² Aulus Gellius, 9,9,12ff.; cf. Austin's comment, ad 498ff.; Pöschl, 60ff.; and D. West, J.R.S. 59 (1969) 43f.

⁶³ See Williams, ad 498f.

beauty is encompassed within the simile (6,108ff.) whilst Dido's beauty is stated in the narrative beforehand (496). The physical beauty of Dido, however, is only one of her features.⁶⁴ She possesses great joy as she presses on with her work (502f.). Nausicaa takes simple pleasure in a ball-game whilst Dido is enthralled at the building of her city. Dido's happiness is contrasted with Aeneas' melancholia: she has succeeded in the very thing in which he has failed. Dido is joyful in her success. She is surrounded by a throng (497) as Diana is followed by a thousand Oreads (499f.). As Diana guides her dancers (499) so Dido guides the construction of her city (503ff.). Her pietas is given further emphasis⁶⁵ in this description of her guiding the welfare of her people (503ff.). Furthermore she possesses dignitas and maiestas (506)⁶⁶, and iustitia (507f.).⁶⁷

As he is observing the appearance of the queen, Aeneas catches sight of his men - Antheus, Sergestus and Cloanthus, and all the others whom he once thought were lost:-

"...operumque laborem
partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat:
cum subito Aeneas..."

(507-9).

⁶⁴Although not necessarily a secondary one; so Austin, ad 498ff.

⁶⁵Cf. 446f. and discussion above, p. 139.

⁶⁶See Pöschl, 69.

⁶⁷The nature of the frieze and her generosity to the Trojans (562ff.) stress her humanitas. Unlike the case of Turnus we see all of these noble characteristics in Dido well before her infection at the gods' hands (657ff.); see above, p. 29ff.

The hero's head suddenly turns from Dido to his men. Aeneas is amazed (obstupuit 513)⁶⁸ at the sight: both he and Achates desire avidly to join hands with their comrades, but they remain hidden in the divine cloud (514ff.). Instead they wait, in order to see what is to happen to their friends, where the fleet is, and why they have appeared at the temple (516ff.). The reaction of Aeneas (and Achates) to the sight of his men exemplifies his pietas: he shows love and concern for their safety just as he did at their loss (1,217ff.).

We are now in a position to reflect upon Vergil's presentation of his hero so far. All of Aeneas' seven speeches up to this point forcefully underline his pietas. Moreover, we have seen that the poet alters the Homeric presentation of events to stress this fundamental quality of Aeneas. Because of the emphasis given to Aeneas' piety, Vergil's hero is a different, less three-dimensional figure than is Homer's Odysseus in Phaeacia. On reflection we could say that Aeneas, to this point in Book 1, has, on the whole, a passive role, and responds or reacts to six different happenings. These can be listed as follows: 1/ the storm and misfortune (81-222); 2/ the appearance of his mother (305-417); 3/ the view of the city (418-440); 4/ the view of the temple and its pictures (441-493); 5/ the view of Dido (494-508); 6/ the sight of his men (509-519). We can say without any doubt that Aeneas reacts unequivocally to five of these occurrences and that in each case the poet stresses his piety. We might list these reactions as

⁶⁸Cf. Dido's amazement at the sudden appearance of Aeneas (613ff.).

follows: 1/ 94-101, 198-207 and passim; 2/ 326-334, 372-385 and 407-9; 3/ 437 and passim; 4/ 459-63 and passim; and 6/ 513ff. We could reasonably have expected a clear response from Aeneas to 5/ - the sight of Dido - but his reaction is in fact more difficult to discern. Vergil describes Dido in the narrative as pulcherrima, and, we might reasonably infer that, given Aeneas' subsequent love for the queen, this is also the hero's reaction to her. The poet in fact seems to be implying that the choice of the word pulcherrima is that of Aeneas himself.⁶⁹ In the simile of Dido as Diana, Latona is described as watching her daughter silently and being filled with joy at the sight:-

"(Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus)"
(502).

It has been plausibly suggested⁷⁰ that this line "conveys the effect which Dido has upon those watching her, particularly Aeneas". A mother's joy at the sight of her daughter would, on the face of it, seem inappropriate for Aeneas' emotional reaction to a woman of great beauty; yet Aeneas observes Dido silently as Latona does Diana: the parallel is a close one. The fundamental point is that the substance of Aeneas' reaction to Dido is never made clear.⁷¹ There is instead an implicit response: the thoughts of the hero are obscured. Vergil uses

⁶⁹See Otis' chapter "The Subjective Style", 41ff.

⁷⁰Williams, ad loc. See Sainte-Beuve's difficulty with this passage, Étude Sur Virgile (Paris, 1857) 293.

⁷¹The reader does not miss the lack of a reaction from Aeneas for two reasons: first, because one is implied anyway in the narrative, and second, because the reader's focus, like Aeneas', shifts suddenly to the lost Trojans: cum subito Aeneas... 509ff.

indirect rather than direct techniques at this point because an utterance or vivid response to the beauty of a woman would not exemplify Aeneas' pietas. We begin to see that the hero's pietas, or the lack of it, is Vergil's criterion for using direct or indirect techniques of characterisation.

Ilioneus speaks to Dido on behalf of the Trojans already in the city (522-58). He narrates the story of their journey from Troy to Italy and of the storms which struck them en route, leaving them shipwrecked on Dido's shore (522ff.). He complains of the rough treatment that they have received (539ff.) and pleads for her hospitality. He stresses the piety of the Trojans (526) and urges Dido to be mindful of the gods (542f.). In questioning her pietas, Ilioneus mentions his own leader:-

"rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter
nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis.
quem si fata virum servant, si vescitur aura
aetheria neque adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris,
non metus, officio nec te certasse priorem
paeniteat..."

(544-9)

"sin absumpta salus, et te, pater optime Teucrum,
pontus habet Libyae nec spes iam restat Iuli..."

(555-6).

Ilioneus hopes that the fates will save such a pius man, for if they do, the Trojans will fulfil their mission. If, however, Aeneas is lost at sea, the Trojans will go to Sicily where they are assured a home. The success or failure of the mission depends on Aeneas. Ilioneus describes him emotionally - he was⁷² as just,

⁷² Ilioneus' use of the imperfect erat signifies that he fears the worst.

as pius and as great in arms as anyone; so great that his very survival would assuage all the speaker's fears.

Thus he addresses him as pater optime Teucrum (555).

The speech characterises Aeneas indirectly as the Telemacheia does Odysseus.⁷³ We have seen already (220ff. etc.) Aeneas' love and concern for his men: now we see that it is reciprocated. The speech reinforces Aeneas' pietas from a different angle, as well as bringing before Dido the name and fame of the Trojan king.

Dido's response seems largely to suggest that Ilioneus' pleas are superfluous. She acts with spontaneous generosity: the Trojans may do as they wish by leaving for Italy (569) or for Sicily (570), or even remain on equal terms in Carthage (572ff.). What Dido possesses is the Trojans' also and they will be treated as equals: urbem quam statuo, vestra est (573). Dido's only wish is that Aeneas himself were present (575f.). She will send people forth to look for him (576ff.).

Aeneas and Achates had for a long time been burning (ardebant 581) to burst from the cloud. The shadowy Achates is the first to speak and urges Aeneas (582-5) to reappear into the daylight for all is safe (omnia tuta vides 583). Aeneas needs little inducement and bursts forward in sensational style:-

"vix ea fatus erat cum circumfusa repente
scindit se nubes et in aethera purgat apertum.
restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsit
os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram
caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae
purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores:

590

⁷³See discussion above, p. 117ff.

quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo
 argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro.
 tum sic reginam adloquitur cunctisque repente
 improvisus ait: 'coram, quem quaeritis, adsum, 595
 Troius Aeneas, Libycis ereptus ab undis.
 o sola infandos Troiae miserata labores,
 quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque
 omnibus exhaustis iam casibus, omnium egenos,
 urbe, domo socias, grates persolvere dignas 600
 non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quidquid ubique est
 gentis Dardaniae, magnum quae sparsa per orbem.
 di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
 usquam iustitiae est, et mens sibi conscia recti
 praemia digna ferant. quae te tam laeta tulerunt 605
 saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?
 in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae
 lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
 semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,
 quae me cumque vocant terrae.' sic fatus amicum 610
 Ilionea petit dextra laevaue Serestum,
 post alios, fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum."
 (586-612).

The beautification of Aeneas (589ff.) and the simile
 used to describe it (592ff.) are modelled on two Odyssean
 episodes (6,229ff. and 23,156ff.)⁷⁴. In the former
 Athena adds beauty to Odysseus in order to impress
 Nausicaa, who had previously thought of him as shabby
 (ἀεικέλιος 6,242). The transformation succeeds in its
 purpose and she thinks of him as god-like. In the latter
 case Athena sheds beauty upon Odysseus prior to his self-
 revelation to Penelope (23,156ff.). This aids Penelope's
 recognition of her husband - she sees him more as she
 remembers him.

⁷⁴See Knauer's indices, ad loc.

Vergil has come in for criticism for his presentation of the beautification of Aeneas: "(the episode is) a piece of imitation, dull and unconvincing, as nearly all the purely Homeric touches are in the character and story of Aeneas".⁷⁵ R.G. Austin⁷⁶ has gone a long way to correcting this view: "Aeneas has long been an idealized hero to Dido (cf. 617), and the Goddess of Love shows him to her on his first appearance as beautiful and god-like, fulfilling her highest hope". In short, the shedding of beauty on to Aeneas should be seen as the beginning of Venus' psychological manipulation of Dido. Athena's purpose in the Odyssean cases is immediate and benign, whilst Venus' is elaborate and sinister.

Aeneas' self-introduction⁷⁷ (595f.) is dramatic indeed, but he does not dwell on himself but moves on immediately (597ff.) to give thanks to Dido. She is the only one who has pitied the lot⁷⁸ of those Trojans who survived the slaughter by the Greeks and have subsequently suffered great hardship on land and sea, lacking everything. So great is her generosity that Aeneas feels unable to give due thanks (grates...dignas 600), but prays at least that the gods will give praemia digna

⁷⁵Glover, 215f.; cf. Conington, ad loc.

⁷⁶Austin, ad 589ff.

⁷⁷The Homeric parallels for 595f. (Knauer's indices, ad loc.) are Od. 21,207f. and Od. 24,321f. - Odysseus' self-introductions to Eumaeus and Laertes.

⁷⁸Helenus (3,294ff.) and Acestes (1,195ff.) are both Trojans; see Austin, ad 597.

(605). He regards her as one of the pios (603)⁷⁹ who is most worthy of honour and good reward. This part of the speech is modelled on Odysseus' imprecations to Nausicaa and Arete:-

σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν ὅσα φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς, 180
 ἄνδρα τε καὶ οἶκον καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην ὀπάσειαν
 ἐσθλήν· οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρεῖσσον καὶ ἄριον,
 ἢ ὅθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχῃτον
 ἀνὴρ ἢ δὲ γυνή·

(Od. 6,180-184)

τούσδε τε δαιτυμόνας, τοῖσιν θεοὶ ὄλβια δοῖεν
 ζώεμεναι, καὶ παισὶν ἐπιτρέψειεν ἕκαστος
 κτήματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γέρας θ' ὃ τι δῆμος ἔδωκεν. 150

(Od. 7,148-50).

Odysseus is specific in his hopes for the Phaeacians and for Nausicaa: he wishes for the princess a husband, a home and oneness of heart (ὁμοφροσύνην 6,181). These things, Odysseus says, will bring happiness to Nausicaa. For the Phaeacians he wishes prosperity (ὄλβια 7,148) in general and, more specifically, the capacity to hand down acquisitions (κτήματα 150) and honour (γέρας 150). The prayers of Odysseus for good fortune to smile both on Nausicaa and the Phaeacians are made from a position of insecurity; the survival-motive dominates his thinking. Aeneas, by contrast, has been granted hospitality by Dido and is desperately grateful to her. Aeneas' hopes for

⁷⁹Which, of course, she is, for the following reasons:
 1/ because she is shown building a temple to Juno (446ff.)
 2/ because she directs the welfare of her people (507f.)
 and 3/ because, in giving hospitality to the Trojans, she acts in accordance with the laws of Iuppiter hospitalis (731ff.). I see little in Aeneas' speech, or elsewhere, to support the view that pius means "compassionate"; so W.R. Johnson "Aeneas and the Ironies of Pietas" C.J. 60 (1965) 360ff.

Dido are less specific than those of Odysseus, yet he speaks with the deepest sincerity. His words, however, resound with tragic irony, for within fifty lines Venus begins to apply her novas artis (657) to Dido.⁸⁰ The eventual "rewards" of the queen's hospitality to the Trojans are her decline and death. Her tragedy in Book 4 is all the more powerful because of her noble spirit. Odysseus' words, by contrast, lack these deeper implications: there is nothing to suggest that Nausicaa and the Phaeacians ever lack the prosperity that Odysseus prays for.⁸¹

Aeneas' flattery to Dido (605f.) is modelled on that of Odysseus to Nausicaa at Od. 6,149ff.⁸² The significant difference is that where Odysseus utters a μεγίχλιον καὶ κερδαλέον ... μῦθον (148), Aeneas is utterly sincere. Aeneas ends his speech by promising to Dido the only thing that he can - that her honour, name and praises will endure whatever lands call him (607ff.). These lines, which have no clear Homeric model,⁸³ are also spoken with deep sincerity, yet here, too, there is a strong element of tragic irony; for, within a short time, in a bitter response to her tragic dilemma, Dido evokes an avenger to rise up.⁸⁴ Aeneas' city and that of Dido will be implacable enemies until the eventual destruction of the latter.

⁸⁰ Boyle, Ramus 1 (1972) 77 argues that lines 603-5 direct "the reader's attention to the moral injustice of Dido's plight". They certainly point out that Dido's humanitas and pietas are cruelly repaid by Venus.

⁸¹ On the fate of the Phaeacians, see Od. 13,128-87.

⁸² Knauer, (indices) ad 603-5.

⁸³ Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

⁸⁴ See 4,624ff.

After saying these words, Aeneas grasps the hands of his comrades (pietas). Aeneas' speech to Dido is his last utterance of Book 1. The final section of the book concentrates on the queen - her amazement that the goddess-born Aeneas stands before her, her hospitality towards them and the manipulation of her person by Venus and Cupid. Aeneas' love for his son compels him to send Achates to the ships to bring Ascanius to the city (643ff.). Venus plays upon his pietas, disguises Cupid as Ascanius, and steals Aeneas' son away (657ff.). The task laid upon Cupid is to infect Dido with a deep and powerful love. This he proceeds to do, and the end of the book sees Dido becoming more and more consumed with love, asking Aeneas again and again to tell the stories of Troy and of his own wanderings.

Section 2

Aeneas Book 2

The second book of the Aeneid may be divided into three sections:-

- 1/ 1-249: The narration begins; the deception of the Trojans by Sinon; the Wooden Horse and death of Laocoon.
- 2/ 250-558: The destruction of Troy; the death of Priam, the "heroic impulse"¹ of Aeneas.
- 3/ 559-804: The Helen episode; Aeneas and his family; flight from Troy.

Aeneas does not appear as a character in the first section of his own narrative, although at the outset of the book he stresses that the memory of Troy is painful

¹See Quinn, 1ff.

to him:-

"infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,
Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
eruerint Danaï, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi 5
et quorum pars magna fui. quis talia fando
Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi
temperet a lacrimis? et iam nox umida caelo
praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.
sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros 10
et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem,
quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
incipiam."

(3-13)².

The reader, who has seen Aeneas' lachrymose reaction to the pictures on Dido's temple, appreciates the hero's reluctance to tell of Troy's destruction. The queen herself who did not see his reaction to the frieze is forced to persevere with her request.³ The pain and grief of telling the story stress the pietas of the narrator.⁴ He himself had no small part in the events of that night and remembers them all too vividly. Yet so painful is the memory of them that he is reluctant to tell the tale.⁵

²As well as Od. 9,1-15 (see below, n,5) Knauer, in his indices, (ad 3f.) compares Od. 7,241f. in which Odysseus says to Arete that it is difficult to tell of all the troubles the gods have given him.

³See 1,750ff. and 2,10f.

⁴As did his tears in response to the frieze (1,456ff.). See above, p. 137ff.

⁵Cf. Od. 9,12ff. in which Odysseus, in response to Alcinous (8,536ff.), laments the woes of his past. Dido is specific in her requests to Aeneas (1,750ff.) whereas Alcinous, who is still unsure of his guest's identity, merely seeks to know more about the stranger and why he responds with tears to tales of Troy. Aeneas shows greater reluctance to tell the story than does Odysseus, who concentrates on his own suffering:- κῆδε' ἐπεὶ μοι πολλὰ δόσαν θεοὶ οὐρανίωνες. (Od. 9,15).

With one exception⁶ these opening lines are the only ones in the first section in which Aeneas refers to his own thoughts or actions. The first person plural is used throughout this section;⁷ Aeneas is merely one of the Trojans. He too is deceived by Sinon's lies⁸ and is equally aghast at the death of Laocoon. The comparative anonymity of Aeneas amongst the Trojans allows the reader to concentrate on Sinon's deceit, Priam's generosity, and the horrific deaths of Laocoon and his sons.

In the second section of the book (250-558) Aeneas relates his own actions and experiences during the destruction of the city. The sleeping Aeneas sees a vision of Hector who looks nothing like the great hero that defeated Patroclus but is befouled with blood from his many wounds. Aeneas weeps as he greets him (flens 279)⁹ and is the first to speak:-

"o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum,
quae tantae tenuere morae? quibus Hector ab oris
expectate venis? ut te post multa tuorum
funera, post varios hominumque urbisque labores

⁶(horresco referens), 204 is used parenthetically, referring to Aeneas as narrator (i.e. in Carthage).

⁷See 25, 74, 105, 145, 212, 234, 244 and 245; cf. G. Sanderlin, "Vergil's Protection of Aeneas in Aeneid II" C.W. 66 (1972-3) 82ff.

⁸R.G. Austin, Aeneidos Liber Secundus (Oxford, 1964) XIV, "...we have to infer that he was deceived like the rest about the Horse..."

⁹His emotional response to the vision of Hector underlines his pietas. The mood of sorrow is further intensified by the reference to the tears (271) of maestissimus Hector (270) and maestas voces (280).

defessi aspicimus! quae causa indigna serenos
foedavit vultus? aut cur haec vulnera cerno?"

(281-6).

Aeneas is clearly puzzled by the vision before him, his words "have the inconsequential nature of a dream".¹⁰ His great love for Hector (pietas) is stressed immediately - he is, to Aeneas, the light of the Dardan land and the surest hope of the Trojans.¹¹ The repeated "o" stresses the emotion of the speaker.¹² In his dream Aeneas is unaware that Hector is dead: what delay has kept him and why does he bear such terrible wounds?

Hector is unconcerned with trivialities (287).

Aeneas, he says (289ff.), must flee from the flames because the enemy now hold the walls. Enough has been done to defend Troy; if it could have been saved, Hector himself would have saved it (291ff.). Aeneas must take the sacra and Penates and for these seek the great city which he will finally establish after long wanderings at sea (293ff.). Hector's speech is "terse"¹³; his concern is to prompt Aeneas into fleeing Troy rather than to answer the questions of his old friend.¹⁴

In chronological terms, Aeneas' utterance to Hector (281ff.) is his first in the poem. The episode is in some ways like the first appearance of Turnus (7,413f.) who in his sleep is confronted by the demon Allecto

¹⁰Williams, ad loc.

¹¹Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites Il. 23,94-8 as a Homeric parallel for Aeneas' speech. In this episode the ghost of Patroclus appears before Achilles telling the latter to bury him (69-92). Achilles (unlike Aeneas) proceeds to follow the injunction of his former friend (95f. and 103ff.).

¹²Austin, ad loc. We might compare Aeneas here with his speech to the disguised Venus at 1,326ff.

¹³Williams, ad 268f.

¹⁴nate dea (289) is the only personal reference.

disguised as Calybe. In each case the hero is vague and somnolent. The vision that confronts Turnus attempts unsuccessfully to lead him into war; the episode is characterised by the conflict of wills and the force that Allecto must use to have her way.¹⁵ Aeneas too is confronted in his sleep (in somnis 270) by a vision¹⁶ but in this episode there is not the same conflict of wills. In stressing the need to flee Troy, Hector commends to Aeneas a course of action foreign to his mentality, yet the latter's will (unlike Turnus') always remains his own.¹⁷ Moreover, as Vergil presents the episodes, Turnus' natural inclination is to peace whilst that of Aeneas¹⁸ is to war.

The sound of Troy's destruction reaches Aeneas in his father's house (298ff.). The hero wakes from his sleep and proceeds to investigate; Hector was right (290), for the enemy hold the walls. Aeneas immediately rushes into arms:-

"arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis."
(314-7)¹⁹.

¹⁵See above, p.21ff.

¹⁶On the subject of dreams and visions in the poem, see H.R. Steiner, Der Traum in der Aeneis (Berne and Stuttgart 1952) esp. 29ff. and 62ff.

¹⁷On this see W.A. Camps, An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid (Oxford, 1969) 23.

¹⁸2, 314ff.

¹⁹Knauer, (indices) ad 315-317, compares Il. 15, 496-499 which is not, however, a close parallel.

Aeneas' behaviour here demonstrates his "heroic impulse"²⁰, his natural irrational urge to defend his city, and, if necessary, to die in so doing. It is significant that Aeneas, in a natural response to the situation (arma amens capio 314), is pictured acting like Turnus after his infection by the demon Allecto (arma amens fremit 7,460).²¹ Aeneas utterly loses his ratio (314)²² and is dominated completely by fury and anger (furor iraque...316f.). In this state of mind he leaves the house of Anchises in which his father, wife and son sleep unprotected. In so doing he neglects to follow Hector's injunction that he should flee Troy taking with him the sacra and Penates. Thus, Aeneas begins the story of his own part in the events of that night by admitting to Dido his impietas. Hector's words to him have no effect; the hero still does not fulfil his duty of leaving Troy to found a new city.

As Aeneas prepares to rush into the fray, Panthus arrives bearing the sacra and Penates. He is the priest of Apollo (319) and brings with him his parvus nepos (320). Panthus is in short the epitome of piety²³ and bears the sacred objects of which Hector

²⁰See Quinn, 1ff.

²¹Heinze, 32 n.1 also draws this comparison.

²²Aeneas' statement, nec sat rationis in armis (314), has significant implications for the hero's nature in war and for the meaning of the poem. See below, p. 302ff. and p. 350ff.

²³On this episode see Heinze, 33ff.; R. Allain, "Une 'nuit spirituelle' d'Enée" R.E.L. 24 (1946) 189ff.; B. Fenik, "Theme and Imagery in Aeneid 2 and 4" A.J.P. 80 (1959) 6ff.; K. Quinn, Latin Explorations (London, 1963) 208ff.; E.L. Harrison, "Divine Action in Aeneid 2" Phoenix 24 (1970) 324f. and Austin, ad 320. As Harrison (ibid. 324) points out, Aeneas' responsibilities are intimated on two levels - the divine, by Hector (289ff.) and the human by Panthus' appearance (318ff.).

had just spoken. Aeneas, however, still fails to recognise his responsibilities:-

"quo res summa loco, Panthu? quam prendimus arcem?"²⁴
(322).

Regardless of the state of battle, Aeneas is determined to act with the sword. Panthus, however, replies dolefully (324ff.) that their city has fallen (fuit Ilium 325) and that Jupiter has changed sides. He elaborates on the hopeless task of warding off the attackers. Aeneas hears the tale of woe, but far from being deterred, rushes into battle:-

"...in flammis et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys,
quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor."
(337-8).

Aeneas' instincts drive him into a battle in which he can expect to be killed.²⁵ Again he acts bravely but contrary to the commands of Hector.²⁶ He now assumes the position of dux and exhorts his men to follow the path of fortune:-

"quos ubi confertos audere in proelia vidi,
incipio super his: 'iuvenes, fortissima frustra
pectora, si vobis audendi extrema cupido
certa sequi, quae sit rebus fortuna videtis: 350
excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
di quibus imperium hoc steterat: succurritis urbi
incensae; moriamur et in media arma ruamus.

²⁴See Austin's note, ad loc., on this difficult line. Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no Homeric parallel for this speech.

²⁵Panthus (324-35) makes the state of battle quite clear. See also Aeneas' sentiments at 353f.

²⁶Cf. ...teque his...eripe flammis (Hector, 289) and in flammis et in arma feror (Aeneas, 337).

una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.'

sic animis iuvenum furor additus. inde, lupi ceu 355
raptores atra in nebula, quos improba ventris
exegit caecos rabies catulique relict
faucibus expectant siccis, per tela, per hostis
vadimus haud dubiam in mortem mediaeque tenemus
urbis iter;"

(347-60).²⁷

Aeneas recognises the futility of the charge he is about to lead into the city; for the gods have departed leaving behind their shrines and altars (351ff.). He urges *his men* nonetheless to die in battle for this is better than defeat and slavery (353f.).²⁸ Aeneas adds furor to their courage (355) and they become like wolves driven by a rabid hunger and by their own puppies left behind which are thirsty for blood (355ff.).²⁹ In the later books this kind of simile is used to describe the enemies of Aeneas³⁰ and hence it is significant that Vergil uses it to describe the Trojans themselves.

²⁷Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no Homeric model for Aeneas' speech (348ff.) but cites Il. 12,299-306 as a parallel to the simile of the wolves.

²⁸Cf. Aeneas' sentiments at 2,317 and those of Turnus at 11,416ff. See also Heinze, 32, n.2.

²⁹In his excellent article on the imagery in Book 2, "The Serpent and the Flame", A.J.P. 71 (1950) 379-400, Bernard Knox writes (392) - "But the suggestion, implicit in the simile and its immediate sequel, that Aeneas has usurped the attributes of the serpent that has so far stood for violence and deceit deepens immeasurably the sense of his wrongness and folly, and reminds us how far Aeneas has strayed from his duty, which is not to fight, but to yield to a greater purpose, as he does yield in the end."

³⁰See Pöschl's list of the similes in the poem referring to Aeneas and Turnus, 98f. Austin, ad 356, compares the wolf-simile used to describe Turnus at 9,59ff. Williams, ad loc., also compares 9,565f. and 11,809ff.

There is a clear parallel in the early pictures of Aeneas and Turnus although the latter is the victim of a demonic infection. Aeneas acts in accordance with his instincts. The virtus of the Trojans and their mad rage (furor) incite them into a battle that they will certainly lose. Aeneas' behaviour here is consistent with his initial response to the sight and sound of Troy's destruction (314ff.). Hector's injunction is still forgotten.

Aeneas now vividly describes the battle for the city (363ff.). The Trojans kill a party of Greeks and don their armour (385ff.). In their disguise they are able to mingle with the Greeks and kill many of them. They see Cassandra dragged from the temple (402ff.), at which sight Coroebus³¹, in a fit of fury (furiata mente 407),³² rushes into the fray. Aeneas and the others follow and many are killed.³³ Aeneas describes the fighting in Priam's palace and the death of the king himself (438ff.). The Greeks burst into the scarcely defended building. They kill the wounded Polites, son of Priam, ante ora patris and then proceed to kill the king himself (526ff.). After Priam sees his own son killed, he prays (535ff.) that Pyrrhus may get his due rewards and reminds him that Achilles had respected the

³¹ On the important role of Coroebus in the fighting, see Sanderlin, C.W. 66 (1972-3) 84.

³² Cf. Aeneas - furiata mente (588).

³³ Amongst those killed is Panthus on whom Aeneas reflects as follows:-

nec te tua plurima, Panthu,
labentem pietas nec Apollinis infula texit.
(429-30).

rights of the suppliant: "Pyrrhus utters lies when he calls Achilles his father" (540-3). The speech, however, has no effect on Pyrrhus who ruthlessly kills the old man (547ff.). The death of Priam stirs Aeneas into thinking of his own father (559ff.).³⁴ He thinks also of his wife Creusa and small son Ascanius (562f.). Aeneas looks around and sees that his comrades have either deserted him or fallen into the flames. At this point he sees Helen lurking silently, close to Vesta's shrine, in fear of her life:-

"illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros
 et Danaum poenam et deserti coniugis iras
 praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys,
 abdiderat sese atque aris invisa sedebat.
 exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem 575
 ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.
 'scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenae
 aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho,
 coniugiumque domumque patris natosque videbit
 Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris? 580
 occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?
 Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus?
 non ita. namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
 feminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem,
 exstinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis 585
 laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuvabit
 ultricis flammae et cineres satiasset meorum.
 talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar..."
 (571-88).³⁵

³⁴Aeneas' first recognition of his responsibilities, in this case for his family, marks the beginning of the third section of the book (559-804).

³⁵Knaauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no Homeric model for this passage.

One of the objections of Servius³⁶ to this passage is that it is shameful (turpe) for Aeneas or any brave man to rage against a woman in this manner. Aeneas admits to the same view (583ff.) and we may infer that this was also the view of the poet himself. It is, therefore, all the more significant that Vergil includes the reference at all. The point is that so great is the loathsomeness of Helen to the sight of Aeneas that he feels he must kill her; for she may return in triumph to see her home and family, whilst Troy is destroyed with the king and people killed. In such circumstances it is a pleasure to kill such a nefarious creature, even though it brings him no honour to do so.

Thus Aeneas' pietas in response to the death of Priam which begins the third section of Book 2 proves to be notably short-lived. It is evident, on reflection, that Aeneas is in a state of furor throughout almost the entire second section of the book.³⁷ At the first sight of the flames he erupts into a fury (314ff.) even though the vision had counselled him to act prudently by leaving the city (289ff.). In so doing he leaves Anchises, Creusa and Ascanius, as well as the sacra and Penates, unguarded in his house (322ff.). He leads his men into a battle knowing full well that they cannot win (348ff.).

³⁶ Servius, ad 592. For the main arguments for and against the authenticity of this passage, see R.G. Austin, "Virgil Aeneid 2. 567-88" C.Q. 11 (1961) 185-98 (for), and G.P. Goold, "Servius and the Helen episode", H.S.C.P. 74 (1970) 101-68 (against). Büchner, 331ff., following Servius (ibid.), argues that Vergil would have replaced these lines, and stresses their inconsistency with the picture of Helen in Book 6, 511ff. For my argument that this inconsistency is deliberate, see below, p. 260ff.

³⁷ 250-558. Aeneas is, however, characterised by his initial calmness at 279ff.

As the third section begins, Aeneas' desire for vengeance obliterates his concern for his family (furiata mente ferebar 588).

On the face of it Vergil draws a simple distinction between two states of mind - pietas, being loving concern for family as well as for the sacra and Penates; and furor, being a mad irrational rage, which from time to time controls Aeneas' actions. Up to line 589 it would seem that the conflict between furor and pietas in Aeneas is well-defined and that furor has easily the upper hand. At this point, however, begins one of the most important and far-reaching episodes in the poem. For just as Aeneas is about to kill Helen, Venus intervenes and stops him from doing so. We will see that from this point pietas begins to take on a more complex meaning and the dichotomy between pietas and furor in the character of Aeneas ceases to be so exact. Venus speaks as follows:-

"'nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?
 quid furis aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit? 595
 non prius aspicias ubi fessum aetate parentem
 liqueris Anchisen, superet coniunxne Creusa
 Ascaniusque puer? quos omnis undique Graiae
 circum errant acies et, ni mea cura resistat,
 iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis. 600
 non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisae Lacaenae
 culpatusve Paris, divum inclementia, divum,
 has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam.
 aspice (namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti
 mortalis hebetat visus tibi et umida circum 605
 caligat, nubem eripiam; tu ne qua parentis
 iussa time neu praeceptis parere recusa):..."
 (594-607).

Venus shows to Aeneas the gods themselves, Neptune,

Juno, Minerva and Jupiter assisting the Greeks in the destruction of the city (608-18). He must flee and put an end to this toil³⁸; she herself will guard him on his return to Anchises' threshold.

The tenor of Venus' speech is encompassed in her question to him - quid furis?, "Why (for what reason, to what purpose) do you rage?" There are more important things to be done: Anchises, Creusa and Ascanius are still alive though only through Venus' intervention (596ff.). It is not the hated face of Helen, nor Paris, but the gods who destroy the city; and yet Aeneas strives to defend it. It profits nothing to kill Helen when other things need urgently to be done. Aeneas must divert his energies in the face of omnipotent opposition. He must cease one labor (the killing of Helen/ the fight for Troy). that, by fleeing the city, he can undertake another (eripe, nate, fugam finemque impone labori 619). Venus does not stress the immorality of killing a defenceless woman at an altar because morality is not her chief concern.³⁹ It is the futility of Aeneas' actions, their lack of direction, that bothers her. Venus' speech is too often interpreted as a lesson for

³⁸ eripe, nate, fugam finemque impone labori (619). Cf. Hector's words to Aeneas:-

'heu fuge, nate dea, teque his' ait 'eripe flammis'
(289).

³⁹ See G.P. Goold, H.S.C.P. 74 (1970) 157 and A. Körte, "Zum zweiten Buch von Vergils Aeneis" Hermes 51(1916) 145ff.

Aeneas in the moral value of restraining the passions.⁴⁰
 In fact, she implies no such thing: with his furor there is nothing fundamentally wrong per se, only that on this occasion it is hopelessly mis-directed. Nor does Aeneas interpret the speech as a moral lesson. Whilst at Carthage with Dido he reflects upon his furious reaction that night to the sight and sounds of Troy's destruction:-

"arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis..."

(314).

This is uttered not so much in a spirit of moral superiority as it is a statement of man's nature in the war-situation - a statement which, in the rest of the poem, proves as true for Aeneas as for less significant heroes. A part of the critical tradition has tended to link Aeneas' pietas in the later books with the gradual overcoming of his furor in Book 2.⁴¹ Yet Aeneas is impius throughout much of the second book, not because he is overcome with irrational rage, but for two more basic reasons: first, because he is forgetful of family, sacra

⁴⁰ See, for example, R.P. Bond, "Aeneas and the Cardinal Virtues" Prudentia 6 (1974) 76, who suggests that "despite arguments against the authenticity of this passage (i.e. 2,567-88), it is crucial to the development of Aeneas' awareness of his responsibilities; the episode is an integral part of the trials which lead ultimately to Aeneas' acquisition of true rational courage". The end of the poem can hardly signal the victory of ratio. C.M. Bowra, "Aeneas and the Stoic Ideal" G & R 3 (1933-4) 8ff., has an interesting discussion on this subject. See also below, p. 301ff.

⁴¹ See, for example, Williams, ad 567f.: (the Helen episode) "should remind us that the efforts of Aeneas in the poem to control violence in himself and others meet with only very imperfect success. Aeneas is a man of violence who tries hard to learn a better way". I see no evidence in the poem for this view of the hero. Aeneas' propensity for heroic violence in the war-situation never changes; what does change is the direction in which this furor is applied.

and Penates; and second, because his mad rage conflicts with the course of destiny.

On the conflict between heroism and piety Dryden wrote⁴² - "That quality, which signifies no more than intrepid courage, may be separated from many others which are good and accompanied with many which are ill. A man may be very valiant, and yet be impious and vicious. But the same cannot be said of piety which excludes all ill qualities and comprehends even valour itself with all other qualities which are good". As we follow Aeneas through the poem we find that the opposite of Dryden's argument is the case.⁴³ Aeneas' pietas comes more and more to signify the relationship of his actions to the course of fate. This is the case particularly in the latter books and at the very end of the poem where the hero's pietas rests on this relationship.⁴⁴ But his pietas never "excludes all ill qualities". The Helen episode shows us that Aeneas is capable of contemplating barbarous action. In later episodes, as in 10,510-605, he actually carries such actions through, yet Vergil still describes him as pius (10,591). No god interferes in this case because Aeneas' cruelty aligns itself with the

⁴² J. Dryden, The Works of Virgil Translated into English Verse ed. John Carey, Vol.1 (1819) 266. See Quinn, 21f.

⁴³ On the English Augustan Age and Vergil, see R.D. Williams, "Changing Attitudes to Virgil: A study in the history of taste from Dryden to Tennyson" in Virgil, ed. D.R. Dudley, (London, 1969) 119ff.

⁴⁴ See discussions below, p.294ff. and p.348ff.

course of fate.⁴⁵ Similarly, in the death of Turnus, the role of the Dira as Jupiter's agent signifies that Aeneas' furious act (12,945ff.) furthers the progress of fate. For this reason, there is no need to question, as some do,⁴⁶ the hero's piety at the end of the poem. The pietas of Aeneas is at no point in the poem nullified simply by the brutality of his actions.

Aeneas returns to his father's house (632ff.)⁴⁷ but finds Anchises reluctant to leave the city; instead he will seek his own death and forgo the loss of burial (645f.).⁴⁸ Despite all the pleas of Aeneas, Creusa and Ascanius, the old man remains unmoved. In a burst of frustration⁴⁹ Aeneas reacts as follows:-

"rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto.
nam quod consilium aut quae iam fortuna dabatur?

⁴⁵R. Coleman, G & R, 29 (1982) 154, makes the point that "No divine guidance is at hand to save (Aeneas) from himself on these occasions (10,521ff., 537ff., 786ff. and 12,945ff.)". Coleman offers no reason for the lack of divine intervention. E. Kraggerud, Aeneisstudien S.O. Supplement 22 (Oslo, 1968) 22f. comes to a similar conclusion to my own, that Aeneas in the later books, but not in 2,567ff., acts in accordance with fatum.

⁴⁶So Putnam, 193ff.

⁴⁷On the problem of ducente deo (632) see Austin, ad loc. There is also an interesting discussion by E.L. Harrison, Phoenix 24 (1970) 322f., who argues that the deus referred to is Jupiter.

⁴⁸Otis, 244, has a good discussion on the significance of Anchises' role in this section of the book.

⁴⁹R.B. Lloyd, "Anchises in the Aeneid" T.A.Ph.A. 88 (1957) 47, points out "that with Anchises' refusal to depart pietas in patrem comes into direct conflict with pietas in deos".

'mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto
 sperasti tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?
 si nihil ex tanta superis placet urbe relinqui,
 et sedet hoc animo perituraeque addere Troiae 660
 teque tuosque iuvat, patet isti ianua leto,
 iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus,
 natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras.
 hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignis
 eripis, ut mediis hostem in penetralibus utque 665
 Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creusam
 alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam?
 arma, viri, ferte arma; vocat lux ultima victos.
 reddite me Danaïs; sinite instaurata revisam
 proelia. numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti.'" 670
 (655-70).

Aeneas "has not yet recognised that his destiny imposes on him the obligation of survival".⁵⁰ Again he rushes into arms and seeks death (655). Aeneas cannot bear to leave his father behind having just witnessed the slaughter of Priam by Pyrrhus. If Anchises wants to die, Pyrrhus will soon arrive and no mercy will be shown, for the son of Achilles kills men at the altars. He invokes his mother - alma parens (664); why did she rip him from the flames only to encounter an obstinate father and see his family murdered? Aeneas would prefer to kill Greeks and in so doing exact vengeance in defeat. Aeneas is confused and unable to conceive of a future beyond Troy. The advice of his mother seems to him to conflict with the behaviour of his father.⁵¹

Creusa reminds him (675ff.) that she and Ascanius, as well as Anchises, are in need of defence. She clings

⁵⁰Williams, ad 634f.

⁵¹Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no Homeric parallel for this speech.

to the feet of Aeneas and holds up Ascanius before him (673f.). With the family in despair at the situation which they face, a light appears on top of Ascanius' head with harmless flames lapping at his hair and temples (680ff.).⁵² Anchises calls for a further sign (689ff.) which appears (692ff.) leading them to Ida's forest. These omens are convincing enough for Anchises who decides to leave the city with his son (701ff.). Aeneas replies to his father as follows:-

"'ergo age, care pater, cervici imponere nostrae;
 ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste gravabit;
 quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periculum,
 una salus ambobus erit. mihi parvus Iulus 710
 sit comes, et longe servet vestigia coniunx.
 vos, famuli, quae dicam animis advertite vestris.
 est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum
 desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus
 religione patrum multos servata per annos; 715
 hanc ex diverso sedem veniemus in unam.
 tu, genitor, cape sacra manu patriosque penatis;
 me bello e tanto digressum et caede recenti
 attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
 abluero.'"

(707-20).

In every respect the speech underlines the pietas of Aeneas as he prepares his family for their departure from the city. He will carry Anchises on his own shoulders and will bear the task.⁵³ Ascanius will accompany his father, and Creusa will follow in their

⁵²Cf. the omen of Lavinia's hair 7,711ff. B.M.W. Knox, A.J.P. 71 (1950) 398 discusses the omen at 2, 680ff. and (ibid. n.42) compares it with that of Lavinia's hair.

⁵³There is no close Homeric parallel for this speech (Knauer's indices, ad loc.).

path. Aeneas also takes thought for the servants, and instructs them to meet at the temple of Ceres at the edge of the city (712ff.). The hero's pietas is also shown in his scrupulous avoidance of touching with blood on his hands the sacra and Penates which Anchises will carry. In fleeing the city with sacra and Penates, Aeneas acts fully in accordance with the injunctions of Hector (289ff.) and Venus (594ff.). He thus makes the first step on the journey that will end with the establishment of his fated city. Whilst the speech, therefore, gives emphasis to Aeneas' final and important acceptance that his duty lies elsewhere, it also acts as a prelude to the tragic disappearance of his wife Creusa.⁵⁴ Aeneas' narration of the loss of his wife and his own frantic search for her form the bulk of the final episode in the book. The reader might well infer that Dido, who has already been pictured "drinking deep draughts of love"⁵⁵, would have shown a particular interest in this part of Aeneas' story.

As they approach the gates they hear the noise of a crowd of men and, in fear of Greeks, rush forward with haste (730ff.). As they dash towards a safe exit Creusa disappears from the group (736ff.). Aeneas in a frantic state (amens 745), lamenting his lot, reproaches gods and men. He puts Ascanius, Anchises and the

⁵⁴Of course, this is especially true of 711.

⁵⁵infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem...
(1,749).

Penates⁵⁶ into the charge of his allies and returns to search for Creusa. Back in the city he sees the extent of the Greek destruction, their plunder and some of the prisoners they have taken (750-67). He even dares to shout aloud for Creusa, without success, when suddenly her imago appears before his eyes (772ff.). He is amazed at the sight of her, his hair stood on end and his voice held fast in his throat (774). She tells him (776ff.) that she was not fated to join him on his journey. He will have a long and arduous voyage and will come to Hesperia where he will have joyful times, a kingdom and a royal wife.⁵⁷ He should not shed tears for Creusa who does not resent her lot. She tells him to show love towards their son and bids him a final farewell. Aeneas in tears and wanting to say many things attempts three times to embrace her image, failing each time (790ff.). At last, when night has passed, he rejoins his fellow Trojans whose numbers have grown, takes up his father, and heads for the mountains (796ff.).

⁵⁶Ascanium Anchisenque patrem Teucrosque penatis... (747). This line succinctly conveys Aeneas' responsibilities as he prepares to leave the city.

⁵⁷It is sometimes argued that this reference, and those in Book 3, to Aeneas' future in a new land help to make a strong case against Dido's viewpoint in Book 4. Aeneas explains quite clearly both his fate, as he understands it, and his intention to go to Italy: Dido should have listened more carefully and taken heed of his plans. Such a view misses the whole point of the Dido episode; for so powerful is the god that infects her (1,657ff.) and so intoxicated by Aeneas is the queen, that the realities of their situations do not, until too late, concern her.

Section 3

Aeneas Book 3

Aeneas has an important dramatic role in Books 1 and 2 of the poem: in the first he utters 8 direct speeches totalling 64 lines and in the second, apart from the many autobiographical references in the last two sections¹, he utters 6 direct speeches totalling 53 lines. It is significant that, in the third book of the poem which tells of Aeneas' adventures in between his departure from Troy (Book 2) and his arrival in Carthage (Book 1), he has a comparatively small dramatic role. The hero's narration of his adventures may be seen to parallel Odysseus' wanderings as told to the Phaeacians in Od. 9, 10 and 12.² In each case, the storyteller reflects upon his experiences on land and sea; Odysseus and his men travel in a world of fantasy whilst Aeneas and his men attempt to unravel the mysteries of prophecy, and to fulfil the destiny to be allotted them by the fates. The roles of Odysseus and Aeneas, however, in their own narrations, differ considerably.³ From the numerical appendix to this section⁴ we can see that Vergil allots to Aeneas a less prominent role in the

¹250-558 and 559-804; see above, p. 153ff.

²Od. 11, the Nekuia of Odysseus, although part of the wanderings, is more properly the model for the sixth book of the Aeneid. See below, p. 235ff.

³Otis, 251ff. makes some perceptive comments on the subject of Book 3: "No book is more Odyssean, yet what gives the tone and sets the mood are precisely its non-Odyssean elements".

⁴See below, p. 364f.

narration than does Homer to Odysseus. This can be seen in two different ways: first, Aeneas' dramatic (direct speech) role is considerably less significant than that of Odysseus⁵; and second, in the narrative itself, he makes far fewer autobiographical references than does Odysseus.

Book 9 of the Odyssey is essentially a personal reminiscence of personal experiences and actions. There are (unlike Aen. 3) only two major characters - Odysseus himself and Polyphemus, one of the Cyclopes. Between them, these two characters utter 101 of the 114 lines of direct speech in the book. The conflict of different wits and physical power is central to the drama of Book 9. The narrative never really strays from Odysseus - he is always personally involved.⁶ At 9,331ff. he organises the drawing of the lots to see which of his men will lift the stake and push it into Polyphemus' eye. He himself is excluded from the lot because he is automatically involved.⁷ Odysseus instigates the scheme to blind Polyphemus and leads the way in carrying the plan through.

In a similar fashion, Odysseus is also the central character in Book 10 which tells the story of their arrival at Circe's island. Almost all of the 29 speeches

⁵The speeches of Odysseus in Od. 9,10 and 12 comprise approximately 27% of all the direct speeches, whilst those of Aeneas in Aen. 3 comprise only 12% of those in the book.

⁶There is one exception, at 9,399ff., where Polyphemus seeks help from the other Cyclopes:-

"Ὅ φίλοι, οὐτίς με κτείνει δόλῳ οὐδὲ βίηφιν." (9,408).
 "Nobody" is, in any case, a reference to Odysseus.

⁷Note ... ἐμοὶ σὺν... 332.

in the book are spoken to Odysseus or uttered by him.⁸ None of his men, with the possible exception of Eurylochus, ever attains the stature of a "real" character. Homer focuses clearly on the hero and leaves the ἑταῖροι in the narrative background. In only one episode is Odysseus absent from the action⁹: in this, some of his companions come upon the house of Circe and are changed into pigs. The episode is important in that it draws Odysseus into a situation where he must confront Circe and her spells. Thus Homer shifts his focus away from Odysseus for a moment, only to show that the hero is required elsewhere.

Book 12 of the Odyssey begins with Circe's narration of the places which Odysseus will visit and the labours which he must endure (37ff.). In this sense the book is most like Aen. 3, because of the part played by prophecy. Circe, however, is much more definite; there is no ambiguity in her prophecy and no doubt in the mind of the recipient. Although she does mention Ithaca (137ff.), it is the journey itself that most concerns her. Her prophecy is poetically vivid, concentrating on the obstacles to be encountered. We never relate Circe's prophecy to a wider theme. The sorceress foretells Odysseus' future having taken him apart from his men (33ff.), and gives to him a recipe for survival. In Book 12, as in the earlier books, the ἑταῖροι remain in the dramatic background. When (at 420ff.) Odysseus

⁸There is one exception - Polites to the ἑταῖροι, 10,226-8.

⁹See 10,210-43.

alone survives the dangerous obstacles, we are neither disappointed nor surprised, for our attention has been on him throughout the story of the wanderings. Homer develops a uniqueness in Odysseus' character as a preparation for his return to Ithaca where he will be confronted again by great danger. The wanderings of Odysseus present one man's struggle for survival, in which context the ἑταῖροι are dispensable.

In Aen. 3 the list of dramatis personae is longer and the dramatic role of the hero less prominent than in these books of the Odyssey. Anchises utters 6 speeches, 32 lines¹⁰; Aeneas 4, 33; Andromache 3, 31; Helenus 2, 96; Achaemenides 2, 49. There are also speaking roles for Polydorus, Apollo, Penates and Celaeno. The longer list of speaking characters, however, does not, in itself, explain the smaller part played by Aeneas. In Book 3 and elsewhere Vergil is content to limit the dramatic prominence of his hero to an extent probably never contemplated by Homer.¹¹ Similarly, a disparity can be seen in the number of autobiographical references made in the respective narratives. In Od. 9, Odysseus refers to himself (in the first person singular) as the subject of a sentence, once, on average, in every 8 lines¹²; in Od. 10 once

¹⁰ For Anchises' important role in Book 3, see L.J.D. Richardson, "Facilis Iactura Sepulcri" Proc. Roy. Irish Acad. 46 (1940) 85ff.; R.B. Lloyd, T.A.Ph.A. 88 (1957) 44ff.; R.B. Lloyd, "Aeneid III: A New Approach", A.J.P. 78 (1957) 133ff.; H.T. Rowell, "The Scholium on Naevius in Parisinus Latinus 7930" A.J.P. 78 (1957) 1ff.; Otis, 251ff.; Hightet, 34f. and G. Williams, 275ff.

¹¹ See Appendix 1, below, p. 361ff.

¹² See Appendix 2, below, p. 364f.

in every 6 lines; and in Od. 12 once in every 5. Aeneas, by contrast, makes far fewer autobiographical references - once in every 13.5 lines of narrative in Aen. 3. Thus, in his own narrative, Odysseus is twice as prominent a figure as is Aeneas in his.¹³

The third book of the Aeneid begins the story of the Trojans' travels following the destruction of their city. They build a fleet at Antandros during the winter following Troy's destruction (5f.). Initially Aeneas narrates events from the viewpoint of all the Trojans (agimur 5, molimur 6, contrahimus 8).¹⁴ The first autobiographical reference soon follows:-

"vix prima inceperat aestas
et pater Anchises dare fatis vela iubebat,
litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo
et campos ubi Troia fuit. feror exsul in altum
cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis."

(8-12).

The personal reference to Aeneas stresses his pietas - his tearful exit from his beloved homeland with his allies, his father, his son and Penates. We may note that, in this early section of the book, the first person plural (5, 6, 8) describes the stages of the voyage, whilst the singular has particular reference to the pietas of the hero. We will see that this technique is largely typical of the narrative style in Book 3.

¹³This fact has, to my knowledge, been largely ignored in the critical works in which the wanderings of Aeneas and Odysseus are discussed.

¹⁴The poet stresses the uncertainty (incerti 7) of the Trojans at the outset as to where their destiny lies (4ff.). One function of the third book is to show how these doubts and uncertainties are removed.

Aeneas proceeds to Thrace (feror 16)¹⁵ and begins to build a city after his own name (Aeneadasque...fingo 18). He is sacrificing to Venus (sacra...ferebam 19) and slaying a bull on the shore to Jupiter (...mactabam...taurum... 21) and then draws near, attempting to cover the altar with green growth when he sees blood flow from the broken stems - a horrible portent (accessi 24, conatus 25, tegerem 25, video 26). In sacrificing to the gods and in his attempt to build a city for his people Aeneas demonstrates his pietas; and thus again we may note that the autobiographical references emphasise this ideal. Aeneas proceeds to rip a second shoot (insequor 32) and this time black blood flows from the bark. Aeneas begins to pray (venerabar 34) to the nymphs, to Mars and to the Getae that they might make the omen more favourable. He attempts again to tear out a reed (adgredior, obluctor 38) and this time a groan sounds from the earth. The dead Polydorus speaks from beneath the ground (41-6) telling Aeneas not to tear at him but to leave the Thracian shores. Aeneas is stunned (obstipui 48); his hair stood on end and his voice caught in his throat. He refers these portents to the elders and seeks an explanation for them (refero, posco 59). He receives counsel from the elders that they should depart from the scelerata terra (60).¹⁶ All the

¹⁵On this ἔκφορος, see R.D. Williams, Aeneidos Liber Tertius (Oxford, 1962) ad 13-16. The use of the singular (feror 16) here to describe the journey foreshadows Aeneas' important role in the Polydorus episode (19ff.).

¹⁶In referring these portents to the proceres and to his father in particular (58), Aeneas displays both his desire to follow the correct procedure (see Williams' note Aen. 3, ad 59) and his dependence on others at this point.

Trojans give funeral rites to the dead Polydorus, set up altars and offer warm milk and the blood of victims (62ff.). It is significant, and largely in keeping with the narrative method of this book, that the autobiographical references to Aeneas (16-59) describe a religious experience and the hero's own scrupulous behaviour in it (pietas).

The journey to Delos is described in the first person plural (provehimur 72).¹⁷ Again the poet uses huc feror (78) to foreshadow a religious experience which the hero has (on Delos 84ff.).¹⁸ On their arrival, Aeneas prays at the temple of Phoebus:-

"iungimus hospitio dextras et tecta subimus.

Templa dei saxo venerabar structa vetusto;

'da propriam, Thymbraee, domum; da moenia fessis 85
et genus et mansuram urbem; serva altera Troiae
Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli.
quem sequimur? quove ire iubes? ubi ponere sedes?
da, pater, augurium atque animis inlabere nostris.'
vix ea fatus eram..."

(83-90).

Knauer¹⁹ cites a Homeric parallel for this speech in the Iliad:-

"Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδῆθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε,
δός μ' ἐς Ἀχιλλῆος φίλον ἔλθειν ἢ δ' ἐλεεινόν,
πέμψου δ' οἰωνόν, ταχὺν ἄγγελον, ὅς τε σοὶ αὐτῷ 310
φίλτατος οἰωνῶν, καὶ εὐ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον,
δεξιόν, ὅφρα μιν αὐτὸς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας
τῷ πίσυνος ἐπὶ νῆας ἰὼ Δαναῶν ταχυπόλων."

(Il. 24, 308-13).

¹⁷As well as the third person plural (70f.).

¹⁸Cf. 3, 16 and above, n. 15.

¹⁹Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

Zeus hears Priam and sends the omen - an eagle dashes across the city bringing joy to those who see it (314-21). Priam's piety is thus rewarded by a sign from heaven allowing the old man to have confidence in his plan to meet Achilles and plead with him for Hector's body. Vergil evidently exploits the piety-of-Priam motif to underline the piety of Aeneas. The latter seeks a home for his weary men and prays for an omen (augurium) which will indicate the will of Apollo. The answer that Aeneas receives, however, is less clear than Priam's. Phoebus replies (94-8) that they must seek out their ancient mother which is interpreted by Anchises (103ff.) to signify Crete, from where Teucer had come in ancient times. Anchises, too, is the epitome of pietas as he interprets the omen and makes sacrifice to Neptune, Apollo, to Storm and to the Zephyrs (118-20).

The journey between Delos and Crete (124ff.) is described largely in the first person plural (linquimus, volamus 124, legimus 127, adlabimur 131). This is consistent with the narration of their initial journeys (5ff.) and of the voyage to Delos (69ff.). At 132ff., however, on their arrival in Crete, Vergil again focuses on Aeneas himself:-

"...et tandem antiquis Curetum adlabimur oris.
 ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis
 Pergameamque voco, et laetam cognomine gentem
 hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis.
 ...
 iura domosque dabam."

(131-4 and 137).

Here again the autobiographical references underline

the pietas of the hero²⁰ as he strives avidly for his longed-for city and exhorts his people both to love their hearths and to raise the citadel with buildings. Moreover, like Dido at Carthage²¹, he gives laws to his people and also provides homes for them. It is Aeneas' deep consciousness of his pastoral role that makes him such a different kind of hero from Homer's Odysseus. Yet it is worth noting that his piety is backward-facing as he attempts to re-create the old Troy (Pergamum) in a new land.

The contentment of the Trojans is short-lived, for a pestilence begins to destroy everything, compelling them to seek again the omens of Apollo at Delos. A return to this island proves unnecessary, however, for the Penates and sacred images of the gods appear before Aeneas²²:-

"Nox erat et terris animalia somnus habebat;
effigies sacrae divum Phrygique Penates,
quos mecum ab Troia mediisque ex ignibus urbis
extuleram, visi ante oculos astare iacentis..."
(147-50).

Here, too, the narrative autobiographical reference helps to convey Aeneas' pietas. The relative clause (149f.) is, strictly speaking, superfluous to the narrative for

²⁰The plural adlabimur (131) immediately followed by the singular molior (132) etc., which stresses Aeneas' pietas, shows clearly the poet's narrative technique in Book 3.

²¹Cf. the description of Dido:-
"iura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem
partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat..."
(1,507f.).

²²On this episode, see Steiner, 37ff. and Coleman, G & R 29 (1982) 146f.

we are aware of the Penates and their exit from Troy with Aeneas.²³ The hero thus reiterates his piety in taking them in the first place. The Penates state (154-71) that they have followed Aeneas²⁴ over the sea from Troy and will continue to do so. His true destiny lies not in Crete but in the lands of Italy - mutandae sedes (161). Jupiter denies to Aeneas the Dictaeon fields (171). To these words Aeneas reacts immediately:-

"talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum

...

corripio e stratis corpus tendoque supinas
ad caelum cum voce manus et munera libo
intemerata focis. perfecto laetus honore
Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando."

(172 and 176-9).

Aeneas piously lifts his hands and voice to the heavens and offers sacrifice at the hearths. Intemerata (178) indicates²⁵ that Aeneas is careful to ensure that the ritual is properly performed (pietas). He is joyful that the mystery of his destined land appears to be over. He quickly consults with his father Anchises who realises the significance of the vision (182ff.).²⁶

Their next journey too, from Crete to the Strophades,

²³See Book 2, 293, 320, 717ff. and 747.

²⁴The Penates imply great praise of Aeneas (156-9 and passim) especially in the destiny of his descendants and city.

²⁵See Servius' note, ad 178.

²⁶Thus again we see that Aeneas' own part in these events reflects his pietas.

is told in the first person plural.²⁷ When they lay out food it is snatched by the Harpies (225ff.).

Aeneas orders his men to take arms against them:-

"sociis tunc arma capessant
edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum."
(234-5).

Aeneas' command underlines his pastoral role and is his only involvement in the episode of Celaeno and the Harpies. The next mention of Aeneas himself refers to his visit to Actium:-

"...postibus adversis figo et rem carmine signo:
AENEAS HAEC DE DANAIS VICTORIBVS ARMA.
linquere tum portus iubeo et considerare transtris."
(287-9).

The episode has clear Augustan echoes.²⁸ Aeneas places the sign on the entrance portals (postibus adversis 287) of Apollo's temple and, in so doing, follows the correct procedure. His consecrated gift and his commands to the Trojans to leave Actium (289) serve to demonstrate clearly his pietas.

The pattern of the narrative continues as Aeneas describes the subsequent journey (to Buthrotum) in the first person plural.²⁹ Here in Epirus they learn that Helenus and Andromache have established nearby a new

²⁷paremus 189, deserimus 190, damus, currimus 191, iactamur 197, excutimur, erramus 200, erramus 204, insurgimus 207, intravimus 219, videmus 220, inruimus, vocamus 222, exstruimus, epulamur 224, instruimus, reponimus 231. The use of the plural here is in keeping with the description of the earlier voyages, 5ff., 69ff. and 124ff.

²⁸See Williams, (Aen. 1-6) ad 278f. and 280.

²⁹abscondimus 291, legimus, subimus 292, accedimus 293.

Troy (294ff.). Aeneas reflects upon this news as follows:-

"obstipui, miroque incensum pectus amore
compellare virum et casus cognoscere tantos.
progredior portu classis et litora linquens..."
(298-300).

Aeneas longs to address Helenus and find out what has happened to them: his amor to do so reflects his piety.³⁰ Thus here again the poet focuses on Aeneas for a moment in order to present and further underline this essential quality of his hero.

Andromache is making offerings in a grove in front of their new city when Aeneas sees her (302ff.). She is taken aback with surprise, scarcely able to believe that he is flesh and blood (310ff.) and asks him if he is truly alive; if he is not, where is Hector? (311ff.). Aeneas responds to her as follows:-

"vix pauca furenti
subicio et raris turbatus vocibus hisco;
'vivo equidem vitamque extrema per omnia duco;
ne dubita, nam vera vides.
heu! quis te casus deiectam coniuge tanto
excipit, aut quae digna satis fortuna revisit,
Hectoris Andromache? Pyrrhin conubia servas?'"
(313-9).³¹

Aeneas answers with brevity: indeed he does live although

³⁰Williams, (*Aen.* 3) ad loc. describes miroque incensum pectus amore (298) as "a strong phrase suggesting the overwhelming longing of the exile to meet his old friend".

³¹Knauer, (*indices*) ad 317f. cites *Il.* 6,462b f. as a parallel, - Hector's premonition that the lack of a man to protect her will bring pain and enslavement to Andromache. It is an interesting parallel, for in Vergil's version she does in fact become a slave as Hector had feared.

through all extremes. Yet, although he is clearly unhappy with his lot, he thinks chiefly of others.³² He pities the lot of Andromache (pietas); what has happened to her, bereft of husband, since the fall of Troy?

Andromache narrates (321ff.) the story of her fortunes - her enforced marriage to Pyrrhus, his death at Orestes' hands and her subsequent marriage to Helenus. She asks of Ascanius - does he think of his missing mother and does he emulate the virtus of Aeneas and Hector? Aeneas meets Helenus before proceeding to the town:-

"procedo et parvam Troiam simulataque magnis
Pergama et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum
agnosco, Scaeeaeque amplector limina portae."
(349-51).

Aeneas is so moved at the sight of this parva Troia, this imitation of Pergamum and the small river by the name of Xanthus, that he embraces and kisses³³ the posts of the new Scaean gate. We need not labour the point that the personal reference to Aeneas himself underlines his pietas. It is a fundamental part of Aeneas' character that he is profoundly moved by anything that reminds him of home.³⁴

The time comes, however, for Aeneas and his men to

³² Cf. Aeneas' speech to Venus at 1,326ff. in which he gives a perfunctory reply to the goddess in order to pay her due worship.

³³ Williams, (Aen. 3) ad loc., compares Aen. 2,490.

³⁴ Otis' point, 260f., is that Buthrotum is the parting of the ways; this is the old Troy which Aeneas must renounce.

leave for Italy. The hero asks Helenus³⁵ to use his prophetic powers to tell him what the future holds:-

"...his vatem adgredior dictis ac talia quaeso:
 'Troiugena, interpretes divum, qui numina Phoebi,
 qui tripoda ac Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis 360
 et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae,
 fare age (namque omnis cursum mihi prospera dixit
 religio, et cuncti suaserunt numine divi
 Italiam petere et terras temptare repostas;
 sola novum dictuque nefas Harpyia Celaeno 365
 prodigium canit et tristis denuntiat iras
 obscenamque famem) quae prima pericula vito?
 quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores?'"
 (358-68).

Aeneas appeals to Helenus whom he believes to be privy to Apollo's will and capable of reading the omens by "astrology, and then augury from the cries or flights of birds".³⁶ Aeneas has followed heaven's will and makes for Italy and he wishes to continue his voyage but the Harpy Celaeno has made a menacing prophecy³⁷ which appears to threaten their whole mission. In this speech he again demonstrates his desire to succeed in the foundation of his destined city (pietas). The divine signals had promised him prosperity but how is he to avoid pericula and overcome labores?³⁸

³⁵The prophetic Helenus is modelled on Homer's Circe. His long prophetic speech (374ff.) parallels that of Circe (Od. 12, 37ff.).

³⁶So Williams, (Aen. 1-6) ad 360-1.

³⁷See 247ff. and also 7, 107ff. On the inconsistencies and contradictions in Book 3, see Williams, (Aen. 3) 19ff.

³⁸Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no close Homeric parallel for this speech.

Helenus cannot reply in full, for much is hidden by the fates (379f.), and Juno forbids him to say more. He nevertheless tells Aeneas of his journey to Italy (374-462): he will pass Circe's island and must avoid the near Italian coast which is inhabited by Greeks; they will skirt Sicily and pass by Scylla and Charybdis before reaching Cumae. They must give prayer to Juno; and also, on arrival at Cumae, must consult the Sibyl, priestess of Apollo. This is of particular importance and he must not begrudge time spent with her. He must build his city where he sees a white sow give birth to a litter of thirty. The fates declare that the Trojans will succeed in their mission, but the obstacles, including wars in Italy, must be circumvented first.

As the Trojans prepare to leave, Helenus says farewell to Anchises, giving some final advice - to *disembark* on the western side of Italy. He tells him to "go fortunate in the piety of your son" ('vade' ait 'o felix nati pietate' 480). This conveys indirectly the essential quality of the Trojan hero,³⁹ who at this point utters his final speech in his long narration:-

"vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta
iam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur.
vobis parta quies: nullum maris aequor arandum, 495
arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro
quaerenda. effigiem Xanthi Troiamque videtis
quam vestrae fecere manus, melioribus, opto,
auspiciis, et quae fuerit minus obvia Graiis.
si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva 500
intraro gentique meae data moenia cernam,

³⁹Although, of course, it should be remembered that Aeneas himself is narrating the tale. As at 1,378 he shows no reticence in referring to his own pietas.

cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos,
 Epiro Hesperiam (quibus idem Dardanus auctor
 atque idem casus), unam faciemus utramque
 Troiam animis; maneat nostros ea cura nepotes.''' 505
 (493-505).

That he speaks with deep emotion⁴⁰, with tears welling in his eyes, conveys the love of Aeneas for his Trojan friends (pietas). He deeply regrets the wearisome voyage to which he and his men are subjected but reiterates his preparedness to follow fate.⁴¹ He laments the fact that the fields of Italy seem always to be receding from them. They desire to plough their own fields but instead must plough the seas.⁴² Aeneas shows pleasure at the better fortune of Helenus, Andromache and their people, and hopes that such prosperity will continue. When Aeneas has finally founded his own city, they will be one in spirit.⁴³ His pietas is seen in his devotion to the Trojan people and determination to found his fated city. As in Book 1⁴⁴, his despondency results from his failure to establish the fated home for his people.

⁴⁰ On Vergil's use of adfari (adfabar 492) to convey affection, see R.G. Austin, Aeneidos Liber Sextus (Oxford, 1977) ad 455, and discussion below, p. 253f.

⁴¹ Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Od. 13, 38-46 in which Odysseus bids farewell to Alcinous. The great difference in the episodes is the mood of the two heroes - Odysseus is content and hopes for a happy return home, whilst Aeneas is despondent that they must continue with their efforts to find a home. Odysseus shows gratitude to Alcinous and the Phaeacians, whereas Aeneas is envious of his friends' good-fortune.

⁴² Williams, (Aen. 3) ad 495, compares Creusa's words at Troy longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum... 2, 780.

⁴³ Cf. Dido's sentiments at 4, 624ff. calling her nation and Aeneas' into war. Note that Aeneas' speech ends with ...nepotes (3, 505) and Dido's ends with ...nepotesque (4, 629).

⁴⁴ See above, p. 123ff.

The next journey, to Italy (Castrum Minervae) and Sicily, is described largely from the viewpoint of all the Trojans in the first person plural (506-688). In this section of the book there is one autobiographical reference, (537f.), in which Aeneas, on their arrival in Italy, sees an omen - four white horses grazing in a vale. Thus, here again the poet focuses on a religious experience of his hero. Anchises takes the omen to mean that they face war in their new land⁴⁵ (539ff.). The Trojans' journey takes them to Castrum Minervae, to Etna, where they confront Polyphemus, and along the southern coast of Sicily to Drepanum. As they approach the joyless shore of Drepanum (707), however, the narrative technique changes when Aeneas suddenly describes the voyage from his point of view (praeter-vehor 688). The alteration in narrative style is significant, for prior to this, as we have seen, Vergil has been consistent in describing the wanderings in the plural of the verb. Yet as the story comes to its conclusion, the poet focuses more clearly on Aeneas himself:-

"iussi numina magna loci veneramur, et inde
exsupero praepingue solum stagnantis Helori."
(697-8).

Williams notes⁴⁶ that "the singular exsupero after the plural veneramur is a little harsh..." It is evident

⁴⁵Vergil evidently desires at this point to increase Anchises' dramatic importance; note his speeches at 528-9, 539-43 and 558-60. This foreshadows Anchises' death and makes Aeneas' later sense of loss (708ff.) ring more true.

⁴⁶Williams, (Aen. 3) ad 698.

that Vergil could easily have avoided such harshness if, as before, he narrated the voyage from the viewpoint of all the Trojans. Moreover, it is apparent that this autobiographical reference, unlike those preceding it, does not reflect his pietas. Thus, in this way too, the narrative style is altered. This is true also of the description of the voyage from Lilybaeum to Drepanum:-

"teque datis linquo ventis, palmosa Selinus,
et vada dura lego saxis Lilybeia caecis.
hinc Drepani me portus et inlaetabilis ora
accipit."

(705-8).

The sudden change to the singular (praetervehor 688, exsupero 698, linquo 705, lego 706 and me 707) foreshadows the loss of Anchises, which is told at the end of the book (708-15), and also re-introduces Aeneas directly into the narrative prior to Dido's reaction to the long story (4,9ff.). The reader focuses clearly on the hero prior to the news of his father's death. Vergil's intention is to convey the full effect that the loss of Anchises has on Aeneas.⁴⁷ Similarly, Dido's attention at the end of the story is on Aeneas himself, a fact which foreshadows her deep response to him and his story at the outset of the following book. Vergil decisively makes the last reference in the story reflect

⁴⁷ It is interesting to see how the translators of Vergil have coped with this intermingling of singular and plural at this late stage of the book. C. Day Lewis, (London, 1952) 72, resolves any difficulty by translating the singular (praetervehor 688, exsupero 698, linquo 705 and lego 706) into the English plural. W. F. Jackson Knight, (Penguin, 1979) 96, does the same at 688 and 698 but translates 705/6 into the singular. Their translations, therefore, do not capture clearly the alteration in Vergil's narrative technique at the end of the book.

a personal loss to Aeneas, so that Dido in response will empathise and sympathise all the more with his particular misfortune. It is fitting that the final autobiographical references in the story (708ff.) underline the narrator's pietas - his great love for, and dependence on, his father. Moreover, the loss of Anchises comes as a complete shock to Aeneas (712f.). Such filial pietas is also seen later, in Book 5, in which the poet describes the games held in Sicily in honour of Anchises.

Let us briefly re-assert some of the points made in this section about the presentation of Aeneas in Aen. 3 compared with that of Odysseus in Od. 9, 10 and 12. To begin with we saw that Aeneas' dramatic role is considerably smaller than that of Odysseus. Whereas Aeneas utters approximately 12% of the direct speech in Book 3, his Homeric counterpart utters 27% of the speeches in the equivalent books. Statistical comparisons in research works of this nature do not always make convincing reading, but the difference here in the dramatic roles of Aeneas and Odysseus is significant. Moreover, as in Book 1, all of Aeneas' direct speeches in the third book underline his pietas.⁴⁸ In the first (85-9) he supplicates Apollo; in the second (315-9) he laments his own fortune and more especially shows an interest in and pity for the life of Hector's Andromache. In the third speech (359-68), conscious of his responsibilities to fulfil his mission, he appeals to Helenus to clarify

⁴⁸For Aeneas' speeches in Book 1, see above, p. 143ff. The same link between Aeneas' speeches and his pietas is to be found in all the books of the poem in which he appears, except Book 2 and Book 6, 268-901 (on which, see below, p. 242ff.).

their future; and in the fourth (493-505) he earnestly wishes good fortune for Helenus and his people and also shows his own determination to follow fate. It is here that the portrayal of Aeneas in Book 3 differs most from that of Odysseus in Od. 9,10 and 12: in his dramatic role Aeneas is presented as a man utterly committed to his family, his people and determined to lead them to their fated home. Odysseus, by contrast, in his dramatic role, is shown to possess a wide variety of qualities not all of which stress his rectitude. Vergil does not attempt to create the same kind of hero, a three-dimensional figure, as Homer does.

Similarly Vergil follows this kind of technique in the narrative of Book 3 by having Aeneas make far fewer autobiographical references than Odysseus.⁴⁹ Thus, he is a less prominent figure in the wanderings than is Odysseus. Moreover, the autobiographical references, like the four direct speeches, almost without exception, help to underline his pietas. Odysseus' autobiographical references do not conform to such a pattern and thus, in the narrative too, he appears a more natural, individual figure than does Aeneas.

⁴⁹Odysseus on average makes twice as many autobiographical references as does Aeneas.

Section 4

Aeneas Book 4

The renown of the encounter between Aeneas and Dido has tended to disguise the fact that the hero's dramatic role in Book 4 is comparatively small.¹ Aeneas utters only 2 direct speeches totalling 35 lines, whereas Dido utters 9 speeches, 189 lines - more than a quarter of the book. From beginning² to end, Vergil focuses most clearly on the tragic queen. The first section (1-295) describes Dido's growing passion for Aeneas which culminates in a "marriage" contrived by Venus and Juno. Aeneas' role in this section is as the object of Dido's love. Vergil, notably, denies his hero an active, dramatic role in the book until his pietas has been regained and a decision made to continue the voyage to Italy. Throughout his romance with Dido and during his dilemma of how to tell her of his impending departure, Aeneas is characterised in the narrative by Vergil's indirect methods. Thus Book 4 conforms to the pattern which we saw in Books 1 and 3: Aeneas is characterised directly in his moments of piety and indirectly when his thoughts or conduct do not conform to this ideal.³

¹Although, see K. Quinn, Latin Explorations (London, 1963) 29 and my discussion above, p. 14f.

²The book begins, At regina...(1) thus foreshadowing Dido's important role. Cf. 12,1 (Turnus ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos...) which foreshadows the Rutulian's important role in the last book of the poem; see also discussion above, p. 90f.

³See above, p. 14ff. and below, p. 194ff.

The hero and the story of his adventures (Books 2 and 3) have a compelling effect on Dido (1ff.), who has been infected already by Cupid's darts (1,657ff.). Aeneas is the unwitting (nescius 72) catalyst of a love which proves disastrous to Dido.⁴ Juno recognises Venus' victory in the infecting of Dido, but still hopes to out-manoeuvre her divine rival (93ff.). Events are arranged so that Aeneas and Dido, whilst on a hunting expedition, will shelter from a storm alone in the same cave. As he leaves for the hunt, Aeneas is described as follows:-

"ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis
infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.
qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo
instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum 145
Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi:
ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem
fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,
tela sonant umeris: haud illo segnior ibat
Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore." 150
(141-50).⁵

(1,496) where Aeneas here is pulcherrimus (4,141).

Dido is, in both episodes, followed by a vast throng (magna iuvenum stipante caterva 1,497 and magna stipante caterva 4,136). Diana bears the pharetra at 1,500 as does Dido at 4,138.⁶ It is clear that the picture of Dido at 4,136ff. reinforces that of Dido/Diana at 1,494ff. and also balances the picture of Aeneas/Apollo at 4,141ff. The beauty and grace of Aeneas as Apollo, the sun-figure, correspond to that of Dido as Diana, the moon.⁷ Outwardly, all seems right that they be a perfect match.

In the midst of the hunting, a storm breaks and the couple alone enter into a cave for shelter. The "marriage" of Dido and Aeneas is described symbolically by Vergil (166-8). Although there has been, from Book 1, inexorable movement towards such an act, the poet does not elaborate on this scene but concentrates immediately on the consequences that will result (169-72). Dark consequences take no time in appearing. Fama spreads the news of Dido's culpa throughout Libya (173ff.).⁸ King Iarbas hears the story of their romance and, resentful and jealous, prays to Jupiter (206ff.) complaining of the treatment he has received at Dido's hands. Jupiter hears the king and sends Mercury to shake Aeneas from his lethargy: his mother did not

⁶ Cf. Venus' reference to the pharetra at 1,323 and Pöschl's discussion, 68.

⁷ Pöschl, 60ff. has a detailed discussion on this subject.

⁸ On the dea foeda (195) Fama, see N. Rudd, Lines of Enquiry (Cambridge, 1976) 36f. Rudd's section entitled "Dido's Culpa" (32-53) is the best to date on the subject of Dido's role in the poem.

promise him for this, but so that he would found the race from Teucer's blood and put the whole world under laws (223-37). Jupiter reminds him of his duty to heaven, to himself, to Ascanius and to his people. His destiny lies in Italy not in Africa. As in the case of Venus' intervention in Book 2 (594ff.), Jupiter's intention is to re-direct the energies of Aeneas to the fated course.⁹ The morality of Aeneas' relationship with Dido does not concern Jupiter any more than the morality of killing Helen concerned Venus¹⁰; he must follow fate and not delay in Carthage. As commanded, Mercury journeys to Carthage and reports to Aeneas the sentiments of Jupiter (265-76). For the first time in the book the poet presents the sentiments of his hero:-

"At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,
 arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit. 280
 ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,
 attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.
 heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furem
 audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?
 atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc 285
 in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat.
 haec alternanti potior sententia visa est;
 Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,
 classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,
 arma parent et quae rebus sit causa novandis 290
 dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
 nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
 temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi
 tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocius omnes
 imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt." 295
 (279-95).

⁹Aeneas, as a result of his relationship with Dido, now spends his time dressed in Tyrian attire helping to build Carthage rather than his own fated city (259ff.).

¹⁰See above, p. 163f.

In the face of such mandata, Aeneas burns to leave lands which have become dear to him (281), yet he must prepare to do so in a way that optima Dido remains unaware (291ff.). Aeneas' stunned response to the sudden appearance of Mercury is conveyed by the repetition of a at 279-85.¹¹ It is significant that in response to Mercury's injunction Aeneas decides immediately and firmly to leave Carthage; his dilemma is how to do so and how to break the news of his imminent departure to Dido. Notably, the poet presents this dilemma indirectly by using free indirect speech (283ff.) rather than the direct.¹² Thus the reader's involvement in the dilemma of Aeneas is with Vergil, the narrator, rather than with the character himself. The poet removes Aeneas, in this moment of doubt, from the dramatic limelight. Vergil's technique and intention here can best be seen in a broader context:-

1/ Aeneas:-

"heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furem
audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?
atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc
in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat."
(4,283-6).

2/ Aeneas:-

"heu, quid agat? vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu,
diversaeque vocant animum in contraria curae".
(12,486f.).

3/ Dido:-

"en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores
experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex..."
(4,534f.).

¹¹Williams, ad loc.

¹²For Vergil's use of free indirect speech (style indirect libre) see above, p. 40ff.

4/ Turnus:-

"...gemitumque cadentum
accipio? quid ago? aut quae iam satis ima dehiscat
terra mihi?...

(10,674-6).

5/ Turnus:-

"nam quid ago? aut quae iam spondet fortuna salutem..?"
(12,637).

The dilemma of Dido (4,534f.), like that of Turnus (12,637), is a tragic one: what are they going to do in situations of some desperation?¹³ At 10,674ff., Turnus, who has been tricked into following a phantom Aeneas and thus leaving his men alone on the battlefield, realises the full extent and implications of his "desertion". The important point is that the dilemmas of Dido and Turnus are presented by the direct method of characterisation; they utter their own cries of lamentation. The presentation of them at these moments is vivid and dramatic; the reader focuses clearly on them and is prompted to react directly and sympathetically. Vergil establishes a clear rapport between reader and character. The narrator plays no direct role in the dilemmas of Dido and Turnus.

Aeneas' dilemmas of how to break the news to Dido of his imminent departure (4,283ff.) and how to catch Turnus on the battlefield (12,486f.)¹⁴ are conveyed indirectly by means of the indirect deliberative. The narrator asks the questions whilst Aeneas himself acts

¹³For a more detailed discussion of Turnus' words at 10, 674ff. and 12,637 see above, p.70f. and p. 106f.

¹⁴On Aeneas' pursuit of Turnus on the battlefield, see below, p. 335f.

out the dilemmas. Thus the reader's direct involvement in these dilemmas is with the narrator rather than with the character. Unlike the cases of Dido and Turnus, Aeneas is placed in the dramatic background. The reader is left in some doubt about Aeneas' exact response to the sudden appearance of Mercury.¹⁵ Do these questions (283f.) report Aeneas' own words or thoughts? Does he think of the lands of Carthage as dulcis (281) and of Dido herself as optima (291)? Vergil's implication is that these do reflect the thoughts of Aeneas himself. If this is the case, it is all the more significant that the poet does not allow us to hear these words from Aeneas himself.

There are basically two reasons for Vergil's indirect presentation of the dilemma of Aeneas (279ff.). In the first place, the poet wishes to give dramatic emphasis in Book 4 to the tragic predicament of the suffering Dido. To stress with equal vividness the dilemma of Aeneas might detract from the reader's empathy and sympathy for the tragic queen. Vergil does not desire that the reader's sympathy be shared between the two characters; the vast imbalance in their dramatic roles is intended to focus our attention and sympathy on the decline and death of the queen. The second reason for presenting the dilemma indirectly is that the poet here,

¹⁵ Contrast the view of Otis, 83, "These (281ff.) are Aeneas' thoughts and sensations: we now stand as it were in his own quivering shoes and see how he is, finally, forced to act. The initiative has at last passed to him." See also K. Quinn, (*ibid.* n. 1.) 40 who argues that "...when Aeneas tells his men the reasons for departure, we are not given his actual speech, but a reported summary (289-94). Again Virgil's purpose is not only to speed the narrative, but to reduce to a minimum the evidence put on record against Aeneas...".

as throughout the poem , seeks to project Aeneas into the dramatic limelight only at moments where his pietas cannot be questioned.¹⁶ The hero's dilemma is one of personal relations with a woman¹⁷ - how is he, himself in love¹⁸, to approach the queen who is furens with amor (283)? His quandary does not exemplify his pietas and, therefore, Vergil presents it indirectly. It is for this reason that Aeneas utters no direct speech until almost half of the book has elapsed - because all the while, neglectful as he is of his duty to follow fate, he is in a state of impietas. Vergil could easily have expressed Aeneas' predicament directly as he does in the cases of Dido and Turnus¹⁹; but rather than do so, he retains his own pattern by making the hero's pietas the essential criterion for the allocation of a direct speech.

As we have seen, Vergil shows no such reticence in the case of Dido in Book 4. In the final 400 lines of the book she utters 8 speeches totalling 168 lines. The first two of these are addressed to Aeneas (305-30 and

¹⁶The best single example of this technique at work is at 5,700ff. - Aeneas' response to the burning of the ships. See above, p.14ff. and below, p. 229ff.

¹⁷We might compare the way that Vergil avoids presenting a clear response by Aeneas to the beauty and grace of Dido at 1,494-509. See above, p. 141ff.

¹⁸For the love of Aeneas for Dido, see 221, 332, 395 and 448. I am unconvinced by the argument of S. Farron, "The Aeneas-Dido Episode as an attack on Aeneas' mission and Rome" G & R 27 (1980) 34ff., who suggests that Aeneas has no regrets in leaving Dido because he feels scarcely any love for her. He argues, 35 - "There is no indication of his (Aeneas') love in the first half of Book 4"; but 221 would seem to be specific on this point.

¹⁹See above, p. 195f.

me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris
 nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
 admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;
 me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,
 quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis. 355
 nunc etiam interpres divum Iove missus ab ipso
 (testor utrumque caput) celeris mandata per auras
 detulit; ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi
 intrantem muros vocemque his auribus hausì.
 desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis; 360
 Italiam non sponte sequor.'"

(331-61).

The closest Homeric parallel²¹ is Odysseus' address to Calypso as he prepares to depart from her island:-

Τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·
 "πότνα θεά, μή μοι τόδε χῶεο· οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς 215
 πάντα μάλ', οὐνεκα σείο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια
 εἶδος ἀκιδνοτέρη μέγεθός τ' εἰσάντα ἰδέσθαι·
 ἢ μὲν γὰρ βροτός ἐστι, σὺ δ' ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως.
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς ἐθέλω καὶ ἐέλδομαι ἥματα πάντα
 οἴκαδ' εἴ τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ νόστιμον ἡμᾶρ ἰδέσθαι. 220
 εἰ δ' αὖ τις ῥάϊσι θεῶν ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,
 τλήσομαι ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔχων ταλαπενθέα θυμόν·
 ἦδη γὰρ μάλα πολλὰ πάθον καὶ πολλὰ μόγησα
 κύμασι καὶ πολέμφ' μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι γενέσθω."

(Od. 5, 214-24).

Odysseus is not torn by any obligation or desire to remain with Calypso.²² His aim is a simple one - to return home (219f.); and even the beauty of Calypso cannot deflect him from this. The goddess has kept him on her island against his will and the hero has, for the most part, been unhappy away from his home.²³ Zeus'

²¹Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

²²Higbet, who discusses Aeneas' speech to Dido in some detail (72ff.), also draws some comparisons with the Homeric parallel.

²³See, for example, Od. 1, 11ff.

decision to have Odysseus freed is therefore transmitted to Calypso, whereas in the fourth Aeneid the will of Jupiter is told via Mercury to the hero himself.²⁴ Aeneas, unlike Odysseus, has a conflict of desires for he has "imprisoned" himself by his affair with Dido. His problem is not the achievement of freedom in the physical sense, but how to approach Dido with an explanation for his imminent departure (279ff.). *Thus*, keeping his mind fixed on the injunctions of Jupiter (331f.), he tells her that he is not ungrateful for her generosity, nor does he in any way resent her; he will always remember her, but he never entered into a marriage (338f.).²⁵ Furthermore, if circumstances allowed, he would return to Troy (342f.).²⁶ But as it is, the fates lead him to Italy - here lie his love and his country (hic amor, haec patria est 347). Why does Dido who has a city begrudge him his? (347ff.). He leaves because the imago of his father warns and terrifies him in dreams (351ff.), as does Jove's messenger (356ff.) So, too, the thought seriously concerns him of

²⁴Part of Dido's tragedy is her lack of understanding of what is happening around her. She, unlike Aeneas, is not privy to the words of Mercury or the workings of fate. When these are told to her by Aeneas (345ff.) she reacts with sarcastic disbelief (376ff.).

²⁵On the "coniugium" and Dido's breaking of her vow to Sychaeus, see Rudd, 39ff.

²⁶One might have expected Aeneas in the apodosis (342ff.) to have told Dido that he would choose to remain at Carthage; but it is, in fact, his third "choice" after Troy and Italy. Sponte (341) should be aligned with sponte (361): in the latter he suggests that it is not his idea that he makes for Italy. He means (as at 340ff.) that were it possible he would return to Troy. All of this, of course, is little comfort to Dido.

wronging Ascanius by not moving to fated lands in Italy (354f.). He is determined to follow fate and tells Dido tersely not to make complaints (360), for he makes for Italy non sponte (361).

The fact that Aeneas' speech forcefully presents his pietas - his commitment to following fate, his love for his Trojan land, as well as for his son and father's spirit - did not concern generations of scholars who were virulent in their criticism of the hero in this episode. The criticism of Page²⁷ is probably the best known - "To an appeal which would move a stone Aeneas replies with the cold and formal rhetoric of an attorney". Largely in response to this kind of criticism, R.G. Austin, in his major work on Book 4²⁸, stressed the personal cost to Aeneas as well as to Dido of his departure for Italy. In pointing out the narrative references to Aeneas' love for Dido, Austin takes his argument one stage further - that, in his decision to leave Carthage, Aeneas is not a free agent but is compelled into doing so by the gods.²⁹ Moreover, in a later reference to this episode,³⁰ Austin argues that Aeneas is actually unwilling to leave Carthage at all. Did Austin take his argument too far? Is Aeneas a free agent or is he a puppet of the gods?; did he leave Carthage willingly or

²⁷Page, XVIII.

²⁸R.G. Austin, Aeneidos Liber Quartus (Oxford, 1966) XIVff. and passim.

²⁹Ibid., ad 331.

³⁰R.G. Austin, Aeneidos Liber Sextus (Oxford, 1977) ad 460.

unwillingly? It is to these questions that we must now briefly direct our attention.

In the underworld Aeneas tells Dido that he was unwilling to leave from her shores - invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi (6,460). This is often equated in its sense with Aeneas' statement to Dido in Carthage - Italiam non sponte sequor (4,361), which is commonly rendered "not of my own free will do I make for Italy".³¹ It is a mistake, however, to equate the two. First, as we shall see, Aeneas' words and experiences in the underworld are an inaccurate reflection of events as they happened in the real world. It is, therefore, a dangerous practice to use Aeneas' words to the shade of Dido in the underworld to convey the sense of his words to her in Carthage. Moreover, given that Aeneas spends the most part of his speech (4,333ff.) explaining to Dido the reasons why he has chosen to press on to Italy, it seems implausible that the last line of the speech conveys his unwillingness to leave. In fact, Carthage, as he himself tells her, is his third "choice" - Troy and Italy being the first two (340ff.).³² Aeneas' difficulty is in trying to explain to Dido that his love and his country lie elsewhere (hic amor, haec patria est 347)³³ and at the same time to convey the fact that his

³¹Williams, ad loc. renders it as follows:- "I go to Italy not of my own free will". See also Austin, ad loc.

³²See above, n. 26.

³³Austin comments on 347, "...but this is not his real feeling, as 361 shows - it is only what his 'nagging gods' have made him feel". As Aeneas himself points out, his real love is for his Trojan homeland (342ff.). But having heard Mercury's admonition he is reminded that his real love now is Italy and a new land rather than Dido and Carthage: ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras... (281). His words at 347 suggest that he has a deeper love in Italy, fulfilling the god's will and founding a fated city for his people, than he has for Dido.

decision to leave Carthage was taken with much more in mind than his own pleasure or love. When he hears Jupiter's admonition to leave Carthage, Aeneas is characterised not by his fear, but by his burning desire to leave:-

"ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,
attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum."

(281-2).

It is this desire³⁴ to follow fate and the gods' wishes, in spite of personal loss to himself and to Dido, that characterises the pietas of the hero. Thus, Vergil is able to describe him as pius at 393 because he remains firm in his decision to leave Carthage even though the queen is utterly distraught before his eyes. Aeneas' free will to choose his own course is fundamental both to his piety and his impiety; were he to choose Carthage he would be impius, but in choosing Italy he is pius.

W.A. Camps is one of the few critics to make this point³⁵:- "Aeneas could have disregarded the bidding to leave his own country and sail into the unknown; his own wish, as he tells Dido, was to stay in the homeland that he knew. He could have stayed at Carthage with Dido and shared the city that she had founded...". But Aeneas' sense of his own destiny - his pietas - allows no such possibility. Once he is reminded of heaven's will the matter is closed.³⁶ The fundamental point is that it is

³⁴For the use of ardeo to convey Aeneas' pietas, cf. 1, 515 and 581.

³⁵Camps, 23.

³⁶On this, see G. Williams, 11ff.

impossible for Aeneas to follow fate against his will and be in a state of pietas at the same time. The call to continue his mission brings great regret to Aeneas at Carthage³⁷, but there is no case for questioning his willingness to follow it. Thus at 361, Aeneas attempts to convey the fact that he pursues a greater purpose - Italiam non sponte sequor (361), "It's not my idea that I make for Italy." The difference in this translation from that of Austin is small, but it is nevertheless a significant one for the understanding of Aeneas' motivation in leaving Carthage.³⁸

Dido reacts with anger to his speech, addressing him (365-87) as perfide (366) and sarcastically questioning his whole ancestry. Love has now turned to hate and she speaks of Aeneas in the third person (369ff.). She stresses that Aeneas must surely be punished by the gods who watch over such actions (371f.). She treats with contempt his reasons for departing from Carthage and recalls her own gestures of generosity towards the Trojans (373ff.). The shadow of Dido will follow him even after death (384ff.). Lying prostrate with anguish, she is then helped by her maids to her room. Vergil continues as follows:-

"at pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore
iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit."
(393-6).

³⁷As leaving Troy also brings great regret; but no one would argue that, once sure that his fate lies elsewhere, Aeneas is unwilling to leave his beloved homeland.

³⁸The question of Aeneas' unwillingness to leave Carthage and his statement to that effect (6,460) are further discussed below, p. 256.

We have seen that Aeneas regains his piety in his decision to follow the fates rather than to remain at Carthage with Dido. The precise meaning of pius here has long been the subject of debate. Page³⁹ could scarcely believe that the man who wrote the speech of Dido (365ff.) could describe Aeneas immediately afterwards as "the good" (pius 393). He describes it as "one of the puzzles of literature". The difficulty which Page had with this passage arose partly from his rendering of pius as "good". Any connection in the poem between pietas and goodness, in its full moral sense, is purely coincidental. Yet the reaction of Page and many of his contemporaries was not, it seems, altogether unintended by Vergil. For, by describing Aeneas as pius at a moment when his actions cause great anguish to the queen, with whom we have much sympathy, the poet forces the reader to focus on the exact meaning and implications of pietas. It is almost as if Vergil sets out to shock the reader. It is a technique which he uses again; in Book 10, 510ff.⁴⁰, we observe the hero at his most savage, killing without mercy many Italians, some of whom had begged for their lives. Aeneas is shown in a fit of fury almost unequalled in its ferocity anywhere in the poem. Despite these actions, he is described as pius (10, 591) in between his slaying of the two brothers Lucagus and Liger, the latter of whom pleads for mercy (597ff.). Many scholars in more recent times have shown the same amazement at Vergil's use of pius at 10, 591 as

³⁹Page, XVIII f.

⁴⁰For a full discussion of Aeneas' aristeia in Book 10 (510ff.), see below, p. 294ff.

Page did at 4,393.⁴¹ In each case the poet juxtaposes Aeneas' pietas and the human suffering which results from it. By describing Aeneas as pius as Dido is helped away by her famulae (4,391ff.) and as the moribund Lucagus tumbles from his chariot (10,590), Vergil forces us to question the precise meaning of pietas against a background of death and despair. Moreover, in each case Aeneas, for all his piety, is depicted as a most unlikeable figure.

Whilst Aeneas' actions in both episodes have dire human consequences for non-Trojans, in each case the hero acts with the blessing of Jupiter/Fata and thus helps his own people to establish their fated city. Despite recent attempts to show otherwise⁴², in neither case can the piety of the hero be called into question, for pius is used specifically both times to show that Aeneas furthers the progress of fate. Yet there seems little doubt that, by placing the epithet at such significant points in the narrative, Vergil makes us focus more clearly on the cost to others of Aeneas' pietas, rather than on the benefits that will accrue to his own people.

⁴¹See, for example, Williams, ad 10,510f. and 591. Austin, ad 4,393 seems to feel distinct unease about Vergil's use of pius at 10,591. Neither commentator mentions that pius in both cases signifies that Aeneas, by his behaviour, furthers the progress of fate.

⁴²W.R. Johnson, C.J. 60 (1965) 359ff. argues that pius in the poem has the meaning of "compassionate" and thus Vergil uses it with strong irony. This is clearly not the case at 4,393ff.; for pius belongs to the main clause signifying his decision to follow the iussa divum (396). His desire to lessen Dido's agony (393f.) results from his amor (395); it is precisely because of his pietas that he cannot even attempt to ease her suffering. Contrast Austin, ad 394. It is significant that in the underworld (6,467) Aeneas actually makes the attempt to lessen her grief, for no pietas restrains him there; see below, p.253ff.

All of Dido's pleas to Aeneas fall on deaf ears. She approaches Anna (416ff.) in the hope that she may be able to convince Aeneas at least to delay his departure. The narrative continues as follows:-

"Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus
fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur
fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;
fata obstant placidasque viri deus obstruit auris. 440
ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum
Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
erueri inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras 445
aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit;
haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes."
(437-49).

Anna attempts repeatedly to persuade Aeneas to postpone his departure but he is like a strong oak⁴³ that not even Alpine winds can shift. Fate stands in the way and a god seals his ears (440).⁴⁴ Yet despite his strong resolve to depart for Italy, Aeneas feels anguish in his heart (448), as he did after trying to explain to the queen the reasons for his planned departure (393ff.). For all Aeneas' concern, however, his mind remains

⁴³It is part of the reversal of their roles in the underworld that Dido (6,470f.) is pictured as like hard flint or Parian rock in response to the pleas of Aeneas.

⁴⁴This seems like a superfluous gesture (cf. 1,297ff.) as there is no indication that Aeneas' resolve is weakening; but heaven is taking no chances. See Steiner, 51ff.

unmoved and the tears fall in vain (449).⁴⁵ Again we see that, having heard the god's words, Aeneas is determined to leave (pietas) and that no further delay is possible.

In the remainder of the book (450-705) the poet focuses clearly on the disintegration and death of Dido. In contrast to the insomniac Dido, who is tormented by love-agonies (522ff.), Aeneas sleeps peacefully in the knowledge that he is soon to leave Carthage (554f.). Despite this resolve, a vision appears before him in his sleep (556ff.) who resembles the god Mercury. The vision tells Aeneas (560-70) to leave forthwith for Dido is wild with fury and might bring harm to him and his men.⁴⁶ The hero reacts as follows:-

"Tum vero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris
corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat:
'praecipites vigilate, viri, et considite transtris;
solvite vela citi. deus aethere missus ab alto
festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis

575

⁴⁵ There has been much debate as to who sheds these tears - Dido, Aeneas or even Anna. I see no reason to question the conclusions of A. Hudson-Williams, "Lacrimae Illae Inanes" G & R 25 (1978) 16ff., who gives a full discussion and bibliography of the debate, and attributes the tears to Dido. To his argument I add one small point; Aeneas could certainly be described at times as a lachrymose figure in the first three books of the poem (see 1,459, 465, 470; 2,279, 790; 3,492), yet in each case they are tears which help to convey his pietas - his great love of his Trojan friends and relatives, many of whom are now dead. The significance of his tears in Book 6 (455, 468 and 476) is not only that they signal a reversal of his failure to weep whilst at Carthage, but also that they do not help to convey his pietas (see below, p. 254).

⁴⁶ On the significance of Mercury's reference to Dido as certa mori... (564) see below p.212 n. 7 and p. 257f.

ecce iterum instimulat. sequimur te, sancte deorum,
 quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.
 adsis o placidusque iuves et sidera caelo
 dextra feras.' dixit vaginaque eripit ensem
 fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro."

(571-80).

Aeneas, who is this time scared (exterritus 571) by the supernatural appearance, tears himself from sleep and rouses his fellows (571f.). He follows the god's injunctions by ordering his men to set sail with haste (573ff.). At the same time, he prays to the god stating that again they obey with joy (ovantes 577) the divine imperium (576f.).⁴⁷ He also prays for the presence and assistance of the god during their voyage (578f.). Having said this, he puts words into action by drawing his sword and cutting the cable (579f.), thus sending them on towards their fated land (581ff.).

Section 5

Aeneas Book 5

In Book 5 the Trojans return to Sicily where they celebrate games to honour Anchises who died at Drepanum one year beforehand. The book is modelled largely on

⁴⁷We see here Aeneas' burning desire to follow the injunctions of heaven (pietas) as we did in his first response to Mercury at 279ff.; note Aeneas' use of iterum at 577.

Book 23 of the Iliad in which the Greeks hold games¹ in honour of Patroclus, who had been killed by Hector shortly beforehand. The roles of Achilles (Il.) and Aeneas (Aen.) as conveners of the games have distinct similarities, but their states of mind are notably different. Achilles is both angry and grief-stricken at the recent loss of Patroclus and realises (23,80ff. and 144ff.) that he too is now destined to fall in the war against the Trojans. Aeneas' period of mourning has passed² and he is seen as neither grief-stricken nor angry, but rather shows love and loyalty to the memory of his father (pietas).

In his personal involvement in, and sense of loss at, Patroclus' death, Achilles is set apart from the other heroes. Yet even though he does not compete in the games, Achilles is the protagonist of Book 23. We understand that were he to take part he would prevail over the other competitors.³ Those who do take part are of great and heroic stature - Ajax, Odysseus, Menelaus, Antilochus and Diomedes all compete in the presence of Nestor, Idomeneus, Agamemnon and Achilles, as well as the Greek

¹Homer describes eight different games whereas Vergil describes only four prior to the Lusus Troiae. On the games in Vergil and Homer see Heinze, 140-66; H.W. Prescott, The Development of Virgil's Art (New York, 1963) 206ff.; W.H. Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic" T.A.Ph.A. 72 (1941) 392ff.; E. Mehl, "Die Leichenspiele in der Aeneis als turngeschichtliche Quelle" R.E. 8A 2 (1958) 1487-93; Otis, 41ff.; and H.A. Harris, "The Games in Aeneid V" P.V.S. 8 (1968-9) 14ff.

²See 3,707ff. and above, p. 188f.

³See Il. 23,274ff.; Highet's point (200) is that this is "a remark inconceivable for Aeneas".

host. We have no doubts as to the greatness of these competitors whose physical attributes have been stressed throughout the poem. This cannot be said of Vergil's competitors; their greatness is assumed by the poet. Most of them have *only a small role outside of Book 5*; ⁴ they are shadowy figures created for the purpose of the games, who never attain the reality of their Homeric counterparts. Aeneas, by contrast, has a significant dramatic role in the book uttering 12 direct speeches - 73 lines. Only in Book 6 is his dramatic role greater (12 speeches, 88 lines).

It is to foreshadow Aeneas' important role in Book 5 that Vergil names his hero in the first line.⁵ He is pictured holding steadfastly (certus iter 2)⁶ his course and looking back with puzzlement at the flames in Dido's Carthage (1-7).⁷ Aeneas' first speech is in response to an appeal from the helmsman Palinurus, who wishes to

⁴On this see A. Bellessort, Virgile: Son Oeuvre et Son Temps (Paris, 1920) 166 and J. Glazewski, "The Function of Vergil's Funeral Games" C.W. 66 (1972-3) 92 who both point out that Vergil introduces these minor characters in Book 5 prior to their roles later in the poem. Mnestheus (4,288), Sergestus (1,510; 4,288), Cloanthus (1,222), and Acestes (1,195) have been mentioned in passing in earlier books.

⁵Cf. 4,1 At regina... and 12,1 Turnus ut... which foreshadow the important roles of Dido in Book 4 and Turnus in Book 12. See above, p. 191 n.2.

⁶This is an echo of certus eundi 4,554.

⁷At 6,463f. Aeneas claims to be unaware that his departure caused Dido such dolor; but cf. 4,435f. and 563ff. On the implications of Aeneas' statement of denial at 6,463f., see below, p.257f. On the symbolic importance of lines 1ff., see Büchner, 352 and Pöschl, 47f.

change direction (17ff.) as a result of the inclement weather:-

"tum pius Aeneas: 'equidem sic poscere ventos
iamdudum et frustra cerno te tendere contra.
flecte viam velis. an sit mihi gratior ulla,
quove magis fessas optem demittere navis,
quam quae Dardanium tellus mihi servat Acesten
et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa?'"

(26-31).

Aeneas agrees with his helmsman's suggestion and tells him accordingly to change direction.⁸ They will visit the land of Acestes where his father had died one year before. Pius, notes Williams,⁹ shows "Aeneas' position of responsibility for his men". Furthermore, it indicates his love and honour for the memory of his father. The reference to his piety (26) sets the tone for the speech and demonstrates this essential quality of Aeneas which is seen throughout his direct speeches in Book 5. Aeneas is grateful for the opportunity to shelter his ships in Acestes' land where lie the bones of his father.

On landing at Drepanum and being welcomed by Acestes (35ff.), Aeneas makes a lengthy address to his men as follows:-

"Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divum,
annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis,
ex quo reliquias divinique ossa parentis
condidimus terra maestisque sacravimus aras;
iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,

⁸Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no Homeric model for the speech of Aeneas.

⁹Williams, (Aen. 1-6) ad 26; see also his longer note, Aeneidos Liber Quintus (Oxford, 1960) ad loc.

semper honoratum (sic di voluistis) habebō. 50
 hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul,
 Argolicove mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae,
 annua vota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas
 exsequerer strueremque suis altaria donis.
 nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis, 55
 haud equidem sine mente reor sine numine divum,
 adsumus et portus delati intramus amicos.
 ergo agite et laetum cuncti celebremus honorem:
 poscamus ventos, atque haec me sacra quotannis
 urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis. 60
 bina boum vobis Troia generatus Acestes
 dat numero capita in navis; adhibete penatis
 et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Acestes.
 praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus alium
 Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem, 65
 prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis;
 quique pedum cursu valet, et qui viribus audax
 aut iaculo incedit melior levibusque sagittis,
 seu crudo fidit pugnam committere caestu,
 cuncti adsint meritaque expectent praemia palmae. 70
 ore favete omnes et cingite tempora ramis.'"

(45-71).

The piety of Aeneas is stressed throughout the speech and most especially in his intention to perform solemn rites in honour of his father. A year has passed since Anchises' death (46ff.), and now the day has arrived which will always be painful to Aeneas and honoured by him - for the gods will it thus (sic di voluistis 50). Aeneas would conduct funeral rites to his dead father, were he wandering in obscure parts of the world (51ff.), far away from Sicily, so that he shall certainly perform them when, as now, at Drepanum. He feels that not without divine purpose are they present at a friendly haven (56f.). The task for Aeneas is one of joy (laetum...

honorem 58)¹⁰ and he promises to perform such rites each year in his destined city (59f.). Here Vergil evokes the Parentalia: Aeneas is, therefore, founder and observer of traditional ritual.¹¹ He orders his own Penates and those of Acestes to be brought to the feast (62f.). Furthermore, on the ninth day, Aeneas will proclaim contests of ships, foot-race, javelin and archery, and boxing (64ff.). All should remain silent to keep good the omens and also wreath their temples with branches (71).

At Il. 22,386ff.,¹² Achilles vows to mourn Patroclus who is still unwept and unburied. He says that he will never forget him even if he goes down to Hades. He is consoled by the μέγα κῆδος (393) of slaying Hector, but, as we shall see, takes grim satisfaction in the sacrifice of another twelve sons of the Trojans.¹³ The death of Patroclus leads to funeral games in the Iliad, as that of Anchises does in the fifth Aeneid; yet Achilles' reaction to his friend's death is the model for Aeneas' reaction to the killing of Pallas (10,510-605). Achilles' vow (22,386ff.) is made in grief to a dead friend, killed on the battlefield, whereas Aeneas' is made in a spirit of joyful religious observance to

¹⁰On the mood of joy in Book 5, see P. Miniconi, "La joie dans l'Enéide" Latomus 21 (1962) 568 and G.K. Galinsky, "Aeneid V and the Aeneid" A.J.P. 89 (1968) 159.

¹¹On the Parentalia, see Williams, (Aen. 5) ad loc.

¹²Knauer, (indices) ad 53f.

¹³23,175ff. On the differences in the presentation of human sacrifice in Homer and Vergil see above, p. 11ff. and below, p. 315ff.

his father. The former stresses Achilles' exultation in vengeance as a means of assuaging his grief, the latter Aeneas' joyful piety in the remembrance of his father.

In Il. 23,194ff.¹⁴ Achilles is described as praying for winds, so that the pyre of Patroclus will burn. Aeneas, too, asks for winds (poscamus ventos 59) so that the Trojans may reach Italy. Again he shows his pietas in his concern to reach his destined land and establish a city (urbe...posita 60). The religious rites, which are so important to the Trojans, will typify the new city. The feast at Drepanum will be held in the presence of the Penates brought by the Trojans and those worshipped by Acestes. Aeneas' insistence that they be present underlines his pietas and represents a clear un-Homeric element.¹⁵ The declaration by Aeneas of a solemn nine days follows Roman tradition¹⁶ on the one hand and also resembles the avowal of Priam¹⁷ who has recently recovered the body of Hector:-

ἐννήμαρ μὲν κ' αὐτὸν ἐν μεγάροις γόοοιμεν,
τῇ δεκάτῃ δέ κε θάπτοιμεν δαυνυτό τε λαός,
ἐνδεκάτῃ δέ κε τύμβον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποιήσαιοιμεν,
τῇ δὲ δυωδεκάτῃ πολεμίζοιμεν, εἴ περ ἀνάγκη."

665

(Il. 24,664-7).

The period of mourning is similar to that of the solemnities at Drepanum. Aeneas' pietas - the loving

¹⁴Knauer, (indices) ad 59a.

¹⁵Cf. Il. 23,10f.

¹⁶See Williams, (Aen. 5) ad 64-65.

¹⁷Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

memory of son for father - evokes the same kind of solemn mourning as Priam bestowed on the dead Hector. It is an apt borrowing: Priam's love for Hector and his labour to retrieve the body for the proper rites prefigure Aeneas' love for his father (Anchises) and son (Ascanius). In this sense a continuity exists in the behaviour of the Trojans from the Homeric poem into the Vergilian. The piety of Priam becomes Aeneas' distinctive quality.

Aeneas and the others place on their brows the myrtle, which is sacred to Venus, whilst the hero himself pours a libation and cries:-

"salve, sancte parens, iterum salvete, recepti
nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae.
non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arva
nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim."
(80-3).

The opening of the speech resembles¹⁸ the speech of Achilles to the dead Patroclus:-

"χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι
πάντα γὰρ ἤδη τοι τελέω τὰ πάροιθεν ὑπέστην.
δώδεκα μὲν Τρώων μεγαθύμων νείας ἐσθλοὺς
τοὺς ἅμα σοὶ πάντας πῦρ ἐσθίει· Ἑκτορα δ' οὐ τι
δώσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν, ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν."

180

(Il. 23,179-83).

Comparison of these two passages demonstrates clearly the careful way in which Vergil selects Homeric material for his own poem. The salutation of Aeneas to his dead father (80ff.) is without doubt modelled on that of Achilles to the dead Patroclus (23,179); yet the slaughter of the Trojan youths by Achilles (referred to at 23,

¹⁸Knauer, (indices) ad loc. There is also a strong resemblance to Catullus 64,23.

180ff.) is the model for Aeneas' sacrifice of eight Italian youths following the death of Pallas. It is significant, however, that Achilles' words (23,180ff.) have no parallel in the Aeneid for Aeneas utters no speech as he prepares the youths for sacrifice.¹⁹ Vergil carefully avoids giving dramatic reality to the action of his hero in this matter. On the other hand, Achilles' words of piety - his address to his beloved Patroclus (23,179) - are given dramatic reality and expanded by Vergil in Aeneas' utterance to the spirit of his father (80-3).²⁰ Thus, both in his pious words and in his perpetration of human sacrifice, Achilles is the model for Aeneas, yet in characterising his hero, Vergil gives full dramatic significance to the former, whilst obscuring the latter in an indistinct narrative. Thus, here too, Aeneas' speech underlines his pietas - he salutes the spirit of his father and laments that Anchises will not seek Italy with him.

The rites to his father are interrupted by the appearance of a snake (84ff.) which coils and glides around the altar. The sight of the snake induces Aeneas to continue, with more eagerness, the solemn rites. He kills two sheep, two pigs and two black-backed bullocks, and pours wine at the altar. As preparation for the games begins (104ff.), we may reflect that the portrayal

¹⁹On this see above, p.11ff. and below, p. 315ff.

²⁰J.W. Mackail, The Aeneid (Oxford, 1930) ad 5,81, points out that Aeneas' salutation is given to 1/ the buried ashes 2/ the spirit (anima) in Elysium 3/ the ghost (umbra) which haunts and revisits this world (as it does at 5,722ff.).

of Aeneas in Book 5 (1-103) demonstrates a single-minded devotion to the memory of his father, the rites in his honour and the eventual foundation of the fated city.

Pius (286) refers backwards to the presentation following the ship-race and forwards to his introduction to the foot-race. At 282ff. Aeneas presents to Sergestus his promised gift: the latter had been captain of the barque which struck a rock (202ff.) putting it out of the race.²¹ Aeneas is joyful (laetus 283) that ship and crew are able to return (pietas)²² to collect the promised reward. After the ship-race, Aeneas prepares to begin the foot-race and, when the contestants appear, he speaks as follows:-

"accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentes.
 nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit. 305
 Cnosia bina dabo levato lucida ferro
 spicula caelataque argento ferre bipennem;
 omnibus hic erit unus honos. tres praemia primi
 accipient flavaque caput nectentur oliva.
 primus equum phaleris insignem victor habeto; 310
 alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis
 Threiciis, lato quam circum amplexatur auro
 balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma;
 tertius Argolica hac galea contentus abito."
 (304-14).

²¹ Otis, 51ff. gives an interesting comparative analysis of Aen. 5,114-243 and Il. 23,287-652.

²² This episode resembles Il. 23,534ff. in which Achilles gives to Eumelus the second prize even though, as a result of an accident, he came last (see also below, p.221). There is no parallel in the Homeric passage, however, for Aeneas' pietas in the joy that he shows at the safe return of his men.

As we have seen, the force of pius (286) carries forward to Aeneas' speech denoting the hero's position as leader and organiser of the games. Pietas excluded, the speech shows few glimpses of his character. Each runner will receive a gift from Aeneas (305); he then elaborates on the minor prizes and those for first, second and third places. In Il. 23,262ff.²³ Anchises sets out the prizes for the chariot-race, ranging from a woman skilled in handiwork for the winner, to an urn with two handles for fifth place. He then calls on charioteers to come forward and try to win prizes since he himself will not compete (23,272ff.). Generally speaking, in Homer the elaborate detail of the prizes falls within the narrative rather than the direct speeches.²⁴ Vergil follows this practice when he describes the earlier presentation following the ship-race (244ff.). Aeneas' speech at 304ff. is vividly descriptive and fulfils a similar function to the various narrative references to prizes in Vergil and Homer. It seems unlikely, however, that such a formal and elaborate speech would ever have been uttered from the lips of Achilles; for in the Iliad the narrator and characters have roles which are more clearly defined. Aeneas' speech, certainly in Homer's terms, more properly fulfils the role of the narrator - a fact of which there seems little doubt Vergil was aware. The single quality to emerge from the speech is Aeneas'

²³Knauer, (indices) ad 308b-314.

²⁴As it does at Il. 23,262ff., 653ff., 700ff., 740ff. and 798ff. Achilles does name the prizes for the boxing at 658ff. although this is clearly less elaborate than Aeneas at 5,304ff.

pietas - his determination that none of his men will leave without reward (305). Achilles' speeches in Book 23 of the Iliad and elsewhere in the poem exude a wide range of human qualities and emotions. As we can see from this speech of Aeneas (304ff.), Vergil makes no attempt to create the same kind of three-dimensional hero as Homer's Achilles. It is purely the pietas of Aeneas on which Vergil concentrates.

Salius claims (341f.) that he was cheated of his prize in the foot-race and demands that it be returned to him. Aeneas responds as follows:-

"tum pater Aeneas 'vestra' inquit 'munera vobis
certa manent, pueri, et palmam movet ordine nemo;
me liceat casus miserari insontis amici.'"

(348-50).

The speech is based²⁵ on that of Achilles to Antilochus:-

"'Αντίλοχ', εἰ μὲν δὴ με κελεύεις οἴκοθεν ἄλλο
Εὐμήλω ἐπιδοῦναι, ἐγὼ δέ κε καὶ τὸ τελέσω.
δώσω οἱ θώρηκα, τὸν Ἀστεροπαῖον ἀπηύρων, 560
χάλκεον, ᾧ πέρι χεῦμα φαεινοῦ κασσιτέροιο
ἀμφιδεδίνηται· πολέος δέ οἱ ἄξιός ἐσται."

(Il. 23, 558-62).

In Il. 23, 288ff., it is Eumelus who is expected to win the chariot-race because of his well-known ability as a horseman. This ability shows forth as he quickly races to the front only to have Pallas Athena sabotage his chances (391ff.). As a result of this, Eumelus comes last and Diomedes wins the race (499ff.). Achilles feels that Eumelus is the best and should have a prize even though he came last (536ff.); and he, therefore,

²⁵Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

decides to give him the prize for second place. Antilochus, who came second in the race, objects (543ff.) to the taking of his prize, even though all the Greeks concur with Achilles (ἐπώνησαν γὰρ Ἀχαιοί ... 540). Achilles accepts Antilochus' argument and fetches for Eumelus a corselet from his tent (558ff.).

In Vergil's foot-race, Nisus takes the lead only to fall on some blood-soaked ground and lose all chance of winning (327ff.). In the process of this accident he remembers Euryalus, and purposely causes Salius to fall also, whereby Euryalus wins the race. Salius claims that he has been cheated of his prize; which brings Euryalus to tears (343). Aeneas, in a complete reversal of Achilles' capriciousness, decides that no one alters the order²⁶, and he finds another prize for Salius (351ff.).

Whereas Achilles largely creates the air of friction by making a subjective judgement of the heroes' relative worth, regardless of the result of the race, Aeneas is objective and firm. The prizes are to be awarded in the same order as they crossed the line: Aeneas, unlike Achilles, has no part in the precipitation of the argument. The nature of the relationship between Aeneas and his men is emphasised in Vergil's use of pater (348) and pueri (349). Pater is used of Aeneas nine times²⁷ in Book 5 and considerably less so in the earlier books

²⁶Note the word order here:- ...et palmam movet ordine nemo (349), with the emphasis on nemo.

²⁷130, 348, 358, 424, 461, 545, 700, 827, 867.

indicating a shift in emphasis on Vergil's part.²⁸ The stress given to Aeneas' paternal role in Book 5 is appropriate, given that the Trojans commemorate the death of pater Anchises; Vergil seems to be underlining the fact that Aeneas now has the role of paterfamilias. In this instance, pater (348) reflects his pastoral firmness: yet in his pity for the hapless Salius (350ff.), the epithet pius could quite happily have been used by Vergil.²⁹

Achilles is amused (μείδῃσεν 555) at Antilochus who argues strongly from a sense of personal injustice. Achilles' speech has a personal ring to it (ἐγὼ ... τελέσω 559; δώσω 560), which cannot be said for that of Aeneas (nemo... 349, me liceat 350). He refers to himself in an oblique case, failing again to use the first person singular.³⁰

Nisus, too, complains (353ff.) that he would have earned first prize, had he had a better fortune. The pater optimus (358) smiles and gives him also a prize (359ff.), thus demonstrating his pietas. He then

²⁸ 1,580, 699; 2,2 and 3,716 - all after the death of Anchises, who has the role of paterfamilias in the long narration. Elsewhere in the poem, pater Aeneas is used less often: once in 7; 3 times in 8; 3 times in 9; twice in 11; and 3 times in 12. See Glazewski, C.W. 66 (1972-3) 87 n.4, who seems confused about the facts here.

²⁹ Cf. 5,700 where Aeneas is described as pater but where pius could on no account be used.

³⁰ In his previous three speeches (80-3, 304-14 and 348-50) Aeneas uses the first person singular only once - dabo (306). In the Homeric parallels to 80-3 and 348-50 (Il. 23,179-83 and 558-62) the first person singular is used 5 times - τελέω (180), ὑπέστην (180), δώσω (183); τελέσω (559) and δώσω (560). Aeneas' speeches are generally less personal than those of his Homeric counterparts.

announces the next event:-

"nunc, si cui virtus animusque in pectore praesens,
adsit et evinctis attollat bracchia palmis."

(363-4)³¹

The boxing event is described at 424ff. - the result of which is victory for Entellus over Dares.³² The winner proceeds to batter the loser until Aeneas intervenes:-

"tum pater Aeneas procedere longius iras
et saevire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis,
sed finem imposuit pugnae fessumque Dareta
eripuit mulcens dictis ac talia fatur:
'infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit?
non viris alias conversa numina sentis?
cede deo.' dixitque et proelia voce diremit."

(461-7).

The speech is modelled³³ on that of Achilles to Odysseus and Aias:-

"μηκέτ' ἐρείδεσθον, μηδὲ τρίβεσθε κακοῖσι· 735
νίκη δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν· ἀέθλια δ' ἴσ' ἀνελόντες
ἔρχεσθ', ὅφρα καὶ ἄλλοι ἀεθλεύωσιν Ἀχαιοί."

(Il. 23,735-7).

Aeneas' paternal role (pater 461) brings him to stop the fight just as Achilles stopped the wrestling match between Odysseus and Aias. The tanta dementia of Dares is that he fights against impossible odds since the gods have turned against him. It is noteworthy that Aeneas,

³¹Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Il. 23,658ff. where Achilles announces the commencement of the boxing and the two prizes for the contestants.

³²Note Entellus' reference to pio...Aeneae (418) as an example of indirect characterisation of the hero. Note also pater (424) where his impartiality is stressed.

³³Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

unlike Achilles, refers to a divine influence in the contest. This may reflect Aeneas' actual belief, or he may, on a more subtle level, be offering Dares an excuse for his defeat at the hands of Entellus. In either case, it is prudent for Aeneas to intervene for Entellus makes it plain (474ff.) that without such interference he would have battered his opponent to death. Such a conclusion as the result of a boxing match between two of his own people is abhorrent to Aeneas' pietas. The Homeric wrestling match between Odysseus and Aias is considerably more even. Achilles needs not and does not attribute victory or defeat to divine factors, but merely comments on the evenness of the match and suggests that the prizes be shared. Aeneas' paternal role (pietas) is more strongly emphasised and contrasts with Achilles' more specific role as judge and mediator.

In the archery contest (485ff.) Acestes is the last to take aim; but the target (a dove) has already been shot by Eurytion (513ff.). Acestes still shoots his arrow which catches fire - a great omen. This brings joy to those who watch:-

"attonitis haesere animis superosque precati
 Trinacrii Teucrique viri, nec maximus omen 530
 abnuit Aeneas, sed laetum amplexus Acesten
 muneribus cumulat magnis ac talia fatur:
 'sume pater; nam te voluit rex magnus Olympi
 talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honores.
 ipsius Anchisae longaeui hoc munus habebis, 535
 cratera impressum signis, quem Thracius olim
 Anchisae genitori in magno munere Cisseus
 ferre sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris.'"

(529-38).

This speech is modelled³⁴ on that of Achilles to Nestor:-

“τῇ νῦν, καὶ σοὶ τοῦτο, γέρον, κειμήλιον ἔστω,
 Πατρόκλοιο τάφου μνήμ' ἔμμεναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' αὐτὸν
 ὄψῃ ἐν Ἀργείοισι· δίδωμι δέ τοι τόδ' ἄεθλον 620
 αὐτως· οὐ γὰρ πύξ γε μαχήσεται, οὐδὲ παλαίσεις,
 οὐδ' ἔτ' ἀκοντιστὴν ἐσδύσεται, οὐδὲ πόδεσσι
 θεύσεται· ἦδη γὰρ χαλεπὸν κατὰ γῆρας ἐπεΐγει.”

(Il. 23, 618-23).

In the Homeric games following the chariot-race, the fifth prize had been left unclaimed; Achilles, therefore, decides spontaneously to give it to Nestor as a personal tribute to his ἀρετή. Achilles feels pity for Nestor now that χαλεπὸν γῆρας (623) afflicts him and that, as such, he is unable to compete in the games. The Vergilian situation is quite different in that Acestes does compete - in the archery contest. At the sight of the omen all of the Trinacrians and Trojans pray to the gods above; but Vergil concentrates on maximus...Aeneas (531f.) who not only accepts the miracle as a good omen but also bestows a gift on Acestes.³⁵ No ordinary gift is this, but an engraved bowl given by the Thracian Cisseus to Anchises as a mark of their friendship. The repetition of Anchises' name (535, 7 - note ipsius 535) stresses the honour in which Aeneas holds his father (pietas).³⁶ Achilles' gesture to Nestor has great spontaneity and is not prompted by an occurrence of any kind; Aeneas, by contrast, reacts emotionally to the divine signal. In

³⁴Knauer, (indices) ad 533-538.

³⁵Moreover, Aeneas embraces joyful Acestes (531).

³⁶His pietas is also seen as he interprets the omen as the will of Jupiter (533f.).

every sense his reaction demonstrates his pietas.³⁷ He proceeds to call Acestes the victor (539ff.) and to give him the laurel that Eurytion would otherwise have won. Thus, Aeneas, like Achilles (23, 536ff.), decides on his own initiative to alter the order, yet it is shown that this is done out of reverence towards Jupiter who, he believes, has sent the omen. Achilles' decision (23, 536ff.) shows his capriciousness as master of the proceedings; Aeneas' decision demonstrates his pietas.³⁸

Aeneas now calls for the boys' parade to begin:-

"at pater Aeneas nondum certamine misso
custodem ad sese comitemque impubis Iuli
Epytiden vocat, et fidam sic fatur ad aurem:
'vade age et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum
agmen habet secum cursusque instruxit equorum,
ducat avo turmas et sese ostendat in armis
dic' ait." 545 550

(545-51).

Again Aeneas' paternal role is stressed (pater 545). The boys' parade (Lusus Troiae) is perhaps based loosely on the dancing of the Phaeacians (Od. 8, 370ff.).³⁹ Ascanius, too, has a role to play in the rites to his grandfather as the leader of the parade. In performing

³⁷ Thus, note again that Vergil chooses to underline his hero's pietas where Homer stresses his hero's spontaneity. Time and again we see Vergil alter Homer's methods of characterisation in such a way.

³⁸ Whereas Antilochus objects with passion (23, 543ff.) to the intervention of Achilles, Eurytion does not do so (5, 541f.) even though he shot the bird and is thus entitled to the prize. The decision of Achilles to interfere is thus contentious, whilst Aeneas', who acts out of pietas, is not. Similarly the pietas of all the Trojans/Sicilians, and of Eurytion in particular, is stressed. Where there is often conflict amongst Homer's Greek characters, there is generally harmony amongst Vergil's Trojans.

³⁹ Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

the Lusus Troiae, the Trojans can be seen as founders and observers of an established Augustan performance.⁴⁰ The boys perform the manoeuvres (553ff.) when suddenly (604ff.) the joy of the ceremony turns to disaster. Juno sends Iris who induces the women, tired as they are of the labours of the voyage, to fire the ships. Despite her disguise as Beroë, Iris is recognised as an immortal and revered as such. They then take torches and begin to burn the ships (659ff.). Ascanius is the first to the ships and challenges the actions of the scattering women (670ff.) before Aeneas himself appears:-

"tum pius Aeneas umeris abscindere vestem	685
auxilioque vocare deos et tendere palmas:	
'Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum	
Troianos, si quid pietas antiqua labores	
respicit humanos, da flammam evadere classi	
nunc, pater, et tenuis Teucrum res eripe leto.	690
vel tu, quod superest, infesto fulmine morti,	
si mereor, demitte tuaque hic obrue dextra.'	
(685-92).	

It scarcely needs to be stated that pietas is Aeneas' fundamental quality in this speech. Pius Aeneas (685) stretches out his hands to the heavens in a gesture of prayer⁴¹ asking Jupiter to show his pietas antiqua and implying that he himself is deserving of respite from further tribulation. He prays that Jupiter will save the fleet from the flames, or else, if Aeneas does not deserve this, that he will destroy them with his right

⁴⁰On the Lusus Troiae see Williams, (Aen. 5) ad 545ff.

⁴¹On the gesture of stretching out hands in prayer, see above, p.121 n.14.

hand. The god hears him and the prayer is fulfilled: storm showers begin to fall from the sky (693ff.). Thus Aeneas' pietas is shown to save the Trojans from disaster.⁴²

Although his prayers are answered, Aeneas lapses into despondency:-

"at pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo
nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas
mutabat versans, Siculisne resideret arvis
oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras."
(700-3).⁴³

Vergil's use of pater (700) stresses that the ingentis curas (701) rest solely on Aeneas' shoulders. In his consideration of residing in Sicilian fields, however, Aeneas is forgetful of the fates (oblitus fatorum 703) and thus in a state of impietas. In his passing moment of despair, he contemplates the abandonment of his mission in Italy. Thus here, unlike earlier instances, Vergil could not have considered using the epithet pius instead of pater (700)⁴⁴ to describe Aeneas. The use of pater captures the hero's sense of social responsibility and yet does not detract from his impietas in temporarily forgetting the fates.

An ardent admirer of Aeneas' character in the poem saw his behaviour here as one of the three cases "when

⁴²Knauer, (indices) ad loc. compares Nestor's prayer to Zeus at Il. 15,372ff. not to allow the Greeks to be defeated by the Trojans. Zeus hears Nestor's prayer (377ff.) and the Greeks are not defeated in battle.

⁴³Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Od. 10,497f. which is not, however, a close parallel.

⁴⁴As, for example, at 348, where pius could quite easily replace pater.

by the highest standards he fails."⁴⁵ He suggests that "it seems incredible that Aeneas should at this juncture think of abandoning his quest. Yet he does and it shows his emotions still rule him". Following Heinze⁴⁶, who saw this episode as an important turning point in the character of Aeneas, some scholars refer to 5,700ff. as the beginning of the second phase in the narration of his experiences.⁴⁷ It is argued that Aeneas' despondency here is a final hesitation prior to his journey to the underworld from where he emerges a man of greater vision and purpose.⁴⁸ Thus, the meaning and implications of Aeneas' sudden despondency - oblitus fatorum⁴⁹ - have been the subject of considerable conjecture, whereas Vergil's method of presenting Aeneas at this point has not, to my knowledge, been discussed.

It is significant that prior to this episode, Aeneas utters 10 direct speeches in Book 5, all of which, to varying degrees, underline his pietas. It is not the work of chance that Aeneas' single moment of impietas in

⁴⁵Bowra, From Virgil to Milton (London, 1945) 60ff.

⁴⁶Heinze, 269f.; cf. Büchner 356f. who argues that the incident is Aeneas' greatest test.

⁴⁷Camps, 25f. cites three phases in Aeneas' experiences - 1,1-5,699; 5,700-8,731; and 10,1-12,952. I would agree with Camps that there is "no probable indication" of a change in the hero's character throughout these changing situations.

⁴⁸See Pöschl, 37f.

⁴⁹Cf. 4,221 where Aeneas and Dido are described as...oblitos famae melioris amantis, and 4,267 where Mercury addresses Aeneas - heu regni rerumque oblite tuarum?

Book 5 is described by the poet in oratio obliqua.

Clearly, Vergil deems Aeneas' sentiments as unsuitable for a direct speech. He thus withdraws the hero from the dramatic spotlight by conveying his sentiments indirectly. The result is that we are unsure whether lines 700ff. represent Aeneas' thoughts or his words. Does he ever give voice to his misgivings in the presence of Nautes, or does the old man merely perceive his silent despair? The reader is not in a position to know clearly the answer to these questions because Vergil has deliberately blurred the role of Aeneas at this point; the hero's curae are not given the dramatic reality which, were he in a state of pietas, we might reasonably have expected. The dichotomy in the presentation of Aeneas could scarcely be more explicit than in Book 5 where Vergil consistently highlights his hero's pietas by direct methods and obfuscates his impietas by indirect methods.⁵⁰ In contemplating the abandonment of his mission in Italy after Jupiter's favourable action in putting out the fire (693ff.), Aeneas is in a state of impietas, but, by using his indirect method, Vergil seeks not to stress the point.

Nautes encourages Aeneas to follow the course of fate (709ff.) whilst allowing those exhausted by their labours to remain in Sicily. During the night, the ghost of Anchises appears before Aeneas reiterating the words of Nautes and telling him (724ff.) to seek the aid

⁵⁰ We might compare the poet's use of indirect methods to describe Aeneas' dilemma at 4,279ff. - a dilemma which does not exemplify his pietas. See above, p.194ff.

of the Cumaean Sibyl in entering the underworld.⁵¹

Anchises then suddenly disappears in front of Aeneas' eyes like smoke in thin air (740). Aeneas reacts as follows:-

"Aeneas 'quo deinde ruis? quo proripis?' inquit,
'quem fugis? aut quis te nostris complexibus arcet?'"
(741-2)⁵².

Aeneas' love for (the ghost of) his father emphasises his pietas as does his reverence towards the Trojan Lar and Vesta (743ff.). He performs the ritual worship in order to expiate any ill-omen after the supernatural appearance.⁵³ Aeneas assists those of his people who wish to remain in Sicily (746ff.) marking out the city and allotting homes (755f.).⁵⁴ A shrine is founded on Eryx to his mother Venus (759f.) and a priest is assigned to Anchises' tomb (760f.). Moreover, bonus Aeneas (770) assuages the fears of those about to depart for Italy, reluctant as they are to endure such labours at sea again. He then orders sacrifice to Eryx and the Tempests (772f.), throwing the entrails and pouring wine into the sea (774ff.). The pietas of Aeneas is thus, in every sense, forcefully underlined in the above section as the hero prepares to leave Sicily.

⁵¹It is fitting after Aeneas' exemplary pietas, particularly towards the spirit of his father in Book 5, that Anchises' ghost should appear to give him advice and encouragement following his only moment of despair.

⁵²Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Od. 11,210-12 where the shade of Odysseus' mother flees from her son.

⁵³Page, ad loc.

⁵⁴Cf. 3,132ff. where his pietas is also stressed in this way.

Venus asks Neptune (781ff.) that the Trojans be given safe passage on the sea so that they may establish their fated city. Neptune (800ff.) replies that he too shares her concern for Aeneas as he has shown in the battles at Troy; only one person shall die - one in place of many:-

"unum pro multis dabitur caput."

(815).

Neptune calms the sea bringing joy to father Aeneas (patris Aeneae 827). All the fleet follows the course made by Palinurus, helmsman of Aeneas' ship. When night arrives the god Somnus (as Phorbas) induces Palinurus to sleep and to forget about the tiller (843ff.). "Phorbas" himself will take over the watch. Palinurus, however, distrustful of the sea, will have none of this idea and clings fast to the tiller; he will not allow Aeneas to be subjected to the treacheries of the sea (848ff.). The god causes Palinurus to become drowsy and, despite all his efforts, the helmsman falls asleep. Having put him to sleep, Somnus throws him overboard (857ff.) into the clear waters (liquiditas undas 859).⁵⁵ Aeneas soon discovers that his helmsman has gone missing and responds as follows:-

"cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro
sensit, et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis
multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici:
'o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,
nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena.'"

(867-71).

Most readers will agree with Williams' point that "it

⁵⁵There are inconsistencies in the Palinurus episodes of Books 5 and 6 (337ff.) which are discussed more fully below, p.244ff.

is a most effective piece of irony that Aeneas in his last farewell to Palinurus attributes his death to the very thing which he had so resolutely refused to do".⁵⁶ Pater (867) again signifies the nature of Aeneas' role as he discovers to his sorrow that Palinurus has gone overboard.⁵⁷ The hero groans and is sick at heart at the mischance that befalls his friend (869). The text implies that it is under the auspices of Neptune that Somnus kills Palinurus⁵⁸, who as it turns out suffers further in the land of the dead for his lack of burial (6,337ff.). Aeneas regrets the fact that Palinurus will lie unburied, and also attributes his helmsman's death to natural causes. It is an important inconsistency that later, in the underworld (6,341ff.), Aeneas asks Palinurus which of the gods killed him. This and other inconsistencies must be looked at more fully in the following section.

⁵⁶Williams, (Aen. 1-6) ad 870-1.

⁵⁷Knauer, (indices) ad loc., offers no close Homeric parallel to this speech.

⁵⁸It is another example of Vergilian "framing" that the story of Palinurus begins and ends Book 5 (12ff. and 833ff.). For what reason is Palinurus singled out for death by Neptune (815) and Somnus (833ff.)? It is most likely that the answer to this is to be found in his speeches earlier in the book when he is confronted by the storm. In this episode he utters sentiments which could conceivably give grounds for divine vindictiveness:-
1/ "quidve, pater Neptune, paras?" (14).

2/ "...non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor
spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo." (17-18)

3/ "...superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur
quoque vocat, vertamus iter." (22-3); cf. Nautes' words to Aeneas at 5,709f.

Whether or not Palinurus is put to death for some such statement, Vergil stresses his innocence (insonti 841) and his loyalty to Aeneas. For a bibliography of Palinurus' role in the poem, see G. Thaniel, "Ecce...Palinurus" Acta Classica 15 (1972) 149 n.3 and n.6. See also below, p.244ff.

Section 6

Aeneas Book 6

For the purpose of analysing the character of Aeneas we will divide Book 6 of the poem into two sections: the first is his preparation for the underworld (1-263), and the second his experiences in the underworld itself (264-901).¹ In the first section Aeneas is described as pius on three occasions (9, 176, 232), whilst in the second section the word is not used of him at all.² The hero is more verbose in his preparation for the underworld in which he utters four speeches totalling 47 lines. In the underworld itself he utters 8 speeches, 41 lines. The tendency towards longer speeches in the first section is designed partly to underline the piety of Aeneas as he imprecates Phoebus and the Sibyl.

We are reminded immediately of Aeneas' pietas at the very beginning of Book 6, where he is pictured shedding tears at the loss of his helmsman Palinurus (Sic fatur lacrimans...1).³ On their arrival at Cumae, Aeneas' men hastily search for fuel and water but the hero himself (at pius Aeneas 9) searches immediately for the cave of the Sibyl, prophetess of Apollo. Unlike his

¹Some scholars divide the underworld section into two - 264-675 and 675-901; see R.D. Williams, "The Sixth Book of the Aeneid" G & R 11 (1964) 50.

²This fact may be more significant than it first appears; see below, p.249ff. and p. 252 n.41.

³Thus, as in the earlier books, his tears stress his pietas; see above, p.140 and below, p.254.

men, Aeneas thinks first of his religious duties.⁴ He observes the temple built by Daedalus with its pictures which tell the stories of Androgeos, the children of Cecrops, Pasiphaë, the minotaur and Daedalus himself (14ff.).⁵ Achates and the Sibyl arrive as Aeneas is observing the temple doors. The priestess tells him (37-9) that he would do better to perform sacrifice than observe the sights on the doors. The Trojans immediately follow her commands and enter the temple (40f.). The Sibyl now goes into a prophetic trance and asks Aeneas (51ff.) why he is slow to vow and pray. The hero proceeds to do so as follows:-

"funditque preces rex pectore ab imo:	55
'Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper miserate labores,	
Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque	
corpus in Aeacidae, magnas obeuntia terras	
tot maria intravi duce te penitusque repostas	
Massylum gentis praetentaque Syrtibus arva:	60
iam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras,	
hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta.	
vos quoque Pergameae iam fas est parcere genti,	

⁴His men, it seems are carried away with the excitement of their arrival in Italy (note 5f.); Vergil contrasts Aeneas' scrupulous behaviour (9ff.).

⁵Some argue that there are affinities between Aeneas and Daedalus: see Pöschl, 149f.; Otis, 284f.; C.P. Segal, "Aeternum per saecula nomen, The Golden Bough and the Tragedy of History: Part 1" Arion 4 (1965) 643ff.; D.E. Eichholz, "Symbol and Contrast in the Aeneid" G & R 15 (1968) 108ff.; A.J. Boyle, Ramus 1 (1972) 116ff. See also E. Norden, P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI (Stuttgart, 1957) 120ff.; Prescott, 266 and 365f.; H.C. Rutledge, "Vergil's Daedalus" C.J. 62 (1967) 309-11; H.C. Rutledge, "The Opening of Aeneid 6" C.J. 67 (1971) 110-5; J.W. Zarker, "Aeneas and Theseus in Aeneid VI" C.J. 62 (1967) 220-6; W. Fitzgerald, "Aeneas, Daedalus and the Labyrinth" Arethusa 17 (1984) 51-65.

dique deaeque omnes, quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens
 gloria Dardaniae. tuque, o sanctissima vates, 65
 praescia venturi, da (non indebita posco
 regna meis fati) Latio considerare Teucros
 errantisque deos agitataque numina Troiae.
 tum Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templum
 institutam festosque dies de nomine Phoebi. 70
 te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris:
 hic ego namque tuas sortis arcanaque fata
 dicta meae genti ponam, lectosque sacrobo,
 alma, viros. foliis tantum ne carmina manda,
 ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis: 75
 ipsa canas oro."

(55-76).⁶

The repeated description of Aeneas as regi/rex (36;
 55) seems to indicate his role as rex sacrorum.⁷ In
 this role, he prays to the Sibyl from the very bottom of
 his heart (pectore ab imo 55)⁸, emphasising his earnest-
 ness here. Apollo has pitied and helped the Trojans
 before, and Aeneas prays that he will continue to do so.
 He prays also for the acquiescence of the other gods who
 have been Troy's enemies in the past (63ff.). He pays
 his respect to the sanctissima vates (65), the priestess
 of Apollo, hopeful that the Trojans will fulfil their
 destiny by establishing their fated city. Aeneas will
 build a marble temple to Apollo and Diana, and establish
 festal days in Apollo's name; he will also build a

⁶Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no close Homeric parallel for Aeneas' speech.

⁷Vergil does not describe Aeneas elsewhere in the narrative of the Odyssean Aeneid as rex, although he is described as such by other characters in Book 1 - Juno 1,38; Ilioneus 1,544 and 553; and Dido 1,575.

⁸See above, p. 131

shrine for the prophecies of the Sibyl.⁹ In keeping with the instructions of Helenus (3,456f.), Aeneas asks the Sibyl not to entrust her prophecy to leaves but rather to sing it herself. Thus, it scarcely needs to be stressed that this first speech of Aeneas in Book 6 forcefully underlines his pietas. His prayer "marks the divinity of Phoebus as supreme, and also recognizes the authority vested in the Sibyl; he vows to both a tangible sign of his gratitude when his prayer is granted."¹⁰ He also prays to those gods formerly hostile to Troy and demonstrates his determination to follow the course of fate by establishing a city for his people in Italy.

In her reply (83ff.) the Sibyl foresees the arrival of the Trojans into the kingdom of Lavinium and the horrida bella to be fought with the Italians. There will be another Achilles (89) and another Helen in Latium (93ff.). Despite Juno's continual opposition, they should go forward boldly where fortune allows them, even to befriend a Greek city (95ff.). Aeneas replies to the Sibyl as follows:-

"...incipit Aeneas heros: 'non ulla laborum,
o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit;
omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi.

105

⁹On the significance of these references, see Norden's note, ad loc.

¹⁰R.G. Austin, Aeneidos Liber Sextus (Oxford, 1977) ad 55. By "supreme" Austin presumably has the Augustan connection in mind. He prays to Phoebus because he is at the oracle of Apollo and it is by the Sibyl's assistance that he can enter Avernus. Apollo is also the god of colonists (cf. Book 3) and they have now reached Italy.

unum oro; quando hic inferni ianua regis
 dicitur et tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso,
 ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora
 contingat; doceas iter et sacra ostia pandas.
 illum ego per flammās et mille sequentia tela 110
 eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi;
 ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia mecum
 atque omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat,
 invalidus, viris ultra sortemque senectae.
 quin, ut te supplex peterem et tua limina adirem, 115
 idem orans mandata dabat. natiq̄ue patrisq̄ue,
 alma, precor, miserere, potes namque omnia, nec te
 nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernīs:
 si potuit manis accersere coniugis Orpheus
 Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris, 120
 si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit
 itque reditque viam totiens - quid Thesea magnum,
 quid memorem Alciden? et mi genus ab Iove summo."¹¹
 (103-23)¹¹.

In his plea to the Sibyl, Aeneas concentrates not on the prospect of future wars but on his urgent desire to meet with his dead father in the underworld.¹² In this request only the Sibyl can help him. The speech stresses Aeneas' great love for his father - his filial pietas. He carried him from flaming Troy from the host of the enemy (110f.). His father, though an old man, was his companion throughout all adventures on land and sea. The strength and urgency of Aeneas' appeal to the

¹¹Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Od. 11,139-144 in which Odysseus asks Teiresias why the shade of his mother will not look at him or speak to him; it is not, however, a close parallel.

¹²His lack of concern for future labores as a result of his haste to imprecate the Sibyl demonstrates his pietas. Cf. 1,326f. where he gives a perfunctory reply to the disguised Venus in order to show reverence towards her. See above, p.128ff.

Sibyl should not be underestimated.¹³ The mandata (116) to which Aeneas refers are those of Anchises' ghost at 5,724ff., who told him that the Sibyl will lead him to Elysium where they will be reunited. Aeneas' urgent desire to follow these mandata and visit the shade of his beloved father underlines his pietas. He stresses his own immortal descent (Venus/Jupiter) and that he too, like Orpheus, Pollux, Theseus and Hercules, should be permitted to enter the underworld. Vergil's main concern in the first section of the book and his main divergence from Homer is the stressing of the pietas-element as Aeneas seeks pleadingly for entry to Avernus.¹⁴

The Sibyl explains the things that Aeneas must do to gain entry to the underworld (125-55). He must find and pluck the golden bough and give funeral rites to a dead comrade who lies unburied on the shore. The Trojans find the body of Misenus and mourn him¹⁵ - especially Aeneas (praecipue pius Aeneas 176) - before preparing the funeral rites:-

"nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis.
atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat
aspectans silvam immensam, et sic forte precatur;

185

¹³Note especially 115-7; it is noteworthy that, when in the underworld, Aeneas claims (458ff.) that he is actually there against his will. On this inconsistency, see below, p. 257.

¹⁴Cf. Od. 11,23-36 where Odysseus pours libations, utters vows and prayers, and performs sacrifice prior to the Nekuia.

¹⁵Quinn, 164f. has a good discussion of this episode.

'si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus
 ostendat nemore in tanto! quando omnia vere
 heu nimium de te vates, Misene, locuta est.'
 vix ea fatus erat geminae cum forte columbae 190
 ipsa sub ora viri caelo venere volantes,
 et viridi sedere solo. tum maximus heros
 maternas agnovit avis laetusque precatur:
 'este duces, o, si qua via est, cursumque per auras
 derigite in lucos ubi pinguem dives opacat 195
 ramus humum. tuque, o, dubiis ne defice rebus,
 diva parens.'"

(183-97).¹⁶

It is noticeable that Aeneas' first two speeches in Book 6 (56-76 and 103-23) are of equal length (20 ⁵/₁₂ lines)¹⁷, and that his third and fourth speeches (187-9 and 194-7) are of similar length (3 lines and 3 $\frac{1}{4}$). When told that one of his number is dead (149ff.), Aeneas reacts immediately with sadness (156ff.) and, on finding Misenus, joins in the mourning (175f.) and preparation for the funeral rites (176ff.). Whilst exhorting his men in their work (183f.), he looks about the forest in a mood of despondency at Misenus' death (185) and prays that the golden bough may appear just as certainly as did the body of his friend (187ff.).¹⁸ His pietas brings the hoped-for result when two doves appear before him (190ff.). Maximus (192) Aeneas immediately recognises their significance (pietas) and joyfully (laetus

¹⁶Knauer, (indices) ad loc. cites no Homeric models or parallels to this scene of the poem.

¹⁷See Hightet's numerical classification, 328.

¹⁸Austin, ad loc., notes the heavy spondaic rhythm of 186-7 which expresses Aeneas' sorrow at the loss of Misenus.

193) proceeds again to pray for guidance.¹⁹ Again his pietas effects the desired result²⁰ when the doves lead him to the bough hidden in the forest (197ff.). In performing funeral rites to Misenus (212ff.)²¹, the Sibyl's mandata have been fulfilled.

From the very outset of Book 6 where Aeneas sheds tears for his lost helmsman (Sic fatur lacrimans...1) until his actual entrance into the underworld (268ff.), the pietas of the hero is forcefully emphasised. In his first two speeches, the pietas of Aeneas is directed first to the gods and then to his kin. The next two utterances, both introduced by precatur, convey a strong commitment to his men (Misenus) and a further determination to find the bough and enter Avernus. The three-fold use of pius (9, 176, 232) helps to convey this fundamental quality of Aeneas. As we follow the hero into the land of the dead, we should remember Vergil's portrayal of him in the first section of Book 6 and the fact that it is utterly consistent with that in Books 1, 3, 4 and 5, in all of which pietas is the central underlined feature of Aeneas' dramatic (direct speech) role.

Sacrifices are made to Hecate and libations poured (243ff.), whilst Aeneas himself (249ff.) sacrifices to Night, Terra and Proserpine before solemnly inaugurating an altar to Pluto. The ground bellows underfoot and

¹⁹Note precatur at 186 and 193 which stress Aeneas' piety at this point.

²⁰Cf. 5, 685ff. where Aeneas' pietas (note pius 685) saves the Trojans from possible disaster.

²¹Note the part played by pius Aeneas (232) in the rites to Misenus (232ff.).

Deiphobe tells the uninitiated to depart (258ff.) and calls upon Aeneas to have courage and draw his sword from the sheath. On entering the underworld, Aeneas and the Sibyl are confronted by personified forms of suffering (273ff.) and various terrifying creatures (285ff.). Aeneas is trepidus formidine (290) at the sight of the Gorgons, Harpies, Geryon and others. He would have rushed forward fruitlessly (292ff.) waving his naked sword had not the Sibyl prevented him. Aeneas' first experience in Avernus thus stresses the insubstantial nature of the figures.²² His behaviour here is not unlike that at Troy (arma amens capio...2,314ff.), where he automatically reaches for arms; it is, so to speak, his "heroic impulse".²³

At the Styx, Aeneas sees Charon the boatman and a throng of shades waiting to cross the river (295ff.). He transports some of them, but not others, prompting the following questions from Aeneas:-

"Aeneas miratus enim motusque tumultu
'dic' ait, 'o virgo, quid vult concursus ad amnem?
quidve petunt animae? vel quo discrimine ripas

²²It is perhaps for this reason that Vergil devises the apparent inconsistency in the Sibyl's behaviour at this point; for she tells Aeneas (260), prior to entering Avernus, to take his sword from the sheath, only to point out when they first enter (292ff.) that his weapon serves no purpose against the insubstantial figures of the underworld. Circe, likewise, tells Odysseus (Od. 10, 535ff.) to fend off the spirits of the dead with his sword, which the hero is able to do (11, 48ff.). The apparent inconsistency in the Vergilian episode, which is not to be found in the Homeric parallel, seems to highlight the incorporeal nature of Avernus. Cf. Austin's plausible suggestion, ad 260.

²³See Quinn, 1ff.

hae linquunt, illae remis vada livida verrunt?"
(317-20).²⁴

On hearing that these are the shades of the unburied who must wait one hundred years before crossing, Aeneas dwells much on the inequity of their lot (332). He then sees Leucaspis and Orontes who died in the storms that washed the Trojans on to the African coast. Aeneas also sees Palinurus who died recently (nuper) on the journey to Italy (337ff.). He had tried desperately to stay awake out of duty to Aeneas (5,848ff.), but is overpowered by Somnus (5,854ff.); he falls asleep and is then cast headlong overboard (5,857ff.).²⁵ Aeneas, whilst lamenting Palinurus' death (5,869; 6,1), suggests, by his comment (5,870f.), that the helmsman had brought about his own death by allowing himself to fall asleep. It is significant, and relevant for our discussion of Aeneas' role in the underworld, that inconsistencies now emerge in the circumstances of Palinurus' death and the hero's response to it. Aeneas speaks to the shade of Palinurus as follows:-

"quis te, Palinure, deorum
eripuit nobis medioque sub aequore mersit?
dic age. namque mihi, fallax haud ante repertus,
hoc uno responso animum delusit Apollo,
qui fore te ponto incolumem finisque canebat
venturum Ausonios. en haec promissa fides est?"
(341-6).²⁶

²⁴Knauer, (indices) ad loc., gives no Homeric model or parallel for Aeneas' speech.

²⁵See discussion above, p. 233ff.

²⁶For the Homeric model for this speech, see below, p. 246ff.

In response, Palinurus tells the story (347ff.) of his agonising death: Aeneas was not deceived by Phoebus nor did any god plunge him into the sea, but the seas were rough and he was washed overboard, floating in the water for three nights before sighting Italy. He might have reached land and safety, had not local inhabitants attacked him as he tried to climb the rocks. He seeks now to cross the Stygian marsh with the help of Aeneas, thereby avoiding a wait of one hundred years.

In a comparison between the episodes of Books 5 and 6, a number of inconsistencies arise which have been listed as follows²⁷:- (i) In Book V the god Sleep throws Palinurus overboard, but in Book VI there is no mention by Palinurus of divine intervention; in fact he explicitly says nec me deus aequore mersit. (ii) Conversely, in Book V Aeneas thinks Palinurus' death was an accident, but in Book VI asks what god was responsible. (iii) In Book V the sea is calm, in Book VI stormy. (iv) In Book V Palinurus was on the journey from Sicily to Italy, but in Book VI we read qui Libyco nuper cursu... (v) In Book VI Palinurus says that he was on the sea for three days and nights, but in fact only one day has passed since the events at the end of Book V." One

²⁷R.D. Williams, Aeneidos Liber Quintus (Oxford, 1960) XXV. P. Jacob, "L'Episode de Palinure" L.E.C. 20 (1952) 163ff. considers the same five problems and argues that the Palinurus of Book 6 and the helmsman of Orontes (1, 115f.) are the same person. Both scholars omit the reference (6, 345) of a guarantee by Apollo that Palinurus would reach Italy; no such reference appears earlier. See also Heinze, 141 n.1; Norden, ad 337-383; M. Crump, The Growth of the "Aeneid" (Oxford, 1920) 64f. and 71f.; W.F.J. Knight, Roman Vergil (London, 1944) 291f; T. Berres, Die Entstehung der Aeneis (Wiesbaden, 1982).

further inconsistency could have been listed - that the depiction of Aeneas in the Palinurus episode of Book 6 is inconsistent with the characterisation of the hero elsewhere in the poem; but more of this later.²⁸ Williams' view is that the discrepancies would have been rectified had Vergil undertaken his intended revision.²⁹ He argues that the death of Palinurus, as explained in Book 6, may have been suppressed, not yet written, or implied in the storm in Book 1. He notes that Book 6 was read to Augustus in 23 B.C. and that Palinurus' death in Book 5 (779-871) was probably composed later than Book 6 and possibly later than the rest of Book 5.³⁰

Before discussing these inconsistencies and putting forward suggestions which might help to explain them, let us observe the Palinurus episodes against the Homeric background. The story of Palinurus is clearly based on that of Elpenor in Books 10 and 11 of the *Odyssey*.³¹ Odysseus narrates (10,550ff.) the story that Elpenor, one of his men, fell asleep heavy with wine (οἰνοβαρείων 555), and in the morning was startled by

²⁸ See below, p. 249ff.

²⁹ Williams, (ibid.) XXVff.

³⁰ In his discussion of the Palinurus episodes, G. Williams, 281 follows the same line - "The discrepancies are such as to make it certain that the two accounts were composed independently and never received the necessary revision. It is clear, too, that the account in Book 5 is the later..."

³¹ See Knauer's discussion of the two episodes, 135ff. and M. Lossau, "Elpenor und Palinurus" Wiener Studien 14 (1980) 102-24.

a noise, fell from the roof and broke his neck. Elpenor's death occurs immediately before the Nekuia in which he is the first of the shades to approach Odysseus (11,51ff.). Odysseus asks him (57f.) how he came to the land of darkness and with such haste. Elpenor replies as follows:-

"Ἰσέ με δαίμονος αἴσα κακῇ καὶ ἀθέσφατος οἶνος" (11,61).

He proceeds to explain how he fell and broke his neck. He then asks Odysseus (72ff.) not to leave him unwept and unburied but to perform funeral rites. This Odysseus agrees to do (80).

There are two main points of comparison between the Homeric episodes and the Vergilian. First, there is a certain inconsistency, albeit of different importance, between the narrative descriptions of the characters' deaths and the accounts of the shades themselves given in the Nekyia. Elpenor's reference to the part played by a δαίμων (61) in his death, strictly speaking, contradicts the account of Odysseus who explained it purely as a result of natural causes. The Vergilian inconsistency is more glaring: the poet clearly explains, in the narrative of Book 5, that Palinurus' death was the result of divine machination, whilst in the underworld, Palinurus says the very opposite. Vergil reverses the Homeric cause of death (i.e. a god instead of wine/carelessness) yet retains and magnifies the inconsistency between narrative and Nekyia.

The second point of comparison concerns the structure of the Elpenor and Palinurus episodes. In each case, the death of the man concerned is described at the end of the book preceding the Nekyia; and in each case, his

is the first shade with whom the hero holds conversation. Moreover, the lack of burial preoccupies both shades (Od. 11,72ff. and Aen. 6,365ff.). In these circumstances there seems no doubt that for all the inconsistencies in the Palinurus episodes in Books 5 and 6, in its modelling on the episodes of Elpenor, Vergil was deliberate and judicious. This close modelling on the Homeric episodes in Od. 10 and 11 would seem to discount the suggestion that the Palinurus of Book 6 is in any way connected with the obscure helmsman of Orontes' ship (1,115f.) who died in the storm.³² Moreover, the order in which the shades speak to him (Palinurus, Dido and Deiphobus) is, it seems, deliberately retrogressive³³, further indicating that the poet always envisaged the story of Palinurus' death to be told at the end of Book 5.

Thus, we can state at this point that Vergil conceived the figure Palinurus as a direct parallel to the Homeric Elpenor; from which we can infer that the Palinurus of Book 6 is the shade of the unfortunate helmsman of Book 5. Such an inference, however, fails to answer the fundamental problem of the inconsistencies in the two accounts. Were these to be ironed out in revision? Or was the poet

³²It is worth noting that Orontes' helmsman is described as magister (1,115) whereas Palinurus is gubernator at 5,12 and 6,337; moreover, in the latter two cases, gubernator...Palinurus... appear in the same position in the lines. This would seem to support the view that the Palinurus of Books 5 and 6 are the same and not to be confused with the unfortunate helmsman in Book 1. See G. Thaniel, "Ecce...Palinurus" Acta Classica 15 (1972) 149ff.

³³See B. Otis, "The Originality of the Aeneid" in Virgil, D.R. Dudley ed., (London, 1969) 40f.

who wrote and left such glaring inconsistencies so woolly-headed that he was actually unaware of the problems? Vergil seems to have made no attempt to rationalise the episodes - was he too busy working on the later books, content to leave it until his planned revision of the poem whilst in Greece? Many critics have argued for affirmative answers to these questions, suggesting implicitly that all such speculations are feasible, yet not so the possibility that Vergil was aware of the discrepancies, actually intended them, and was content to leave them in this form to posterity. It is this possibility that we must now consider.

Let us begin by comparing Aeneas' behaviour at 341-6 with his more general presentation throughout the poem. The portrayal of the hero in Books 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (section 1)³⁴ is consistent throughout in that his direct speeches underline his pietas, whereas his occasional impietas,³⁵ or dilemma which would not reflect pietas,³⁶ is presented indirectly (narrative/oratio obliqua). This statement was forcefully reaffirmed in the first section of Book 6 (1-263) where Aeneas' four speeches take the form of imprecations. He shows particular reverence towards Apollo, Diana and the Sibyl and also a great love of kin. When he sees the shade of

³⁴Book 2 is, of course, an exception in that on Troy's last night Aeneas only gradually comes to terms with his destiny and thus acquires pietas only in the third section of the book. See above, p. 151ff.

³⁵As, for example, at 5,700ff.

³⁶As, for example, at 4,279ff. See also Aeneas' implicit response to Dido at 1,494ff.

Palinurus it is a different story - "which of the gods took you from us and plunged you into the sea?... Apollo deluded my mind in this one response... is this his promised fides?...". Aeneas, of course, is quite right, for Palinurus was in fact plunged into the sea by a god; yet his questions here contradict his response to the death of Palinurus (5,870f.), where he assumes that the helmsman had been careless in going to sleep and falling overboard. Whereas his first reaction to the death of Palinurus had shown his pietas³⁷, his meeting with the helmsman's shade reflects only impietas. Moreover, it is significant that this latter speech is inconsistent with Vergil's general portrayal of the hero. Far from praying to the gods by means of the direct speech, as we have come to expect, Aeneas openly questions their morality, lacking reverence rather than demonstrating it. In his questions to Palinurus in the underworld, he goes far further than does Odysseus to Elpenor:-

"Ἐλπηνόρ, πῶς ἦλθες ὑπὸ ζόφου ἡερόεντα;
ἔφθης πεζὸς ἰὼν ἢ ἐγὼ σὺν νηϊ μελαίνῃ."

(Od. 11, 57f.).

We begin to see that Vergil alters his methods of characterising Aeneas as the hero moves through the underworld from those used to characterise him in the upper world. This is shown by the fact that there is no close connection, as in the other books, between the direct presentation of Aeneas and his pietas. As we will see, this is also the case in his next encounter -

³⁷His pietas was shown in his sorrow at the loss of his helmsman at 5,868ff. and 6,1. See above, p. 234f.

with the shade of Dido at 6,450ff.³⁸ It is surely unlikely to be mere chance that the statement (direct speech/pietas) which is so true for the hero in the physical world (Books 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 section 1) is false for his experience in the underworld. In fundamentally altering the presentation of Aeneas here, Vergil seems to be telling us something about the hero and something about the nature of the world in which he currently moves. We expect Aeneas to question Palinurus' shade in a way which somehow aligns with his previous nature and behaviour; but Vergil denies our expectation. As a result, Aeneas' address to the dead Palinurus is not only inconsistent with Book 5, but also with the rest of the poem. Thus, "ironing out"³⁹ the inconsistencies relating to Book 6 might have involved more comprehensive changes than some scholars suspect.

The statement of Palinurus in reply is also the exact opposite of what we might reasonably have expected: no god plunged him into the sea, but the weather was rough (rather than calm - 5,835ff.) and he was swept overboard, although he did his best to hold the tiller. On the basis of Vergil's narrative in Book 5, we expect Palinurus to say that he was put to sleep by a god and cast headlong in calm seas over the side of the ship; but again Vergil denies our expectation. It is as if the incident of Palinurus' death in the physical world, and the behaviour of those involved, are

³⁸See below, p. 252ff.

³⁹I use Otis' words, 292. See also his discussion, 417f.

utterly transformed when perceived in the atmosphere of the underworld. It is difficult to see how Vergil could have created more gaping inconsistencies without actually intending to do so.⁴⁰ The possibility of this intention must now be examined in a wider context.

Aeneas and the Sibyl are now challenged (383ff.) by Charon. She describes him to the boatman as Troius Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis (403) and as tantae pietatis imago (405).⁴¹ After the Sibyl shows the boatman the golden bough, they are ferried across the Styx (406ff.). They proceed to enter the Lugentes Campi where Aeneas sees many heroines who died as a result of love (442ff.). He sees Dido herself and reacts as follows:-

"...demisit lacrimas dulcique adfatus amore est:	455
'infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo	
venerat exstinctam ferroque extrema secutam?	
funeris heu tibi causa fui? per sidera iuro,	
per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,	
invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.	460
sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,	
per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,	
imperiis egere suis; nec credere quivi	
hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.	
siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro.	465
quem fugis? extremum fato quod te adloquor hoc est.'	

⁴⁰ See Lossau, W.S. 14 (1980) 120f. who notes the chiasmus-structure of the Palinurus episodes in Books 5 and 6.

⁴¹ One wonders if there is any significance in his description as tantae pietatis imago (405) given both the lack of any apparent pietas in his dealings with Palinurus, Dido and Deiphobus and the ubiquity of imagines in Avernus.

talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tuentem
 lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat.
 illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat
 nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur 470
 quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes."
 (455-71)⁴².

Happily, there have been no suggestions that, had he completed his planned revision, Vergil would have re-worked the Dido episode. There is a general feeling that, although "relations have been exactly reversed"⁴³, the essential detail of the encounter remains consistent in Books 4 and 6. If we look more closely, however, especially at the presentation of Aeneas in the two episodes, we see that a similar alteration in Vergil's methods of characterisation occurs as that in the Palinurus episode. Aeneas' retrospective perception in the underworld of the incident at Carthage does not exactly accord with Vergil's own narrative in Book 4. It is because of this and Dido's aggrieved silence that some of the difficulties in the Palinurus episode are compounded rather than clarified.

Adfari (455) is often used in Vergil to describe tenderness or affection.⁴⁴ The verb is used of Dido

⁴²The Homeric parallel to the Dido episode of Book 6 is Od. 11, 541-67 where Odysseus describes his meeting with the shade of Aias. Odysseus speaks to Aias (553ff.) giving him great praise but Aias, still remembering his defeat at Odysseus' hands in the contest for the arms of Achilles at Troy, turns from him in silence (563ff.). The Homeric encounter (Odysseus/Aias) has less impact on the reader than the Vergilian (Aeneas/Dido) chiefly because Aias is not a familiar dramatic figure from earlier in the poem as is the tragic figure of Vergil's Dido.

⁴³E.K. Rand, The Magical Art of Virgil (Cambridge Mass., 1931) 368.

⁴⁴R.G. Austin, "Virgil, Aeneid VI. 384-476" P.V.S. 8 (1968-9) 57. See also 1,663; 2,700; 7,544; 8,126; 9, 198. The use of the verb at 10,591 is a notable exception.

(to Barce 4,632) and by her (when telling Anna to speak to the hostem...superbum 4,424). Adfatus (6,455), *attached to* Aeneas, helps to convey the hero's emotional reaction to the sight of Dido's shade. He even sheds tears (lacrimas 455) at the sight of her. Lacrimae in its various cases occurs on seven occasions in Book 4 - in each case in reference to Dido.⁴⁵ As we have seen, Aeneas, like his Homeric counterparts, is not above the shedding of tears, yet in every case they are tears which help to emphasise his pietas.⁴⁶ This is not the case at 455, 468⁴⁷ or 476 where his tears are shed out of amor for the woman who died on his departure from Carthage. In Book 4, the lacrimae are those of Dido, whilst in Book 6 they belong to Aeneas; this is one of the many reversals in the latter episode. Yet more importantly, his weeping in the underworld is indicative of a purely emotional response which has nothing to do with pietas. In other words here again we see the shift in the presentation of Aeneas in the underworld away from the type of hero who passes through the physical world. Vergil here in Book 6 allows the reader to see Aeneas displaying the same spontaneous emotion of love which in Book 4 he revealed in Dido and denied to Aeneas. This can be seen in the use of the word amor

⁴⁵30,314,370,413,449,548,649. For the reference to the lacrimae...inanes at 4,449, see above, p. 209.

⁴⁶See 1,459,465,470; 2,279,790; 3,10,492; 6,1, and above, p. 140.

⁴⁷For a brief discussion of lacrimas...ciebat (468), see below, p. 258 n. 57.

itself. At 6,455 it is clear that Aeneas speaks from love (amore). As we would expect, amor is used frequently in Book 4, generally in reference to Dido and her love for Aeneas.⁴⁸ On one particular occasion, however, the amor is that of Aeneas for Dido:-

"at pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore
iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit."
(4,393-6).

The amor of Aeneas here is never given dramatic reality by Vergil in Book 4.⁴⁹ At Carthage, Aeneas actively desires to lessen the suffering of the queen (393-4), but his pietas (393ff.) - his determination to follow the iussa...divum (396) and return to his fleet - stops him from doing so. In the underworld he actually makes the attempt to lessen her suffering (cf. lenire...cupit 4,393f. and lenibat dictis animum...6,468), for no pietas clouds the issue here.

Aeneas realises (456ff.) that the report was true that Dido had died and that he himself was the cause. He calls her infelix, thereby echoing her own self-address (4,596) and other narrative references.⁵⁰ Austin suggests that the nuntius was the message conveyed by the flames at Carthage (5,4), and that Vergil "intends us to know...that Aeneas in his heart of hearts, knew what he had done to Dido."⁵¹ Perhaps Aeneas is genuine-

⁴⁸ See Book 4, 17, 28, 38, 54, 85, 171, 307, 414, 516, 532, 624.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of this passage, see above, p.194ff.

⁵⁰ 1,712, 749; 4,68.

⁵¹ Austin, P.V.S. 8 (1968-9) 57f.

ly shocked or feigns surprise or gives voice to an uneasy conscience. In any case, he claims that unwillingly he left her shores:-

"invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.
sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,
per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
imperiis egere suis."

(460-3).

We saw in the context of Book 4 that Aeneas claims it is not his idea that he makes for Italy (Italiam non sponte sequor 4,361).⁵² He means that he has heard the mandata of Jupiter (note 4,222, 270 and 357) and feels compelled to act instantly and definitely upon them. It is for this reason that he is described as pius at 4,393 - because he chooses to follow fate and the iussa divum in preference to the calling of his own heart. We saw that it is a mistake to read Italiam non sponte sequor (4,361) and invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi (6,460) as expressing the same sentiments. The former explains a choice which the hero makes (hic amor, haec patria est 4,347) whilst the latter claims an utter reluctance to leave Carthage at all. In fact, remaining at Carthage is, all things considered, the last choice that Aeneas would make.⁵³ Aeneas' claim to the shade of Dido contradicts the evidence of the text of Book 4.⁵⁴ Aeneas cannot be pius and unwilling to leave Carthage at the same time.

⁵²See above, p. 203ff.

⁵³See 4,340ff. and above, p. 201 n. 26.

⁵⁴See 4,281f. (esp. ardet...281) and 4,576f.:
"sequimur te, sancte deorum,
quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes."

A similar kind of inconsistency is seen in his suggestion to Dido's shade that also against his will is the journey he undertakes into Avernus. This statement, too, conflicts with the evidence of the text. At 5,722ff. the ghost of Anchises appears suddenly before Aeneas reaffirming the counsel of Nautes (5,709ff.) and telling him to visit the land of the dead after first consulting the Cumaean Sibyl. When he reaches Cumae he prays with great reverence to Apollo (6,56-76) and then imprecates the Sibyl (103-23) to allow him into the underworld. The urgency of Aeneas' supplication should not be underestimated (note 108ff. and esp. 115ff.).⁵⁵ Aeneas follows the mandata of his father with such ardour that it makes false his claim to be in Avernus "against his will". Aeneas cannot be pious (which he unquestionably is throughout the first section of Book 6) and unwilling to enter Avernus to see his father at the same time. Pietas can impose hard choices on a man, as it does on Aeneas, yet neither at Carthage nor at Cumae does he display any unwillingness to follow the injunctions issued to him.

Aeneas proceeds to claim that he could not believe that his leaving Dido would cause her such great dolor. He could not know for certain that Dido would commit

⁵⁵As Otis, 286, points out "...Aeneas in his request for admission to the underworld (103-23) dwells far more on his own affection for Anchises than on the mandata patris (116) or the commands of Jupiter. He who has undergone so many ordeals, is now ready for the greatest of all, but it is not fate; it is love and filial piety that motivate him." At 294, Otis contradicts his own statement:- "...He (Aeneas) tries to explain (to Dido): it was against his will he left her; he was then, as now, the hapless agent of the gods (461ff.)."

suicide (although see 4,436 and 564), yet he is awake to the despair that his departure causes (4,448) but is like a strong oak which refuses to give way (4,438ff.). His refusal to do so underlines his pietas. As Austin implies, the death and suffering of Dido can hardly have come as a shock to him.⁵⁶ Here again Aeneas' sentiments echo those of Dido at Carthage:-

"hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,
et perferre, soror, potero."

(4,419f.).

Aeneas' claim to ignorance of her dolor makes Dido turn away from him (in disgust?). He cries to her quem fugis? (6,466) in tears⁵⁷, echoing again her words to him at Carthage (mene fugis? 4,314). She turns away from him, eyes fixed to the ground, silently hostile. In Book 4, she is overwhelmingly the dominant character (9 speeches, 189 lines), whilst Aeneas has a comparatively small dramatic role (2 speeches, 35 lines). Moreover,

⁵⁶ Austin, P.V.S. 8 (1968-9) 58, "In the words 'nec credere quivi....' Aeneas has returned to the nuntius and to the naggings of his conscience".

⁵⁷ There is some doubt as to whose tears are meant - is Aeneas shedding tears, or attempting to arouse tears (i.e. Dido's)? Lenibat (468) is clearly conative, but is ciebat? Servius, Austin, and Williams (ad locc.) think not, referring to the fact that ciere is used of the emotions of the subject rather than of another person (cf. Andromache at 3,344). The other references to Aeneas' tears in this episode (455,476) help to support this view: Vergil is attempting to portray forcefully the lachrymose state of the hero as a reversal of his earlier behaviour, hence the reference to tears both before and after his speech. Attempting to soothe her anger as a conscious effort (468a) is understandable, but an equally conscious attempt to arouse tears from Dido would seem rather strange after the regrets he has just shown (456ff). For the opposite argument, see O. Seel, "Um einen Vergil-vers (Aeneis, VI 468)" in Hommages a M. Renard (Coll. Latomus, 1969) 677ff.

Dido "is an open book",⁵⁸ allowed by the poet to express dramatically the full range of her emotions: by contrast, Vergil expresses indirectly the thoughts and emotions of Aeneas in Book 4 and obfuscates all those which do not underline his piety. Here in Book 6 the presentation of the two is reversed; Dido is silent, like hard flint or rock (469ff.), just as Aeneas at Carthage had been deaf to her pleas, like a sturdy oak withstanding the wind (4,441ff.). Conversely, Aeneas in the underworld, like Dido at Carthage, gives voice to his deepest emotions pouring forth tears.

We must now pause to reflect upon the issues we have discussed in the context of the Palinurus and Dido episodes. Two main points arise in each comparison. The first is that the retrospective accounts of Aeneas and Palinurus conflict with the narrative detail of the helmsman's death and with their own behaviour in it. The second point is that the presentation of Aeneas as he addresses Palinurus' shade (341-6) is inconsistent with that of Books 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6, section 1. The two main points that arise from comparison of the Dido episodes are similar; first, some of Aeneas' statements to Dido's shade conflict with the actual detail of events at Carthage as Vergil presents them. The second is that the roles of Aeneas and Dido are completely reversed and the portrayal of the former in this episode is inconsistent with that in Books 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 (1). For all the obvious difficulties and incongruities, there is a consistency in Vergil's methods indicative of a deeper

⁵⁸Austin, (Aen. 4) ad 393.

purpose. The presentation of the episodes is too alike, too contrived to be accidental. Events and behaviour which are true for the physical world are seen in a false perspective in the underworld.⁵⁹ Only in the underworld is Aeneas characterised primarily by his humanitas, for in the real world, from his dealings with Dido at Carthage till the death of Turnus in Italy, his humanitas is buried under the obligations brought on by his pietas.⁶⁰ Thus Aeneas' nature in Avernus is a false reflection of his real nature in the physical world as Vergil presents it, just as the events of his past with Palinurus and Dido are not perceived accurately when he meets with their shades in the underworld.

At 494ff. Vergil describes Aeneas' encounter with the shade of Deiphobus, the son of Priam, who has terrible wounds such that Aeneas can scarcely recognise him:-

"Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teucri,	500
quis tam crudelis optavit sumere poenas?	
cui tantum de te licuit? mihi fama suprema	
nocte tulit fessum vasta te caede Pelasgum	
procubuisse super confusae stragis acervum.	
tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo litore inanem	505
constitui et magna manis ter voce vocavi.	
nomen et arma locum servant; te, amice, nequivi	

⁵⁹For the connection between Aeneas' encounter with Palinurus, Dido and Deiphobus and his exit via the gate of false dreams (6,893ff.), see below, p. 263ff.

⁶⁰Thus at 4,393ff. he desires to ease her suffering but does not attempt to do so, because his pietas obliges him to follow the iussa...divum and return to his fleet. Pietas prevails over humanitas at Carthage, but not so in the underworld.

conspicere et patria decedens ponere terra.'" ⁶¹
(500-8).

Deiphobus narrates the story (509ff.) of Helen's scelus exitiale. It was she who led the Greeks to his bedroom from which she had already removed his weapons. The enemy burst into the room and brutally killed him; and he now prays (529f.) that the Greeks will, in recompense, suffer similar penalties. Deiphobus and Aeneas hold conversation until the Sibyl tells Aeneas that night passes and he must press on with his journey (539-43).

In Book 2, Deiphobus is mentioned only once:-

"iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam
Volcano superante domus, iam proximus ardet
Ucalegon."

(2,310-2).

This reference to Deiphobus is made merely in passing by the hero as he narrates his first view of the flaming city. No mention is made by Aeneas in Book 2 that Deiphobus had died in great slaughter of Greeks (6,502ff.), nor is reference made to the conducting of funeral rites by Aeneas (6,505ff.). The reply of Deiphobus to Aeneas is no less difficult. Like Palinurus (347ff.), he contradicts Aeneas' understanding of events, telling him that his recollection is false. Far from dying in great heroic fashion, Deiphobus points out (509ff.) that he

⁶¹The Homeric parallel to the Deiphobus episode of Book 6 is Od. 11,385ff. in which Odysseus encounters the spirit of his former ally Agamemnon. Odysseus asks him (397ff.) what caused his death; did Poseidon stir up the winds or was he killed by hostile men on land? Agamemnon replies (405ff.) with the story of his death at the hands of Aegisthus. Vergil's episode is considerably different, yet Deiphobus falls victim to Helen's monstrous guile just as Agamemnon is destroyed by that of Clytemnestra (421ff.). Odysseus, when he sees Agamemnon, does not evince the same apparent guilt as does Aeneas on seeing his former friend.

was treacherously betrayed by his wife Helen, and killed in his bed by the Greeks. This is inconsistent with the portrayal of Helen in Book 2, 567ff., where she is described as desperately frightened of possible revenge at any moment either from Trojans or Greeks.⁶² At Troy she is deserti coniugis iras/præmetuens (2, 572f.), beside Vesta's shrine, whilst Deiphobus in the underworld describes her (511ff.) as calling the Greeks to the room where he slept heavily, opening the doors, and thus allowing him to be slaughtered. Deiphobus points out that by acting in this way Helen hoped to redeem herself in Menelaus' eyes (526f.). Thus, we see that Aeneas' recollection of Helen at Troy in Book 2 is inconsistent with that of Deiphobus in Book 6.

The Deiphobus episode is the third in succession in which discrepancies arise with other parts of the poem. This supports the view that there is a consistency in these inconsistencies - that the delineation of the characters and the circumstances of the episodes in the earlier books are deliberately distorted when Vergil recalls them in the second section of Book 6. In suggesting that Vergil would have ironed out these inconsistencies in his revision of the poem, scholars may be doing the poet a disservice and at the same time may be failing to grasp the significance of these episodes. To find an explanation as to why the poet devises these discrepancies, the scholar need not go outside the framework of the poem: Vergil has himself in

⁶² For a discussion of the Helen episode of Book 2, see above, p. 160ff.

Book 6 given us a clue as to what is their meaning and significance. At the end of the book Aeneas and the Sibyl leave the underworld, which is described by the poet as follows:-

"Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,
altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia manes.
his ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna.
ille viam secat ad navis sociosque revisit."
(893-99).

The exact meaning of these enigmatic lines has never been clear and perhaps never will be.⁶³ The plethora of critical discussion on the subject of Aeneas' exit from Avernus has possibly made the issues more complicated than they ought to be.⁶⁴ One important viewpoint as to why Aeneas and the Sibyl leave via the Ivory Gate is that on the one level of meaning they are not true shades (verae umbrae) and thus cannot leave via the gate of horn.⁶⁵ The reference to them as falsa...insomnia

⁶³See Austin, ad loc. "The matter remains a Virgilian enigma (and none the worse for that)".

⁶⁴For a summary of the earlier views on this subject see B.Otis, "Three Problems of Aeneid 6" T.A.Ph.A. 90 (1959) 173ff. For some more recent views see W. Clausen, "An Interpretation of the Aeneid" H.S.C.P. 68 (1964) 146f.; J.J. Bray, "The Ivory Gate" in For Service to Classical Studies: Essays in Honour of Francis Letters (Melbourne 1966) 55-69; Boyle, Ramus 1 (1972) 120ff.; N. Reed, "The Gates of Sleep in Aeneid 6" C.Q. 23 (1973) 311-5; E.C. and N.M. Kopff, "Aeneas: False Dream or Messenger of the Manes (Aeneid 6, 893ff.)" Philologus 120 (1976) 246-50; B.C. Verstraete, "The Implication of the Epicurean and Lucretian Theory of Dreams for Falsa Insomnia in Aeneid 6, 896" C.W. 74 (1980-81) 7-10; A.K. Michels, "The Insomnium of Aeneas" C.Q. 31 (1981) 140-6.

⁶⁵J. van Ooteghem, "Somni Portae" L.E.C. 16 (1948) 386-90. See also Austin, ad 893-901 and Williams, ad 893f.

(897) together with the Homeric parallel⁶⁶ induces us, on another level, to think of the whole experience as a dream: "his journey through the underworld was in some way analogous to sleeping and dreaming. This means that the passage on the Gates of Sleep is intended to compel a re-reading and a retrospective interpretation; in fact, the whole concept of a physical journey through the Underworld by a living man is called into question".⁶⁷

If there is a case for such a view, and many scholars would argue that there is, then surely there must be something in the text to complement the enigmatic ending of the book. There is little point in referring to the gate of false dreams if it bears no relevance to the description of Aeneas in the underworld that precedes it.⁶⁸ In this context, it seems plausible that the inconsistencies in the earlier episodes of Palinurus, Dido and Deiphobus are closely related to the enigmatic end of the book. By ending Book 6 as he does, Vergil complements and clarifies the incongruities which have characterised it. Aeneas leaves by the gate reserved for false dreams because his dream-experience is "false" in the sense that it does not accurately reflect the

⁶⁶ See *Od.* 19, 562ff. where Penelope describes the gate of horn from which true dreams issue and the gate of ivory for false dreams. See below, n. 68.

⁶⁷ G. Williams, 48f. ; cf. Otis, *T.A.Ph.A.* 90 (1959) 137ff.

⁶⁸ Penelope's description of the two gates is prompted by a dream which she has had (19, 535ff.). In *Aen.* 6 the connection between the gates and the preceding narrative is less obvious:- "The Gates of Sleep come now as a total surprise", Austin, ad 893-901.

realities of the upper world. His vision is of the nature of dreams⁶⁹, in that his own personality and recollection of events, and that of those whom he once knew, are not perfect representations of actuality. As Vergil points out later in the poem, the nature of dreams is to delude the sleeping senses.⁷⁰ Palinurus, Dido, Deiphobus, and Aeneas himself are thus to be seen as dream-figures whose utterances and recollections need not be taken as accurately reflecting true experience.

In the remainder of Book 6 (548ff.) which describes Aeneas' experiences after leaving Deiphobus at the Sibyl's prompting (539ff.), the emphasis is on the future rather than the past. Aeneas is comparatively silent in this part of the book uttering only 13 lines prior to his exit from Avernus. His last four speeches are interrogative in nature. He looks back (548ff.) to the entrance to Tartarus and Phlegethon, the burning river, and hears a noise coming from within. He asks the Sibyl to explain as follows:-

"'quae scelerum facies? o virgo, effare; quibusve
urgentur poenis? quis tantus plangor ad auras?'"
(560-1).⁷¹

⁶⁹ See Verstraete, *C.W.* 74 (1980-1) 9:- "Falsa, then, in Vergil's falsa insomnia... is a generic epithet pointing to the illusory and counterfeit nature of all dream-experience. Thus the contrast between the Gate of Horn and the Gate of Ivory hinges upon a contrast between real apparitions (veris umbris) of the dead and false, unreal dreams - all dream-experience being only a counterfeit simulation of waking experience". No one has, to my knowledge, linked this interpretation of the Ivory Gate to the inconsistencies which occur earlier in the book.

⁷⁰ Note the simile used by the poet to describe the Phantom Aeneas:-

"morte obita qualis fama est volitare figuras
aut quae sopitos deludunt somnia sensus". (10,641-2).

⁷¹ Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no Homeric model for Aeneas' speech.

reaction to the sight of Anchises' shade at 6,695ff. is consistent with his more general portrayal throughout the poem.⁷⁵ His willingness to follow the mandata of his father (695ff.), his profuse tears (699), and his desire to embrace Anchises' shade, all serve to underline his pietas.

Vergil does not dwell for long on Aeneas' desire to embrace his father's shade; for the hero sees a multitude of shades at the river Lethe. Anchises explains (713ff.) that these souls are waiting to be reborn at some future time. This prompts further questions from Aeneas:-

"'o pater, ane aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est
sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reverti
corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?"
(719-21).⁷⁶

Aeneas is clearly amazed that souls return to the upper world. Why do they have such a dread desire? This seems to reflect his own view of life and his despondency in it. Anchises now tells of the purification and transmigration of souls based largely on the Stoic doctrine (724-51). This leads Anchises to observe the future heroes of Rome waiting to be re-born who will bring greatness to Aeneas' destined city (755-859). He helps

⁷⁵ Similarly there is nothing openly incongruous or untrue about what he is told by Anchises (756ff.) on the subject of Aeneas' descendants (the pageant of heroes). We should be cautious, therefore, in accepting lightly Boyle's claim, Ramus 1 (1972) 123, (following Servius, ad 893: "vult...intellegi falsa esse omnia quae dixit"), that Aeneas' exit via the Ivory Gate "is but a harbinger of tragedy, death, and the non-fulfilment of empire's dream".

⁷⁶ Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Od. 11, 210-214 which is not, however, a close parallel; see above, n. 72.

to teach Aeneas his fate (759) in a passage which has been described as "the most sustained of all the patriotic passages in the Aeneid".⁷⁷ The pageant of heroes includes many Roman historical figures up to and including Augustus himself (791ff.). Yet at the end of the pageant it is a young man on whom Aeneas concentrates:-

"quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?
 filius, ane aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum?
 qui strepitus circa comitum! quantum instar in ipso!
 sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra."
 (863-6).⁷⁸

This prompts Anchises to lament the fate of the young Marcellus (868ff.), Augustus' nephew, who died in 23 B.C., the year in which Vergil performed a recitatio of Book 6 for the imperial family.⁷⁹ Anchises then proceeds to show his son (886ff.) the whole region with particular reference to the wars which he will fight in Italy (Books 7-12). Having seen these, Aeneas and the Sibyl depart via the Ivory Gate. Aeneas then returns to his ship.

⁷⁷Williams, ad 752f.

⁷⁸Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Il. 3,166-70 in which Priam asks Helen who is the man of great stature amongst the Achaeans. Helen replies 178ff. that it is Agamemnon. In situation, the parallel is not a close one.

⁷⁹See Austin's note, ad 868.

Chapter 3

Section 1

Aeneas Book 7

If the vision or experience of Aeneas, which was described in the sixth book, has a profound effect upon him, then it is not shown in the narrative of Book 7.¹ Aeneas has a minor role in the book, uttering only one speech of 15 lines.² Moreover, Vergil's presentation of him takes a familiar form, underlining the community aspects of his role and his careful observance of religious ritual. Both of these aspects of his character are seen at the opening of the book as Aeneas scrupulously conducts the funeral rites for the dead Caieta:-

"at pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis,
aggere composito tumuli, postquam alta quierunt
aequora, tendit iter velis portumque relinquit."

(5-7).

One wonders why Vergil makes reference to the death of Caieta at all at the outset of Book 7, other than to demonstrate Aeneas' pietas in response to it. We might infer that the Roman reader, too, is less than interested, after some of the haunting passages in Book 6, in the fact that a gulf on the Italian coast was named after the heretofore unmentioned figure of Caieta. The story of her death and Aeneas' proper response to it convey, at the outset, both a sense of loss and the pietas of

¹On this subject, see A. Michels, C.Q. 31 (1981) 140-46.

²Aeneas has a far less significant dramatic role in the Iliadic half of the poem than in the Odyssean half - 182 as opposed to 345. See below, p. 361ff.

the hero.³ Aeneas conducts the last rites for his former nurse and builds a funeral mound before continuing the voyage. The Trojans then skirt the shore of Circe's island from which monstrous noises are heard (10ff.). By filling their sails with winds, however, Neptune ensures that the Trojans do not draw close to the shore of the island (21ff.).⁴ Aeneas sees a large wood through which Tiber flows into the sea and about which many different kinds of birds flit (29ff.). Aeneas joyfully (laetus 36) changes course and enters the shady river (35f.).⁵

Vergil now sets the scene for the Iliadic Aeneid by narrating the story of King Latinus whose daughter Lavinia is sought by Turnus, the young Rutulian prince, in noble wedlock.⁶ The portents, however, for such a marriage are bad, for the oracle of Faunus makes it clear that Lavinia must take a husband from foreign stock (58ff.). Rumour at the same time flies to Latium that the Trojans have landed on Ausonian shores (104ff.). At this point the Trojans begin their meal, in response to which Iulus cries that they are eating their tables

³ Vergil is certainly fond of concentrating on the deaths of individuals at the end of books: cf. Creusa (2), Anchises (3), Dido (4), Palinurus (5), Marcellus (6), Mezentius (10), Arruns (11), Turnus (12). The openings of some books, too, show a similar sense of loss, although it is less striking: cf. Orontes' helmsman (1), Polydorus (3), Misenus (6), Caieta (7).

⁴ Note the description of the Trojans as pii (21): it is their pietas that prompts Neptune's assistance.

⁵ Aeneas' joy here reflects his anticipation that he has reached the Tiber; for not until 151 is he certain. On the earlier references to the Tiber, see Conington's note, ad 35.

⁶ See the discussion of Turnus' role in Book 7, above, p. 20ff.

(heus, etiam mensas consumimus 116) in reference to the cakes that they eat. Aeneas responds to Ascanius' words as follows:-

"nec plura, adludens. ea vox audita laborum
 prima tulit finem, primamque loquentis ab ore
 eripuit pater ac stupefactus numine pressit.
 continuo 'salve fati mihi debita tellus 120
 vosque' ait 'o fidi Troiae salvete penates:
 hic domus, haec patria est. genitor mihi talia namque
 (nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit:
 "cum te, nate, fames ignota ad litora vectum
 accisis coget dapibus consumere mensas, 125
 tum sperare domos defessus, ibique memento
 prima locare manu molirique aggere tecta."
 haec erat illa fames, haec nos suprema manebat
 exsiliis positura modum.
 quare agite et primo laeti cum lumine solis 130
 quae loca, quive habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis,
 vestigemus et a portu diversa petamus.
 nunc pateras libate Iovi precibusque vocate
 Anchisen genitorem, et vina reponite mensis.'" (117-34).

Aeneas recognises immediately the significance of Ascanius' words and stops him from further utterance lest it is ill-omened. He himself is stupefactus numine (119) - "astonished by the divine revelation"⁷ and he begins with religious formulae a pious imprecation in response. He recognises that he has reached the land owed to him by fate⁸ and also greets the faithful Penates. Aeneas now knows that here is his home and his

⁷Williams, ad loc.

⁸Cf. debita moenia (145) which further stresses the fact that they are about to establish a city owed to them by fate.

country⁹; for his father Anchises had told him that they would be compelled to eat their tables and that this would be a signal to hope for homes and to establish dwellings. That Aeneas refers to a prophecy made by Anchises, of course, helps to convey the corporate nature of his family: Iulus, the son, utters the crucial words and Aeneas, the father, recognises their significance and the fact that they were once told to him by his own father Anchises.¹⁰ Moreover, all of this happens with the goodwill of the father of the gods.¹¹

The problem is, of course, that the prophecy is presented in Book 3, 250ff. as emanating from the Harpy Celaeno. Anchises does respond to the prophecy with an immediate prayer (3, 265f.), but he makes no mention of it elsewhere in the poem. Furthermore, the prophecy of Celaeno is greeted with great trepidation¹² as an ill-omen for the Trojans,¹³ whilst that of Anchises (124ff.) emphasises the good-fortune to be associated with its fulfilment. Not surprisingly, Ascanius' words (mensas

⁹hic domus, haec patria est (122) - a clear echo of 4, 347, hic amor, haec patria est. We are reminded that in the earlier speech of Aeneas, Vergil could easily have substituted domus for amor; yet the poet wanted to convey the notion that Aeneas, although in love with Dido, has a deeper longing to establish his city. See above, p. 199ff.

¹⁰Knauer, (indices) ad loc. compares Aeneas' speech at 120ff. to that of Odysseus at Od. 13, 356-60, in which the hero rejoices at the first clear sight of Ithaca. We are reminded that, whereas Odysseus has been attempting to return home, Aeneas has been attempting to find his fated land.

¹¹See 110, 133, 141ff.

¹²See 3, 258-66 and 3, 365ff.

¹³Although Helenus attempts to mollify their fears:-
"nec tu mensarum morsus horresce futuros;
fata viam invenient aderitque vocatus Apollo."
(3, 394f.).

consumimus 116) agree more readily with Anchises' (...consumere mensas 125) than with Celaeno's (absumere mensas 3,257). The significance of Anchises' role in Book 3 may go some way to *excusing* the inconsistency and the lack of any reference to Celaeno in Book 7.¹⁴ Conversely, Vergil may have felt that poetic licence gave him scope to quote a prophecy from outside the framework of his own text. Vergil, here in Book 7, seeks to place the emphasis on the optimism which fulfilment of the prophecy will bring (note sperare 126) rather than Aeneas' relief at having survived a fearful omen. The wording of Anchises' prophecy and the fulfilment of it propel Aeneas into a new-found ardour to continue the labores and establish their fated city.¹⁵ The negative nature of Celaeno's prophecy does not so easily suit Vergil's purpose in Book 7 as it did in Book 3.¹⁶

It is in this mood of hope and anticipation that Aeneas tells his men to learn details of the neighbouring lands, the people and their city (130ff.). The last five lines of Aeneas' speech stress his pietas in two different ways. It is first seen as he organises his men to ascertain the facts of the land (130-2). Moreover, his religious piety is shown as he calls on his men to pour libations to Jupiter and give prayers to his father Anchises (133f.). He tells them also to renew the banquet (134) as a fitting response to the joyful fulfilment of such a prophecy.

¹⁴ See Williams, ad 107f.

¹⁵ See 130-59.

¹⁶ See Mackail's note, ad 124, where he argues the discrepancy "...is only superficial". The fact that Aeneas actually quotes the prophecy of Anchises (124-7) seems to signify that Vergil was aware that it did not appear in this form earlier in the poem.

Aeneas' earnest commitment to perform such rituals is shown immediately (135ff.) as he places a wreath on his forehead, prays to the god of the locality (genius loci), to Mother Earth, to the nymphs and the rivers. He then prays (138ff.) to Night and her rising signs, to Jupiter, to Cybele, to his father in Erebus and his mother Venus in heaven. Aeneas takes great care to worship both local and greater gods. Both his reverence and his pursuit of a fated course are confirmed by a response from Jupiter himself who thunders three times from a clear sky and himself makes "a cloud blazing with golden rays of light".¹⁷ Jupiter's sign of approval is notably forceful, and the Trojans continue their feast with a sense of expectation that the day has come to found their fated city (144ff.). Aeneas' impeccable response to the fulfilment of the prophecy draws a response from Jupiter himself and is shown to benefit all the Trojans.¹⁸

The next morning the Trojans learn details of the country and its inhabitants (148ff.) as they had been instructed. With this done, Aeneas (satus Anchisa 152) chooses one hundred envoys to bear gifts to Latinus and seek peace for the Trojans. Aeneas himself again begins to build his city (157ff.),¹⁹ thus demonstrating that his first task lies here (pietas) rather than in the diplomatic initiative.

¹⁷Williams, ad 142f. Conington, ad loc., has a detailed note on the prodigy.

¹⁸Cf. his prayer to Jupiter at 5,687ff. which results in the saving of the Trojan fleet.

¹⁹Cf. 3,132ff. and 5,746ff.

Aeneas takes no further part in the action of Book 7, although he is characterised indirectly throughout much of what follows.²⁰ Although his role in the book is small, Aeneas is presented consistently and forcefully, in both speech and narrative, as a model of pietas. His actions show his desire to build the city owed to the Trojans by fate and to live in harmony in the new land with gods and men. That this latter objective cannot be achieved is shown to be no fault of Aeneas, nor, for that matter, of Turnus. Again he cannot build his city, but instead must go to war, in which we see his character in another light from that of Book 7.

Section 2

Aeneas Book 8

Aeneas has a more important role in Book 8 than in Book 7 (4 speeches, 46 lines as opposed to 1 speech, 15 lines), yet his dramatic role is vastly overshadowed by that of Evander who utters 7 speeches, 219 lines - almost one third of the book. Thus, whilst Aeneas is present in the action of the book from beginning to end, the poet strictly limits his dramatic role. The reason for this is clear; Book 8 is the most Roman of all the books in the Aeneid, and, as such, it is the implications of what Aeneas sees and hears at Pallanteum and Caere on which

²⁰See above, p. 20ff.

Vergil focuses.¹ In short, Aeneas has a passive role in this book; the poet concentrates three of his four speeches into the preliminary section - prior to Evander's long utterances² on the subject of his and Pallanteum's past. In the remainder of the book (152-731), Aeneas utters only one speech - in response to the sign from his mother Venus (532ff.). In the main body of Book 8 Vergil turns our attention to Hercules, forebear of Aeneas, and his victory over the monstrous Cacus, to Saturn, to Evander and his kin, and lastly to events in Rome's future and to Augustus himself. Thus Aeneas, who is introduced to the "continuum of Roman history",³ need not have an active, dramatic role in the book.

At the outset Aeneas (Laomedontius heros 18)⁴ is described as greatly troubled by events in Latium (19ff.).⁵ In his sleep Aeneas sees a vision of the god of the place,

¹It is in keeping with the aims of this thesis (see above, p.9f.) and with the methods used throughout, that I concentrate my attention in this section on Aeneas' dramatic role in Book 8, rather than on the broader question of the Augustan connection. In any case, a detailed analysis of the latter is provided by G. Binder, Aeneas und Augustus (on which, see above, p.3 n.4), who lists a full bibliography (283ff.).

²154-74; 185-275; 314-36; 351-58; 362-65. Much of the Roman-historical theme in Book 8 centres on the role of Evander.

³See P.G. Walsh's introduction to C.J. Fordyce, Aeneidos Libri VII-VIII (Oxford, 1977) XXV.

⁴Laomedontius heros (18) seems here to foreshadow the attention paid to lineage in the early section of the book.

⁵Binder, 13, n.25, lists similar descriptions of Aeneas in other books. Otis, 332, is clearly troubled by Constans' suggestion, L'Enéide de Virgile, 269ff., that Aeneas is in the same kind of despair here as he is at 1,94ff. and 5,700ff. Vergil is not specific, yet it would seem significant that he uses indirect methods here. Cf. 8,520ff. where Vergil presents Aeneas' despondency indirectly and his pietas directly (532ff.), following the divine signal (523ff.).

Tiberinus, who tells him (36ff.) that he has reached his homeland and not to be frightened by threats of war, for the anger of the gods has abated. Aeneas will find a huge white sow with thirty young under a tree; from this spot, (where Lavinium is destined to be built), Ascanius will venture to establish a city, Alba Longa, in thirty years. The god tells him (51ff.) of the Arcadians and their king, Evander, who dwell at Pallanteum and war ceaselessly with the Latin race. Tiberinus encourages Aeneas (56ff.) to join with the Arcadians as allies and form a treaty with them; Tiberinus himself will guide the Trojans to Pallanteum. He also tells him to pray to Juno and appease her wrath (59ff.). Aeneas soon awakes and responds to Tiberinus as follows:-

"surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis
 lumina rite cavis undam de flumine palmis
 sustinet ac talis effundit ad aethera voces: 70
 'nymphae, Laurentes nymphae, genus amnibus unde est,
 tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
 accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.
 quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
 fonte tenet, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis, 75
 semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis
 corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.
 adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes.'
 sic memorat, geminasque legit de classe biremis
 remigioque aptat, socios simul instruit armis." 80
 (68-80).⁶

⁶Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites the Homeric model as *Od.* 13,356-60 in which Odysseus, when first being told that he is back in Ithaca, prays to the Naiads. Knauer also cites this prayer as the model for 7,120ff., where Aeneas realises the significance of Ascanius' statement heus, etiam mensas consumimus 7,116 (on which see above, p.272). The parallel seems more relevant to Aeneas' earlier speech given the excitement of both heroes at arriving finally in their homeland (hic domus, haec patria est 7, 122).

Aeneas ceremonially glances to the sunrise and washes his hands in the water before praying earnestly to the Laurentine nymphs and Father Tiber that he might receive their blessing and be kept from harm.⁷ In return, the horned river, Tiberinus, king of the western waters, will be worshipped and given offerings by Aeneas.⁸ The hero prays finally for the god to be with him and desires confirmation of the divine revelation. After his prayer, Aeneas further shows his pietas by following immediately the directions of Tiberinus; he chooses two ships and makes ready the crews for the trip to Pallanteum. Aeneas' pietas - his formal prayer to Tiberinus and the Nymphs and his willingness to follow the god's instructions - effects the desired result, for suddenly they see a white sow with her young beside the shore (81ff.). Pius Aeneas (84), as instructed by Tiberinus (42ff.), offers her as sacrifice to Juno in order to appease her anger. Following this, Tiber calms its waters for the hero's journey to Pallanteum - the site of future Rome. The waters and woods are amazed (mirantur...miratur...91f.)⁹ at the flashing shields of the warriors and painted boats on the river. When the Trojans arrive at Evander's city, the king is paying

⁷Cf. Turnus at 9,16ff. and esp. 9,22ff. As Aeneas is prompted by a deity at the outset of Book 8, so too is Turnus at the beginning of Book 9. Both heroes respond with pietas and according to the Roman practice. For Iris' prompting of Turnus at 9,6ff., see above, p.33ff.

⁸Binder, 30 points out that Aeneas' prayer is "...Dank, Lobpreis und Bitte zugleich".

⁹On mirari as a key-word in Book 8, see Walsh, (ibid. n. 3) XXIVf.

homage to Hercules and the other gods. Evander, his son Pallas, the senators and young men are described (102ff.) as offering incense and performing sacrifice. When they see the Trojans, they all break off from the ceremony; but audax...Pallas (110) forbids them to do so and himself goes to meet Aeneas.¹⁰ In response to the challenge of Pallas (112ff.), Aeneas speaks as follows:-

"tum pater Aeneas puppi sic fatur ab alta
 paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit olivae:
 'Troiugenas ac tela vides inimica Latinis,
 quos illi bello profugos egere superbo.
 Euandrum petimus. ferte haec et dicite lectos
 Dardaniae venisse duces socia arma rogantis.'" (115-20).¹¹

Aeneas bears the olive branch and stresses that they as Trojans are hateful to the Latins who have attacked them with insolent warfare, although they are exiles. They seek Evander and wish to inform him of their desire for an alliance. After shaking hands with the young Pallas, Aeneas addresses Evander as follows:-

"tum regem Aeneas dictis adfatur amicis:
 'optime Graiugenum, cui me Fortuna precari
 et vitta comptos voluit praetendere ramos,
 non equidem extimui Danaum quod ductor et Arcas
 quodque a stirpe fores geminis coniunctus Atridis; 130
 sed mea me virtus et sancta oracula divum

¹⁰For the use of audax here see Servius, ad loc, where he compares the adjective when used of Turnus; see the discussion above, p.33ff. It is noticeable that Vergil stresses the commitment of Pallas and Evander (172ff.) to performing, at all costs, the ceremonial rites to Hercules. The piety of the indigenous population is thus firmly emphasised at the outset.

¹¹Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no Homeric model for Aeneas' speech.

cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama,
 coniunxere tibi et fatis egere volentem.
 Dardanus, Iliacae primus pater urbis et auctor,
 Electra, ut Grai perhibent, Atlantide cretus, 135
 advehitur Teucros; Electram maximus Atlas
 edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbis.
 vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia
 Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fudit;
 at Maiam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas, 140
 idem Atlas generat caeli qui sidera tollit.
 sic genus amborum scindit se sanguine ab uno.
 his fretus non legatos neque prima per artem
 temptamenta tui pepigi; me, me ipse meumque
 obieci caput et supplex ad limina veni. 145
 gens eadem, quae te, crudeli Daunia bello
 insequitur; nos si pellant nihil afore credunt
 quin omnem Hesperiam penitus sua sub iuga mittant,
 et mare quod supra teneant quodque adluit infra.
 accipe daque fidem. sunt nobis fortia bello 150
 pectora, sunt animi et rebus spectata iuventus."

(126-51).

Aeneas speaks warmly towards the king¹², addressing him as optime Graiugenum, one to whom Fortune wished him to pray and bear the olive branch decked with the chaplet. Nor does he fear the fact that Evander is a leader of the Greeks, an Arcadian, and related by blood to the Atridae.¹³ Aeneas now states clearly the factors that motivate him; his own virtus, sancta oracula divum,¹⁴

¹²For adfari to express warm feelings, see above, p. 253f.

¹³See Servius' note, ad loc.

¹⁴Binder, 51ff., has a detailed discussion on the virtus and pietas of Aeneas here and stresses the connection with Augustus' principate: "Aeneas ist in seiner pietas Urbild des Augustus" (54). See P.T. Eden's criticism of Binder here, J.R.S. 62 (1972) 222. Cf. W. Warde Fowler's interesting discussion, Aeneas at the Site of Rome (Oxford, 1918) 50ff.

the kinship of their fathers - Dardanus and Mercury - and Evander's fame join him, a willing servant of fate,¹⁵ to the king. Aeneas now stresses to Evander the fact that they are both descended from the one blood (i.e. Atlas) and that in their enmity towards the Rutuli they have a common interest. The bulk of the speech - by far Aeneas' longest in Book 8 - is devoted to stressing their common lineage. The Trojans trace their ancestry through Dardanus and Electra to Atlas, and the Arcadians through Mercury and Maia also to Atlas. Aeneas seeks to emphasise their kinship most strongly by referring to Atlas four times in seven lines.¹⁶ He stresses the point that it was relying on this kinship that he himself came to Pallanteum rather than send envoys;¹⁷ and as such he places his life in Evander's hands as a suppliant (143ff.). He points out finally that the Trojans, like the Arcadians, are persecuted in war by the Rutuli, who, he argues, wish to bring the whole of Hesperia, from coast to coast, under their yoke. He seeks an exchange of fides; his men have brave hearts,

¹⁵ ...fatis egere volentem (133). Aeneas' willingness to follow fate is fundamental to his pietas. For a discussion of this fact in the context of the Dido episodes of Books 4 and 6, see above, p.202ff. and p. 256.

¹⁶ 135, 136, 140, 141. Note Atlas, /idem Atlas... (140-1). See P. McGushin, "Virgil and the Spirit of Endurance" A.J.P. 85 (1964) 225ff.

¹⁷ Aeneas sends envoys to Latinus (7,152ff.) so that he is able to begin what he considers a more important task - the establishment of a camp (7,157ff.).

good spirit and are tried in action.¹⁸ The pietas of the hero is shown in his willingness to follow the wishes of fate and the gods by visiting Evander and in his attempt to join hands in friendship and good faith with the king. Aeneas' speech is a skilful one,¹⁹ in which he stresses forcefully their common lineage, underplays the Trojan aversion towards Greeks, and points out that they have everything to gain by an alliance.

In his response (154ff.), Evander infers that the hero before him is Aeneas²⁰, the son of Anchises, whom he once met and greatly admired when a youth in Arcadia. Anchises gave gifts to Evander which his son Pallas now owns.²¹ Evander states (169ff.) that he will send the Trojans forth the following day, but he must now continue the sacra in which he invites Aeneas and his men to share.

¹⁸Knauer, (indices) ad loc. cites Od. 3,79-101 as the Homeric parallel for Aeneas' speech. In this speech, Telemachus explains to Nestor the reason for his journey and seeks news of Odysseus. In situation, however, the parallel is not a close one. See also K.W. Gransden, Aeneid Book VIII (Cambridge, 1976) ad 126-51.

¹⁹For the formal rhetorical structure of the speech, see Hight, 79.

²⁰Aeneas did not actually introduce himself in his speech to Evander.

²¹One wonders if Vergil considered listing the balteus, which Turnus takes from Pallas' body (10,495ff.), amongst the gifts of Anchises (166ff.). Had he done so, it would have added a further incentive to the killing of Turnus at 12,938ff. We can only speculate on his reason for not doing so; one possibility being that it might have clarified the issues and given a strong sense of righteousness to Aeneas' act (12,938ff.), neither of which Vergil desired.

Evander proceeds to describe at length (185-275) the story of the monster Cacus and the battle with Hercules which the latter wins, thereby freeing the people from fear.²² It is, says Evander, in gratitude to Hercules for his great feats in destroying Cacus that each year the Arcadians perform these solemn rites (described at 273-305). Following these rites the host shows his city to Aeneas who marvels at the scenes around him and joyfully seeks and learns the memorials of earlier men (310ff.). Evander tells his guest about the early history of Latium, of Saturn and the early kings. The role of Saturn in the book is as a forebear of Aeneas; like the Trojan hero he is exiled from his lost kingdom, following which he brought together the unruly race, gave them laws and began a golden age of peace.²³ Yet disorder again beset the country (326ff.) until Evander, another outcast and "type" of Aeneas and Augustus, arrived at the prompting of Carmentis and Apollo. The poet then describes the places destined to become famous in the future Rome - Porta Carmentalis, the Asylum, the Lupercal, the Argiletum and the Capitol. Evander describes to Aeneas (351ff.) the religious significance of the areas destined to become the Capitol, Janiculum and Saturnia. Aeneas then sees the area of the Forum and

²²For the battle between Hercules and Cacus as a representation and anticipation of that between Aeneas and Turnus, and that between Augustus and Antonius, see V. Buchheit, Vergil über die Sendung Roms (Heidelberg, 1963) 116ff.; Otis, 330ff.; Binder, 2ff. and passim.

²³See Binder's discussion on Evander, Romanae conditor arcis, and on the aurea Saturni saecula in his Chapter 3, 76ff.; see also that of Buchheit, 92ff.

Carinae - then cow paddocks - before entering Evander's house which Hercules once entered. The role of Hercules as prototype of Aeneas (and Augustus) is further emphasised as Evander calls upon Aeneas (362ff.) to emulate the god in humble living and in pietas. Thus in a short space of time, we see a close connection between Saturn, Hercules, Aeneas and Evander - all outsiders who come into Latium, live a life of frugalitas and impose peace and order by their efforts.

Vergil retains the tempo of his narrative by switching his attention, as night falls, to the divine realm where Venus appeals for new armour for her son with which to fight in the war that approaches (370ff.). Vulcan readily agrees to her request and orders the Cyclopes to begin the work (395ff.). As the work on the armour continues, the morning breaks and Evander tells his guest (470ff.) of the cruel reign of Mezentius in neighbouring Caere, the rebellion against him and his shelter with Turnus. Whereas Evander the day before had concentrated solely on the past, with the new day he switches his attention to the present.²⁴ He points out that, with just fury, Etruria has risen demanding punishment for the king. He sees Aeneas as the foreign leader, referred to in a soothsayer's prophecy, *who* will lead them in war. Moreover, the king entrusts his son Pallas

²⁴ On the relationship between the three days in which the action of the book takes place and the poet's concentration on past, present and future, see Otis, 330ff. For earlier views on the structure of Book 8, see F. Bömer, "Studien zum VIII. Buche der Aeneis" Rh.M. 92 (1944) 319ff. and D.L. Drew, The Allegory of the "Aeneid" (Oxford, 1927) 6ff. G.K. Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in Aeneid VIII" A.J.P. 87 (1966) 21ff. questions Otis' tripartite division of Book 8.

to Aeneas and two hundred horse with a further two hundred coming from Pallas himself. As Aeneas Anchisiades²⁵ and Achates were pondering many hard thoughts with sad hearts (520ff.)²⁶, a sign comes suddenly from heaven - a flash in the sky and thunder (524ff.). They look up and see arms flashing in the sky and clashing like thunder. The response of Aeneas and the others is as follows:-

"obstipuere animis alii, sed Troius heros 530
 agnovit sonitum et divae promissa parentis.
 tum memorat: 'ne vero, hospes, ne quaere profecto
 quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor Olympo.
 hoc signum cecinit missuram diva creatrix,
 si bellum ingrueret, Volcaniaque arma per auras 535
 laturam auxilio.
 heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!
 quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub undas
 scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volves,
 Thybri pater! poscant acies et foedera rumpant.'" 540
 (530-40).²⁷

Whereas all the others remain stunned, Aeneas recognises the divine signal (pietas) and tells Evander not to ask what these portents mean.²⁸ He recognises that

²⁵Reference to Aeneas here as Anchisiades may foreshadow the appearance of his mother at 524ff.

²⁶On Aeneas' despondency here, see above, p. 276 n.5.

²⁷Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Od. 15,172-8 in which Helen interprets an omen as meaning that Odysseus after his long wanderings will return home. The content of the parallels is thus quite different. For the promise by Thetis of arms for Achilles, see Il. 18,134ff.

²⁸Cf. the reaction of Turnus and the others to the miracle of the ships at 9,123ff. Whereas all the Rutuli are stunned (obstipuere 9,123), Messapus terrified, and Tiberinus recoils, Turnus does not lose faith. Vergil seems to have drawn a clear parallel in his presentation of Aeneas in Book 8 and Turnus in Book 9 in their reactions to divine appearances and signals.

he is summoned by heaven; for his goddess mother foretold to him that if war should threaten she would assist his cause with arms from Vulcan. The hero foresees the carnage to result from the war as well as his own victory in it. The end of his speech is particularly effective in evoking his sorrow at the general loss of life in the war to come and his unquestioning belief in victory. Turnus, too, has this belief at the outset of the war but he is deluded by Allecto and Iris.²⁹ There is nothing delusive about this portent in the sky which signals victory for Aeneas. The hero's pietas is again shown following his speech where he is described (541ff.) renewing the fires on Hercules' altar, and joyfully (laetus 544) approaching the household god and humble Penates which (we are to infer) he worshipped the day before. Moreover, Evander and the Trojans make sacrifice of chosen ewes (544f.). Aeneas' final speech in Book 8 and his behaviour afterwards thus show his impeccable response to the divine signal. Whereas he was sad shortly beforehand (520ff.), he is now joyful in his pietas.

The remainder of the book concerns Evander's tearful farewell to his son (554ff.) and Aeneas' receiving of the armour made by Vulcan. As Trojans and Arcadians prepare to depart, Evander clasps his son's hand, sheds tears and prays to Jupiter for his survival (560-83). Following this prayer, the swooning Evander must be helped into his palace. The reader may already anticipate worse to come with the death of the young Pallas on

²⁹See 7,445f. and esp. 9,1ff. and discussion above, p. 33ff.

the battlefield. As pater Aeneas (606) and his men approach Tarchon and the Etruscan camp, Venus appears with the armour made by Vulcan (608ff.). In joy (laetus 617) Aeneas rolls his eyes over the armour - a helmet with plumes that pours out flames,³⁰ a death-bearing sword, a huge blood-red corselet, greaves of electrum and gold, a spear and a mighty shield. It is on the shield (clipei non enarrabile textum 625) that Vergil focuses; for on its surface Vulcan has fashioned the story of Italy and the triumphs of the Romans (626f.).³¹ The pictures begin with scenes from early Roman history, telling the story of Romulus and Remus, Rome and the Sabines, Mettus Fufetius of Alba, Porsena and Cloelia, Manlius and the Gauls. There follows a religious tableau, the Salii, Luperci and matres, and then a picture of Catiline in Tartarus and Cato in Elysium. These pictures precede that of the battle between Augustus and Antonius at Actium on which the entire scene centres. In the battle, conducted on a human and divine level, Augustus and Apollo are shown to prevail over Antonius and the gods of discord. As Aeneas looks at the last scene - the list of conquered peoples in Augustus'

³⁰For the imagery of fire in the armour of Aeneas, see below, p. 290ff.

³¹For detailed analysis of the pictures on the shield, see Fowler (ibid. n.14), 100ff.; Drew, 26ff.; J.R. Bacon, "Aeneas in Wonderland" C.R. 53 (1939) 97ff. and esp. 101ff.; C. Becker, "Der Schild des Aeneas" W.S. 77 (1964) 111-27; M. Wigodsky, "The Arming of Aeneas" C. & M. 26 (1965) 192-221; D.E. Eichholz, "The Shield of Aeneas" P.V.S. 6 (1966-7) 45-9; Otis, 341f. A discussion of the shield occupies the largest section of Binder's book, 150-282.

triumph - he shows amazement and joy, although ignorant of the events shown on the shield, and then he raises "high on his shoulder the glory and destiny of his children's children."³²

Section 3

Aeneas Book 10

In Book 2 we saw Aeneas in a war-situation prior to the acquisition of pietas in the full sense. We saw that at Troy he had a propensity towards heroic violence and irrationality.¹ In the books that describe his adventures after the fall of Troy (Books 3, 1, 4, 5, 6(i), 7 and 8), Vergil concentrates on projecting forcefully the hero's pietas by use of his direct and indirect methods of characterisation. Apart from Book 2, we have not seen Aeneas in a situation of war. This has allowed Vergil to place full emphasis on some of the more noble aspects of the hero's character. Yet as he now approaches war again for the first time since Troy, how will he react?; or, more pertinently, how will Vergil present pius Aeneas in the war-situation?²

³²See Williams ad loc., who notes the wider significance of Aeneas' lifting of the shield.

¹See above, p. 155ff.

²One obvious difference is in the nature and length of Aeneas' speeches: in Book 10 he utters 10 speeches totalling only 29 lines. Unlike Homer, Vergil writes notably short speeches for his heroes in battle.

Following the concilium deorum (1-117), and a re-statement of the status quo in battle (118-45), Vergil's attention switches briefly to Aeneas. He has by this time left Pallanteum and proceeds to see Tarchon (148ff.), king of the Lydians, who, now free from fate (libera fati 154)³, join forces with the Trojans. Following this, Aeneas returns towards Latium, notably, with Pallas close beside him (159ff.), asking about the stars and his labours on land and sea.

Vergil now digresses from the action (163-214) to give an account of the Etruscan forces who sail with Aeneas. This account pre-empts his re-appearance at the Trojan camp. Aeneas sits at his post holding the rudder and looking after the sails, for his concern for his men and their situation allows no rest (215ff.). His cura here (217) underlines his pietas. Suddenly (219ff.) the nymphs, whom Cybele had metamorphosed from ships⁴, appear before him swimming beside his ship. One of these, Cymodocea, informs him (228ff.) of the happenings in his absence - the Trojans including Ascanius are penned up in their camp by Turnus and the Rutuli. She urges him into action and promises him (244f.) great slaughter of the enemy. Aeneas reacts as follows:-

"tum breviter supera aspectans convexa precatur:

'alma parens Idaea deum, cui Dindyma cordi

turrigeraeque urbes biliugique ad frena leones,

³This is a reference to the oracle (8,499ff.) that the Etruscan cause requires a foreign leader. Vergil thus emphasises Aeneas' role here (10,154ff.) as in keeping with the fated will (pietas).

⁴9,77ff.

tu mihi nunc pugnae princeps, tu rite propinques
 augurium Phrygibusque adsis pede, diva, secundo."
 (251-5).⁵

Precatur (251) introduces the tone of the speech.⁶ The prayer is addressed to Cybele, who, as we have seen, saved the Trojan fleet from the flames of the Rutuli. He prays that she will lead him in battle, that the omen will be fulfilled, and that she will be present amongst the Phrygians with a favouring step. Aeneas' portrayal here is consistent with the more general presentation, in that he utters this speech as an exemplum of pietas. He now prepares his men for battle and lifts high the blazing shield which Vulcan himself had made. This brings a roar of approval and anticipation from his men who, with new hope, cast their spears. Turnus and his captains turn to see the waters filled with ships - but attention focuses on Aeneas:-

"ardet apex capiti cristisque a vertice flamma
 funditur et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis;
 non secus ac liquida si quando nocte cometae
 sanguinei lugubre rubent, aut Sirius ardor
 ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus aegris
 nascitur et laevo contristat lumine caelum."

(270-5).

In the Iliad⁷, Priam sees Achilles dressed in his armour which is described as follows:-

⁵Knauer, (indices) ad 252f., compares Achilles' prayer to Zeus at Il. 16,233f. in which the hero prays that Patroclus may win glory in battle and also return safely to the ships. The speeches are alike in that they are both prayers before battle, although Aeneas, unlike Achilles, leads his men and takes part in the battle.

⁶Precatur is used regularly of Aeneas; cf. 6,186, 193; 7,137; 10,874; 12,175.

⁷Knauer, (indices) ad loc. Cf. Il. 5,4ff. where Diomedes is pictured in battle with a flame coming from his helmet.

Τὸν δ' ὁ γέρον Πρίαμος πρῶτος ἶδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι, 25
 παμφαίνονθ' ὥς τ' ἀστέρ' ἐπεσσύμενον πεδίοιο,
 ὅς ῥά τ' ὀπάρης εἴσιν, ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαὶ
 φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ.
 ὃν τε κύν' Ὀρίωνος ἐπὶ κλησὼν καλέουσι.
 λαμπρότατος μὲν ὃ γ' ἐστὶ, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται, 30
 καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.

(Il. 22, 25-31).

The sight of Achilles is a bad omen for Hector whom he is about to face in single combat. Priam becomes distraught⁸ and pleads with his son (38ff.) not to fight the mighty Achilles. The meaning of πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν (31) thus becomes clear: Achilles is like the dog-star of Orion; and Hector, Priam, Hecuba and the Trojans are the wretched mortals who must bear the affliction. A similar effect is conveyed by Vergil: "The effect of Aeneas' return to the scene of battle is to bring as certain disaster on his enemies as Achilles' return did."⁹ This, however, is only half of the effect, for the picture of Aeneas (10, 270-5) is more elaborate than that of Achilles. In the Homeric case it is Achilles himself who is like the dog-star, whereas in Aeneas' case, flames are actually pictured flowing from the armour: the simile which follows this description belongs, as in Homer, to the narrator (272-5).

Vergil's description of Aeneas in his armour prefigures the furor of the hero.¹⁰ This is seen especially

⁸ Contrast the reaction of Turnus to the sight of Aeneas:—"Haud tamen audaci Turno fiducia cessit..." (10, 276).

⁹ Williams, ad 272f.

¹⁰ On the armour of Aeneas, see W.H. Semple, "War and Peace in Virgil's Aeneid" B.R.L. 36 (1953-4) 216; J.P. Poe, "Success and Failure in the Mission of Aeneas" T.A.Ph.A. 96 (1965) 330; M. Wigodsky, C & M 26 (1965) 213ff.; Boyle, Ramus 1 (1972) 66f.

at 270f.:— ardet...flamma/ funditur et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis. As surely as fire-imagery helps to convey the demonic furor of Turnus¹¹, so here it foreshadows the furor of Aeneas in the Italian war. It is Aeneas' furor that is the ill-omen — one that soon finds reality in his aristeia following the death of Pallas (10,510-605). Thus, the description of Turnus in his armour (7, 783ff.) and that of Aeneas in his (10,270ff.) both perform the same function in foreshadowing the heroes' rage and violence in battle.

There is, however, an important difference. The picture of Turnus conveys a furious monster on the one hand and an unfortunate metamorphosis, divinely inspired, on the other.¹² This reflects the reality of Turnus' infection by Allecto (7,445ff.) — that he is the unwilling agent of a demonic force. The simile which likens Aeneas to blood-red comets or to fiery Sirius, however, conveys an altogether different source for the hero's furor, yet one which aptly reflects Aeneas' character as he is presented throughout the poem. Like fiery Sirius rising in the sky, the furor of Aeneas rises and grows itself.¹³ The birth imagery thus communicates the nature of Aeneas' furor¹⁴ — that it rises from within him in

¹¹ See e.g. 7,462ff.; 9,65ff.; 9,535ff.; 9,731ff.

¹² See above, p. 31ff.

¹³ Note rubent, 273 and esp. nascitur, 275. Cf. below, n.51.

¹⁴ Boyle, (*ibid.* n.10) 67, argues that the birth image of fiery Sirius and Aeneas' connection with it "provide a suitable analogue for the birth of Rome itself." The implication is that the rise of Rome brings "drought, pestilence and gloom" as does the rise of Sirius ardor. This seems difficult to accept; the image refers to Aeneas and only through him can it refer to Rome. Vergil is foreshadowing the furor of Aeneas, not writing anti-Roman propaganda.

response to circumstances. Whereas Turnus' furor is demonic and implanted externally, Aeneas' is to be seen as internally based and having no demonic source. Aeneas is, in this sense, like Achilles whose anger comes from within.¹⁵ Turnus' demonic furor is, by contrast, an essentially un-Homeric element in the poem. Thus, we see that the descriptions of Aeneas and Turnus in their armour, do not simply foreshadow their rage in battle, but also indicate fundamental differences in the natures of their furor.¹⁶

Aeneas and the Etruscans land on the shore and immediately join battle (287ff.). After killing many men (310ff.), Aeneas speaks to Achates as follows:-

"suggere tela mihi, non ullum dextera frustra
torserit in Rutulos, steterunt quae in corpore Graium
Iliacis campis."

(333-5).¹⁷

There is little of note in the speech. Aeneas will not fail to hit the Rutuli with spears thrown from his right hand. We are reminded that he was on the battlefield at Troy and that he is commencing another war. Aeneas now seizes a spear and kills Maeon (335ff.) before striking others. As the battle continues, Vergil focuses on the combat between Turnus and Pallas.¹⁸ We see the latter

¹⁵Note ...εἰς Ιλ. 22, 27.

¹⁶Cf. the words of Nisus:-

"dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?" (9, 184-5).
Turnus, it could be argued, represents the former and Aeneas, the latter.

¹⁷Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites Il. 8, 297-9; 13, 260-5; 14, 454-7 as Homeric parallels, the closest being 13, 260-5 where Idomeneus tells Meriones that he will find spears for battle in his hut.

¹⁸On this important episode, see above, p. 61ff.

bravely leading his men (362ff.) with considerable success before encountering Turnus, who eventually kills him in their subsequent combat (474ff.). When rumour of his death reaches him, Aeneas becomes wild with anger, and, as a result, causes carnage on the battlefield (510ff.).

It is worth considering in detail the behaviour of Aeneas here.¹⁹ When first hearing of the death of Pallas, he seeks to reach and assist the routed Trojans and, at the same time, to kill Turnus²⁰:-

"proxima quaeque metit gladio latumque per agmen
ardens limitem agit ferro, te, Turne, superbum
caede nova quaerens."

(513-5).

Aeneas is described as ardens - part of Vergil's vocabulary of furor²¹ - and Turnus is superbum/ caede nova. Vergil proceeds to give a reason for the rising fury in Aeneas:-

"Pallas, Euander, in ipsis
omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas advena primas
tunc adiit, dextraeque datae."

(515-7).

There is method in Aeneas' madness: he had given pledges to his hospes Evander at Pallanteum about the safety of Pallas. It is of these pledges that Aeneas

¹⁹The aristeia of Aeneas (510-605) in response to the death of Pallas, parallels that of Achilles at Il. 21, 1-210 (Knauer's indices, ad loc.). Vergil, however, uses different techniques from those of Homer, on occasions projecting vividly the brutality of Aeneas and on other occasions obfuscating it; see below, p.296ff. and p.315ff.

²⁰From this moment until the end of the poem, Aeneas burns with an implacable desire to kill Turnus. Only at the poem's climax (12,938ff.) does he hesitate for a moment in this intention.

²¹See Camps, 38.

now thinks as he prepares for a more gruesome act:-

"Sulmone creatos
quattuor hic iuvenes, totidem quos educat Ufens,
viventis rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris
captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammās."
(517-20).

The preparation for human sacrifice is no mere threat but is actually carried through.²² Immolare (519) is used on only three occasions in the entire poem - in each case to describe an action of Aeneas.²³ Moreover, Aeneas is the only character in the poem to perform human sacrifice. In this, too, he is like Achilles who takes twelve sons of the Trojans for sacrifice as a revenge for the death of Patroclus.²⁴ Vergil, of course, need not have included this act in his own poem; the fact that he has chosen to do so "must be accorded its full significance".²⁵ Aeneas in his battle-fury has a striking resemblance to the heroes in the Iliad.

The narrative reverts to the battlefield where the slaughter continues. Aeneas had thrown a spear at Magus and, after it misses, the latter instantly clasps the knees of the hero²⁶ and as suppliant (supplex 523)

²² See 11, 81f. where we see the youths again with their hands tied behind their backs ready for sacrifice. The question of human sacrifice is discussed above, p. 11ff. and below, p. 315ff.

²³ S. Farron, "The Furor and Violentia of Aeneas" Acta Classica 20 (1977) 208.

²⁴ Il. 18, 333-7; 21, 26-33; 23, 19-23; 23, 175-83.

²⁵ Williams, ad 519.

²⁶ The deaths of Magus and Turnus (12, 930ff.) are compared below, p. 348f.

pleads for his life (524ff.). He prays (precor 525) by Anchises' spirit and the hope of growing Iulus that Aeneas will spare his life for the sake of his father and son. To this end he offers him silver and gold and says that victory for the Trojans does not turn on him. Aeneas' reply is that the killing of Pallas makes such mercy impossible:-

"argenti atque auri memoras quae multa talenta
natis parce tuis. belli commercia Turnus
sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto.
hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus."

(531-4).

In Il. 21,67ff.²⁷ Achilles holds a spear over Lycaon about to deal the death blow when the latter pleads for his life. He had been captured previously by Achilles and had bought his freedom and now curses his fortune that he is again in Achilles' grasp. Achilles replies to his plea as follows:-

<p>“νήπιε, μή μοι ἄποινα πιφάυσκεο μηδ' ἀγόμενε· πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Πάτροκλον ἐπισπεῖν αἵσιμον ἡμαρ, τόφρα τί μοι πεφιδέσθαι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φίλτερον ἦεν Τρώων, καὶ πολλοὺς ζωοὺς ἔλον ἡδὲ πέρασσα· νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς τις θάνατον φύγῃ, ὃν κε θεός γε 'Ιλίου προπάρειθεν ἐμῆς ἐν χερσὶ βάλῃσι, καὶ πάντων Τρώων, πέρι δ' αὖ Πριάμοιό γε παίδων.</p>	<p>100 105</p>
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(Il. 21,99-105).

Achilles' argument is clear; until Patroclus died he would take prisoners alive, but now that he is dead, mercy is impossible. Lycaon must die, says Achilles (106ff.), for Patroclus died, who was a far better man

²⁷Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

than he (Lycaon) is. A day will come (111ff.) when Achilles himself, born from a πατὴρ ἀγαθός and θεά will die prematurely in battle. In Achilles' terms it is right that Lycaon should die in battle given that Patroclus is dead and that the pleading man at the end of the spear is of a lower social status. It is with a sense of natural justice that Achilles deals the death blow.

Aeneas feels less inclined to justify his actions. His speech lasts for four lines, whereas Achilles' lasts for fifteen. Essentially, however, Aeneas' behaviour here is Homeric. Magus had appealed to him by Aeneas' father and son, and had offered him silver and gold. Aeneas' reply picks up the appeal and the offer, and rejects them totally out of hand. In having Aeneas dismiss the appeal and kill Magus, the poet underlines the hero's furor and his lack of ratio, clementia and humanitas.²⁸

Aeneas' next victim (537ff.) is Haemonides, Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos.²⁹ The point is emphasised by Vergil (538-9) that the priest is wearing his sacred garb.³⁰ Haemonides does bear arms (541f.) and is, therefore, a legitimate target in war; yet in having Aeneas kill him

²⁸ It is remarkable that Brooks Otis, 357, interprets the aristeia of Aeneas (10,510-605) as symbolising the humanitas of the hero. There is no reference, in his discussion of this section, to the furor of Aeneas. Cf. his discussion of the death of Turnus (379ff.) where he scrupulously avoids reference to Aeneas' irrational rage (12,938ff.).

²⁹ Cf. 6,35 where the same formula is used of the Sibyl to whom Aeneas shows great reverence, and 6,69 where he prays to the two deities. The echo, it would seem, is deliberate.

³⁰ Particularly so if we follow Ribbeck's reading of albis for armis at 539; see Williams, ad loc.

(immolat 541), Vergil is clearly making great play with the uncontrolled violence of his hero. No priest, to my knowledge, is killed in the Iliad³¹, suggesting perhaps that Aeneas here has transcended the limits of behaviour of a Homeric hero.

The slaughter continues (543ff.) with Aeneas still in a state of uncontrolled fury.³² He now gloats over the dead Tarquitus as follows:-

"istic nunc, metuende, iace. non te optima mater
condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulcro;
alitibus linquere feris, aut gurgite mersum
unda feret piscesque impasti vulnera lambent."
(557-60).

This is modelled³³ on the vaunting of Achilles over the dead Lycaon:-

“ἐνταυθοὶ νῦν κείσο μετ’ ἰχθύσιν, οἳ σ’ ὤτειλῃν
αἶμ’ ἀπολιχμήσονται ἀκηδέες· οὐδέ σε μήτηρ
ἐνθρομένη λεχέεσσι γοήσεται, ἀλλὰ Σκάμανδρος
οἷσιν δινήεις εἴσω ἄλδος εὐρέα κόλπον.
θρόσκων τις κατὰ κύμα μέλαιναν φρήν’ ὑπαίξει
ἰχθύς, ὅς κε φάγησι Λυκάονος ἀργέτα δημόν.

125

(Il. 21,122-7).

The two speeches are notably similar: in each case the dead man's mother will be unable to provide proper burial, and instead fish will now lick their wounds. Vergil, however, has added new elements to the Homeric model. The fish, which Aeneas envisages, will be hungry (impasti), whereas no such adjective is used in Homer.³⁴

³¹Knauer, (indices) ad loc., offers no Homeric parallel for the killing of Haemonides.

³²Note furit 545; ardenti 552; inimico pectore 556.

³³Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

³⁴Farron, (ibid. n. 23) 207.

Tarquitus will fall victim to the fish in the sea only if he happens not to be subjected to birds of prey (559f.)³⁵; this too is a Vergilian variation. Aeneas mentions the bereft mother (557f.) before the birds of prey/fish, thus making the contrast more stark and heightening the cruelty of his intentions. Tarquitus' mother will not have the opportunity to retrieve the body - a fact which makes the impact of death more terrible. Moreover, Aeneas describes her as optima mater (557) which is a variation of Achilles' simple μήτηρ (123). Here again Aeneas' words heighten his cruelty, in that the mother of the victim is suffering all the more because of her devotion to her son.

Aeneas continues the slaughter of many of the enemy (561ff.): he is like Aegaeon, who had 100 arms and hands, and from whom fire (a significant touch) flashed from 50 mouths and breasts when battling against the thunderbolts of Jupiter³⁶ (565ff.). Aeneas' sword grows warm (570) as he rages over the plain (569). He now encounters Lucagus and Liger (575ff.), two brothers who ride together in a chariot. Liger chides him (581ff.) that he is not in Phrygia now, nor does he fight Diomedes, but now his life will soon be ended. Aeneas hurls

³⁵The Homeric model makes no mention of birds of prey which may come from Il. 11,452ff. Odysseus to Socus; Il. 16,836, Hector to Patroclus; or Il. 22,335 & 354, Achilles and Hector.

³⁶Whilst the reference to Aegaeon clearly helps to convey the furor of Aeneas in battle, I see no particular significance in the reference to Jupiter here. I would argue, in fact, that Aeneas is described as pius (591) because he furthers the progress of fate and thus follows Jupiter's will. D.A. Little, "The Death of Turnus and the Pessimism of the Aeneid" A.U.M.L.A. 33 (1970) 69, argues that "in comparing Aeneas with Aegaeon, Virgil has condemned this brutality clearly enough". I see no reason to support the view that Vergil "condemns" either Aeneas or Turnus anywhere in the poem.

a spear (585) which catches Lucagus who falls dead from the chariot. Vergil continues as follows:-

"quem pius Aeneas dictis adfatur amaris:

'Lucage, nulla tuos currus fuga segnis equorum
prodidit aut vanae vertere ex hostibus umbrae;
ipse rotis saliens iuga deseris.' haec ita fatus
arripuit biugos; frater tendebat inertis
infelix palmas curru delapsus eodem;

595

'per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes,
vir Troiane, sine hanc animam et miserere precantis.'
pluribus oranti Aeneas: 'haud talia dudum
dicta dabas. morere et fratrem ne desere frater.'
tum latebras animae pectus mucrone recludit."

600

(591-601).³⁷

Perhaps the most striking thing about this passage is Vergil's description of Aeneas as pius (591) when he speaks with bitter words and acts with uncontrolled rage both beforehand and afterwards.³⁸ We could attempt to explain the use of the word here by stressing that Aeneas is motivated by feelings of guilt and responsibility following the death of Pallas. There is no doubt that, both now and later, the death of Pallas has a strong effect upon Aeneas.³⁹ Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that this alone is Vergil's reason for using the epithet here. Vergil is drawing our attention to the fact that,

³⁷Knauer (indices) ad loc., cites no close parallel for this episode. In my view Aeneas' words to the pleading Liger (599f.) are the most savage in either Vergil or Homer. The brutality of Aeneas thus reaches a climax with this speech.

³⁸For a comparison between this use of pius at 10,591 and that at 4,393, see above, p.206f. There is, on the whole, remarkably little comment on Aeneas' description as pius at 10,591. For different views on the reference see Mackail, ad loc.; Austin (Aen. 4) ad 393; R. Beare, "Invidious Success", P.V.S. 4 (1964-5) 24; Quinn 225, n.2; and Williams, ad 510f.

³⁹See Books 11 and 12, passim and esp. 12,938ff. R.S. Conway, "Vergil's Creative Art" P.B.A. 17 (1931) 28f., was one of the first to stress the connection between the death of Pallas (10,479ff.) and Aeneas' furor (10,510ff.).

despite being as brutal as any hero in either Iliad or Aeneid, Aeneas is still in a state of pietas. The reason for this is unlikely to be that piety in the poem is gained by one's brutality conducted in the name of a just vengeance.

When analysing Aeneas' behaviour here in Book 10, we should always keep in mind that this is the first time we have seen him in the war-situation since his own narration of the fall of Troy. In this earlier battle, he was characterised by his irrationality (arma amens capio... 2,314) and his "heroic impulse".⁴⁰ When he sees Helen lurking silently, close to Vesta's shrine in fear of her life, he becomes possessed with furor (2,575f.) and decides to kill her (577ff.) as revenge for all the pain and hardship she has caused his people. We saw that at this point (2,594ff.), Venus appears and stops him from doing so, stressing that it is the gods who destroy the city - forces so great that Aeneas, for all his desire, can do nothing to stop them. Quid furis? she asks Aeneas (2,595) "why (to what purpose, for what reason) do you rage?" Venus does not concern herself with the morality of his contemplated action; her point is that Aeneas' plan is bound to be fruitless. He must follow fate, not fight against it. Aeneas is impius in the Helen episode (1/) because he is forgetful of family, sacra and Penates, and (2/) because his mad rage conflicts with the course of fate. He is not impius simply because of his state of furor; but because of the direction

⁴⁰See Quinn, 1ff. and discussion above, p. 155ff.

in which that furor is applied.⁴¹ On hearing that his future lies elsewhere,⁴² Aeneas finally acts in accordance with the fated will, leaves Troy to the conquering Greeks and becomes pius accordingly.

Aeneas' behaviour in his aristeia here in Book 10 is no different from that at Troy when he decides to murder Helen.⁴³ The reason for this is that furor is of the nature of war - a fact that Aeneas himself recognises: nec sat rationis in armis (2,314). Aeneas does not mean that at Troy he acted wrongly and has now learnt his lesson; he means that furor is the dominant characteristic in man's psyche in the war-situation, and that this is as true for him as it is for anyone.

Yet whereas Aeneas' behaviour is the same at Troy and in Latium, the direction of it has altered. There is no Venus to intervene in the latter situation because destiny is in the process of being fulfilled. Aeneas is, therefore, given full reign to act according to his natural passions, without divine constraint⁴⁴, because he does not fight against the will of heaven nor is he acting against his or his family's best interests. Aeneas is entirely consistent in his behaviour in Books 2

⁴¹ Many of the modern views on the Aeneid rest on the assumption, misguided in my opinion, that furor and pietas are incompatible opposites, and that Dido, Mezentius and Turnus represent the former, and Aeneas the latter. Such a dichotomy cannot be justified from the text and leads to considerable confusion of the issues at the end of the poem. See below, p. 349ff.

⁴² 2,268ff.; 589ff.; 692ff.

⁴³ Except that in Book 10 he acts with brutality, rather than merely expressing an intention to do so.

⁴⁴ Cf. E. Kraggerud, Aeneisstudien S.O. Suppl. 22 (Oslo, 1968) 22f. and R. Coleman, G & R 29 (1982) 154.

and 10; it is his relationship to divine circumstances that has changed.

It is for this reason that he is described as pius at 10,591: because in slaughtering the enemy, he furthers the progress of fate.⁴⁵ The concept of pietas here, as elsewhere⁴⁶ in the Aeneid, is divorced from the brutality of action. Aeneas is brutal in the extreme and Vergil strenuously highlights the fact, yet there is no justification for the view that he lacks pietas as a result. Here, and even at the very end of the poem, Aeneas lacks ratio, clementia and humanitas, but his pietas results from the direction of his actions, not the conduct of them.

We begin to see, therefore, that our preconceptions of furor must be qualified. In Book 1, it was presented as follows:

"Furor impius intus
saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento."
(1,294-6).

This passage has led to many misconceptions about the nature of furor in the poem. The logic runs as follows: (1) furor is impius (1,294); (2) Dido and Turnus in hindering Aeneas, oppose fate and show the strongest symptoms of furor: they are therefore impii; (3) Aeneas does occasionally appear to show symptoms of furor but he is clearly pius and the poem is the victory of pietas

⁴⁵Note the way that the conversation between Jupiter and Juno (606-32) helps to convey the fact that Aeneas is destined to conquer and Turnus is doomed to die. This conversation helps to clarify the meaning of pius at 591. Vergil uses Jupiter and the Dira to convey a similar effect at 12,843ff.

⁴⁶Cf. 4,393 and 10,783, on which see above, p.205ff. and below, p.305 n.49

over furor. Aeneas, therefore, cannot be pius and have furor at the same time, because furor is impius (1,294).

Although this is simplistic, we are now in a position to see that the logic falters because the premise is false: furor is not necessarily impius. The furor of Turnus is impius: we saw that it is implanted against his will, yet its effect is to enrage him to oppose Aeneas and the course of fate. It is the direction of his furor, more than anything else, that causes it to be impius. Aeneas in Books 10 and 12 possesses pius furor (note 591) because the direction of his actions aligns with the will of heaven. This is seen again at the very end of the poem when Aeneas in a fit of rage immolates the pleading Turnus. Although we react with horror at this action, it is clearly indicated that it aligns with Jupiter's will.⁴⁷ Thus at the end of the poem, the hero's furor is presented forcefully, but there is no justification whatever for the view that he is impius because of it. The paradox at the poem's conclusion, and here in Book 10, is that a man can perform an act or acts of extreme barbarity, and at times lack the scarcest trace of humanity, yet still be described as pius.

Such fierce fighting on Aeneas' part causes Juno to have concern for Turnus⁴⁸ whom she now proceeds to remove by deceit from the battlefield (636ff.). Aeneas'

⁴⁷12,843ff.; 894ff.; 914.

⁴⁸This concern of Juno is a measure of how far Aeneas has furthered the progress of fate by the slaughter he wreaks on the battlefield. For the deluding of Turnus here, see above, p.69ff.

next encounter is with Mezentius whom he sees active in battle (769ff.). Mezentius boasts (773ff.) that he will have Aeneas' armour as spoils. He casts his spear, yet it misses Aeneas and hits instead Antores in the side (776ff.). Then pius Aeneas hurls his spear wounding, but not killing Mezentius (783ff.).⁴⁹ Aeneas is joyful (laetus 787) at the sight of his enemy's spouting blood, and fervidus (788) as he attempts to complete his victory. Thus, here again we see Aeneas' pius furor (783 and 788). Lausus, however, groans as he sees his father (789f.); he rushes forth to challenge Aeneas and forces the hero to shelter from a shower of javelins. Aeneas then rebukes and threatens Lausus:-

"sustinet et Lausum increpitat Lausoque minatur:
'quo moriture ruis maioraque viribus audes?
fallit te incautum pietas tua.'"

(810-12).⁵⁰

The speech, however, has no effect on Lausus (nec minus ille/exsultat demens... 812f.). Aeneas' anger rises (saevae...irae/surgunt 813f.)⁵¹ and the Fates take up Lausus' final thread (814f.). He is then killed by Aeneas who drives his sword in the youth's breast. When he sees the look on the dying boy's face, Aeneas groans and feels pity and stretches out his hand as the patriae...

⁴⁹Why pius here? Certainly not for the reason given by Mackail, ad 10,591, or that by Williams, ad 783:- "...the epithet concentrates our attention on the contrast between the godless Mezentius (773f.) and the god-fearing Aeneas". There is nothing particularly godless about Mezentius' speech (773ff.), just as there is nothing god-fearing about Aeneas' hurling of the spear (783ff.). They are in battle, each intent on killing the other. The same factors apply as at 10,591.

⁵⁰Knauer, (indices) ad loc., offers no Homeric parallel for this speech.

⁵¹The description of the rising anger of Aeneas aligns with the picture of the hero in his armour at 10,270ff. See above, p.292f.

pietatis imago (824) rises in his mind. He then addresses the dead Lausus as follows:-

"quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,
quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?
arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua; teque parentum
manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.
hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem;
Aeneae magni dextra cadis."

(825-30).⁵²

Aeneas' reaction to Lausus' death emphasises his pietas, in the sense that the hero thinks of his own family. It is this love for his father and son that prompts him to treat kindly the body of Lausus.⁵³ He sees the young man as pius (812) and stresses his own piety and greatness (826, 830). The description of him as Anchisiades (822)⁵⁴ helps to convey his filial pietas. It is important to remember that he is pius here because of love of family, not because of pity shown for a dead hostis.⁵⁵ His pietas determines the kind of treatment which will be given to the dead Lausus, and not vice-versa. The comparison with Turnus' treatment of Pallas is valid only in so far as no such patriae...pietatis

⁵²Knauer, (indices) ad 829f., compares Il. 21,106-8 in which Achilles utters sarcastic words to Lycaon prior to killing him. The pathos of Aeneas' words has no Homeric parallel. Note that Marcellus, 6,882 and Pallas, 11,42 are also described as miserande puer; the phrase seems to be used to depict a boy's impotence in the face of fate.

⁵³We might compare 12,938ff. where Aeneas' ferocity abates for a moment in response to Turnus' reference to Anchises and his other pleas (12,931ff.). See below, p. 349.

⁵⁴For Anchisiades here, see Conington, ad loc; Glover, 223f.; Warde Fowler, Aeneas at the Site of Rome (Oxford, 1918) 86ff.; E.A. Hahn, "Note on Vergil's Use of Anchisiades" C.W. 14 (1920-21) 3f.

⁵⁵Contrast Glover, 224; W.R. Johnson, C.J. 60 (1965) 361.

imago comes into Turnus' thoughts. This is the crucial difference in the two episodes: Aeneas thinks of his own family, whilst Turnus does not. The argument that Aeneas is Turnus' moral superior, however, must be seen as tenuous given Vergil's recent portrayal of him as morally repugnant (510-605).⁵⁶ The difference is that Turnus does not think of his family until his furor has passed and until he feels Aeneas' sword at his chest (12,931ff.). Aeneas, by contrast, is seen to dwell suddenly (10,821ff.) on his own family when he sees the behaviour and visage of the dying Lausus.

Mezentius clasps the corpse of his son and plans to avenge his death. He calls three times to Aeneas (873) who recognises the call and joyfully makes prayer:-

"Aeneas agnovit enim laetusque precatur:

'sic pater ille deum faciat, sic altus Apollo!

incipias conferre manum.'" (874-6).⁵⁷

After he has spoken thus, the fighting commences with Aeneas gaining the upper hand. He holds the sword over Mezentius and speaks as follows:-

"'ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa
effera vis animi?'" (897-8).⁵⁸

⁵⁶Otis 359f., amongst many others, stresses the pietas of Aeneas here and argues that it is a direct contrast to Turnus' behaviour in killing and despoiling Pallas. There is a strong case for this view, although it seems to me to be taking the contrast too far by arguing that "the moral justification of (Aeneas') final victory is here". Cf. Thornton, G & R 22(1953)82ff. and Klingner, 577ff.

⁵⁷The encounter between Aeneas and Mezentius resembles that between Achilles and Hector at Il. 20,419-38 (Knauer's indices, ad loc.). Both Mezentius and Aeneas act fully in accordance with the Homeric tradition.

⁵⁸Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Il. 5,472; 8,229; 13,219b; 22,331-6: the closest parallel is the last of these in which Achilles mocks Hector prior to killing him.

Having said this, Aeneas kills Mezentius, yet not before the latter asks to be given burial beside his son where he may be guarded from the rage of his own people. Aeneas then cuts Mezentius' throat and his blood spills out all over his armour.

Section 4

Aeneas Book 11

Following the great slaughter on the battlefield described in Book 10, the mood is calm at the outset of Book 11 as both sides prepare to take up their dead. Vergil focuses upon Aeneas in this early section; he utters the first four speeches of the book. The first of these (14-28) is an exhortation to his men to continue battle, but only after the funeral rites have been completed. His next two speeches are addressed to the dead Pallas (42-58 and 96-8) whom the Trojans prepare to be taken on a bier to Pallanteum. His fourth speech (108-19) is addressed to the Latin envoys who have come to request a moratorium. This said, Aeneas is withdrawn by the poet from the drama of the book, which centres largely on Turnus' attempt to hold the support of his people, and Camilla's valiant but fatal aristeia. Aeneas' dramatic role in Book 11 is, therefore, a short one¹; Vergil characterises him indirectly, through the

¹Aeneas utters 4 speeches, 46 lines in Book 11. The hero's comparative taciturnity in the Iliadic Aeneid is shown by the fact that only in Book 12 does he speak more - 47 lines.

eyes of the enemy, throughout much of the book.²

Although his actual dramatic role in the book is short, Aeneas' pietas is underlined emphatically throughout. This is clear from the very outset of the book (2-4) where Aeneas is conscious of his two duties - to perform funeral rites for the dead and to give thank-offerings for his victory in battle over Mezentius.³ Without hesitation, he gives the offering first (4ff.).⁴ This he does by attaching the armour of Mezentius to an oak tree which has had its branches cut from it. Having constructed the offering, Aeneas addresses the leaders of his men as follows:-

"maxima res effecta, viri; timor omnis abesto,	
quod superest; haec sunt spolia et de rege superbo	15
primitiae manibusque meis Mezentius hic est.	
nunc iter ad regem nobis murosque Latinos.	
arma parate animis et spe praesumite bellum,	
ne qua mora ignaros, ubi primum vellere signa	
adnuerint superi pubemque educere castris,	20
impediat segnisve metu sententia tardet.	
interea socios inhumataque corpora terrae	
mandemus, qui solus honos Acheronte sub imo est.	
ite' ait, 'egregias animas, quae sanguine nobis	
hanc patriam peperere suo, decorate supremis	25
muneribus, maestamque Euandri primus ad urbem	
mittatur Pallas, quem non virtutis egentem	
abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.'	
Sic ait inlacrimans..."	

(14-29).

²See the Debate of the Latins at 225-444 and especially the reply of Diomede at 252ff.

³He seems to dedicate them to the god Mars (bellipotens 8) although Mackail, ad loc., referring to 8, 61 and 10, 423, argues for Tiberinus.

⁴Aeneas' own desire would have been to bury his comrades first (2f.), but, out of piety and according to Roman ritual, he pays his vow first.

Aeneas begins the speech in a spirit of confidence and ends it in tears - the two moods reflecting his two duties. With Mezentius dead and his armour in the hands of the victor, Aeneas now sees the way to Latium itself. Turnus is given no mention. They must prepare arms with courage and anticipate the war with hope, for there must be no delay when the gods⁵ grant that they pluck out the standards to re-commence battle.

At line 22, the mood changes. They must now bury the bodies of those killed in battle, but only after they have prepared the body of Pallas to be sent to Pallanteum. Aeneas knows that the city will be in mourning (maestam 26) for the young man who, as he says, lacked nothing in virtus (27). The thought of Pallas' death brings tears to Aeneas' eyes even as he is speaking (29). The speech is modelled⁶ on that of Achilles over the dead Hector:-

“ ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες, ἐπεὶ δὴ τόνδ' ἄνδρα θεοὶ δαμάσασθαι ἔδωκαν, ὃς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρρεξεν, ὅσ' οὐ σύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι, εἰ δ' ἄγετ' ἀμφὶ πόλιν σὺν τεύχεσι πειρηθέωμεν, ὄφρα κ' ἔτι γινώμεν Τρώων νόον, ὃν τιν' ἔχουσιν, ἢ καταλείψουσιν πόλιν ἄκρην τοῦδε πεσόντος, ἦε μένεω μεμάασι καὶ Ἑκτορος οὐκέτ' ἐόντος. ἀλλὰ τί μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός; κεῖται πὰρ νήεσσι νέκυσ ἄκλαντος ἄθαπτος Πάτροκλος· τοῦ δ' οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαι, ὄφρ' ἂν ἔγωγε ζωοῖσιν μετέω καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρῃ· εἰ δὲ θανόντων περ καταλήθοντ' ἐν Αἴδαο, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ κείθι φίλου μεμνήσομ' ἑταίρου.	380 385 390
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⁵For the Roman practice of plucking up the standard only after the auguries have been taken, see Conington's note, ad loc. The reference to superi here helps to convey Aeneas' pietas as he scrupulously observes the Roman practice.

⁶Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites Il. 22, 378-94 as the Homeric parallel.

νῦν δ' ἄγ' ἀειδοντες παιήονα κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν
 νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσι νεώμεθα, τόνδε δ' ἄγωμεν.
 ἡράμεθα μέγα κῆδος· ἐπέφνομεν Ἑκτορα δῖον,
 ᾧ Τρῶες κατὰ ἄστυ θεῶ ὥς εὐχετόωντο."

(Il. 22,378-94).

Aeneas' role here parallels that of Achilles whilst the crucial role of Mezentius in battle is modelled on that of Hector. We are reminded that the killing of Hector helps substantially the Greek war-effort, but it does not end the war. The killing of Turnus, however, whose role in the Aeneid is often compared to that of Homer's Hector, is seen as the final blow of the war - the final fulfilment of Aeneas' mission. The death of Mezentius is, therefore, an important step in this direction⁷ - a fact which Aeneas himself recognises (14ff.). The latter is notably conscious, not just of the victory recently achieved, but of the necessity to continue the war in the suitable way until the successful outcome has been reached (pietas).

Achilles, in his speech (Il. 22,378ff.), also changes in mood as he remembers (385ff.) that Patroclus is unburied and unwept. The role of the dead Pallas parallels that of Patroclus: the latter, however, is mourned and buried only after Hector has been killed. The mourning and funeral of Pallas precedes the death of Turnus and emotionally prepares us for it. The preparation and funeral of Pallas (11,29ff.) make us anticipate strongly the revenge of Aeneas: in this sense it parallels the reaction of Achilles when he first hears of Patroclus' death (Il. 18).

⁷Hence the reason for Aeneas' description as pius (10, 783) as he casts the spear that wounds Mezentius. See above, p. 305.

Yet whereas Achilles mourns the death of Patroclus (Il. 22,386ff.), and Aeneas that of Pallas (26ff.), their grief is conveyed in noticeably different ways. Achilles is preoccupied with the death of Patroclus alone and utters his love for him by means of the direct speech.⁸ Furthermore, his sense of personal loss at the young man's death is presented in the first person singular.⁹ It is thus conveyed vividly and directly to the reader. The last third of the Iliad is anchored to Achilles' enormous sense of personal loss at the death of Patroclus. Aeneas, by contrast, takes thought for those of his men who died as well as Pallas (22ff.). Vergil highlights the community elements in Aeneas' behaviour (pietas). Aeneas' speech, unlike Achilles' (Il. 22,378ff.), is devoid entirely of the first person singular: his sense of personal loss is thus presented less vividly and less directly. That Aeneas laments the death of the young man is clear from this early section of Book 11, yet we must recognise that his tears (29) are shed as a general response to his dead allies, not simply for the dead Pallas.

Aeneas enters the royal building (regia 38) which is filled with mourning and lamentation. When he sees the head and face of Pallas and the wound which caused his death, Aeneas reacts as follows:-

⁸See, e.g. 18,52ff.

⁹In the Homeric parallel to Aeneas' speech at 11,14-28, Achilles uses the first person singular to express his sense of personal loss; see Il. 22,387; 388; 390.

".... lacrimis ita fatur obortis:
 'tene' inquit, 'miserande puer, cum laeta veniret,
 invidit Fortuna mihi, ne regna videres
 nostra neque ad sedes victor veherere paternas?
 non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti 45
 discedens dederam, cum me complexus euntem
 mitteret in magnum imperium metuensque moneret
 acris esse viros, cum dura proelia gente.
 et nunc ille quidem spe multum captus inani
 fors et vota facit cumulatque altaria donis, 50
 nos iuvenem exanimum et nil iam caelestibus ullis
 debentem vano maestis comitamur honore.
 infelix, nati funus crudele videbis!
 hi nostri reditus expectatique triumphis?
 haec mea magna fides? at non, Euandre, pudendis 55
 vulneribus pulsum aspicias, nec sospite dirum
 optabis nato funus pater. hei mihi, quantum
 praesidium, Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule!'
 Haec ubi deflevit..."

(41-59).

The mood of Aeneas' lamentation is stressed by his welling tears (lacrimis...obortis 41) and by deflevit (59). Narrative references to his sorrow thus introduce and conclude the speech. Aeneas stresses the loss to himself (42f.), to his city (44, 57f.), to Iulus (58), and especially to Evander (49ff.). He feels strongly his own promissa to Evander (45ff. and 55 - haec mea magna fides?). Aeneas' regret for the promises made to Evander, yet not fulfilled, is modelled¹⁰ on Achilles' sorrow that he had heartened Patroclus' father prior to leaving for Troy:-

¹⁰Knauer, (indices) ad loc.

“ὦ πόποι, ἦ ῥ’ ἄλιον ἔπος ἐκβαλον ἥματι κείνῳ
 θαρσύνων ἦρωα Μενότιον ἐν μεγάροισι·
 φῆν δέ οἱ εἰς Ὀπόεντα περικλυτὸν νῖδν ἀπάξειν
 Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντα, λαχόντα τε ληϊδος αἴσαν.
 ἀλλ’ οὐ Ζεὺς ἀνδρεσσὶ νοήματα πάντα τελευτᾷ·
 ἄμφω γὰρ πέπρωται ὁμοίην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι
 αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ, . . .”

325

(Il. 18, 324-30).

Achilles realises that he too will die at Troy, yet it still pains him that he gave heart to Menoetius that Patroclus would return to Opoeis. Achilles does not swear vengeance on Hector and the Trojans out of obligation to Menoetius,¹¹ but from his own grief and personal loss at the death of Patroclus. Aeneas' words, by contrast, are spoken more out of remorse than from the personal loss of a friend and comrade. It is the loss to Evander, and Aeneas' obligation to the father, that characterise the speech. Thus we see that it is the Roman concept of fides (cf. 55) which is behind the remorse - a concept not to be found in the Homeric model. Achilles' speech emphasises his love for Patroclus and the grief that he feels, whilst Aeneas' emphasises his pietas/fides.

Aeneas' own grief at the death of Pallas is essentially transmitted via the narrative - inlacrimans 29, lacrimis 41, deflevit 59. He sends one thousand men to Evander's Pallanteum out of obligation to the father (60ff.). They prepare the bier for the journey, then place the body on it (64ff.). He covers the body with

¹¹See Il. 18, 333ff.

a robe made by Dido at Carthage¹² and places also the spoils which Pallas had won in battle. He now prepares to fulfil his intention to sacrifice the Italian youths mentioned previously in Book 10:-

- 1/ "Sulmone creatos
quattuor hic iuvenes, totidem quos educat Ufens,
viventis rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris
captiveque rogi perfundat sanguine flammis."
(517-20).

- 2/ "vinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris
inferias, caeso sparsurus sanguine flammis..."
(11,81-2).

Aeneas' sacrifice of the eight youths is modelled on that of twelve youths by Achilles - an episode described in three different books:-

- 1/
νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν, Πάτροκλε, σεῦ ὕστερος εἰμ' ὑπὸ γαίαν,
οὗ σε πρὶν κτεριῶ, πρὶν γ' Ἑκτορος ἐνθάδ' ἐνεῖκαι
τεύχεα καὶ κεφαλὴν, μεγαθύμου σοῖο φονῆος· 335
δώδεκα δὲ προπάρειθε πυρῆς ἀποδειροτομήσω
Τρώων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, σέθεν κταμένοιο χολωθεῖς.

(II. 18,333-7).

- 2/
ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ κάμε χεῖρας ἐναίρων,
ζωοὺς ἐκ ποταμοῖο δώδεκα λέξατο κούρους,
ποιωὴν Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο θανόντος.
τοὺς ἐξῆγε θύραζε τεθηπότας ἥύτε νεβρούς,
δῆσε δ' ὀπίσσω χεῖρας ἐϋτμήτοισιν ἱμάσι, 30
τοὺς αὐτοὶ φορέεσκον ἐπὶ στρεπτοῖσι χιτῶσι.
δῶκε δ' ἐταίροισιν κατάγειν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας.
αὐτὰρ ὁ ἄψ' ἐπόρουσε δαΐζέμεναι μενεαίνων.

(II. 21,26-33)

¹²For the point of this reference to Dido, see Williams' note, ad 74..

3/

δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων νιέας ἐσθλοὺς 175
 χαλκῷ διηϊόων· κακὰ δὲ φρεσὶ μῆδετο ἔργα·
 ἐν δὲ πυρὸς μένος ἦκε σιδήρεον, ὅφρα νέμοιτο.
 ὦμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα, φίλον δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἑταῖρον·
 "χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἀῖδαο δόμοισι·
 πάντα γὰρ ἤδη τοι τελέω τὰ πάροιθεν ὑπέστην. 180
 δώδεκα μὲν Τρώων μεγαθύμων νιέας ἐσθλοὺς
 τοὺς ἅμα σοὶ πάντας πῦρ ἐσθίει· Ἑκτορα δ' οὐ τι
 δώσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν, ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν."

(Il. 23,175-83).

Let us begin, not with why Vergil included Aeneas' human sacrifice in the poem, but with how it is presented and how this compares with the Homeric parallels.¹³ Achilles' sacrifice of the Trojan youths is straightforward. On hearing that Patroclus is dead, Achilles swears that no funeral rites will be performed until he has killed Hector and taken his head and armour. This done, he will cut the throats of twelve youths at Patroclus' pyre (18,333ff.). In the battle itself he captures twelve youths for the purpose, and has them bound and led away (21,26ff.). With Hector killed, Achilles slays the twelve youths and cries out aloud to his former friend that he has fulfilled his promise (23,175ff.). Vergil's presentation of Aeneas' sacrifice makes the action less clear. After Pallas' death, Aeneas erupts into a fury and kills many men before taking alive eight youths with the intention of sacrificing them (10,517ff.). Shortly afterwards, Aeneas' intention is re-stated: he had tied their hands behind their backs in readiness for their sacrifice (11,81f.).

¹³Aeneas' taking of the youths for sacrifice is also discussed above, p.11f. On re-reading the *Iliad* after the completion of this thesis, I noticed a further reference to Achilles' sacrifice (Il.23, 19ff.). As this, too, is a direct speech, the comparative taciturnity of Aeneas is even more striking.

There are important differences in the presentation of the episodes in the two poems which seem to shed light on Vergil's own attitude towards his hero's behaviour here. To begin with, the Homeric episode is longer and more detailed. Reference is made to human sacrifice in three different books; whilst first promised by Achilles in Book 18, it is not actually carried through until five books later. It would seem a deliberate contrast to this presentation that Aeneas' plan for sacrifice is exceedingly brief and lacking in detail. It is mentioned in only two books and, more importantly, is described entirely in six lines of the poem. Significantly, Vergil compressed his own version of human sacrifice to approximately one-third the size of the Homeric model. The difference, however, between the two versions is not merely numerical. In the Homeric episode Achilles utters two speeches to complement his actions. In the first of these (18,333-7), he declares his intention to perform sacrifice, and in the second (23, 180-3) declares that, as promised, he places in the fire twelve sons of the Trojans. The Homeric presentation is thus vivid and direct, allowing no doubts as to the brutality and efficiency with which the act is carried through. Aeneas, by contrast, utters nothing. His actions are presented indirectly by means of the narrative alone. Rather than making the episode dramatically vivid, like Homer, Vergil merely refers obliquely to it. Thus he obfuscates the action of his hero by his indirect

method of characterisation.¹⁴ So brief and remote is the description of his planned sacrifice that it is possible to forget the reality of Aeneas' act. This could never happen in a reading of the Iliad because Achilles' sacrifice is placed vividly and dramatically before our eyes.

Moreover, Vergil's language helps to cloud the reality of his actions. Homer describes clearly the fact that sacrifice takes place¹⁵, whereas Vergil presents Aeneas' intention to do so by means of a final subjunctive (mitteret 81) and a future participle (sparsurus 82). Thus, it is never clear whether sacrifice actually takes place, although there is no evidence to the contrary.¹⁶ Nor do we see Aeneas bind the hands of the youths behind their backs, for he had already done so (vinxerat 81). Vergil tells us what Aeneas had already done (tied their hands) and what he is about to do (sacrifice them, sprinkling the flames with blood); but he refrains from telling us the actions of the hero at the given moment. Thus, he clouds the issue by referring

¹⁴S. Farron, Acta Classica 20 (1977) 205 argues, implausibly it seems to me, that Vergil's description of the sacrifice is more vivid and brutal than that of Homer. For another criticism of Aeneas' behaviour here, see G. Williams, 115f.

¹⁵χαλκῷ δηϊόων (23,176).

¹⁶For an attempt to find such evidence by variant readings, see T. Crane, "A note on Aeneas' 'human sacrifice', Aeneid, 10.517-20" C.W. 67 (1973-4) 176-7.

to past and future but not to the reality of the act in the present. The indirect method is taken one stage further; for not only is there no dramatic role for Aeneas in this episode (as there is in Homer for Achilles) but the narrative description fails to state the reality of the sacrifice at all (as it is stated clearly in Homer).

Vergil's decision to describe the sacrifice by the indirect methods seems to tell us something about his own view of Aeneas' act. It has been seen¹⁷ that Aeneas' brutality in the killing of Magus, Tarquitus and the other Latins is, for all its lack of humanitas, still within the scope of pietas because his actions are applied in the right direction - bringing destiny closer to fulfilment. These same factors do not apply as Aeneas prepares for the sacrifice of the youths (81f.); for his act does not further the progress of fate. Thus, Vergil clouds the reality of Aeneas' actions here by his indirect methods, because he views Aeneas' act as outside the scope of pietas. We see Vergil's familiar techniques of characterisation at work: the direct speeches underlining his pietas; and his impietas being conveyed by indirect methods.¹⁸

There may be another side to Vergil's technique here. Clearly, the episode is included (when it could easily have been omitted¹⁹) because Vergil wishes to show the extent of Aeneas' occasional brutality. In this sense,

¹⁷See above, p. 300ff.

¹⁸See above, p. 229ff.

¹⁹See Williams' note, ad 10, 519.

it has the same kind of function as Aeneas' aristeia (10,510-605). In the later instance, however, (11, 81f.), the poet appears notably uncomfortable about the entire episode, as if conscious that his hero perpetrates an act that a Roman audience would find unsuitable for the legendary founder of the city. Vergil may particularly have been conscious of Augustus' reaction, who, it is said²⁰, sacrificed 300 prisoners at Perusia in honour of Julius Caesar. Thus whilst the Augustan connection (Aeneas-Augustus) may possibly explain the inclusion of the episode, it may also help to explain Vergil's reluctance to present it directly. The parallel may have been too close and the subject too contentious to present the episode in the same vivid manner as Homer.

At 85ff., Vergil concentrates on the effect that Pallas' death has on others - the aged Acoetes beats his breast and tears at his face with his nails, and the war-horse Aethon weeps profusely.²¹ Aeneas now prepares to speak again:-

"...substitit Aeneas gemituque haec addidit alto:
'nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli
fata vocant; salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla,
aeternumque vale.'"

(95-8).

The Homeric model for this speech is that of Achilles

²⁰Suetonius, Div. Aug. 15. See Camps, 28f. and 142, who discusses Aeneas' act in its Roman context.

²¹Cf. Il. 17, 426f. in which Achilles' horses weep for Patroclus' death.

aequius huic Turnum fuerat se opponere morti. 115
 si bellum finire manu, si pellere Teucros
 apparat, his mecum decuit concurrere telis;
 vixet cui vitam deus aut sua dextra dedisset.
 nunc ite et miseris supponite civibus ignem.'
 (106-119).²⁴

The description of Aeneas as bonus (106) introduces the speech, yet, given the hero's response, Vergil could alternatively have described him as pious. The Latins' request could not be denied by Aeneas (106f.). He regards Trojans and Latins as friends who have been turned into enemies. Although they seek peace for the dead, he would like to grant it to the living (110f.). He stresses that in coming to Italy, the Trojans follow a course laid down by fate, and asserts that it was Latinus who trusted in Turnus, and not he who broke the bonds of hospitium. It would have been more just, says Aeneas, if Turnus were now dead like those around them.²⁵ He now issues a challenge to Turnus (116ff.) to settle the issue by single combat, before telling the Latins to go and tend their dead (119).

This is Aeneas' last speech of Book 11, for Vergil switches his attention first to Pallanteum, and then to Laurentum the Latin city. Fittingly, Aeneas' last speech in the book also underlines his pietas - his commitment

²⁴Knauer, (indices) ad loc., cites no Homeric model for Aeneas' speech. This is hardly surprising given Aeneas' role here as a "new kind of hero", with a strong commitment to peace and order for his people, as well as a desire to follow at all cost the will of heaven.

²⁵See Williams, ad 115.

to peace, his ready acceptance of a truce, his reiteration of the Trojans' fated role in Italy, and his willingness to decide the issue in accordance with the will of heaven and by his own right hand. Despite granting a truce to the Latins, Aeneas is utterly determined to force the issue and fight Turnus, even before Evander's call for vengeance (11,176ff.). His re-commencement of battle (445ff.) may be seen in the light of his own and Evander's desire to see the death of Turnus.

Section 5

Aeneas Book 12

The opening of Book 12 (1-106) focuses almost entirely on Turnus who, in a state of wild furor, accepts that the time has come to fight Aeneas in single combat.¹ Great care and attention are paid by Vergil to presenting emphatically the furor of Turnus in this section. On occasions this takes the form of abuse aimed at Aeneas himself. The attempts of Latinus (19ff.) and Amata (56ff.) to mollify Turnus' furor serve only to intensify it (45f.; 70f.). The initial description of Aeneas in Book 12 is as follows:-

"nec minus interea maternis saevus in armis
Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitatur ira,
oblato gaudens componi foedere bellum.
tum socios maestique metum solatus Iuli

¹This section is discussed above, p.89ff.

fata docens, regique iubet responsa Latino
 certa referre viros et pacis dicere leges."
 (107-12).

Two aspects of this picture of Aeneas require comment. The first is his furor (107f.) and the second is his pietas (109ff.).² We will see that throughout Book 12, Aeneas is characterised both by his pietas and by his furor - his pius furor. The characters described as saevus (107) in the poem are Hector 1,99; Achilles 2,29; Ulysses 3,273; Mars 7,608; Drances 11,220; and Jupiter 12,849.³ Saevus conveys a natural fierceness most commonly seen in battle; significantly it is not used of Turnus in the entire poem. Aeneas' furor, unlike Turnus', is shown to rise naturally from within him in response to particular circumstances⁴ - a fact emphasised by the sharpening of "his warlike spirit" and the rousing of his anger (108).⁵ Both heroes are in a rage (Turnus 1-106; Aeneas 107-12) but each is in a different kind of rage.

The advantage that Aeneas holds is indicated by reference to his divinely made armour (maternis 107):

²Lyne, C.Q. 33 (1983) 196f., compares Turnus' Cacus-like furor at 101f. with Aeneas' desire for peace at 109. He argues, implausibly in my view, that Aeneas' anger at 107f. "is not the passion that merits the term furor." I prefer to make a distinction between Aeneas' furor and that of Turnus; see above, p. 303ff.

³M.N. Wetmore, Index Verborum Vergilianus (New Haven, 1930) ad locc. The adjective is also used of female deities - Juno 1,4; 7,287 (etc.); Circe, 7,19; Allecto 7,511.

⁴See 10,270ff.; 10,813f. and discussion above, p.290ff.

⁵Williams, ad loc.

"it is almost as if Aeneas were fighting an unarmed man".⁶
 He rejoices that the war is to be settled by means of a treaty (109). Moreover, he consoles his allies and his own son's fear, teaching them of fate (110f.), and commands them to give firm replies to Latinus and state the terms of peace (111f.). Thus pietas is shown in his concern for allies and son, in his determination to follow fate, and in his joyful acceptance of and respect for a treaty. Furor and pietas are shown in this passage to complement each other: Aeneas is motivated to sign a treaty, then to fight and kill Turnus. At this early stage of the book, such a course looks almost certain to him; but Juno has not yet resigned herself to final defeat.

And so it is that when both sides gather to swear a formal treaty (113ff.), Juno encourages Iuturna to protect her brother and postpone his death (134ff.). As the gathering of both sides continues, Aeneas himself appears:-

"hinc pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo,
 sidereo flagrans clipeo et caelestibus armis
 et iuxta Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae,
 procedunt castris..."

(166-9).

The same kinds of things are stressed here as at 107ff. - Aeneas' pastoral role, his foundation of the Roman race, the support given to him by Venus and Vulcan, and his devotion to Ascanius. Furthermore, Aeneas is ablaze

⁶R. Beare, P.V.S. 4 (1964-65)22.

εἰ μὲν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνη,
 αὐτὸς ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην ἐχέτω καὶ κτήματα πάντα,
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν νήεσσι νεώμεθα ποντοπόροισιν·
 εἰ δέ κ' Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνῃ ξανθὸς Μενέλαος,
 Τρῶας ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην καὶ κτήματα πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι, 285
 τιμὴν δ' Ἀργείοις ἀποτινέμεν ἢν τιν' ἔοικεν,
 ἢ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.
 εἰ δ' ἂν ἐμοὶ τιμὴν Πρίαμος Πριάμοιο τε παῖδες
 τίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλωσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πεσόντος,
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειτα μαχίσσομαι εἵνεκα πονῆς 290
 αὐδὲ μένων, ἧός κε τέλος πολέμοιο κιχέω."

(Il. 3, 275-91).

Agamemnon prays to Zeus, the Sun, the rivers, the earth and the gods of the underworld who will punish him if his oath is false. Aeneas prays to the Sun, the Earth, Jupiter, Juno, Mars, fountains and rivers, and the "sanctity of the high heavens and the divinities in the blue sea".⁸ The introductory epithet pius (175) is "used with full emphasis"⁹ and is juxtaposed with that of pater (166) where his fatherly proximity to Ascanius and his role as pater patriae are stressed. Both Aeneas and Agamemnon call on the gods to witness their vows¹⁰, yet the vows themselves differ considerably. If Paris

⁸Williams, ad 181-2.

⁹Williams, ad loc.

¹⁰Cf. esto nunc Sol testis... (176) and μάρτυροι ἔστε... (280). Some detailed discussions of Aeneas' oath have been provided by F.I. Zeitlin, "An Analysis of Aeneid XII, 176-211. The differences between the oaths of Aeneas and Latinus" A.J.P. 86 (1965) 337-62; J.E. Fontenrose, "The Gods Invoked in Epic Oaths: Aeneid XII, 175-215" A.J.P. 89 (1968) 20-38; G.K. Galinsky, "Aeneas' Invocation of Sol (Aeneid, XII, 176)" A.J.P. 90 (1969) 453-8.

kills Menelaus the Greeks will simply return to their own country leaving Helen at Troy. If Menelaus kills Paris, however, the Trojans must return Helen and her treasure and pay recompense to the Greeks: if no recompense is forthcoming, then the war goes on. Agamemnon's oath to the gods fulfils a pragmatic purpose: there is no attempt to present him as a pious (εὐσεβής) hero. It is τιμή and κτῆματα that motivate Agamemnon.

Aeneas states that if Turnus defeats him, then the Trojans will depart for Pallanteum and that they will never attack Latium in the future. If victory falls to Aeneas, he will not subject the Italians to Trojan rule, but both peoples will live unconquered under equal terms, entering into a treaty for all time. He will give sacred rites and gods; and furthermore, Latinus, his father-in-law, will keep his arma and imperium. Aeneas will build his own city which will take its name from that of Lavinia. Vergil conveys far more than Homer; for Aeneas does not see material possessions as his goal, like Agamemnon, but promises a range of things which he sees as assisting the future of the country. The emphasis is on giving rather than receiving, with his pietas strongly evident throughout. Moreover, unlike the Homeric parallel, Aeneas nowhere mentions his own death, should he be defeated, or that of Turnus, should he be victorious. Instead he talks periphrastically of victory.¹¹ There is little doubt that the loser

¹¹ Cf. victoria 183; Victoria 187; καταπέφνη 281; κτείνη 284.

will be killed¹², but Vergil does not give dramatic emphasis to this probability. Aeneas talks in terms of victory or defeat rather than life or death. The reader is aware that Aeneas will prevail in the single combat:¹³ Vergil, however, at this point, emphasises the positive results of Trojan victory rather than its human cost (in the person of Turnus).

The forthcoming combat, however, seems unequal to the Rutuli, and Iuturna hastens to increase their doubts (222ff.).¹⁴ She produces an omen - an eagle snatching up a swan - which the Rutulian augur Tolumnius interprets as the gods' approval for the renewal of hostilities (244ff.). This he proceeds to do and casts his spear at the enemy (266ff.). The battle quickly re-commences with great ferocity on both sides. Aeneas' reaction is as follows:-

"at pius Aeneas dextram tendebat inermem
 nudato capite atque suos clamore vocabat:
 'quo ruitis? quaeve ista repens discordia surgit?
 o cohibete iras! ictum iam foedus et omnes
 compositae leges, mihi ius concurrere soli, 315
 me sinite atque auferte metus; ego foedera faxo
 firma manu, Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra.'"

 (311-7).

¹²Note 183ff., where it is Iulus who would organise the Trojans' departure to Pallanteum.

¹³Just as Aeneas himself is confident in battle because he helps to fulfil the fated will (cf. 8, 532ff. and 12, 109ff.). A further difference between the two speeches is Aeneas' reference to the will of the gods (187f.), which he sees as deciding the issue in his favour (pietas).

¹⁴On this episode, see above p.100ff.

To begin with Aeneas asks where his men rush to and what is this sudden discord (313)? He pleads with them to contain their wrath (314) and reminds them that the treaty has been struck and the terms (leges 315) agreed. Vergil stresses the pietas of his hero by means of the introductory epithet pius (311). As he speaks, Aeneas stretches out his unarmed hand and is himself without a helmet on his head (311f.). We saw that there is no critical disagreement on the meaning of the first lines of this passage (311-315a) for Aeneas' pietas and fides are clear and unequivocal.¹⁵ Aeneas' latter sentiments, however, are often ignored; that it is right for him alone to do battle (315) and that he should be allowed to do so. He will make the treaty true with his hand (316f.); and that already the sacred rites promise (debent 317)¹⁶ Turnus to him.

The moral motivation for Aeneas' statement - that a treaty struck is a treaty to be honoured - is stressed forcefully by critics, but often at the expense of the more practical side of his purpose. His men must contain their anger and abide by the treaty if he is to take his revenge and kill Turnus. Continued hostilities will only delay his victory; his men must restrain their anger (314) so that he can give vent to his. Thus cohibete iras (314) does not signal a simple appeal to

¹⁵For a discussion of some of the critical approaches to this important episode, see above, p. 3ff.

¹⁶For the echo of 10,442f., see above, p. 62ff. and 73ff.

to the virtue of ratio¹⁷ as a desirable moral quality; it is the means whereby his faithful oath (176ff.) will be kept (pietas/fides), and his great desire for vengeance (furor) sated. To call him "humane"¹⁸ merely confuses the issue, for Vergil stresses that a desire to kill Turnus is a prime motivating factor.

Aeneas' appeal fails to stop the fighting and he receives his reply with an arrow wound and is forced to withdraw from the battlefield. Aided by Venus, *Iapyx* quickly tends the wound (391ff.) and preparations are made for Aeneas' return to the battlefield. Iapyx realises (425ff.) that some god assisted his recovery and returns him to greater deeds. At this point, as he prepares for battle, Aeneas turns to Ascanius:-

"...Ascanium fuis circum complectitur armis
 summaque per galeam delibans oscula fatur:
 'disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem, 435
 fortunam ex aliis. nunc te mea dextera bello
 defensum dabit et magna inter praemia ducet.
 tu facito, mox cum matura adoleverit aetas,
 sis memor et te animo repententem exempla tuorum
 et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector.'" 440
 (433-40).

The Homeric model¹⁹ for the speech is Hector's address to Astyanax in the sixth Iliad:-

¹⁷ Similarly, nec sat rationis in armis (2,314) is a simple statement on the nature of man in war; see above, p. 164 and below, p. 350ff.

¹⁸ Sic Warde Fowler, (*ibid.* p. 4 n. 5).

¹⁹ Knauer, (*indices*) ad loc.

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ὃν φίλον υἱὸν ἐπεὶ κύσε πῆλὲ τε χερσίν,
 εἶπε δ' ἐπευξάμενος Διὶ τ' ἄλλοισιν τε θεοῖσιν 475
 "Ζεῦ ἄλλοι τε θεοί, δότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε γενέσθαι
 παῖδ' ἐμόν, ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ περ, ἀριπρεπέα Τρώεσσιν,
 ὦδε βίην τ' ἀγαθόν, καὶ Ἰλίου Ἰφι ἀνάσσειν·
 καὶ ποτέ τις εἴποι 'πατρός γ' ὅδε πολλὸν ἀμείνων·'
 ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα· φέροι δ' ἔναρα βροτόεντα 480
 κτείνας δῆϊον ἄνδρα, χαρεῖν δὲ φρένα μήτηρ."

(Il. 6, 474-81).

Aeneas' love and concern for Ascanius demonstrates his pietas. He stresses his own virtus and labor which Ascanius can learn from him; but his son must learn of the role of chance from others. He will defend Ascanius and lead him amongst great rewards. In the future when Ascanius has reached adulthood he ought to remember the exempla of others, especially of Aeneas himself and those of his uncle Hector. This is Aeneas' only speech to his son in the entire poem,²⁰ a fact which makes the lack of a first person singular usage all the more notable.²¹ For all the warmth and love shown towards his son in the narrative (433f.), the speech is formal and impersonal.²² Vergil does not attempt to convey the same effect as Homer. Hector's speech is an imprecation to Zeus and the other gods in the small boy's presence, whilst Aeneas utters his speech to Ascanius himself.²³ Moreover, the reader feels a deeper pathos for Hector and Astyanax

²⁰W. Clausen, "An Interpretation of the Aeneid" in Virgil, ed. S. Commager (New Jersey, 1966) 82.

²¹For Vergil's reluctance to use the first person singular in the speeches of Aeneas, see above, p. 175ff. and p. 366.

²²Contrast Perret's brief discussion on this speech, 140.

²³Astyanax is presented in the Iliad as a very small boy, about only 2 years old.

than he does for Aeneas and Ascanius. The reasons for this are to be seen in the circumstances which surround the two episodes. Hector returns to the city from the battlefield (237ff.) and urges the women and old men to make prayer to the gods. In Priam's palace he meets Hecuba (251ff.) whom he tells to lead the women to prayer at Athena's temple in the hope that the goddess will take pity on them and protect Troy and the Trojans from Diomedes' spear (264ff.). This Hecuba does whilst Hector himself finds and rebukes Paris for shrinking from the war (326ff.). He then finds Andromache who pleads with him (407ff.) to take pity on their son and on her, for the Achaeans will soon slay him (409ff.). She reminds Hector of the tragic history of her family - her father and seven brothers killed by Achilles and her mother killed by Artemis. Hector is mother, father, brother and husband to her and he too will soon be killed. Hector himself knows that he will die and that Troy will fall, and he laments the probable fate of Andromache as the slave of a Greek (441-65). Hector then reaches out for his son who recoils in terror at the sight of his armour-clad father. This causes Andromache and Hector to laugh; the latter then utters his imprecation to Zeus and the other gods that his son may become a greater man than he.

The background to Aeneas' speech to Ascanius is totally different. The hero has just been wounded, has withdrawn from battle, and on being healed with the help of an immortal, prepares to re-enter the fray. There is no attempt on Vergil's part to elicit the same deep

pathos from the reader for Aeneas and Ascanius as Homer does for Hector and his family. The assistance of Venus in healing Aeneas' wounds helps to convey the fact that his welfare is assured by the will of heaven.²⁴ Yet despite his role as the object of divine goodwill, Aeneas shows signs of melancholia and self-pity (435f.). Vergil does not allow us to sympathise with his hero's despondency by juxtaposing Aeneas' speech with an act of divine benevolence in his favour.²⁵ This is Vergil's significant departure from Homer's episode in which a tragic spirit prevails. Hector's meetings with Hecuba, Andromache and Astyanax are held at a time when he already anticipates his own death and the fall of Troy (6,447ff.). His imprecation to Zeus and the other gods (6,476ff.) is made more poignant by this foreshadowing of defeat and death. The reader anticipates that here is the last time that the family will be united. Moreover, Hector's sorrow is not for himself but for Andromache (454ff.) and for his son. Homer arouses our pity and fear for Hector and his family; but there is no sense of loss, no pity and fear aroused in Vergil's episode. Vergil places the emphasis on characteristic

²⁴ Vergil uses the same technique in Book 1, 407-14 and 1,437-40 where Venus' loving concern for her son, symbolised by the cloud in which she covers him, is contrasted with Aeneas' despondency at the sudden appearance and disappearance of his mother (1,407ff.) and at the sight of Carthage (1,437ff.). See above, p. 134ff.

²⁵ See 411ff. and esp. 427ff.

Roman virtues²⁶ and particularly on Aeneas' pietas - his love for Ascanius (433f.) and his dutiful behaviour in protecting and teaching him (435ff.).

Following his speech to Ascanius, Aeneas and the Trojans move forward into battle (441ff.). A cold tremor runs through the bones of Turnus and the Ausonians as they see the enemy coming. Iuturna herself flees in terror - a sign of the doom awaiting Turnus (448f.). Aeneas is like a storm (nimbus 451) moving over the sea towards the land causing the farmers' hearts to tremble because it will bring down trees and crops, and cause general ruin (451-7).²⁷ But Aeneas does not bother to kill those who flee from the Trojan attack or challenge those who come into his path: he seeks Turnus alone:-

"solum densa in caligine Turnum
vestigat lustrans, solum in certamina poscit."
(466-7).

Aeneas' determined tracking of Turnus now begins as he systematically scans the battlefield for him. This passage has many echoes throughout the last three books of the poem.²⁸ The use of solus...solus...first conveyed

²⁶ During the course of discussion on this section, Professor Walsh pointed out to me Livy's similar contrast between fortuna and Roman virtues (esp. ratio) in the speech of Hannibal at Zama (30.30). Hannibal's speech, in which fortuna occurs on 11 occasions, might also be compared with that of Turnus at 11,378-444 in which Fortuna is referred to twice (cf. fortunatus 11,416).

²⁷ For a detailed analysis of this and the other similes in Book 12, see D. West, Philologus 114 (1970) 262-75.

²⁸ Cf. 11,220f.; 11,434; 11,442; 12,16; 12,315-7. See also above, p. 62ff. and 73ff.

Turnus' desire to kill Pallas (10,442f.) from which point it refers to Aeneas' desire to take revenge by single combat. His tracking of Turnus (vestigare) is reiterated on three further occasions in quick succession.²⁹ This imagery conveys the notion of the hunt, with Aeneas as the hunter and Turnus as the prey.³⁰

Aeneas, however, has great difficulty in catching Turnus. Iuturna throws Metiscus, Turnus' charioteer, from the chariot, and, in disguise, she takes his place ensuring that they keep clear of Aeneas, who continues to track (vestigat 482) his man and call out aloud to him. Each time he traces Turnus, Iuturna causes him to lose him again. Aeneas reacts as follows:-

"heu, quid agat? vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu,
diversaeque vocant animum in contraria curae."
(486-7).

Aeneas' dilemma is expressed indirectly by free indirect speech (style indirect libre), because the sentiments expressed do not emphasise his pietas. In Book 12, as elsewhere, the direct speeches of Aeneas essentially underline his pietas: the hero's curae here, as he attempts in vain to catch Turnus, do not fit into this category.³¹

²⁹ See 482, 557, 588.

³⁰ On the imagery of the hunt, see Putnam, 171f. and J.R. Dunkle, "The Hunter and Hunting in the Aeneid" Ramus 2 (1973) 127-42.

³¹ Cf. 4,283; 4,534; 10,675; 12,637; and discussion above, p. 195ff.

During his pursuit of Turnus, Aeneas is attacked by Messapus (488ff.) and has his helmet-peak knocked off his head. He reacts as follows:-

"tum vero adsurgunt irae, insidiisque subactus,
diversos ubi sensit equos currumque referri,
multa Iovem et laesi testatus foederis aras
iam tandem invadit medios et Marte secundo
terribilis saevam nullo discrimine caedem
suscitat, irarumque omnis effundit habenas."
(494-9).

This passage too underlines Aeneas' pius furor.³² He inflicts saevam nullo discrimine caedem and breaks all the bounds of anger (498f.). He does this having often called on Jupiter and the altars of the broken treaty to bear him witness. His pietas is shown in that "for a long time Aeneas has been trying to observe the spirit of the treaty for single combat by attacking only Turnus; but now he yields to battle-fury and attacks indiscriminately".³³ Again we see that pietas and furor co-exist happily in the person of Aeneas. His rage erupts as at 10,510ff.; and as in the earlier case it is shown to be pius furor - rage indiscriminate and brutal, yet applied in such a direction that the progress of fate is advanced.³⁴

³²As did the first description of Aeneas in the twelfth book - 107ff.

³³Williams, ad 497.

³⁴Putnam, 173, describes Aeneas' rage here as "purposeless", referring presumably to nullo discrimine (498). Aeneas' slaughter is indiscriminate but it has purpose in the sense that it helps to bring the issue to a head, to force Turnus to face Aeneas, and, therefore, to further the progress of fate. In this sense, it is the same as his aristeia (10,510-605).

Both Aeneas and Turnus kill many of the enemy and are described, as follows, sweeping through the battle-field:-

"ac velut immissi diversis partibus ignes
arentem in silvam et virgulta sonantia lauro,
aut ubi decursu rapido de montibus altis
dant sonitum spumosi amnes et in aequora currunt
quisque suum populatus iter; non segnius ambo 525
Aeneas Turnusque ruunt per proelia; nunc, nunc
fluctuat ira intus, rumpuntur nescia vinci
pectora, nunc totis in vulnera viribus itur."
(521-8).

The effect that they have on the battle is devastating: they are like fires moving through a dry forest or thickets rustling with laurel and like foaming rivers coming from the mountain-tops and rushing towards the sea.³⁵ The emphasis is on the furor (ignes; spumosi; fluctuat ira intus) of both men (ambo/Aeneas Turnusque), and on the destruction which they leave in their path (quisque suum populatus iter). They have far greater prowess in battle than the ordinary men (arentem in silvam et virgulta sonantia lauro...). Turnus may be inferior in stature to Aeneas (12,216ff.), yet he is still great and powerful, and his effect in battle here is the same. They are both motivated by furor. Aeneas is in a state of pius furor because, in seeking out Turnus to kill him, he helps to advance the progress of fate and also fulfils his duty to Evander. Turnus' furor, originally implanted by Allecto, is impius, because it opposes the progress of fate. Yet whilst

³⁵See above, p.335 n. 27

there are differences in the nature of their furor, Vergil, on this occasion, heightens the heroes' similarity in battle. This is a new technique, for more generally Vergil presents the two men individually and refrains from inclusive descriptions, content to highlight the particular qualities which characterise them. As the single combat finally approaches, he draws the two heroes together by equating their battle-exploits. Thus, the reader is being prepared for the single combat which, although never an even match, has at least a semblance of equality³⁶ in that, compared with the ordinary warrior, Aeneas and Turnus are both great.

As the battle continues, Venus proceeds to inspire Aeneas with the thought of attacking the city (554ff.). Whilst he is tracking (vestigans 557) Turnus, he catches sight of the undisturbed city and is fired towards a greater battle (557ff.). He addresses his captains as follows:-

"ne qua meis esto dictis mora, Iuppiter hac stat,	565
neu quis ob inceptum subitum mihi segnior ito.	
urbem hodie, causam belli, regna ipsa Latini,	
ni frenum accipere et victi parere fatentur,	
eruam et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam.	
scilicet expectem libeat dum proelia Turno	570
nostra pati rursusque velit concurrere victus?	
hoc caput, o cives, haec belli summa nefandi.	
ferte faces propere foedusque reposcite flammis."	
(565-73).	

³⁶Turnus was greater in stature than Pallas (10,445ff.) yet the build-up to their single combat (10,362ff.) presented the latter as a great hero in his own right. Turnus is likened to a lion (10,454) and Pallas to a bull (10,455). It is not an even match but Pallas has the aggression of a bull in battle and is capable of defending himself. See above, p. 63ff.

The speech underlines Aeneas' pius furor. He has no doubts that Jupiter supports his course (pietas).³⁷ Similarly, he feels that he has acted rightly and that the Rutuli are the cause of the war (567). The enemy must, therefore, as a result of their defeat, agree to receive the yoke (frenum 568) and to obey Trojan will. If they do not, Aeneas will raze the city. He sees no reason why he should await Turnus' pleasure for single combat, especially after the Rutulian has already been defeated (victus 571) in battle.³⁸ Aeneas regards the war as heinous (nefandi 572) but his action here will bring it to a head. He calls on his men to bring faces to reimpose the treaty.³⁹

Aeneas' pietas centres on his awareness that he follows a course ordained by Jupiter and that he seeks to reimpose the treaty by which he abided all along and over which he swore a sacred oath. He believes, in short, that his course of action is just and right. His furor complements his pietas and can be seen in his determination, unless the enemy submit, to show no mercy to the city but to raze it to the ground. His intention here is in contrast to his stated vow (12,187ff.) but Aeneas' point (573) is that the Rutuli broke the

³⁷Cf. 8,532ff. and 12,109ff. Of course, Aeneas is right in his belief in Jupiter's support; see 12,793ff. and the role of the Dira in Turnus' defeat, esp. 914.

³⁸See Williams, ad 571, "Aeneas interprets Turnus' avoidance of single combat as a defeat".

³⁹Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Aeneas' speech to Il. 8,489-542 in which Hector is prevented by nightfall from attacking and destroying the ships but will try again in the morning. As a parallel, it is closer to Turnus' address to his men at 9,128-58.

treaty⁴⁰, and, therefore, he is entitled to make them pay a heavy price for doing so. Aeneas' use of fire here parallels that of Turnus at 9,69ff. and 535ff., and helps to convey his furor; Vergil externalises the fire that lies within Aeneas himself.

They begin the attack on the city and Vergil again concentrates on Aeneas:-

"ipse inter primos dextram sub moenia tendit
Aeneas, magnaue incusat voce Latinum
testaturque deos iterum se ad proelia cogi,
bis iam Italos hostis, haec altera foedera rumpi."
(579-82).

Here again Vergil stresses Aeneas' pietas as he calls the gods to witness that again he is compelled to battle, that for a second time the Italians are his enemy and that another treaty has been broken. Essentially, these points reiterate indirectly those made in the speech (565ff.): that he acts out of awareness of his duty to gods and men to reimpose the treaty, and, thereafter, to fight and kill Turnus. The Latins attempt to defend their city and rush to and fro in terror of those outside (584-92).

⁴⁰This, of course, is true, but they do so as a pious response to the portent of Iuturna who purposely dupes them. The great difference is in the reactions of Aeneas (311ff.) and Turnus (324ff.) to the breaking of the treaty. The former had felt certain of victory in single combat (12,107-12), whereas the latter seemed to anticipate defeat (12,74 and 216-21). Vergil is careful to show that Turnus does not break the treaty in the first place, although he profits by it in that he sees possible escape from imminent death. Aeneas as he is presented would never break a treaty (fides/pietas), but his options are uncomplicated by any anticipation of defeat or death.

Vergil now concentrates on the fortune of the Italians (593ff.).⁴¹ Amata commits suicide (595ff.), thinking that Turnus is dead. The doleful sounds from the city reach Turnus' ears (617ff.) and he decides to return there and face Aeneas (632ff.), although encouraged otherwise by Iuturna (625ff.). A messenger arrives confirming the news of the queen's death (653ff.), making Turnus all the more determined to face Aeneas (676ff.). He returns to the scene and tells his men to lay down their weapons (693ff.). Aeneas hears Turnus' name and reacts as follows:-

"at pater Aeneas audito nomine Turni
deserit et muros et summas deserit arces
praecipitatque moras omnis, opera omnia rumpit
laetitia exsultans horrendumque intonat armis:
quantus Athos aut quantus Eryx aut ipse coruscis
cum fremit illicibus quantus gaudetque nivali
vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras."
(697-703).

The simile conveys the great stature of Aeneas (701ff.) like that of Athos, Eryx or Appenninus. Aeneas is joyful⁴² (like the rejoicing Appenninus "as he towers high"...⁴³), because he sees at last that he will face Turnus and fulfil his fate. Aeneas' joy has been contrasted with the terror of Turnus at the prospect of

⁴¹This episode is discussed above, p. 105ff.

⁴²For Aeneas' joy as he prepares for a kill in battle, cf. 10,787; 10,874; 12,109. See also above, p.215 n.10.

⁴³Williams, ad 701f.

single combat.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the thundering of Appenninus resembles that of Aeneas as he thunders terribly (intonat).⁴⁵ The connection between the two is reinforced by repetition of pater at 697 and 703.

All eyes now turn on Aeneas and Turnus. Latinus himself is amazed at the sight of these two huge men (ingentis 708) meeting each other and deciding the issue with the sword (707ff.). When the field is clear they commence battle (710ff.): the earth gives a groan as they fight like two bulls fighting for the command of the herd (715ff.). The combat here is pictured as an even contest, although reference to Jupiter's scales⁴⁶ induces us to anticipate a quick conclusion (725ff.). Turnus springs forward (728ff.), but his sword snaps and he is forced to flee from Aeneas. The contest is now far from even:-

"insequitur trepidique pedem pede fervidus urget:
inclusum veluti si quando flumine nactus
cervum aut puniceae saeptum formidine pennae
venator cursu canis et latratibus instat;
ille autem insidiis et ripa territus alta
mille fugit refugitque vias, at vividus Umber
haeret hians, iam iamque tenet similisque tenenti
increpuit malis morsuque elusus inani est."

(748-55).

⁴⁴Cf. 12,107ff. (Aeneas' confidence), and 12,74 & 12,216-21 (Turnus' anticipation of defeat).

⁴⁵F. Cairns, "Geography and nationalism in the Aeneid" L.C.M. 2 (1977) 109ff., argues that reference to pater Appenninus (703) expresses the Italianization of Aeneas.

⁴⁶Cf. Il. 22,209ff.; see D. West, G. & R. 21 (1974) 21ff., who compares the deaths of Hector and Turnus and highlights some interesting differences. Reference to Jupiter at 725 complements that at 808ff. and 843ff. when via the Dira he helps to defeat Turnus. Zeus performs no such action in the Iliad.

The simile of the hunting-dog is modelled on Il. 22, 188ff. in which Achilles is likened to a hunting-dog and Hector to the fawn that is chased.⁴⁷ The hunting simile is particularly appropriate in Vergil's episode in that it furthers the hunting motif seen throughout Book 12. Aeneas' furor here is conveyed by his description as fervidus (748).⁴⁸ The hero is in complete control as Turnus runs for his life like a terrified stag.⁴⁹ The Rutulian calls for his sword as he runs but Aeneas continues to press him:-

"Aeneas mortem contra praesensque minatur
exitium, si quisquam adeat, terretque trementis
excisurum urbem minitans et saucius instat."
(760-2).

Aeneas not only threatens (minatur 760) instant death to anyone who helps Turnus by giving him his sword, but also threatens (minitans 762) to destroy the city. The indirect presentation of these threats helps to retain the tempo of the narrative.⁵⁰ Homer uses the same kind of technique at Il. 22,205ff. where Achilles nods his head to his own men as a signal to them not to throw any weapons at Hector in case he himself should be robbed of μέγα κῆδος. Aeneas' threat to destroy the city can be coupled with that at 12,569. In each case his furor is in evidence.

⁴⁷For Vergil's adaptation and enlargement of the Homeric simile see West, (ibid. p.335 n.27) 267ff. and Williams, ad 749f.

⁴⁸For other instances of Aeneas as fervidus see 10,788; 12,951; cf. Turnus at 9,72; 12,325.

⁴⁹As Hector runs for his life when he sees Achilles at Il. 22,136ff. See above, p. 110.

⁵⁰See discussion above, p. 13f.

Aeneas attempts to pull his spear from the olive tree sacred to Faunus⁵¹ (772ff.). Turnus prays to Faunus (777ff.) to hold the spear, which he proceeds to do until Venus releases it (786f.). Iuturna, in the meantime, has given Turnus back his sword (783ff.). Jupiter now questions Juno on her reasons for opposing Aeneas even though he is fated to triumph in Italy (793ff.). He appeals to her to cease her actions and bend to his entreaties. He ends by forbidding her to make further attempts to block Aeneas' path (ulterius temptare veto 806).⁵² Juno agrees (808ff.) to accede to her husband's appeal but asks that the Latins not be forced to change their name nor to become Trojans.⁵³ She seeks that the Italian element be strong in future Roman stock. Jupiter gives his assent to these requests (830ff.). A new people will arise sprung from Italians and Trojans; the Latin language will be spoken. Moreover, the new race will excel all others in pietas. This new design leaves Juno happy, and she joyfully changes her purpose.

⁵¹Note the reference (766-71) to the indiscriminate desecration of the sacred tree by the Trojans so that combat may proceed. For contrasting views on the significance of the reference, see West, (ibid.n. 46) 27 and Boyle, Ramus 1 (1972) 70f.

⁵²Cf. Turnus' plea ulterius ne tende odiis (938). Juno, in response to Jupiter's command, changes her purpose (808ff.), but Aeneas does not (941ff.). The victory of Jupiter is seen in both episodes.

⁵³Buchheit, 133-43, analyses in detail the reconciliation between Jupiter and Juno.

The victory of Jupiter/Fate over Juno/anti-Fate is seen in the goddess's decision to alter her purpose to his wishes. It is further shown in Jupiter's decision to send one of the Dirae to the scene of single combat (843ff.). The task of the Dira is to come upon Iuturna as a signal of Turnus' imminent death (854) but she also weakens Turnus himself (867, 914). She is both a symbol of his imminent death and an assistant in it. She flits about Turnus' face in the shape of a black bird and, as a result, a novus torpor loosens his limbs with fear (867). Iuturna sees the Dira and recognises the significance of her work. She pities her brother and her own lot - forced by her immortality to mourn him forever (872-84).⁵⁴

Aeneas now proceeds to move in for the kill:-

"Aeneas instat contra telumque coruscat
ingens arboreum, et saevo sic pectore fatur:
'quae nunc deinde mora est? aut quid iam, Turne,
retractas?

non cursu, saevis certandum est comminus armis. 890
verte omnis tete in facies et contrahe quidquid
sive animis sive arte vales; opta ardua pennis
astra sequi clausumve cava te condere terra."
(887-93).

This is the only occasion in the poem when Aeneas addresses Turnus face-to-face by name. His furor is underlined by the savage manner (saevo...pectore 888)⁵⁵ in which the speech is uttered. It is a speech which

⁵⁴For a discussion of the reaction of Turnus and Iuturna to the Dira, see above, p. 112ff.

⁵⁵Cf. 9, 736 and 740 where prior to their combat Pandarus speaks fervidus ira and Turnus replies sedato pectore; see discussion above, p. 54ff.

has all the qualities to be expected from Homer's heroes in the Iliad.⁵⁶ He taunts his man - what is the delay now? and why does he draw back? (889). The battle must be fought hand to hand (890). Even if Turnus were to change his shape, like Proteus, he would not escape Aeneas' clutches. Turnus, in reply (894f.), realises that Jupiter is his enemy and this is his only fear.⁵⁷ After saying this, the Rutulian attempts to lift a huge stone but is unable to do so (894ff.). The Dira denies any successful course (913f.). Aeneas casts the fateful spear (919ff.) which wounds Turnus in the thigh (926) and forces him to sink to the ground. The whole hill reverberates with the shouts of those watching (928ff.). Turnus now appeals to the victor as follows:-

"ille humilis supplexque oculos dextramque precantem 930
 protendens 'equidem merui nec deprecor' inquit;
 'utere sorte tua. miseri te si qua parentis
 tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
 Anchises genitor) Dauni miserere senectae
 et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis, 935
 redde meis. vicisti et victum tendere palmas
 Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx,
 ulterius ne tende odiis.'"

(930-8).

This appeal moves Aeneas to show mercy - the speech has its effect on the hero (938ff.). He then catches sight

⁵⁶Knauer, (indices) ad loc., compares Il. 22,261-72 where Achilles abuses Hector prior to hurling a spear.

⁵⁷The tragedy of Turnus is anchored on his delusion that Jupiter actually supports him in the war against the Trojans; on this, see above, p. 33ff.

of the baldric which Turnus took⁵⁸ from Pallas' body (941ff.). The poem ends as follows:-

"ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris 945
 exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
 terribilis: 'tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum
 eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
 immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'
 hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit 950
 fervidus. ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
 vitaeque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras."
 (945-52).

In Book 10, Magus as supplex (523) clasps Aeneas by the knees and prays by Anchises' spirit and the hope of growing Iulus that Aeneas will spare his life for his own father and son (524ff.). Aeneas replies (10,531ff.) that the killing of Pallas makes such mercy impossible. Turnus, too, is supplex (12,930) and holds out his hand in a plea for mercy. Like Magus, Turnus thinks of his own father. Moreover, in the hope of gaining mercy, Turnus, like Magus, urges Aeneas to think of his own father Anchises. The sight of Turnus humiliated and begging for his life is made more pitiful by our knowledge that before his death he lives out his greatest fear.⁵⁹ On the brink of death he thinks of his father, concedes Lavinia to Aeneas, and urges the victor not to carry his hatred further. Our pity rests with the tragic figure of Turnus largely because Vergil narrates the

⁵⁸10,495ff.

⁵⁹"ille mihi ante alios fortunatusque laborum
 egregiusque animi, qui, ne quid tale videret,
 procubuit moriens et humum semel ore momordit."
 (11,416-8).

story from "the point of view of the defeated".⁶⁰ The reader is aware that Turnus is fated to die⁶¹ but nonetheless hopes that somehow his death may be avoided. One of the paradoxes at the end of the poem is that we regret the progress of fate and seek to see Turnus survive against all the odds. In this sense we follow what might be called a Iunonian course.

Turnus' plea, unlike that of Magus, has an effect on the hero. Aeneas holds back the blow (938ff.) and, for the first time since the killing of Pallas, he has second thoughts about killing Turnus. It is a momentary hesitation, but an important one dramatically, in that it marks the climax of the Iliadic Aeneid. The reason for Aeneas' hesitation is not made completely clear by Vergil. It is stated that more and more (iam iamque 940) Turnus' speech began to deflect him from his intended course. Given the general portrayal of Aeneas in the poem as a man who has deep filial and paternal love, it is reasonable to infer that his motivation for restraining his hand is the thought of his father Anchises.⁶² Turnus in his speech (933f.) plays upon the victor's love of his father (pietas). Clementia might well have been expected of Aeneas by a Roman audience and, for a moment at least, it is considered.

⁶⁰Beare, P.V.S. 4 (1964-5) 18ff.

⁶¹10,467ff.; 10,606ff.; 12,793ff.; 12,843ff.

⁶²We might compare Aeneas' response to the visage of the dying Lausus at 10,821ff. Servius, ad 940, makes the perceptive comment that Aeneas is pious both in his consideration of mercy and in his killing of Turnus.

Yet just when it seems possible that mercy might be shown, Aeneas catches sight of the baldric of Pallas now being worn by Turnus. He becomes fired with anger (furiis accensus et ira/ terribilis 946f.). He makes it clear that Turnus will not be snatched from him wearing the spoils of his people (947f.). He emphasises the point that it is Pallas who immolates him and takes vengeance (948f.). In his rage (fervidus 951), he buries his sword into Turnus' breast. The latter's life with a groan passed complaining to the shades below (951f.).

Before analysing the end of the poem and critical reaction to it, let us return briefly to some earlier episodes. We saw⁶³ that on the night of Troy's collapse, which is told in Book 2, Aeneas sees Helen lurking close to Vesta's shrine and decides to kill her (567ff.). On the prompting of Venus, however, he leaves Helen and continues on his way. We saw that it is a mistake to see the episode as the beginning of "Aeneas's acquisition of true rational courage".⁶⁴ In this context, it was argued that Aeneas' statement at Carthage - arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis (2,314) - is not the utterance of a man who has learnt to be always rational in battle, but is a basic truth about man's nature in war. As a statement of Aeneas' nature it is as true at the end of the poem as it was in the beginning; for there are clear similarities in the Helen episode and the killing of Turnus. In each case, Aeneas' consideration

⁶³See above, p. 155ff.

⁶⁴R. Bond, Prudentia 6 (1974) 76.

to preserve life (his family 2,559ff./Turnus 12,938ff.) is forgotten or overturned as he catches sight of somebody (Helen) and something (the baldric) which causes his fury to erupt. Thus, in the context of Aeneas' behaviour in a war-situation, the balteus and Helen perform a similar function. In each case the sight suddenly attracts his attention and drives him into furor; he speaks of what Helen (2,577ff.) and Turnus (12,947ff.) have done to his own people.⁶⁵

The fact that Aeneas does not kill Helen is testimony, not to any newly acquired sense of ratio, but to Venus' admonition that what he attempts to do is without purpose.⁶⁶ Aeneas is impius in the Helen episode, not because in his furor he decides to kill her, but because the direction of that proposed act is in opposition to the will of fate. Venus interferes for this reason: because Aeneas must be shown that it is a futile act and that his future lies elsewhere. The same kind of divine admonition is given to him at Carthage, because there too his actions hinder the progress of fate. The intervention of Venus (2,589ff.) and those of Mercury (4,265ff. and 4,560ff.)⁶⁷ are designed to ensure that Aeneas continues in the right or fated direction. When Aeneas flies into a terrible rage after Pallas' death (10,510-605) the same factors do not apply. He is in a state of

⁶⁵Pallas, of course, is not a Trojan, although we may include him as one on the strength of Aeneas' use of meorum at 12,947.

⁶⁶See esp. 2,594f. and above, p. 162ff.

⁶⁷Note, too, Jupiter's speech 4,223ff. That Aeneas fights against Jupiter at Troy is shown by the reference at 2,617f.

pius furor⁶⁸ because his actions are aligned with fate. No benevolent deity interferes there because in his slaughter of the enemy he furthers the progress of fate.⁶⁹ The immortals are no more interested in the savagery of his actions⁷⁰ than was Venus in the Helen episode: it is the direction of these actions that concerns them. Thus, pietas can be divorced from the brutality of actions.

The pietas of Aeneas in killing Turnus in the final scene of the poem is clearer still. The same factors exist as in the aristeia of Book 10: Aeneas not only fulfils an obligation to Evander, but also, in defeating and killing Turnus, helps to further the progress of fate. This fact is shown by the assistance rendered to Aeneas by the Dira acting as the agent of Jupiter. She is not only an omen of Turnus' forthcoming death, but is also an active helper in bringing that death about (867, 914). Her role emphasises the pietas of Aeneas' course as much as the roles of Venus (2,589ff.) and Mercury (4,265ff. and 4,560ff.) had stressed the impietas of his behaviour at Troy and Carthage. In killing Turnus, Aeneas brings to fruition both the Rutulian's fate and his own.

Let us, therefore, before concluding, test this interpretation against the views of two influential

⁶⁸Note pius 10,591, discussed above, p. 300ff.

⁶⁹The conversation between Jupiter and Juno (10,606ff.) which follows the slaughter helps to make this clear. Jupiter has a similar function at 12,791ff.

⁷⁰Contrast Warde Fowler's view, The Death of Turnus (Oxford, 1919) 150 n.1.

American critics of recent times.⁷¹ The first of these, M.C.J. Putnam, argues that Aeneas takes on the mantle of Turnus and becomes the epitome of impius furor - "...Aeneas becomes himself impius furor, as rage wins the day over moderation, disintegration defeats order..."⁷² His argument is that "...Aeneas, by bringing death to Turnus, becomes a victim of that very unreason which hitherto he had done his best to shun".⁷³ There are two main problems with this view. The first is that nowhere, to my knowledge, in the poem does Aeneas attempt to restrain himself from violence in the war-situation.⁷⁴ On the contrary, the reverse applies as he displays consistent traits of irrational violence.⁷⁵ Some of his acts rank amongst the most inhumane in the poem.⁷⁶ Against this background, the killing of Turnus should be seen as standard treatment for the conquered in battle - particularly after the death of Pallas. On the one occasion that Aeneas does call on his men to contain their anger⁷⁷, it is made perfectly clear that

⁷¹For some other views on the killing of Turnus, see Jackson Knight, 142; A.H.F. Thornton, "The Last Scene of the Aeneid" G & R 22 (1953) 82-4; Binder, 146.

⁷²Putnam, 193f.

⁷³Ibid. p.162.

⁷⁴See above, p.164 n.41.

⁷⁵In saying this, I think specifically of his role in war - Books 2, 10, 11 and 12.

⁷⁶10, 510-605; 11, 81f.

⁷⁷12, 311ff.

this is done so that he can retain his opportunity to kill Turnus. His men must restrain their anger so that Aeneas can give vent to his. After Pallas' death there is never any doubt that Aeneas will kill Turnus. The momentary consideration of mercy (12,938ff.) conflicts with the reader's understanding of Aeneas' intentions⁷⁸ as they are presented throughout the last three books.⁷⁹ Given Aeneas' nature and his determination to kill Turnus, the death blow is neither out of character nor a surprise. The second problem with Putnam's interpretation is his assumption that furor is necessarily impius. As we have seen, there is nothing in the text to support this view. The complicity of Jupiter in the defeat of Turnus emphasises the pietas of Aeneas' furor. The text leaves us in no doubt whatever that at the end of the poem Aeneas exhibits irrational violence (furor)⁸⁰, but there is no justification at all for the view that he is impius because of it.

The same two misconceptions lie at the heart of a contrasting, yet no less influential, interpretation. Brooks Otis⁸¹ argues that "Aeneas thus stands for a new idea in history, the idea that violentia and superbia

⁷⁸11,116ff.; 12,107ff.; 12,317; 12,466f. etc.

⁷⁹Contrast Williams, ad 887f., "But the fact remains that the reader expects Aeneas to show mercy and is profoundly disquieted when he does not".

⁸⁰Note the emphasis at the beginning of alternate lines, 945ff. - ille (945)...terribilis (947)...immolat (949) ...fervidus (951); see also 946f. The emphasis that Vergil places on Aeneas' furor here should not be underestimated.

⁸¹Otis, 382.

can be controlled, that a just imperium can be established, that universal peace can be a fact as well as an ideal." This view of Aeneas as the moral champion of pietas against furor, of right against wrong, is even more difficult to justify from the text. Otis supports his interpretation by concentrating on detail which suits his thesis at the expense of that which does not. No mention is made of Aeneas' furor (945ff.), although Vergil gives emphasis to it. Otis' embarrassment in response to the end of the Aeneid results from the assumption that furor is necessarily impius and therefore unsuitable for pious Aeneas. It is for this reason that he scrupulously avoids reference to Aeneas' furor at 945ff.: "it is really the Dira, not Aeneas, that defeats Turnus"⁸²; but it is not the Dira that kills him.

Whilst actively assisting in the defeat of Turnus, the Dira also symbolises the will of Jupiter/Fata. The decision to kill him, however, belongs to Aeneas. It is a decision made in alignment with, though independent of, the fated will. It is presented notably as a human decision, with the emphasis on natural violent rage rather than noble aspirations for the future. We should not question the justice of Aeneas' act: Turnus killed Pallas and thus Aeneas has every right in his own terms to kill Turnus. Such is the law of the battlefield - the defeated have no right to mercy. We accept this law, often without question, throughout the poem, but in Turnus' case Vergil makes us feel a strong sense of loss which in turn has led many to question the morality

⁸²Ibid., 380.

and significance of Aeneas' act. The poem could have been ended with Turnus being spared by an act of mercy from Aeneas: but such a conclusion would have conflicted seriously with the concept of fate (as it is expressed throughout the poem) and with the hero's nature in war (nec sat rationis in armis). We learnt at the beginning that Aeneas was a man distinguished by his pietas (insignem pietate virum 1,10) and at the end this is also true, although to the exclusion of ratio, clementia and humanitas. The paradox at the end of the Aeneid is that, only by killing Turnus and denying him mercy and humanity, can Aeneas, by furthering the progress of fate, be described as pius.

Conclusion

To characterise Turnus and Aeneas, Vergil uses complex and deliberate methods which differ enormously from those of Homer in the Iliad and Odyssey. This thesis has sought to identify, against the Homeric background, some of the main techniques used by Vergil. Clearly, one of the most significant differences between the poets is Vergil's use of two methods - direct and indirect - to present Aeneas and Turnus in different ways at particular points in the poem. It is all the more interesting that, as we have seen, Vergil seems to follow specific criteria for his choice of method. We saw that Vergil is in a dilemma in the characterisation of Turnus, for he desires that the Rutulian be both a prime mover in the war against the Trojans as well as the poem's final tragic hero.¹ If Turnus, after his infection by Allecto, had been characterised from Book 7 to Book 12 as a violent savage, then the reader would respond to the Rutulian's death with positive relief rather than a sense of regret. The last thing that Vergil wants is to blacken the character of Turnus who must, therefore, be given noble qualities like those of Homer's Hector, whilst also being depicted as one consumed with

¹ See above, p.30ff.

demonic fury. Vergil circumvents his dilemma by conveying the more rational, more noble side of Turnus' character by his direct method and at the same time presenting indirectly his demonic furor. In Turnus' case there are two concurrent strands of characterisation which convey a composite picture of the hero's nature. Not until Book 12, by which time Turnus' heroic stature has been firmly established, does Vergil focus, to the full extent, in both speech and narrative, on the Rutulian's irrational rage. Thus, we see that Vergil has important and specific reasons for using two methods of characterisation to depict Turnus.

The decisions of Aeneas to leave Dido (Book 4) and to kill Turnus (Book 12) signify not only the victory of pietas over impius furor, but also that of pietas over humanitas. In theory, at least, Aeneas could have preserved both lives by staying with Dido and by sparing Turnus; but in so doing he would have forfeited his pietas - the fundamental Roman ideal that characterises him throughout. The conflict in the Aeneid between pietas and humanitas is a central motif which has received comparatively little attention in the critical works. At Carthage, Aeneas' pietas, although severely tested, prevails over his humanitas, but, as we saw,² the reverse applies

²See above, p.255

in his dream - experience of Book 6. At the end of the poem, the competing claim of mercy and humanity is briefly considered by Aeneas, but again his pietas comes to the fore and he kills Turnus.

One effect of this conflict between pietas and humanitas has been to polarise critical interpretations of the poem. It might be argued that religious men have, on the whole, found Aeneas a far more appealing figure and the Aeneid a far more satisfying poem than have the humanists. Aeneas' killing of Turnus, however, has caused almost universal anguish. The difficulty for the modern reader, who tends to associate piety and humanity closely together, is to grasp the fact that pietas in the Aeneid can result from such an inhuman act as the slaying of Turnus. To some degree, Vergil's methods of characterising his main heroes lead us towards a subjective response. Homer ensures that, at the end of the Iliad, our sympathy rests with both Achilles and Priam. The conclusion of the Iliad is that the lot of man is a tragic, sorrowful one. Yet there is a mood of reconciliation at the end of both Homeric poems in which the gods, who act with human interests at heart, have a significant role.³ The ending of the Aeneid is markedly different. Vergil denies the reader a close rapport with Aeneas throughout much of the poem by underlining only one dimension of his

³Il. 24,329ff.(etc); Od. 24,526ff.

character. The purpose of Vergil's judicious use of the two methods to characterise Aeneas is not only to project the hero forcefully as an exemplum of pietas, an ideal Roman, but also, to some extent, to dehumanise him in the process. Conversely, Vergil scrupulously ensures that the reader has great sympathy for the tragic victims in the poem. Vergil plays the one against the other. Unlike the Homeric poems, the Aeneid contains no mood of reconciliation on the human level at the end, because Vergil's gods commit an act which the reader has cause to regret. By mobilising our sympathy for the victim against the victor, and by showing us, with full horror, the gods' part in the final workings of fate, Vergil causes us to confront the inhumanity of the universe in which the Aeneid takes place.

Appendix 1

Comparative numerical analyses of the speeches¹ in the Iliad, Odyssey and Aeneid, and particularly those of the protagonists in them, showed the following results:-

Iliad

Total no. of lines	- 15,693
Total no. of speeches	- 677
Total no. of lines of speeches	- 7,054 (45%)

Odyssey²

Total no. of lines	- 12,110
Total no. of speeches	- 639
Total no. of lines of speeches	- 6,833 (56%)

Aeneid²

Total no. of lines	- 9,883
Total no. of speeches	- 333
Total no. of lines of speeches	- 3,667 (37%)

¹Figures for the Iliad and Odyssey are my own, whilst those for the Aeneid are from Highet, 302f.

²The long narrations of Odysseus (Od. 9,10,11,12) and Aeneas (Aen. 2,3) are not listed above as direct speeches, whereas those speeches within them are included.

These figures show that Homer has far greater reliance on the direct speech in his poems than does Vergil in his. Accordingly, Homer's heroes are projected more prominently into the dramatic spotlight than is Vergil's hero. Recorded below are the numbers of lines of direct speech uttered by each hero as a percentage of the total number of lines in which they appear.

Achilles (Iliad)

962 lines out of 7,410 (Achilles does not appear in Books 2,3,4,5,6,7,8,10,12,13,14,15 and 17); 13%

Odysseus (Odyssey)³

1732 lines out of 9,588 (Odysseus does not appear in Books 1,2,3,4,15 (1-300)); 18%

Aeneas (Aeneid)³

527 lines out of 9,018 (Aeneas does not appear in Book 9); 6%

These figures show that for every line of direct speech that Aeneas utters, Achilles utters two lines and Odysseus three.⁴ Vergil's preference for using

³Excluding their respective long narrations but including their speeches within them. It is a notable difference in these long narrations that Odysseus makes many more autobiographical references than does Aeneas; see above, p.171ff. and below, p. 365f.

⁴It is worth noting that as Odysseus is more verbose in the Odyssey than is Achilles in the Iliad, so Aeneas is more verbose in the Odyssean Aeneid than the Iliadic half of the poem.

indirect methods to characterise Aeneas is reflected clearly in these figures. In my view, the comparative taciturnity on Aeneas' part is one of the major reasons for the long held view that he is a shadow of Homer's Achilles and Odysseus.⁵

⁵See above, p.11 n.20

Appendix 2 (See above, p.171ff.)

<u>Odyssey</u>	9	<u>Odyssey</u>	10
1. 172-6	Odysseus	1. 38-45	<u>ἑταῖροι</u>
2. 252-5	Polyphemus	2. 64-6	Aiolus' family
3. 259-71	Od.	3. 68-9	Od.
4. 273-80	Poly.	4. 72-5	Aiolus
5. 283-6	Od.	5.174-7	Od.
6. 347-52	Od.	6.189-97	Od.
7. 355-9	Poly.	7.226-8	Polites
8. 364-7	Od.	8.251-60	Eurylochus
9. 369-70	Poly.	9.266-9	Euryl.
10.403-6	Cyclopes	10.271-3	Od.
11.408	Poly.	11.281-301	Hermes
12.410-12	Cyclopes	12.320	Circe
13.447-60	Poly.	13.325-35	Circe
14.475-9	Od.	14.337-44	Od.
15.494-9	<u>ἑταῖρος</u>	15.378-81	Circe
16.502-5	Od.	16.383-7	Od.
17.507-21	Poly.	17.401-5	Circe
18.523-5	Od.	18.419-21	<u>ἑταῖροι</u>
19.528-35	Poly.	19.423-7	Od.
		20.431-7	Euryl
		21.443-5	<u>ἑταῖροι</u>
		22.456-65	Circe
		23.472-4	<u>ἑταῖροι</u>
		24.483-6	Od.
		25.488-95	Circe
		26.501-2	Od.
		27.504-40	Circe
		28.548-9	Od.
		29.562-5	Od.
<u>Odyssey</u>	12		
1. 21-7	Circe		
2. 37-110	Circe		
3. 112-114	Od.		
4. 116-41	Circe		
5. 154-64	Od.		
6. 184-91	Sirens		
7. 208-21	Od.		
8. 271-6	Od.		
9. 279-93	Euryl.		
10.297-302	Od.		
11.320-3	Od.		
12.340-51	Euryl.		
13.371-3	Od.		
14.377-83	Hyperion		
15.385-8	Zeus		

Aeneid 3

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|--------------|
| 1. | 41-6 | Polydorus |
| 2. | 85-9 | Aeneas |
| 3. | 94-8 | Apollo |
| 4. | 103-117 | Anchises |
| 5. | 154-171 | Penates |
| 6. | 182-8 | Anchises |
| 7. | 247-57 | Celaeno |
| 8. | 265-6 | Anchises |
| 9. | 310-2 | Andromache |
| 10. | 315-9 | Aeneas |
| 11. | 321-43 | Androm. |
| 12. | 359-68 | Aeneas |
| 13. | 374-462 | Helenus |
| 14. | 475-81 | Helenus |
| 15. | 486-91 | Androm. |
| 16. | 493-505 | Aeneas |
| 17. | 528-9 | Anch. |
| 18. | 539-43 | Anch. |
| 19. | 558-60 | Anch. |
| 20. | 599-606 and 613-54 | Achaemenides |

In Od. 9 Odysseus utters 8 speeches - 44 lines

In Od. 10 " " 11 " - 48 "

In Od. 12 " " 7 " - 47 "

In Aen. 3 Aeneas " 4 " - 33 "

Od. 9 Odysseus' 44 lines out of 114 lines of direct
speech

Od. 10 " 48 " " " 193 " " " speech

Od. 12 " 47 " " " 200 " " " speech

Aen. 3 Aeneas' 33 " " " 281 " " " speech

First Person Singular in Od.9,10 and 12 and Aen.3

<u>Od.</u> 9	The F.P.S. is used 53 times out of 437 lines of narrative							
<u>Od.</u> 10	"	"	"	"	61	"	"	380 lines of narrative
<u>Od.</u> 12	"	"	"	"	53	"	"	263 lines of narrative
Aen.3	"	"	"	"	32	"	"	437 lines of narrative

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