

KILLING TURNUS: A READING OF AENEAS, MAN OF ACTION

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As repeatedly reiterated, Aeneas' destiny is to found Rome, yet he frequently ignores said mission, choosing instead to live and act in the present. In the *Aeneid*, how do we reconcile human choice in a world where there is a fated plan? Vergil does not want the reader to write off human decision making or human personality as irrelevant due to some sort of divine sphere forcing a preordained fate; rather, there are different levels that the action of the *Aeneid* moves on: The divine (i.e., the mythological, poetic level requiring the action to unfold in accordance with the fated destiny of Rome); the human (i.e., the psychological dimension of characters themselves); and the crucial moments at which the two interact. This dissertation will study Vergil's multiple track arrangement to demonstrate how Aeneas' actions the night Troy burns reveal that his personality is not yet ready to accept his mission and act in accordance with the poetic level action of the poem. Had Aeneas been ready and willing to flee, Hector's urging would have proven the ideal catalyst for doing so; instead, here we have the fated mission not in sync with human disposition.

Attention will then focus upon how Aeneas, as well as to a certain degree his mother Venus, has to develop from a figure who lives and acts in the present to the point where he can work in accordance with his destined, future oriented assignment. This moment occurs upon receiving his new armor in book viii, gifts whose images Aeneas does not understand but at whose martial exploits he stands in awe, for Aeneas is a hero whose militancy and need for action

stands as, if not the dominating, then at least a highly dominate aspect of his complex personality. Carrying the imagery of Rome – a civilization whose greatness will be defined by the actions of her heroes – on his shoulders, Aeneas enters the heat of battle satisfying his personal need to act while simultaneously completing his heavenly mission.

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PREFACE

Academically, I spent the 2011-2012 fall and spring semester reading the poem in seminar under Dr. H.-P. Stahl, who, himself working on a manuscript on the *Aeneid*, had to decline to stand on my committee fearing concerns about having access to unpublished work on Vergil. I generally tend to align with Dr. Stahl approach to the epic, although my interpretation veers from his in a number of points and is a bit less stringent and authoritative in many of the points I make – whether that is good or bad, I suppose, will be left to future critics.

Fortunately, Dr. D. Mark Possanza, chair of Classics as well as the department's reigning Latinist, agreed to oversee my project. To him, I am eternal thankful. Similarly, I wish to express the most sincerely thanks to my readers, Drs. Harry C. Avery and Nicholas F. Jones of the Classics Department of the University of Pittsburgh and Dr. Dennis O. Looney, on sabbatical from Pitt this year while acting as the Director of Programs and ADFL for the Modern Language Association in New York City.

I wrote the majority of this dissertation while carrying a fairly substantial teaching load, a fact that caused myself, as well as Dr. Possanza, a good amount of angina concerning its completion. While I did make haste in certain sections, I never cut corners in terms of fully engaging with the text nor did I ever sacrifice quality for quantity. That said, I doubt that this volume is completely without blemish; any faults rest squarely on my own shoulders. While on this topic, two of the major suggestions that were brought up during my defense were stylistic: First, I sometimes write a bit too informally using idiomatic, conversational constructions and language – to which I plead guilty, although I would like to point out that I strive to avoid a

colloquial tone when discussing important, technical concepts and hopefully this volume comes across as first and foremost scholarly and worthy of academia whilst at times less stuffy and even enjoyable to read.

Secondly, the amount of scholarly work on the *Aeneid* is nothing less than voluminous, and in this dissertation I respond to many seminal works and authors with a tendency to begin a paragraph laying out what a previous critic has written, perhaps then working in a contrary point-of-view; although I do take careful pains to then explain my own interpretation, as was noted by my committee, sometimes my own reading on Vergil is hard to discern. I made edits to specific passages that were pointed to my attention; however, I advise the reader to keep in mind that my voice and take is consistently present, even if it might appear not readily obvious upon first glance.

This study is dedicated to the memory of Dr. John Mortimer Hunt Jr., chair of Classics at Villanova University, my friend and teacher who first instilled in me a love of the classics. I, as well as generations of students, will never forget his wit, warmth, and, of course, omnipresent flamboyant red socks. Finally, by way of exit, I would like to call upon a few verses of “An Afterwards,” a 1979 composition by the lyrical Irishman Seamus Heaney written from the perspective of Vergil’s wife, a point of view *mea puella* no doubt felt during my years dissertating:

Why could you not have, oftener, in our years
Unclenched, and come down laughing from your room
And walked the twilight with me and your children
Like that one evening of elder bloom
And hay, when the wild roses were fading?’

Mercury will pejoratively tag Aeneas *uxorius*, “property of your wife” (iv.266). I see no reason that tag cannot be applied to me and I accept it gladly.

Thou that seest Universal
Nature moved by Universal Mind
Thou majestic in thy sadness
at the doubtful doom of human kind

- Alfred, Lord Tennyson, "To Virgil," vv.
21-24 (September 1882)

1.0 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Vergil's Aeneas is a complex, even enigmatic, character. At times in the *Aeneid* he comes across as heroic whilst in other instances villainous; pious yet impious; often self-assured but frequently riddled with self-doubt; a man on a mission who has a tendency to be repeatedly unmindful of said mission; a skilled orator prone to periods of silence; a figure akin to Achilles and Paris simultaneously; a leader who himself is led by external influences; a Trojan destined to become the forefather of the Romans; a father, a son; Creusa's husband, Dido's lover; a public servant with a private life; and perhaps most vexingly – and most importantly for our work here in this study – a self-controlled man who nevertheless rages with fury. This list can go at length with nearly any antonym pairing one can imagine, a tribute to Vergil's consummate artistry and ability to instill in his titular figure a three-dimensionality absent from the earlier epic tradition.¹ Aeneas does not exclusively wear the white hat of the virtuous hero; nor does he exclusively wear the black hat of the antihero. In Aeneas, Vergil presents a man in full. The *Aeneid* intentionally challenges its readers to interpret continually the figure of Aeneas, and then constantly revisit those interpretations in the light of a new aspect of his personality that emerges.

Rather than attempt to study the character of Aeneas writ large, for nearly every emotion and personality trait of the hero could warrant full study in itself,² this study will focus upon Aeneas' personal inclination for action, expressed notably through his time spent

¹ T.E. Page (1894: xvii) disagrees: "Virgil is unhappy in his hero. Compared with Achilles his Aeneas is but the shadow of a man." R.G. Austin (1955: *ad loc.* 393) similarly notes: "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...."

² See V. Panoussi (2002) for a recent bibliography on approaches to the question of character in general in the *Aeneid*.

in battling, his martial personality. Aeneas' warrior instinct stands as a highly dominate aspect – if not the most dominating – of his complex personality. In connection with Aeneas' militarism, throughout the poem the greatness of Rome is defined to result from, and stand in, her military supremacy. It is only through first subduing her neighbors and enemies through battle and conquest that Rome will then be able to instill and enjoy peace in the world.

As repeatedly reiterated throughout the poem, Aeneas' destiny is to set up the conditions in Italy that will allow this future Rome eventually to emerge; however, he habitually ignores said mission, choosing instead to live and act in the present. Over the course of the epic, Aeneas must progress from a state of unwillingness to accept his fated mission to one where he can work in concord with the fated task set upon him whilst simultaneously satisfying a personal desire for action. This moment occurs upon receiving his new armor in book viii, gifts whose images Aeneas does not understand but at whose military exploits he stands in awe. Carrying this imagery of Rome – a civilization whose greatness will be defined by the actions of her heroes – on his shoulders, Aeneas exultingly enters the heat of battle in book x and unleashes himself upon his enemies, the fated mission now in sync with the man.

The last condition Aeneas must bring about for Rome to come about is the defeat of Turnus, the leader of the anti-Trojan contingency in Italy; the first condition is that he give himself over to his mission. When Aeneas makes his entrance into the warring that Turnus started in Italy,³ the hero is no longer fighting in vain, working toward no possible benefit or

³ An admittedly controversial statement that I shall discuss – and justify – in chapter ii.

success – as was the case throughout the night Troy fell when Aeneas, despite being told twice to flee Troy, nevertheless chooses to engage in battle against an insurmountable foe. During that evening, Aeneas' own proclivity for martial exploits clearly manifests itself, only it does not stand in harmony with the greater mission at hand. This aspect of Aeneas' personality has caused a lot of consternation amongst scholars, allowing critics to paint the man, especially in the Iliadic books, as a merciless killer possessed by fury who in light of Pallas' death at the hands of Turnus turns to behavior that is "unbelievably cruel,"⁴ and "morally repugnant."⁵ Commentators then extend this judgment to the final scene of the epic where Aeneas slays the prostrate Turnus despite his having acknowledged defeat and pled for clemency, a scene that scholars have argued intentionally places a general pallor over the actions of Aeneas in the epic. Furthermore, it has been cited as evidence that Vergil was striving to express doubt and aversion toward the nascent Roman Empire recently ushered in under Augustus.

This is not the case; rather, as I shall argue, when Aeneas strikes down Turnus it marks the moment when we have the prototypical Roman leader removing the final obstacle in Italy to establishing the conditions for future Roman greatness. In light of having been overcome, Turnus did not have to die, *per se*, but while Aeneas looks over his vanquished foe it becomes clear to him that carrying out matters to their utmost completion and killing Turnus is a necessary event for Aeneas to gain personal closure through having satisfied his personal desire for revenge. Rome could have been founded without Turnus' death but that would

⁴ R.D. Williams 1987, 70.

⁵ C.J. Mackie 1988, 175.

have run counter to Aeneas' personality and the martial nature that will define Rome's greatness.

In the *Aeneid* a major issue stands as to how do we reconcile human choice in a world where there is a fated plan already in place? Vergil does not want the reader to write off human decision making or human personality as irrelevant due to some sort of heavenly sphere of influence forcing a preordained fate; rather, there are different levels that the action of the *Aeneid* moves on: The divine (i.e., the mythological, poetic level requiring the action to unfold in accordance with the fated destiny of Rome); the human (i.e., the psychological dimension of characters themselves); and the crucial moments at which the two interact. Looking at Aeneas' actions the night Troy burns, had he been ready and willing to flee, Hector's urging would have proven the ideal catalyst for doing so; instead, here we have the fated mission not in sync with human disposition.

The title of this dissertation purports to be a "reading of" Aeneas as he exists as a man of action, by which I mean that while there is no doubt that Vergil regularly alludes to the preceding epic tradition – and Homer with the greatest frequency,⁶ I believe that first and foremost one must look at the text itself within its immediate context. Vergil is a meticulous craftsman when it comes to his verse. What he chooses to include in his poem must be looked at and evaluated *in situ* before turning to the outlying question of why Vergil, e.g., includes this particular simile, which may very well have a poetic forefather. The text and its internal context stand paramount. One can, and should, then look to outside sources to see how Vergil adapts or tweaks his predecessors, if only to garner further evidence to support what Vergil

⁶ On the relationship between Homer and Vergil, in general, and how and when the latter adopts, or echoes, the former, see the seminal study of G.N. Knauer (1964).

had in mind when he wrote the text that he did. To compare the two hypothetical similes to each other without taking into consideration what exactly Vergil is doing in the context of his own text is unsound. I bring this up because there has been a shift in recent years to focus squarely on the text itself, perhaps to acknowledge that Vergil may have had a prior poetic verse in mind, but to concentrate firmly on the Latin almost as if existing in a vacuum. While such an approach arose in response to the prevailing preference of earlier scholars to favor grand statements about the *Aeneid* based on sweeping generalizations – e.g., Turnus must be *alius Achilles*, “the other Achilles,” whom the Sybil of Cumae foreshadows (vi.89)⁷ and that’s that. I think a hybrid approach works well: First and foremost study the Latin itself; but then one can turn to Vergil’s inspiration (and, to a certain degree, for that matter, how later poets will adopt and adjust Vergil).⁸

1.1 CHAPTERS

1.1.1 Chapter Two

Another quandary arises in the question of what to do with direct verbal echoes as they exist within the text.⁹ In passages to be discussed in depth in chapter ii, upon waking up and seeing

⁷ All text of Vergil is as it appears in the 1969 OCT edition of Sir R.A.B. Mynors, unless otherwise noted. When debate arises as to the preferred reading, the *apparatus criticus* will be included; otherwise the text, for all intents and purposes, should be considered sound. All Latin and Greek translations are my own and adhere as closely to the original language as English diction and grammar allows. For spatial consideration, as well as ease of understanding, I have rendered all translations as prose. Since the main focus of this dissertation is the *Aeneid*, that work shall be cited in the standard book-verse format with the introductory “*Aen.*” guidepost omitted. Citations from all other works quoted shall employ the abbreviation system of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd-edition, 1996.

⁸ N.B. the brief appendix on Dante and his relationship with, and understanding of, Vergil, an addendum that exists as a sort of jumping off point for future investigation; a trailer, as it were.

⁹ At times there also will be passages that, although they may not correspond exactly in language, nevertheless hearken back to one another, e.g.: At the end of book 1, queen Dido, enamored with Aeneas and wanting to delay his going off to bed, asks him to recount his travels (i.753-756). Pallas will similarly ask Aeneas to spend the night regaling him with tales of his journey (x.159-162). The latter scene wants the reader to recall Dido’s request and

Troy routed, Aeneas recalls how *arma amens capio*, “being out of my mind I take up arms” (ii.314). Later in the epic Turnus too *arma amens fremit*, “being out of his mind roars for arms” (vii.460). Although similar phrasing is employed, the context of the two verses cannot be more different. To make an assertion that Vergil here wants to blur the distinction between Turnus and Aeneas, i.e., between hero and antihero, quickly proves erroneous when one studies the context of the respective scenes: Aeneas responds to his city being destroyed by an underhandedly invading Greek host; Turnus actively commences war in a Latium currently at peace. At the end of the epic Aeneas slays Turnus *furiis accensus et ira / terribilis*, “flared up with furies and terrible with anger” (xii.945-946). Dido takes her own life *accensa furore*, “enraged with fury” (iv.697). Of course, Dido is mad at her tragic lot caused by her own enflamed, self-generated passion for her Trojan guest.¹⁰ Aeneas rages at the sight of Pallas’s sword-belt, savagely plundered after his unfair death. We have two verbal parallels with very different connotations when considered in their respective contexts.

The above said, continuing to parse this dissertation’s title: It is a reading of “Aeneas.” The second chapter will focus upon Aeneas in *Aeneid* ii – perhaps the most Aeneas-laden book of the epic and the one in which Vergil intended to give his readers a glimpse into the disposition of Aeneas’ character as a warrior. In this illustration of Troy’s ultimate fall,

thereby instill deeper pathos unto Pallas, making his imminent death occur with a tragic aura. I write *deeper* pathos because the scene itself, without having to invoke reminiscence with Dido, is full of poignancy in painting Pallas as emotionally attached to Aeneas and completely placing himself under the Trojan’s tutelage.

¹⁰ Similar to the discussion in the second chapter on Aeneas’ martial inclinations not matching up to the repeated mandates urging flight from Troy, in chapter iii, in connection with our examination of Venus’ approach to her son after he has washed up on Carthage’s shore, we shall passingly discuss the mindset of Dido. The queen stands predisposed to swoon for Aeneas and the intervention of Venus and Cupid stands as a divine mechanism leading Dido down a path that her own personal feelings are wont to walk down. The queen already has a fondness for Aeneas and it is not, as R.G. Austin views the episode (1971: *ad loc.* 657-694), “a psychological attack upon Dido” designed “to show that external forces took away any personal control from Dido.” To use our recurring refrain: The divine level and the personal level are in harmony.

Aeneas is not only the narrator but, once the events surrounding the Trojan horse are related at the book's outset (ii.1-249), the central character who figures in every scene. Over the course of that evening, Aeneas has three otherworldly encounters – a dream of slain Hector; the intervention of Venus; the apparition of recently fallen Creusa – all of which point the hero to flee lost Troy. Despite the first two prophetic injunctions from the celestial realm, Aeneas emerges as a figure who resolves to instead stand in the moment and fight. (At the time of Creusa's appearance, the fighting has concluded decisively in the Greeks' favor and Aeneas has no other option but to sail from Troy.) Aeneas' character is heavily oriented to exploits in the here and now as opposed to being able to look forward to future earned glory,¹¹ the two planes eventually yoking together at the end of book viii. Following our discussion of Aeneas in book ii, we shall then look at Turnus' encounter with Allecto in book vii as evidence for showing how the Fury acts as the deific catalyst for pushing the Rutulian captain into a course of action that he himself was already pondering. In Turnus-Allecto, we have the human sphere and the divine in harmony.

We shall then take a look at a key passage from the third book, the confrontation between the Trojans and the beastly Harpies. This clash will help us further define Aeneas' personality and continue to chart Aeneas' progression throughout the poem from a hero who acts in the present to one who can come to work with his mission to establish Rome.

¹¹ Studying the nature of Aeneas, A.K.L. Michels (1997: 403) comes to the thesis that "Aeneas is concerned, day by day, for the immediate future, and does not see himself as the founder of a city which will rule the world."

1.1.2 Chapter Three

In connection with our thesis of a protagonist who expands his attitude from a subjectively driven character to a figure who can work in accordance with his destiny, we shall spend the third chapter reading the hero through the figure of his mother and how she approaches her son in the opening book of the *Aeneid*.

In connection with Dido and Aeneas' time spent in Carthage, Venus personifies the immediate gratification of desire, the unwillingness to subordinate self-interests to larger goals. Aeneas, as I hope I have been making clear, has similar tendencies. Venus' role in book one is, in part, motivated by a need to protect her son from Juno's rage; however, it could have been more direct and surely not have required Aeneas having a lengthy sojourn – and amorous affair with Dido – in North Africa.¹² But at this point in the epic, Venus wants her son to have peace and companionship in Carthage in full noncooperation with Jupiter's earlier discourse on Aeneas' mission (i.257-296). Such an approach harping on domestic bliss sharply contrasts with the reminders and imagery throughout book i of Aeneas as the man of action who wishes for the opportunity to prove himself via martial exploits (notably during his soliloquy during Juno's storm [i.92-101]) and how others view and define him as a stout hero (as verified by the relief of Juno's temple [i.488-489]; similarly confirmed by the speech of Ilioneus [i.544-545]).

¹² Venus herself has great concern for Aeneas' safety in Carthage and thus sends Cupid down to Dido: *Quippe domum timet ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis; / urit atrox Iuno et sub noctem cura recursat*, "indeed, she fears the unreliable house and the duplicitous Tyrians; savage Juno riles her and her anxiety returns at night" (i.661-662). Might it not have made more sense for Venus to have said to Aeneas: I am your mother, a goddess, and I know you should get to Italy; rendezvous with your men in Dido's palace but beware her flattery and hospitality (n.b. i.670-672) and try to leave as soon as possible?

Along with Venus' approach toward Aeneas in Carthage, we shall give consideration to the personality of Dido and discuss how she and Aeneas come to fall into each other's embrace. Venus coaxes Aeneas into Dido's world; Aeneas, on the other hand, already occupies a place of prominence in Carthage, as evidenced by the frieze on the temple of Juno. In leading Aeneas to Dido, Venus acts in direct violation of Jove's prophecy for her son's future glory in Italy, success that Mercury will come down and relay to Aeneas at Jupiter's instruction. In this intervention of Mercury, we see that Aeneas has quickly settled into life in Africa, having fully immersed himself into working to bring Carthage's nascent self to completion, as is fitting with his here and now oriented personality. Venus is not yet ready to lead her son to the dangers she knows await him once he reaches Latium, just as Aeneas himself still stands unmindful of his Italic destiny.

1.1.3 Chapter Four

In the catabasis of the sixth book, through reasons never fully explained to him, Aeneas learns from his father of his destiny to become the forefather of Rome and her predicted heroes, a future shown to him to exist centered on the bodily forms of empty, idle, inanimate shades. This meeting between Aeneas and Anchises occurs while the latter is surveying a field of spirits who are destined to be the future offspring of the bloodline (vi.679-702), inspecting *fataque fortunasque uirum moresque manusque*, "their fate and fortunes as men, and their ways and martial exploits" (vi.683).¹³ After a brief exposition on the nature of reincarnation (vi.703-751), Anchises leads his son to a knoll and points out the souls awaiting rebirth who will

¹³ I am translating *manus* here per the Conington-Nettleship 1871, *ad loc.*

build the glory of Rome (vi.752-892), a parade that commences with Silvius, the second ruler of Alba Longa, a youth who appears leaning on *pura hasta*, “a spear without an iron tip” (vi.760), that is, a totem given to young men on their first military success, bestowed on the occasion of the celebration of a triumph.¹⁴ The initial scenes of both Aeneas meeting Anchises and Anchises’ own exposition on the future greatness in Italy are defined in terms of military valor. This theme will grow even more apparent as the parade of heroes progresses.

Aeneas slays Turnus not exclusively out of any sort of moral obligation,¹⁵ but in part because humans are indeed “imprisoned blind” in their bodies as if in a “sightless dungeon,” *clausae tenebris et carcere caeco* (vi.734). Due to this corporeal nature, humans are by definition passion ridden. As Anchises will declare, without bodies humans would by nature turn to *auras*, “the heavenly air from which they have sprung” (vi.733),¹⁶ but are in reality weighed down by their fleshy shells. For Aeneas not to have acted as he did would have equated him to *falsum insomnium*, “a false dream” (vi.896), to have become the very thing he supposedly became at the end of his journey to the underworld when he exits cryptically through the Gates of False Dreams (vi.893-898).

Aeneas historically emerges as the progenitor of the dream that will be Rome, as we well know, bringing to fruition Jove’s prophecy in the epic’s first book (i.257-296). Similarly, the vision of future greatness Anchises recounts is shepherded into reality by the action of

¹⁴ Prop. 5.3.68; Suet. *Claud.* 28.1.

¹⁵ Which is not to say that a moral obligation does not exist; it does via the surrogate parental role Evander entrusts unto Aeneas for his son Pallas. The question of the justness of Aeneas’ slaying Turnus is, of course, a central question in the poem, as well as a course of study in its own right. As shall be made evident in my work on Aeneas’ vision of Hector and its juxtaposition with Turnus’ visit from Allecto, I will periodically touch upon this central issue but only in so far as it arises in my consideration of Aeneas’ action in the poem.

¹⁶ This definition hails from R.G. Austin 1977, *ad loc.*

the son in his capacity as non-passive hero. The world order of Jove's prophecy and Anchises' narrative cannot be achieved without suffering and sacrifice; war will lead to peace (i.263-264).

Chapter four shall then turn to book viii where Venus, surveying the conditions in Italy and seeing the imminent arrival of war, orders up the means by which Aeneas will be able to act while doing so in a way that will simultaneously bring Jove's prophecy to fruition: New armor upon which Roman greatness is defined. Vulcan demonstrates how Venus' perspective has shifted: *Et nunc, si bellare paras atque haec tibi mens est*, "and now, if war is your intent and your mind set on this" (viii.400); that is, Aeneas' mother no longer sets to bring her son happiness through providing him physical safety and emotional respite. She now caters to his, let us say, maternal (i.e. impulsive, living in the moment) emotions and his ability to act as the situation warrants, in this case an unavoidable, imminent, and necessary war.

Venus' gift is not only practical – albeit unnecessary, since unlike with the shield of Achilles, Aeneas already has proper armor – but on its inlaid reliefs we see the moment of Aeneas accepting his destiny when he physically lays his hands on the shield's embossed images of future acts, the majority of which depict bellicose behavior and settings, feats upon which he cannot stop marveling despite his historical inability to grasp the events let alone their significance (viii.729-731). It is only with the appearance of his new armor that Aeneas truly grasps his mission. That this is a gift from his mother is important to mention since it marks a shift in Venus' approach to her son in the epic in that she no longer hides some of the more dangerous, hardscrabble aspects he will face – as she did conceal in the first book

when she encountered her son on the shores of Carthage; rather, she wants her son to have to proper tools to commence and embrace war (viii.612-614).

1.1.4 Chapter Five

Chapter five shall continue this idea of Aeneas as action hero, and just what sort of action hero he is at that, by turning our attention to the battles of book x, warring that directly sets in motion the events of the poem's denouement vis-à-vis Pallas's death. It also gives us our fullest picture of the Trojans and Latins in combat, portraiture which has been used by scholars to vilify Aeneas as an out of control, rabid incarnation of *furor*, "fury," engaging in a "ruthless, indiscriminate, merciless vendetta [in response to the news of Pallas's death]," in a scene whose opening imagery projects "overtones both sinister and prophetic [per foreshadowing Mezentius' death]."¹⁷ There are a few oversights with such an interpretation: Aeneas from the opening of book x is set on battle (x.159, 217); he responds to the combat encountered, violently, yet justifiably – indeed, most of the deaths Aeneas brings about are of people who block his pursuit of Turnus (x.510-605); note too his warning to Lausus in effect to get out of the way and save himself from harm (x.811-812), whereas Turnus rejoices in slaying an unequal opponent in Pallas (x.459; xi.173-175).

We shall turn our attention to the final action of the epic, Aeneas' slaying of Turnus. In slaying Turnus Aeneas seemingly overrides a key paternal mandate bestowed upon him during his journey to the underworld wherein Anchises advises:

¹⁷ A.J. Boyle 1986, 93. Similar interpretations at M.C.J. Putnam 1990 and 2001; S.J. Harrison 1997.

tu regere imperio populos, Romane,¹⁸ memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.
(vi.851-853)

[You, Roman, remember to rule people by your sway (these shall be the arts to you),
to set up the condition for peace, to spare the humbled and throw down the proud.]

Without getting into the full detail of Aeneas' shield here, the final images describe the symbolic, as well as literal, center of the shield whereat lies the Battle of Actium, Octavian's subsequent ushering in of peace in Rome, and the city's supremacy over the tribes of the world (viii.671-728). Once Aeneas stands victorious over conquered Turnus, he will then have to decide whether to spare or slay him. In the midst of drinking in the situation and weighing his options, Aeneas will see that Turnus *umeris inimicum insigne gerebat*, "was carrying on his shoulders the badge of honor won from his foe" (xii.944), an *insigne* stripped from Pallas, an unequal opponent (x.459; xi.173-175) whom Turnus nevertheless goes after and lays low. This, of course, evokes the time spent with Evander wherein Aeneas not only became Pallas's adopted guardian but also the extensive tour he took of the sites of future Rome. It also mirrors the imagery of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa at Actium depicted on Vulcan's shield (viii.682-684) where the Roman general stands not only in a divinely sanctioned heroic light but in stark contrast to the *nefas*, "un-holiness" (viii.688), of Mark Antony and Cleopatra.

¹⁸ We shall discuss the whole notion of Anchises not directly speaking to Aeneas but to an unspecified "Roman" (perhaps even emblematic of an address to the Roman nation, as per Hor. *Odes* 3.6.1). Anchises had, after all, just addressed Q. Fabius Maximus directly as *qui nobis cunctando restituis rem*, "you who by delaying renew the state for us" (vi.846, my italics).

1.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP¹⁹

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, I wish to achieve two major aims: First, we shall investigate historical approaches to the *Aeneid* with regard to the question of interpretation of the epic, in general, but then focusing upon our central issue of Aeneas' martial character. Second, we shall discuss scholarly responses to the question of how Aeneas comes to work in concord with his mission.

By way of introduction to how I approach Vergil's text, let me point out that if pressed into a corner, I would have to admit that I read the poem in a constructive – as opposed to destructive – light. Vergil wanted his Roman audience to view the poem in a favorable light, that is, to walk away from having read it not calling into question Aeneas' character or actions. That said, I do not have any grand designs to take on the full panoply of negative interpretations of the epic,²⁰ either in general or on a personal basis, as has often been the case in Vergilian scholarship over the past few decades.

Instead, I find myself in harmony with J.T. Dyson (2001: 24; 5) who, despite confessing, “mine is a dark reading of the poem,” nevertheless states how one ought “to view the ending not as a momentary flash of pessimism or sign of incompleteness, but as the *telos* toward which

¹⁹ The amount of ink spilt on the *Aeneid* is, to put it mildly, voluminous, and I am by no means attempting a comprehensive litany on historical approaches to the *Aeneid*. Rather, I am introducing here some of the major schools of interpretation and important critics whose works have proven seminal and to whom we shall periodically refer in later sections on specific passages and themes.

²⁰ Embodied by the so-called “Harvard School” of interpretation, a moniker coined by W.R. Johnson (1976: 8-16). I am not interested in debating the merits or limitations of this umbrella term and beyond this perfunctory passing comment to the “Harvardists,” I shall refer throughout my work to specific scholars individually rather than make sweeping, grandiose statements about schools of thought, per the sage advice of R.A. Minson (2003-2004: 51): “The common use of the term Harvard School not only fails to account for differences between individual members of the School, but it also fails to position it intelligently within the broader context of Vergilian criticism.” For a polemic attack criticizing scholars who use such labels and places themselves in such camps, see G.K. Galinsky 2003. By way of leaving the issue, I will note that S.J. Harrison (1990a: 1-10) postulates a third school of interpretation situated somewhere between the optimistic and pessimistic, a moderate British and French school. See R.J. Tarrant (1997: 179-180) for a history surrounding this middle-ground school of thought and its counterparts.

the entire work has been tending.” Whereas Dyson uncovers a system of sustained allusion pointing to cult wherein sacrifice begets sacrifice which begets sacrifice *ad nauseam*, I too have noticed an undercurrent at work in the poem which explains why Aeneas kills Turnus and chronicles Aeneas’ advancement from a state of repeated un-mindfulness toward his Roman mission to one of acceptance and even zealous pursuit thereof. The above caveat said, my reading of the *Aeneid* will (in)directly counter many previous interpretations, again none of which I am personally at odds with.

As stated at the outset, Vergil’s hero is a complex figure;²¹ similarly, the *Aeneid* itself is a complex poem.²² It is generally agreed that Vergil was trying to make some sort of statement about the nascent Roman Empire being ushered in under this new emperor and ostensibly the *Aeneid* is a poem about Aeneas and the task thrust upon him of setting up the colony that will inevitably produce Rome and, ultimately, the Roman Empire.²³ In the aftermath of World War II, a large number of scholars turned their attention to this question of Vergil’s thoughts on empire.²⁴ In 1963, A.M. Parry published an influence article

²¹ A stance that runs counter to an important early scholar working on the poem, R. Heinze (1903), who generally speaks of Aeneas as an archetype rather than a complex individual. In Heinze’s footsteps, W. Wili (1930: 92-93) remarks how *Vergil den Helden kaum beschreibt*, “Vergil hardly describes his hero,” instead preferring to present him as a Roman archetype rather than a fully developed individual.

²² K.F. Quinn (1982: 140-166) argues that the complexity of the poem and all the possibilities it allows for would not have been appreciated by Vergil’s audience and each individual reader would have taken away from the epic their own subjective interpretation, one that could never possibly take into account every word of the text itself. Studying historical interpretations of the *Aeneid*, T.J. Ziolkowski (1993: 26) determines that during the era of the two World Wars, readers found in the epic confirmation for their own political or philosophical beliefs: “Vergil’s texts...became a mirror in which every reader found what he wished: populism or elitism, fascism or democracy, commitment or escapism.” On German versus American approaches to the epic, see E.A. Schmidt 2001. On the subjective point-of-view issue, see too A.J.W. Laird 1997, 289.

²³ S.G. Farron (1993) rejects this claim and argues that the poem’s main purpose is to present passages that deal with loss and suffering in an effort to stir up emotionally the reader, irrespective of attempting to make any comment on Rome or Augustus.

²⁴ R.F. Thomas (2001) establishes the existence of pessimistic readings in antiquity and modern critics who preceded this post-Second WWII period boom in Vergilian (re)interpretation. As S.J. Harrison (1990a: 5) put it: “The doubt of the traditional view of the *Aeneid* has at least some connection with the 1960s’ questioning of all institutions, political, religious, and intellectual, and in particular with attitudes towards America’s own

expressing how the poem contrasts a “private voice of regret” with a “public voice of triumph” with respect to the character of Aeneas,²⁵ ultimately determining that the poem cannot be regarded as any kind of celebration of Rome.²⁶ B.F. Otis (1963)²⁷ writes upon the subjective approach of Vergil and how the poet continuously interjects editorial commentary guiding the reader to view the *Aeneid* as a celebration of the Augustan hero and the renewed hope for Rome in the age of Augustus. Running contra to Otis, W.V. Clausen (1964: 140) sees the poem’s view of Roman history as a “long pyrrhic victory of the human spirit” and Aeneas as a hero who lurches forward toward a new world whilst continually dwelling on the past while doing so.

M.C.J. Putnam (1965: viii) writes in his introduction: “[Vergil’s] basically pessimistic personality creates a work of art in which the essential theme is the ultimate triumph of violence and death over any idealistic and reasoned pursuits. Those who hear in Aeneas and his progress a mighty paean of praise for the peace and prosperity of Augustan Rome do the force of much of Virgil’s poetry the greatest disservice.”²⁸ R.O.A.M. Lyne (1987: 217) takes up this banner by postulating that there are “further voices” in the *Aeneid* and their presence “probes, questions, and occasionally subverts the simple Augustanism that it may appear to project,” a stance influenced by W.R. Johnson’s (1976) investigation into deceptively sanguine

imperialism.” See too A. Powell (2008: 12). Note too the recent work of C.W. Kallendorf (2003, 2007) investigating the negative reception of the *Aeneid* in early modern culture.

²⁵ Parry owes a lot to R.A. Brooks (1953), who first studied the tension at work in the poem between the hero and the historical order which frames his existence. Building off Parry, S.F. Wiltshire (1989) examines the public-private polarity in the poem as a whole, concluding that the epic was intended as a contribution to Augustan ideology and meant to influence the emperor himself by adverse references to his excesses in the Second Triumvirate.

²⁶ R.D. Williams (1967a) does not doubt that Vergil’s public voice is sincerely optimistic, yet he feels the tension between the two voices is powerful and adds a complexity to the grand statements on Roman and Roman authority. Similarly, J. Griffin 1986, 63.

²⁷ Heavily influenced by V. Pöschl 1950.

²⁸ Putnam similarly condemns Aeneas’ final act through a discussion of Stoicism. On the Stoicism of Aeneas and the hero’s failure to live up to its ideals, note too R.O.A.M. Lyne 1987, 182ff.

prophecies in the epic.²⁹ R.F. Thomas (2001: 11) postulates that the political atmosphere and its ability to cause personal damage to insubordinates made it impractical for Vergil to speak clearly, forcing him to instill a hidden quality to his poetry, a subversive undercurrent painting the empire in an unfavorable light.³⁰

But the nature of our investigation into Aeneas revolves around his actions in warfare. In terms of the emotional pathos of war, W.R. Johnson (1976: 59-75)³¹ argues that Vergil deceptively presents death and suffering in a way so as not to cause readers any pain or prompt them to call into question the Roman mission.³² B.F. Otis (1963) – and subsequently W.V. Clausen (1987) – places great focus on the limitations of Aeneas’ humanity, a course that M.C.J. Putnam (1965) adopts to similar conclusions ultimately determining that Vergil is commenting on the limitations not only of his hero but of the imperial project he embodies.³³ A.J. Boyle (1972) views Aeneas’ *furor* as unchanging and the epic as a condemnation of the costly process of empire and a demonstration of the inevitability of human failure. Indeed, that Aeneas does not halt his sword against Turnus has caused many to speculate that Vergil consciously concludes his poem with a scathing censure on Rome and specifically Augustan

²⁹ While Johnson (1976: ix) aligns his own views closely with the Harvard School, he does express concern that scholars are overlooking Vergil’s genuine, albeit qualified, admiration for Augustus and how the poem aims “to mediate between varieties of pessimism and optimism.” On Vergil’s deceptiveness in prophecy, see too J.J. O’Hara (1990), who emphasizes how we today know Jove’s divinations of Rome’s greatness to have been fulfilled, yet Vergil and his contemporaries were not so confident that they ever would be. Similarly S.B. Mack 1978, 68-84. Cf. E. Block 1981, who assumes that the prophecies of Rome will be regarded as wholly truthful and sees no false optimism at work in them.

³⁰ J.T. Dyson (2001: 8) similarly chalks up the optimism/pessimism debate as arising because Vergil was writing for two distinct audiences: Augustus the surface reader and the Roman literary elite who read beyond the lines. On this subtext issue, P.W. White (1993: 206-208) theorizes that Augustus knew what Vergil was up to but the Emperor both had thick skin and also held less control over “Augustan Poetry” than commonly supposed.

³¹ Similarly, C.A. Martindale 1993, 42.

³² Cf. K.W. Gransden (2004: 33) who sees in Vergil empathy for the war’s victims, notably in the young men who fall.

³³ Contra Putnam stands G.K. Galinsky (1988).

politics.³⁴ A number of scholars focus upon how Aeneas both in slaying Turnus as well as his general tenor in the battles of book x appears as an embodiment of unfettered *furor* acting savagely and unjustly.³⁵ On the other hand, some scholars have argued that Aeneas ought to have cut down Turnus, and his slaughters in book x are justifiable given the context of the action.

The pendulum has been slowly swinging over the past two-decades to a more positive reading of Aeneas' behavior on the battlefield,³⁶ not to mention in the poem writ large, notably with G.K. Galinsky (1988) arguing that Aeneas' impassioned action can be considered unequivocally moral, as do F. Cairns (1988) and H.-P. Stahl (1990), both of whom see Turnus as a flawed figure whom Aeneas stands justified in slaying.³⁷ Does Turnus need to die? No – after all, he has been beaten and surrendered. That said, does Aeneas need to kill Turnus? Yes – as the heart of this present study is working to explain.

1.3 AENEAS AND FATE

Discussing the question of the character of Aeneas, T. Fuhrer (1989: 68-69) notes how the manner in which Vergil tells the story of his hero often allows readers to project their own,

³⁴ For a complete line-up see R.O.A.M Lyne 1987, 217 n. 1 and 2. G.A. Staley (1990: 37), taking a middle of the line stance, comments on the how there is an inherent duality at work in the poem where in order for Rome to be born, other people and cities must fall; to read the poem as optimistic or pessimistic is to overlook such ambiguity.

³⁵ Notably: M.C.J. Putnam 1965; K.F. Quinn 1968; R.O.A.M. Lyne 1987; R.F. Thomas 1998 and 2001; S.J. Harrison 1990b and 1997.

³⁶ Which is not to say that early criticism unequivocally looked down upon Aeneas killing Turnus, e.g., W.W. Fowler (1919: 156): "To spare Turnus would have been the betrayal of the mission of Aeneas in Italy."

³⁷ I want to point out here that I do not want to refer to Turnus as a "tragic" figure, or imply that he lacks responsibility for, or is absolved from, playing a hand in his downfall. Even here the appearance and intervention of Juno's messenger Allecto is the divine level action helping us to see Turnus in full; the goddesses are the forces affecting Turnus because this is who the character is: A man working against fate (more on which in chapter two). K.F. Quinn (1968), focusing primarily on what defines a hero and the heroic impulse, takes a middle ground by neither fully justifying Aeneas' action nor completely exonerating and exalting Turnus.

and/or Vergil's, feelings onto the personality of Aeneas; since the hero appears less frequently in the second half of the epic, one is attracted to his persona in the first six books much more so than in the latter six, leading to a reading that the hero has undergone some sort of *Charakterentwicklung*,³⁸ "character development." To Fuhrer, the *Aeneid* itself does not suggest a development of its protagonist's personality, arguing that the idea of character development is a modern concept that has been retrofitted onto ancient literature.³⁹ At this juncture, I think the sage words of J.P. Poe (1965: 321-322) warrant quoting: "Whether or not it can be said that Aeneas' 'character' develops within the course of the epic, at least his attitude develops."

Aeneas is not an inexperienced youngster but a mature adult when we first meet him, a leader with great responsibility, a wise decision-maker, and, as is central for this study, a battle-tested warrior. As such, Aeneas does not develop over the twelve books of the *Aeneid*, as the most recent major character study of Aeneas, that of C.J. Mackie (1988: 171-172), argues.⁴⁰ This, though, is not the same as saying that Aeneas does not come to a new attitude regarding his mission, ultimately being able to accept it – for this the hero does. While Aeneas does have a full-grown personality, he still needs to progress in so far as he comes to recognize his mission only after a series of self-imposed delays and missteps. His position changes from a state of acting in the present without concern for his larger mission to a point where he acts in harmony with his fate. The notion that Aeneas somehow has a change of

³⁸ As V. Pöschl described it (1950: 58). Fuhrer herself believes that in Aeneas we are shown a mature man under a variety of circumstances designed to explain his behavior.

³⁹ An idea earlier argued by H.W. Prescott (1927: 463).

⁴⁰ A sentiment supported by S.J. Harrison (1991: 54) in his review of Mackie.

attitude over the course of the epic is not too controversial nor groundbreaking.⁴¹ But how exactly does the character of Aeneas advance during the poem and come to this moment?

As I hope has been made clear by now, I disagree with the interpretation that Aeneas is a frightened, callow hero who can only complete his mission after giving up his personal self to a larger divine command. G.E. Duckworth (1940: 6) describes Aeneas as far from being a weak character or a puppet in the hands of Fate: There is no lack of strong feeling in Aeneas, but he has subordinated his feelings to the will of the gods and Fate. In this vein, L.A. Mackay (1957: 14)⁴² reads Aeneas as having sacrificed his chance for a happy life (as he tried for with Dido, e.g.) in the pursuit of completing his mission, whose accomplishment will bring him no personal satisfaction beyond the satisfaction of having accomplished it. Following Mackay, A.M. Parry (1963: 76) characterizes Aeneas as a hero who, driven by fate, cannot live his own life. W.R. Johnson (1976: 9) views the hero as transitioning from the old, primitive code and the mindless, amoral jungle of the Homeric world into the *humanitas*, *pietas* and *ratio* of the Augustan enlightenment, a view that influences T. van Nortwick's (1980: 310) interpretation that Aeneas has deflected all personal desires in favor of civic responsibility so that by book x a certain "emotional deadness" seems to have settled on the hero.⁴³

Recent scholars, however, amongst whom I count myself, disagree that Aeneas the man must subordinate himself to his mission. G.K. Galinsky (1988: 344) sees how the

⁴¹ As K. Büchner (1958: 433) comments: The *Aeneid* is a *Drama des Sichfindens*, "a drama of self-discovery." Cf. E. Burck (1958), who argues that Vergil does not want to show his hero growing at all and did not intend for readers of the *Aeneid* to see Aeneas' different states of mind concerning the awareness of his fate as evidence of leading to a more mature and firm character.

⁴² Whom W.R. Johnson (1976: 157 n. 10) praises, noting, "independent of the Harvard school yet not alien to some of their central concerns are the cool deliberations of Mackay." See also, on the *Aeneid* in general, Mackay 1963.

⁴³ Similarly A.J. Boyle (1972: 153): "Before he emerges from the underworld, Aeneas' personal *amor*, *cupido*, *pietas* has to be repressed by impersonal counterparts – he has to repress his individual desire."

individual ethic is transcended by that of social responsibility, that is, the Roman Aeneas often works well enough with his mission (e.g., *Italiam non sponte sequor*, “I seek Italy not willingly” [iv.361]) but the end of the *Aeneid* shows that his personal impulse and the higher purpose in store for him can ultimately coalesce. Galinsky continues by discussing how whereas Aeneas’ *furor* in book ii – which M.C.J. Putnam (1965: 151-202) believes the end of the epic intentionally recalls to cast a shadow over the slaying of Turnus – was misguided, his rage at the end of epic is not: Both divine will⁴⁴ and Aeneas’ own inclination are in concert.⁴⁵ Of course, not all scholars agree. A.J. Boyle (1972) argues that Aeneas does not alter his past behavior in book ii but continues to act with *furor* throughout the Iliadic second half, reenacting the horrors of the Trojan War. R.D. Williams (1973: 165-167) compares the behavior of Aeneas following Pallas’ death to the “wild scenes” of the second book, concluding that Aeneas has not learned anything along his journey and he kills indiscriminately throughout the Italian campaigning. We will pick up with this idea of Aeneas’ behavior in full, but in connection with the discussion of Aeneas’ coming to work in concord with his mission, just how, or when, does such moment occur?

Aeneas experiences a learning curve vis-à-vis the realization of his mission but, as I have noted, the manner in which he becomes fully engaged with his destiny comes neither through the admonishments of the gods nor Anchises’ discoursing. Rather, once the hero manifestly holds in his hands his shield, embossed with some of Rome’s greatest military exploits, he becomes psychologically attuned, not to mention physically adorned, to heed

⁴⁴ As indicated by the reference to *dea dira*, “dread goddess” (xii.914), as *dira* was held to derive from *deum ira*. Thus, divine *ira* and human *ira* act in unison.

⁴⁵ Cf. A.M. Parry (1960: 80): “Aeneas’ tragedy is that he cannot be a hero, being in the service of an impersonal power.”

and execute his assignment. At this moment we see Aeneas' own self-realization of his mission. R. Heinze (1903: 271-280) notes that Aeneas is not the ideal hero in the first five books but there exists a sudden, turning-point when Anchises' shade reassures Aeneas that Jupiter now pities him (v.723-727) as evidence by Aeneas' *extemplo*, "straightaway" (v.756), response; this verbal cue alerts the reader that the Trojan is now determined to become the hero acceptant of his divine assignment. Similarly, an early investigation into this specific question of Aeneas' realization, that of G. Howe (1930), concludes that Aeneas' character development is gradual and completed in the sixth book; come the second half of the epic, Aeneas is a hero of full stature and no longer faltering in his duty. Building off Howe, G. Carlsson (1945) thinks that book vi transforms Aeneas from a Homeric hero to a Roman Stoic obedient to his fate because in Hades it is revealed fully to him.⁴⁶

Other critics point to book vi as a pivotal point in the epic, both in terms of its location within the poem as a whole as well as seeming to mark a shift in Aeneas' character in that in the first half he goes through an inner development, while in the second half, he is renewed, resolute, and sure of himself and his task. B.F. Otis (1963: 313) points to vi.806ff. as the moment when at last Aeneas has been brought out of the past, to accept his moral duty and his future where he accepts from his father his now unmistakable personal destiny; consequently, Aeneas in the Iliadic second half stands as "unchanging and foursquare in his *pietas*" whereas in the past, particularly in the second book, his "*dolor* and *furor*...are repeatedly emphasized." To Otis (1963: 219-223), after Aeneas' visit with Anchises the hero

⁴⁶ C.M. Bowra (1933) reads Aeneas as a figure undergoing stoic *exercitio*, "testing," throughout the epic. The study of religion in the *Aeneid* and the religious nature of Aeneas is a difficult question, one that we will at best merely tangentially touch upon.

risers above his original nature to a wholly new and quasi-divine heroism and the first six books deal with this inner struggle whereas the second six are concerned with the formation and victory of this new Augustan hero.⁴⁷ Building off the idea of Aeneas emerging at the end of book vi confident that everything he does from this point on is undoubtedly right, J.R. Wilson (1969: 70-74) sees in Aeneas a new, “grim” state of mind where the hero can, under the pretext of Pallas’ death, justify his playing the role of an avenging Achilles, jettisoning any restrictive moral conscience from the situation. R.D. Williams (1982: 346-353) concludes that after the trials for Aeneas in the Odyssean first half, he gradually accepts his divine destiny and ultimately emerges from the underworld able to resist the temptations of personal happiness.

In looking at the spiritual and sentimental growth of Aeneas, J.R. Bacon (1939: 100) dismisses book vi as full of darkness whereas the eighth book is full of revealing light imagery and marks an interlude from the seemingly imminent bloodshed at the end of book vii to the resumed battling of ix; yet the book advances the action of the epic in that it is “the turning point of his [Aeneas’] spiritual journey” designed to point to Aeneas’ understanding of his mission through his seeing the accomplishments of his destiny in the shield imagery. F.A. Sullivan (1959) points specifically to viii.530ff. when an omen comes from heaven to reassure Aeneas of the role he has to play in the war in Italy and suddenly transforms the hero, indicated by the declarative *ego poscor Olympo*, “I am being summoned by Olympus” (viii.533). As I have already noted, I too place the moment of Aeneas being able to accept his

⁴⁷ Otis considers this the main plot of the epic.

mission at book viii, specifically the final scene of him marveling at his new shield's imagery, the implement by which he will successfully usher in Rome's future greatness.⁴⁸

In connection with this question of Aeneas' possible development as the poem progresses, and turning our attention back to the central event of this dissertation, the slaying of Turnus, K.S. Chew (2002: 627) argues that the killing is understandable on a human level, ascribing Aeneas' action to the ignorance and uncertainty that characterizes him throughout the epic because of his inability to grasp the gods' plan for him. J.R. Wilson (1969) sees Aeneas as having become the conscientious instrument of his nation's future, but at the same time he manages to keep his sensitivity as a human being per vii.537-540. Wilson (1969: 73) sees Aeneas' nostalgia of the early books developing into a *humanitas*, "humanity," which is founded on an awareness of what he must do and what the costs are and he cannot afford to acknowledge any desires that are contrary to his fated duty: "The old split between action and emotion appears in a sinister form as a black-out of his finer emotions, a submersion of his sensibility into a blind, if intense, battle heat." This sentiment, as I trust has been made clear, I disagree with.

But what makes Aeneas killing Turnus emblematic of his now acting in accordance with his fate? The hero has a choice to make and stands pondering the issue when he is reminded of the warring of book x and Pallas (and, of course, his father Evander – note the *puer* reference at xii.943, not to mention Turnus' appeal laden with references to fathers and sons [xii.932-936]). By extension, Aeneas is reminded of the events of book viii when he

⁴⁸ H.C.R. Vella (2004), studying the structure of book viii, determines that it is artfully orchestrated so that the discussion of Hercules' exploits in the site of future Rome foreshadows the success of Aeneas, who in the book receives and lifts on his shoulders the shield representing Octavian's victory at Actium. To Vella, book viii can be said to be the turning point in Aeneas' fulfilment of his mission first indicated to him in Troy.

united with the Arcadians and Etruscans to fight the Italian tribes united under Turnus who are standing in the way of his setting up the conditions for future Rome.⁴⁹

Aeneas emerges as the other Achilles,⁵⁰ heralded by the Cumaean Sibyl in her prophecy: *Alius Latio iam partus Achilles, / natus et ipse dea*, “another Achilles is already born for Latium, he too born from a goddess” (vi.89-90). The Latin of this passage is ambiguous⁵¹ and it has been debated as to whether this second Achilles refers to Aeneas or Turnus.⁵² Once the battling really takes off in book x, H.-P. Stahl (1990: 209) equates Turnus to a bad new Achilles⁵³ in connection with his slaying of Pallas whereas Aeneas in light of Pallas’ death represents a good new “super-Achilles.” I consider the reference to be to Aeneas, who, having been forced to suffer and revisit the taunts and haunts of the Trojan War for the final time, emerges as the hero strong enough to found Rome.⁵⁴ In slaying Turnus, Aeneas lashes out violently; yet he is also mindful of his divine mission and stands triumphant, full of closure, as the forefather of the future leaders of the world, rulers whom he will never know but who

⁴⁹ S.M. Goldberg (1995: 155-156) sees Turnus as an expression of old Homeric codes of honor which Aeneas must overcome in order to establish proto-Roman values.

⁵⁰ Of course, Vergil is rarely transparent and to say outright that *alius Achilles* equals Aeneas, is a fallacy, for as M.B. Poliakoff (1992: 77) asks: Vergil allows and encourages the overlapping concepts of hero and villain in his epic and despite the Sibyl saying (vi.86-90) that Aeneas would encounter in Italy horrible war and a new Achilles, via the action of books x and xii perhaps Vergil meant the new Achilles is Aeneas?

⁵¹ The problem being whether to read *Latio* as a dative or an ablative. I read it as a dative, for interpretative reasons that shall become clear over the next two paragraphs.

⁵² E.g. T. van Nortwick (1980: 309) acknowledges the vagueness but determines the reference to be to Turnus; A.J. Boyle (1986: 154ff.) insists it is exclusively Aeneas. See S.D. Lowenstam (1993: 39 n. 8) for a comprehensive bibliography on the issue, to which I would also add P.A. Perotti 1991. Lowenstam (1993: 41), while admitting to Vergil’s intentional opacity, concludes that in killing Turnus, Aeneas is “is ultimately placed in Achilles’ role, and Turnus suffers Hector’s fate.” Studying the *Georgics*, C.J. Nappa (2005: 9) notes how in that collection Vergil intentionally presents possible negative images of Octavian directly alongside decidedly positive ones, and one cannot read Vergil in simplistic terms of praise or subversion.

⁵³ Note how Turnus does actually compare himself to Achilles: *Hic etiam inuentum Priamo narrabis Achillem*, “you shall relay to Priam that here too an Achilles has been found” (xi.742).

⁵⁴ As W.S. Anderson (1957: 30) declares: “The death of Troy signifies the birth of Rome.”

will impose peace and laws on the world once they have removed all the obstacles blocking their path.

Again, as we discussed, Turnus, the impediment to Aeneas' mission, has been subdued in battle and surrendered; however, that does not mean that Aeneas still should not strike him down. On this notion, G.K. Galinsky (1988: 343) justifies Aeneas' act of killing of Turnus in that just as the Homeric Achilles knows that obeying Hector's pleas would only lead to a superficial reconciliation, by the end of the *Aeneid* the reader knows that there will be no change of spirit in Turnus.⁵⁵ To Galinsky, Turnus' *furor* is maniacally one-dimensional instead of being the problematic means to an end; it lacks the combination of passionate revenge and introspection that is characteristic of Achilles and Aeneas. When Aeneas kills Turnus it marks an occasion when the hero's personal desire to remove his enemy link up with the fated plan for events in Italy.

M.C.J. Putnam (1995: 14) asks, "is it correct – or even important – to visualize [Aeneas] as becoming a better, more virtuous man as the epic progresses?"⁵⁶ More virtuous? Yes, in the sense that in Italy he works in connection with his divine fate. Better? I'm not sure what "better" entails. But as the epic progresses, so too does its hero – to a concord with his fate wherein he can operate to bring forth Rome while acting as his personality dictates. To reiterate the main thesis of this study: In the character of Aeneas, a dominant theme emerges of his military nature, his desire for action and inability to live for some glory earned through future generations; Aeneas has to progress from a figure who lives and acts in the present to

⁵⁵ W. Polleichtner (2009: 274) believes that Aeneas cannot be sure that Turnus is sincerely acknowledging defeat and confessing guilt; i.e., Turnus might be bluffing.

⁵⁶ D.R. Dudley (1961) makes a plea for looking at Aeneas from beginning to end and not just from individual episodes, arguing that Vergil entails a progression for his hero.

the point where he can work in accordance with his destined, future-oriented assignment; this moment occurs upon receiving his new armor in book viii, gifts whose images Aeneas does not understand but at whose martial exploits he stands in awe; carrying the imagery of Rome – a civilization whose greatness will be defined by the actions of her heroes – on his shoulders, Aeneas enters the heat of battle satisfying his personal need to act while simultaneously carrying his heavenly mission, literally, on his back.

2.0 THE DIVINE AND HUMAN LEVELS OF THE POEM

2.1 AENEAS' OTHERWORLDLY ENCOUNTERS IN AENEID II

On the night Epeus' horse spells the end for Troy, Aeneas has three otherworldly encounters – with his cousin Hector, mother Venus and his wife Creusa, episodes that are important for our understanding of his character and the idea of human choice in a world where the universe already has a plan in place for one's life. While only Venus is a goddess per se, both Hector and Creusa speak as now existing on the heavenly plane and all three visions represent divine messengers urging Aeneas to flee Troy and look to future glory in Italy. *Ineluctabile fatum*, "unavoidable fate" (viii.334), dictates that Anchises' son will rule in Latium; however, this is not to say that human characters cannot have a say in how their lives play out. In looking at these episodes, we shall see how Vergil wants his reader not to absolve Aeneas of any personal responsibility for his actions simply by chalking events up to a fate supremely governing over history or the intervention of divinities affecting, guiding a character's actions. Aeneas has choices to make and will need to come to a state where he can work to satisfy his personal desires while also advancing his celestial mission. This is not yet the case here on Troy's last day.

In the first of the three experiences in question, Hector's shade comes to a sleeping Aeneas and informs him of his destiny: There is nothing left of Troy and any effort to save the city will be in vain; flee, and in fleeing gain for yourself undying fame vis-à-vis the glory that will be Rome. Aeneas, though, ignores his cousin, instead opting to act as his own personality and subjective desires deem fit, selfish actions that nevertheless can be

categorized as selfless in that the hero focuses upon doing all he can to protect Troy. Yet this seeming selflessness and willingness to sacrifice himself for his city is merely an ancillary benefit to Aeneas' main desire of entering the fray, lashing out against the invading Greeks – all in direct defiance of Hector's shade, specter Aeneas understands to be divinely sanctioned. As for it occurring in a dreamscape, it is not just a matter of Aeneas waking up and forgetting the dream, as we shall discuss in connection with how Hector's appearance links up with that of Creusa's ghost, another divinely inspired visit informing Aeneas of where his fate lies, a visit from which the hero emerges unmind and completely ignorant.

Sandwiched between these two appearances, Aeneas meets with his mother Venus, who manifestly shows her son the futility of his desire to fight off the Greeks since the gods themselves are working against Troy and the city's fall has been decreed. This visual evidence momentarily turns Aeneas toward a more future oriented course of action but as we will see, it is a fleeting far-sightedness and he will quickly return to being concerned with his heroic duty to put up a fight to the best of his ability rather than worrying about any personal or domestic concerns.

2.1.1 The Dream of Hector

The important vision of Hector in book ii marks our first, chronologically speaking, appearance of Aeneas. Darkness has come and the Trojans' *fessi artus*, "exhausted limbs," are overcome with sleep (ii.250-253). Meanwhile, the Greek fleet, hiding offshore close by, sends a signal to its inside man Sinon, who unlatches the belly of the horse and throws open the gates of the city for his cohorts to invade (ii.254-267). While Vergil's champion lies in a light

sleep, the ghastly visage of his sad, slain kinsman appears before him (ii.268-297), urging his cousin to flee from the doomed city. Before fully delving into the scene, as well as the resulting action stemming from this episode, we should (re)familiarize ourselves with just who this hero is, how does he perish, and what happens to his cadaver, for the image of Hector will help us begin to unravel Vergil's portrayal of Aeneas' internal character.

As the majority of readers, both ancient and modern, know, the most extensive and definitive portrait of Hector hails from Homer's *Iliad* and, for our explicit purpose vis-à-vis discussing the encounter with the Trojan prince *post mortem* on the last night of the Trojan War, we should recount the events of that poem's twenty-second book where the hero meets his immediate end: Having speared Priam's son in the throat, Achilles lords over his fallen foe and threatens to feed his body to the dogs and birds (322-336); the Trojan begs his counterpart to return his body to his parents for burial (337-343); Achilles scorns said notion (344-354); the dying soldier issues a curse calling for his enemy's end (355-360); the Greek conqueror orders his opponent just to be quiet and die already, dismissing the hex, shouting that he does not fear what may come (361-366); Hector dies, the victor withdraws his lance from his neck, and the surrounding Greeks marvel at the departed champion and take the opportunity to stab his corpse with their swords (367-375); wanting to shame his rival and to instill fear amongst the Trojan city (376-394), Achilles lashes the corpse to his chariot and drags it through the dirt down to the Greek beachhead (395-404). Later in the epic, the body will be towed around Patroclus' monument (xxiii.13-23), with such punishment repeated thrice daily (xxiv.14-18) over a period of nine days (xxiv.107).

Beside Homer's account, the death of the Trojan prince and his subsequent treatment at the hands of Thetis' son comes down in other traditions, notably the one alluded to in

Euripides' *Andromache*. That tragedy recounts Hector's being hauled to his death around a larger swatch of land, the walls of the city itself: τὸν περὶ τείχη / εἵλκυσε διφρεῶν παῖς Ἀλίας Θέτιδος, "riding on his chariot, the son of the sea goddess Thetis dragged him around the city-wall" (107-108), inducing many tears on Andromache's cheeks as she is forced to abandon ἄστυ τε καὶ θαλάμους καὶ πόσιν ἐν κονίαις, "my city, marriage chamber, and husband in the dust" (112).¹ Understandably, given Andromache's quickly being ushered out of ruined Troy for her own safety, the defilement of Hector, and the results of said abuse, depicted is both very brief and very unspecific.² Euripides noticeably veers from the Homeric treatment in allowing the swift-footed runner to haul his prize round the full walls of Troy as opposed to a more limited circuit of circumnavigating Patroclus' resting place.³

While Homer presents a more prolonged persecution, Vergil seemingly adopts a middle ground incorporating aspects of both previous traditions, allowing Thetis' son to haul Hector three times past the full walls of Troy itself, but only at one instance.⁴ W.R. Paton (1913: 45) studying the issue concludes: "The dragging round the tomb is then, it would seem, the original version; but whence the dragging round the walls? [It] would seem to be a brutal variant of the dragging round the tomb." Thus, in accordance with Euripides here, Vergil adopts a more horrifying version where the conquering Greek parades his trophy around the walls of a now helpless town sorely needing their recently fallen prince: *Ter circum*

¹ Euripides' plays are quoted from the 1984 OCT edition of J. Diggle.

² Most translations honor such indefiniteness and I find S.D. Lowenstam's (1993: 41 n. 10) temporal specificity perplexing and unfounded: "According to Euripides, Achilles dragged Hector around Troy *once* [my italics]."

³ Perhaps playing off Achilles chasing Hector three times around Troy during their duel (xxii.165-166).

⁴ In discussing how Vergil's narrative differs from Homer's, C.G. Heyne (1767-1803: Excurses xv-xix to book i) supposes that Vergil at times follows the Cyclic poets, one of the tragedians, or even another possible lost source. Note too how the venerable commentary of Conington-Nettleship (1871) points out how the verb *raptaverat* (i.483; discussed in the next sentence) appears to be appropriated from Ennius' *Andromache*, which unfortunately comes down only in fragments: *Hectorem curru quadriiugo raptarier* (fr. xxvii.g – all text of Ennius is from the edition of H.D. Jocelyn 1967).

Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros, “three times Achilles had dragged Hector around the Trojan walls” (i.483).⁵ That Vergil includes the inflated “brutal variant” is consistent with the presentation of the events of the Trojan War depicted on the Temple of Juno’s frieze in Carthage writ large, imagery that condenses and ratchets up the violence – as well as the aftermath of said violence – of the Homeric tradition.⁶ Vergil’s narrative proves much more gruesome.

Vergil has not forgotten his Homer when depicting his own take on Achilles and both authors’ portrayals share certain general similarities, if with slight variations; however, the demise of Hector and the state of his corpse in the *Aeneid* amplifies the carnage. In the *Iliad*, Andromache’s husband receives a fatal wound in the jugular, an honorable death: τῇ ρ’ ἐπὶ οἴμεμα ὦτ’ ἔλασ’ ἔγχεϊ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς, / ἀντικρὺ δ’ ἀπαλοῖο δι’ αὐχένος ἤλυθ’ ἀκωκή, “so then at him rushing in opposition divine Achilles hurled his spear and the point ran right through his tender throat” (xxii.326-327).⁷ Homer shows great reluctance to allow heroes to die ignobly,⁸ a tradition that Vergil overtly upholds⁹ while simultaneously, covertly undermining it in his portrait of the shade who has been *perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis*, “pierced through his swollen feet by thongs” (ii.273). J. Henry (1873-1889: *ad loc.*), a trained classicist as well as a practicing physician, notes how “dead limbs do not swell in

⁵ In an effort to make Euripides’ text directly reflect Vergil’s, D.L. Page (1936: 217 n. 3) emends the τὸν of 107 to τρίς, although without any MS evidence.

⁶ The frieze will be discussed in full in chapter two. For the time being, let me just note how it is too simplistic to make Vergil a slavish imitator of Homer and I would steer clear of such general utterances as W.H. Alexander’s (1954: 397) “the pictures derive almost in their entirety from the *Iliad*,” despite Alexander’s qualifying “almost.” See, e.g., the discussion of Troilus at footnote 13 *infra*.

⁷ All quotations of Homer are taken from the OCT volumes edited by D.B. Monro and T.W. Allen (1920).

⁸ J. Griffin 1977, 45-46.

⁹ On the night of Troy’s demise, Pyrrhus takes the life of King Priam via a sword to his side (ii.550-553). Only once deceased does Achilles’ son then decapitate the ruler (ii.557-558). The exception proving the rule can be found in the demise of the reprehensible Mezentius who, in accordance with his brutal and reprehensible character, requests to have his throat slit. This death shall be discussed in connection with Aeneas’ actions in book X in a later chapter.

consequence of violence,” and, therefore, the Trojan prince must still have been alive while being bound to the chariot. Vergil, though, does not portray the savagery as openly as Euripides when Andromache expresses how Thetis’ son actually kills his foe not with a dart but by actually dragging him round the walls of Troy: ἤτις σφαγὰς μὲν Ἑκτορος τροχηλάτους / κατεῖδον οἰκτρῶς τ’ Ἴλιον πορούμενον, “I saw Hector’s wheel-drawn slaughter and Troy wretchedly ablaze” (399-400).¹⁰

Thus in portraying Hector in death, Vergil’s narrative stands as an amalgam of the Homeric presentation and another more torturous, post-Homeric tradition where the Trojan, and by extension the whole of Troy watching in horror, as Euripides’ Andromache attests,¹¹ undergoes gross, heartrending defilement.¹² Similarly, the reader may be reminded of the casualty as depicted on the relief of Juno’s temple in book i whereat we get a simple description of *exanimus corpus*, “a lifeless body” (i.484; see too 486), lying on the ground without any real description of the corpse.¹³

¹⁰ Similarly S. Aj. 1029-1031. The expression “wheel-drawn slaughter” hails from P.T. Stevens’ (1971: *ad loc.*) commentary, whereat he notes, “‘wheel-drawn slaughter’ might possibly be a condensed expression for the slaughter of Hector (afterwards) dragged behind the wheels, but it would more naturally mean death by being dragged.” The first century CE historian Q. Curtius Rufus, describing the death of Betis, the governor of Gaza who refused to surrender willingly to Alexander the Great forcing the Macedonian to embark on a two-month long siege of the city, also cites this death-by-dragging tradition: *Per talos enim spirantis lora traiecta sunt religatumque ad currum traxere circa urbem equi gloriant rege, Achillen, a quo genus ipse deduceret, imitatum se esse poena in hostem capienda*, “then leather straps were passed through the ankles of him still breathing, and, bound to the chariot, horses dragged him around the city while the king was boasting that, in inflicting punishment against his enemy, he was imitating Achilles, from whom his own race descended” (iv.6.29; the Latin is that of the Teubner edition of 1880 by T. Vogel).

¹¹ As well as the actions of the grieving Trojan women at i.479-482.

¹² R.J. Clark (1998: 833) states how in the process “Vergil brings credibility to Hector’s ghost by rooting it simultaneously in the Homeric as well as in the Ennian tradition of dreams.” Note too Aeneas’ address to Hector with its opening *o lux Dardaniae* (ii.281), a phrase that echoes *o lux Troiae* (fr. xxv of H.D. Jocelyn 1967) from Ennius’ *Alexander*.

¹³ On the relief, the death described immediately before Hector’s, that of Priam’s young son, Troilus, killed by Achilles and subsequently being dragged about in the dust by his own master-less team of horses, receives Vergil’s full artistic treatment:

Just what is the outcome of the abuse of Hector in the Vergilian and Homeric models?¹⁴ In the *Iliad*, having suffered what will prove to be his fatal wound, Priam's son pleads to his Greek counterpart, *λίσσομ' ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς καὶ γούνων σῶν τε τοκῆων / μή με ἔα παρὰ νηροὶ κόνας καταδάψαι Ἀχαιῶν*, "I beg upon your soul, your knees, your children: Do not allow the dogs to devour me alongside the Argive fleet" (xxii.338-339). No canines assault his corpse, nor do any palpable disfigurements appear on his body despite its being repeatedly towed in the dirt, thanks to repeated heavenly intervention:

τὸν δ' οὐ κύνες ἀμφεπένοντο,
ἀλλὰ κόνας μὲν ἄλαλκε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη
ἥματα καὶ νύκτας, ῥοδόεντι δὲ χρῖεν ἐλαίῳ
ἀμβροσίῳ, ἵνα μὴ μιν ἀποδρύφοι ἐλκυστάζων.
τῷ δ' ἐπὶ κῦαντον νέφος ἤγαγε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
οὐρανόθεν πεδίον δέ, κάλυψε δὲ χῶρον ἅπαντα
ὅσσον ἐπεῖχε νέκυς, μὴ πρὶν μένος ἡέλιιο
σκήλει' ἀμφὶ περὶ χροᾶ ἵνεσιν ἠδὲ μέλεσσιν.
(Hom. *Il.* xxiii.184-191)

[But the dogs did not make of meal of him, rather Aphrodite, daughter of Zeus, warded off the dogs day and night, and anointed him with a rosy, ambrosial ointment so that dragging him about he did not rip off his flesh. And Phoebus Apollo drew down from heaven a dark cloud over him and over the plain and covered the whole

fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,
lora tenens tamen; huic ceruixque comaeque trahuntur
per terram, et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.
(i.476-478)

[(Troilus) is dragged by his horses and, fallen backwards, affixes to the empty chariot, still clutching the reins; both his neck and hair trail on the ground, and his turned-around spear scribbles in the dust.]

Vergil has thus transferred the image of a hero being dragged about onto this minor character, a charioteer who in the *Iliad* is mentioned only once in passing as having experienced an unspecified death at the hands of Ares (xxxiv.257-260); he delays in reporting the full extent of Hector's violation and wounds until he appears in the dream sequence. Note too Priam's description of his slain son at ii.542-543.

¹⁴ Macrobius notes how this battered appearance hails from Ennius' lost *Alexander*, on which R.A. Brooks (1984: 252-254); for Ennian influence in general in this scene: H.D. Jocelyn (1967: 80, 232). R.G. Austin (1964: *ad loc.* 268-297) acknowledges Ennian inspiration but also notes the parallels with the ghost of Patroclus appearing before Achilles at *Iliad* xxiii.62-107.

region where the body lay, before the power of the sun might shrivel up the flesh round about on his tendons and limbs.^{15]}

Likewise, the sword jabs inflicted upon the flesh by the Greek soldiers standing over the corpse do not pierce; on the contrary, they seem to have a rejuvenating effect and Homer's character remains unaffected by his recurring mistreatment:

ἄλλοι δὲ περίδραμον υἱὲς Ἀχαιῶν,
οἳ καὶ θηήσαντο φυὴν καὶ εἶδος ἀγῆτον
Ἑκτορος· οὐδ' ἄρα οἳ τις ἀνουτητί γε παρέστη.
ὥδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον·
ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ μαλακώτερος ἀμφαφάσθαι
Ἑκτορ ἢ ὅτε νῆας ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ κηλέῳ.
(Hom. *Il.* xxii.369-374)

[And other sons of the Achaeans gathered round and gazed upon the stature and marvelous appearance of Hector; and not anyone stood there without inflicting a wound upon him. And looking at their neighbor someone would speak thus: "Wow! Surely Hector is softer to the touch now than when he burned the ships with blazing fire."]

While describing to Dido his nocturnal reunion with the shade of his cousin, one finds Aeneas being presented with a mutilated corpse and striving to recall him during prior moments of glory only to be overcome by the gore and copious wounds. Heavy emphasis is given to the battered state of the body, the direct result of his savage treatment at the hands of his Greek counterpart (ii.272-273; 277-279), while contrasting this grisly image with multiple remembrances of the Trojan's earlier heroic stature (ii.274-276):

...raptatus bigis ut quondam, aterque cruento
puluere perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis.

¹⁵ Mention of Apollo's protective shading surfaces again at xxiv.18-20.

ei mihi, qualis erat, quantum mutatus ab illo
 Hectore qui redit¹⁶ exuuias indutus Achilli
 uel Danaum Phrygios iaculatus puppibus ignis!
 squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis
 uulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros
 accepit patrios.

(ii.272-279)

[...Torn by the chariot as before, and black with bloody dust and pierced through his swollen feet by leather-thongs. Ah me, what a sort he was, how changed from that Hector who returned having donned Achilles' spoils or having hurled Phrygian fires upon the ships of the Greeks! He was wearing a ragged beard and locks matted with blood and those many wounds that he received around his native walls.]

Anchises' son recalls not only his cousin's prior beauty now tragically lost but also his greatness as a savior of Troy. Hector's status as a leader of the Trojans surely needs no qualification. Aeneas, though, despite playing only a minor role in the *Iliad*, Homer repeatedly lauds, listing him amongst the catalogues of Trojan chiefs (ii.819, xi.56, xii.98, xiv.421, xv.328, xvi.534) and often defining him vis-à-vis a connection with his cousin – be it in dire situations (v.466, vi.77, xvii.512, xvii.752); how he is “honored” like Hector (v.467-468); how both are linked together as being the best of the Trojans in battle and in counsel (vi.73-101; xvii.513). It is this association that helps add credibility to Aeneas' leadership position. In *Aeneid* iii, Andromache specifically speaks to Aeneas' continually being at Hector's side, prompting Servius to comment: *Hoc ad Aeneae pertinet gloriam, ut ab Hectore nunquam discessisse videatur*, “this applies to Aeneas' glory: That he never was seen to depart from

¹⁶ Conington-Nettleship (1871: *ad loc.*): The present tense makes the remembrance more vivid. S.C. Smith (1999: 243) comments on how the passage intentionally plays up the cruelty of Achilles and the ensuing torment while also pointing out that *qui redit exuuias indutus Achilli* corresponds with Hector's donning Achilles' armor at *Iliad* xxii.322-323 but is itself not Homeric phrasing. Smith here also notes how ii.270-279 contrasts the present with images of the past and focuses upon Hector's importance to Troy, two elements missing from the cold, clinical image of Hector's cadaver matter-of-factly lying on the ground at i.483-487.

Hector” (*ad loc.* iii.312). Given their intimacy,¹⁷ when Hector appears before his tribesman the latter should, one would expect, be both moved by the visitation and attentive to the cause behind the appearance.

Aeneas commented on Hector’s ghastly new visage, so changed from his handsomeness while alive. The pathos of the dreamscape is palable right from the start with not only the grisly images that must be endured but even in his setting the scene: *In somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector / uisus adesse mihi*, “lo! Most sorrowful Hector seemed to be before my eyes in a dream” (ii.270-271).¹⁸ The passage introducing this dream sequence similarly stresses the great relief of respite for the exhausted Trojans through another weighty superlative: *Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris / incipit et dono diuum gratissima serpit*, “twas the time at which first rest begins for weary mortals and, by the grace of the gods, a most welcome respite creeps in” (ii.268-269). The temporal introduction to the encounter writ large introduces the emotional setting by orchestrating an ominous tone with night blanketing the world and a zeugma of the physical world teaming up with Greek perfidy to work against Troy:¹⁹

Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox
inuoluens umbra magna terramque polumque
Myrmidonumque dolos; fusi per moenia Teucri
conticuere

(ii.250-253)

¹⁷ The two are also blood relatives, albeit distant third cousins through their great-grandfathers.

¹⁸ *Maestissimus*, a poignant Vergilian *hapax legomenon*. V. Pöschl (1950: 37) notes how the scene of Hector’s death and ransom on Juno’s temple in book i provokes the most violent reaction. A. Perutelli (1974: 262-263) notes how since the storyteller is recounting the events of book ii for his audience at Dido’s court, the presentation of the dream is all the more powerful in its pathos.

¹⁹ There is philological debate as to how best to interpret *ruit Oceano nox*, specifically whether night falls down to Ocean or runs up from Ocean, i.e., between *Oceano* in the dative or ablative case. I side with S.B. Mack (1980: 157-158) in reading a dative, thereby adding to the pallor and grimness of the episode. P.E. Knox (1989: 265) reads an ablative, although he does read ominous tones at work in the passage. J.N. Hough (1975: 24) writes how Vergil uses monosyllabic endings sparsely and deliberately to impart an aura of power to the context.

[Meanwhile, the sky is turning and night falls down to Ocean enveloping in its vast shadow the earth and sky and the treachery of the Myrmidons; through the city the Trojans, stretched out, silently slept²⁰]

Whilst Troy slumbers, Sinon, *fatisque deum defensus iniquis*, “protected by the unjust pronouncements of the gods” (ii.257), opens the gates for the Greeks to invade unnoticed and they quickly commence a massacre (ii.254-267). Against such a backdrop enters the shade.

What sort of figure is Hector here; what is his purpose in visiting his kinsman? In looking at the relationship between the supernatural and the human in the epic, N.C. Webb (1978/1980: 42) notes how the protagonist repeatedly needs some external motivation in order to grasp his mission. Indeed, the visions encountered in book ii are all representatives of the divine sphere; in the case of Venus and Creusa, this fact is definitively stated (ii.589-593; ii.777-779, 788). While Hector never openly avows himself a heaven sent specter, A.H.F. Thornton (1976: 89 n. 14) states: “The figures in the dreams of the *Aeneid* are either gods or dead people; the dead were also believed to be divine and so on a *par* with the gods.”²¹ Looking at the passage one finds that multiple verbal cues in the presentation of events point to the fact that the encounter has its genesis from the gods and Aeneas understands this to be the case: The drowsy setting is introduced as *donum deum*, “a gift of the gods” (ii.269); N.M. Horsfall (2008: *ad loc.* 270) attributes the language to the realm of prayer and of the presence

²⁰ In the underworld, the spirit of Deiphobus will confirm how the Trojans spent this night in *falsa gaudia*, “a false joy” (vi.513). R.D. Williams (1972: 233) notes the contrast between the state of “happy sleep” and the “terse statements of disaster.”

²¹ R. Heinze (1957: 25-28) analogously: “Hector is able to fulfil this function [i.e., to convince Aeneas to leave his homeland] better than any man alive, better than any other of the Trojan dead.” Vergil further wants the reader to find credibility in Hector’s prophetic ability by linking it up with multiple other speeches in book ii wherein speakers possess holy insight, notably, the sections of Panthus (ii.321-338), Venus (ii.588-623), and Creusa (ii.771-795). On the oracular power of the dead see Macr. *Somn. Scip.* 1.3.17. That Hector’s shade has neither divine nor paternal authority, see W. Kühn (1971: 42).

of deities (“on which that of Hector’s ghost is but a small variation”);²² surveying Hector’s ravaged appearance, Aeneas asks, *quae causa indigna serenos / foedavit uultus*, “what shameful cause has marred your clear and cloudless features” (ii.285-286)? “Clear and cloudless” marks R. Fagles’ (2006: 84) apt translation of *serenus*, a rendering that captures well the meteorological implications behind the adjective as it often applies to the sky and, by extension, becomes an epithet of Jupiter.²³ Finally, Hector’s concluding act directly links the specter with the gods: *Manibus uittas Vestamque potentem / aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem*, “in his hands he brings forth from the inner recesses of the sanctuary the fillets and mighty Vesta and her undying fire” (ii.296-297).

Yet instead of highlighting the divineness surrounding the apparition, the overall imagery is focused upon martial elements, whether successes or defeats in battle, and the general ferocity of war. When the scene segues into the address to Hector, it emerges that Aeneas’ mind, despite the sadness combat brings (as evidenced by the speech’s introductory lines), still focuses upon issues of war and action:

ultro flens ipse uidebar
 compellare uirum et maestas expromere uoces:
 ‘o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum,
 quae tantae tenuere morae? quibus Hector ab oris
 exspectate uenis? ut te post multa tuorum
 funera, post uarios hominumque urbisque labores
 defessi aspicimus! quae causa indigna serenos
 foedavit uultus? aut cur haec uulnera cerno?’
 ille nihil, nec me quaerentem vana moratur...
 (ii.279-287)

²² D.A. Campbell (1991: iii.157, 261) provides a catalogue of lyricists who make Hector semi-divine by making his father Apollo, perhaps further equating in the ancient reader’s mind his divine status.

²³ Per *OLD* i.a. By the same token, what is Hector other than *lux Dardaniae*, “the light of Dardania [Troy]” and *spes fidissima Teucrum*, “the surest hope of the Trojans” (ii.281), phrases stressing his prominence and supreme ability to dictate Troy’s fall or survival?

[I myself willingly crying seemed to address the man and utter sad words: "O light of Dardania, o surest hope of the Trojans, what so great delays held (you)? From which shores do you come, long-awaited Hector? After many funerals of your men, after the diverse sorrows of the people and the city, how we exhausted behold you! What shameful cause has marred your clear and cloudless features? Or why do I perceive these wounds?" He (replies) nothing and does not linger on me asking idle things...]

Hector's battered appearance has a distinct parallel with Sychaeus' advent, *in somnis*, "in a dream," to Dido (i.353-360): Both apparitions appear bruised and bloodied as at the time of their deaths; order their viewers to undertake journeys across the sea to found new homelands; and direct their recipients to take something of great value with them. Dido will, though, obey her husband's advice. In studying the manifestations of disfigured characters in Vergil, C.J. Fuqua (1982: 239) notes how such scenes all mark a shift where a character comprehends the present in order to look toward the future so as to be able to leave behind the past.²⁴

G.E. Duckworth (1956: 358) speaks of the epic's double causation where "divine motivation is present as a part of the epic tradition, but what a god or goddess usually does is merely to accentuate or inflame a state of mind already eager to do what the deity wishes." Duckworth, though, continues on to add that "divine intervention and psychological motivation combine to achieve...desired results" (359), in the process downplaying the notion of a character's mind interpreting, responding to the visions that appear. What we find vis-à-vis Hector's shade is a sleeping hero facing a supernatural image instructing him to turn his attention from Troy to the future and a new city. This, of course, is what he will

²⁴ On how dreams in Vergil amalgamate past, present, and future to show the interaction of the divine and human planes in the epic: J.B. Stearns 1927, 72-73.

inevitably do, the required action dictated by Rome's foundation legend. Yet Vergil allows his protagonist to ignore such advice and choose to do the opposite, to work counter to his fate; indeed, Aeneas awakens and reacts as if the dream never happened and never speaks a word about the vision to anybody. Hector appears before his addressee as a delegate from the heavenly realm, yet the encounter itself is heavily demonstrative of Aeneas' own personal inclinations and how here we have a case of the poetic level action and the personal will of Aeneas, i.e. the mission and the man, not in harmony.²⁵ D.C. Woodworth (1930: 124-125) takes the analysis a step further and notes how the actions of the characters are carefully motivated by Vergil without reference to any deific machinery and humans are intended to be morally responsible for their actions. The gods, for Woodworth, are interwoven into the narrative to show how all significant human actions – and I would add inaction – are related to a higher purpose by their ascription to godly intermediation.

I will be careful not go so far as to say the vision is an internal manifestation of Aeneas' own creation; however, he takes away from the conference what he wants. He does not digest Hector's appeal but seizes upon the martial aspects present in the dream, interpreting that to be its message: Fight not flight is what is imperfectly taken away from the nocturnal meeting. Similarly, while this mangled Hector may stand as a divinely sent image representing ruin for Troy, Aeneas does not see such an interpretation.²⁶ P. Kragelund (1976), in a monograph

²⁵ A.M. Parry (1963: 72) wisely notes how over the course of the epic Aeneas must learn not to resist the forces that are greater than himself and must submit to something larger than himself, namely Rome; I take umbrage, however, with Parry's idea that Aeneas from the start is absorbed in his own destiny, a destiny which does not ultimately relate to him, but to something later, larger, and less personal, "and throughout he has no choice."

²⁶ Note too Kragelund (1976: 29) associates, in a more general sense, mutilated bodies with death or bad omens, citing as evidence the arboreal Polydorus at iii.22ff. Donatus comments how even if the spirit had not spoken, his appearance would naturally have suggested that something terribly wrong is afoot. A. Rapaport (1930: 163) sees Aeneas as focused on a past which will have to be left behind but notes how the hero's inability to interpret the message arises due to his focus on the appearance of Hector and what happened to him, as opposed to what the disfigurement represents.

applying a semantic and semiotic approach to the dream, argues that in Roman divination deformed figures foretell the fall of a city (11) and attests that Aeneas understands this to be the case but in his dream pretends not to, instead trying to delude himself that what he sees is not what he sees (32).²⁷ To Kragelund, the opening remarks consist of platitudinous clichés employed by the speaker to ignore what he truly sees, trying to negate the scene's visible darkness with a false hope (ii.281-283); the speech then continues onto how the war is over and Aeneas loses himself in memories of the conflict not in order to express how happy he is that it is over but in order to persuade himself that this is actually the case (ii.283-285); finally, Aeneas comes to the revelation that he was trying to deceive himself (ii.285-287).

Kragelund's interpretation has, fairly, encountered criticism.²⁸ Aeneas is not attempting to con himself into putting off or purposely misinterpreting Hector's death but he is in a state of trying to understand what is going on in Troy while he sleeps. I am intrigued by Kragelund's (1976: 39-40) focus on *si mens non laeva fuisset*, "if rational thought had not gone away" (ii.54), and how the Trojans could have interpreted properly the disaster lurking in Epeus' horse. But, of course, they do not. This rueful statement reflects Aeneas' lamentation of events during his recital before Dido and Kragelund links this misreading of an omen with Aeneas' dream in that in both the movement is from a state of pretending to see what he wants to see to a state of accepting how things really stand. It is only in retrospect that Anchises' offspring grasps that the portents have all along been foreshadowing what

²⁷ Cf. C.G. Heyne 1767-1803, *ad loc.* ii.282; Conington-Nettleship 1871, *ad loc.* ii.282; H.-R. Steiner 1952, 30-31.

²⁸ M.C.J. Putnam (1977: 482) takes issues with Aeneas, in his narratorial voice to Dido, accusing himself of *quaerens vana*, "asking idle things" (ii.287), if he was asking Hector in a state of deliberate self-delusion. A.M. Crabbe (1978: 251) also takes issue with *quaerens vana* and how Kragelund disregards ii.279-280, which sets a woeful tone not of optimistic self-delusion but of genuine regret for the past.

would happen (Kragelund, 1976, 42). When the weary warrior lays his head to rest, does he even remotely sense that the Greeks lurk within the horse's womb?

When the Trojans initially discover the horse standing on the beach and question its purpose and significance, *scinditur incertum studia in contraria uulgus*, "the crowd, uncertain, stand divided in adverse groups of supporters" (ii.39). Immediately the cunning Sinon emerges and begins spinning his duplicitous tale (ii.77); once finished, Priam responds, expressing a hint of doubt concerning Sinon's authenticity (ii.148); the Greek continues weaving his lies and eventually persuades the horde to accept the offering into their city walls (ii.195); this course of action is reinforced by Laocoön's and his sons' serpentine deaths (ii.195-227). Thus cajoled into accepting the Greek offering as a sure token of their return home, the Trojans cannot even decipher the significance of its repeated defiance to cross the city's threshold, each jarring halt throwing the Greek armor hidden inside against the horse's flanks resulting in an audible crash – not to mention the unheeded words of the eternally dismissed Cassandra (ii.242-247). There is no doubt as to the validity of Sinon's tale and the votive qualities of the equine offering and the Trojans celebrate victory achieved.

As briefly mentioned above, when Aeneas in his narrative sets the scene of Troy's last night, he speaks of how *defessi*, "exhausted," the whole town is. At the outset of the whole dream episode, for the Trojans *sopor fessos complectitur artus*, "sleep enfolds their weary limbs" (ii.253). This *fessus*, "weary," is expanded upon at ii.265 where the Greeks *inuadunt urbem somno uinoque sepultam*, "invade the city buried in sleep and wine." The two ideas here, though linked with the connective *-que*, in actuality express a dichotomy amongst the denizens of Troy. Some are tired with genuine sleep, fatigued after not only ten years of near constant battling but also, more directly, the arduous task of rolling the massive horse into

the city, a task that ran across repeated resistance (ii.242-243); some slumber drowsy thanks to wine and festive rejoicing (ii.238-239).²⁹ Aeneas falls into the former category and ii.285 stresses his physical exertion in events.³⁰

I would now like to discuss how by the time Aeneas questions Hector he is in fact starting to sense in his acknowledged light slumber (ii.268) that externally the Greek element has already breeched the gates and his natural line of questioning equates a call to battle.³¹ The meeting with the deceased son of Priam, the savior of Troy, conjures up thoughts of Greek supremacy and plants in Aeneas' sleeping mind questions surrounding the credibility of Agamemnon's order to sail home and abandon the war. Indeed, as the lines immediately following the shade's coming note, the tumult of the Greek invasion is ongoing and growing louder and clearer all the while:

Diuerso interea miscentur moenia luctu,
et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis
Anchisae domus arboribusque oblecta recessit,
clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror.
excitior somno et summi fastigia tecti
ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus asto:
(ii.298-303)

[Meanwhile, the city is thrown into confusion by grief from different directions, and, although the house of father Anchises stood back, remote and covered with trees, the

²⁹ The schism is further suggested at vi.509-534 where Deiphobus, recounting his betrayal by Helen the night Troy fell, describes the women joyfully celebrating while he himself slinks off to bed *confectum curis somnoque grauatum*, "worn out with cares and heavy with sleep" (vi.520). Conington-Nettleship (1871: *ad loc.*) interprets *confectum curis* as "spent with the labors of the siege." J. Schrader (1776: *ad loc.* vi.520) suggests an emendation of *choreis* for *curis*, which downplays the exhaustion caused by the war campaign by instead attributing it to too much partying. Servius too finds the *curis* cryptic, even paradoxical: *Atqui vacaverat gaudiis*, "and he who had time for celebratory revelries." E. Norden's (1903) commentary finds the line a natural reflection of Deiphobus' dignity and heroic stature.

³⁰ Kragelund (1976: 37) notes how *defessus* in the poem generally marks a situation of despair and despondency, citing i.157, ii.565, vii.126. This, then, only helps add to the overall pathos of the scene that we have been continually pointing out.

³¹ The same case will be made that Dido has an idea that something has happened to her husband Sychaeus when he appears before her (i.353-360), as to be discussed later in this chapter.

din of arms grows more and more clear and their shaking impends. I arouse myself³² from sleep and I ascend the roof of the high house by climbing and stand with perked ears:]

To reiterate Kragelund's interpretation: In reading Hector, Aeneas does not strive to conjure up a time when the war is over or to reanimate his slain cousin; yet neither does he forget that the war is indeed over, Hector has perished, and the Greeks have fled.³³ Having gone to sleep assured that all was at peace, the hero senses an external racket in his light sleep growing louder and louder³⁴ and wants information, a sense of understanding, bearing. R.G. Austin (1964: xiv) observes: "In this book [ii] Aeneas . . . is a brave but bewildered man."

A logical question that deserves to be asked is just where does this vision of Hector come from and what is the reason for its appearance?³⁵ Hector seemingly calls upon Aeneas to pass along a rough outline of his mission to take to the seas and seek new walls in which Troy can live on, warning him to flee so as to be able to bring this to fulfillment. This, though, is far from the *raison d'être* of his arrival and so too Aeneas will ignore this directive. Ostensibly, the appearance is poetically necessary for a myriad of reasons that will be hashed

³² The form of *excutor* is medio-passive and difficult to translate. I opt for a middle translation rather than a passive to capture the idea of Aeneas' wanting, to a degree, to jump into, or at least respond, the fray going on externally. For the warrior to be thrown docilely into action weakens his martial resolve and dismisses the idea that he can have a say, or even a personality, in his preordained life's plan.

³³ As per E. Adler (2003: 265). Adler goes on to equate this forgetfulness with Lucretius, *DRN* i.124ff., iv.722ff., where the philosopher postulates how in sleep the senses and memory are dormant and unable to refute falsehoods with known truths, notably at i.267-269. Adler (2003: 269n16) also contrasts Aeneas not remembering Hector's dream with Dido awakening from her dream-vision of Sychaeus *his commota*, "stirred up by these things" (i.360) and Achilles' awakening from his dream-vision of Patroclus (Hom. *Il.* xxiii.101.)

³⁴ N.B. the inchoative at v. 300, *clarescunt*, a Vergilian *hapax legomenon*, helping to show how the sounds are gradually entering into a slumbering consciousness. Anchises' home sits in a secluded, remote spot hidden by a grove of trees (ii.299-300), a telling geographical detail that further helps to explain how Aeneas hears the distant din taking place in other areas of the city yet is quickly spreading to reach all corners of Troy. Had Anchises opted for a townhouse downtown, the Greek blitzkrieg might very well had been more clearly audible, and Aeneas' death not so inescapable.

³⁵ We should also note that Vergil might very well be influenced by how some versions of the legend attest that Aeneas receives prognostic guidance in dreams, on which see Cic. *De Div.* i.43.

out further *infra*: To exculpate Rome's founder from charges of cowardice and having abandoned Troy in her hour of need; to explain away the charge that he was working in conjunction with the Greeks on the night Troy fell, an indictment vindicated by the immediately following feats (ii.386-395); to give concrete, visual confirmation of Troy's downfall. Yet the most important aspect for our discussion of Aeneas' character is that Hector's appearance represents a specter speaking with divine authority who reveals his recipient's internal concerns for Troy³⁶ and his overall personality through his visit. Drifting off into sleep assured of Troy's victory (as we discussed *supra*), Aeneas envisions his fallen comrade in a portrait that struggles, ultimately in vain, to highlight his fighting prowess but which instead confirms the Greek's combative excellence. Restlessly half-asleep with the din of battle growing increasingly around him, the dreamer then addresses the image in a speech that concludes with an emphasis on the woes of war, a discourse that commenced with underscoring the call to action (ii.281-286).

Looking at Hector's response will help shed some further light on just what Vergil wants his reader to walk away with from this whole nocturnal conference:

...sed grauit̃er gemitus imo de pectore ducens,
 'heu fuge, nate dea, teque his' ait 'eripe flammis.
 hostis habet muros; ruit alto a culmine Troia.
 sat patriae Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra
 defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.
 sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis;
 hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere
 magna pererrato statues quae denique ponto.'
 (ii.288-295)

³⁶ N.B.: Aeneas uses first person plurals as he voices the people's toils and long waiting for Hector (ii.282-285). Only near the end of his speech does he segue into a first person singular (ii.286). Cf. A. Rapaport (1930: 166) who agrees that Aeneas' dream reflects what he hears going outside his bedroom, but also of the advice he wants to hear, namely Aeneas is looking for the divine sanction necessary for a hero seeking to flee the fatherland.

[...But gravely leading forth sighs from the depths of his heart he says, "Alas, son of a goddess, flee and tear yourself from the flames. The enemy has the walls; Troy falls from her lofty summit. Enough has been given (by you) to the country and Priam: If Pergama could be defended by any right-hand, they too would have been defended by this hand here. Troy entrusts her sacred relics and household gods to you; take them as comrades of fate, seek mighty walls for them, which you will establish at last with the sea having been traversed.]

In a nutshell Priam's son declares: The Greeks have the upper hand now, you have done enough but no one can stop them (or else I would have), grab the local divinities and bolt. The most important clause of Hector's message is the qualification that no one's hand can save the city,³⁷ a direct appeal for the suspension of soldierly instincts, clearly ignored by our hero who awakes craving arms and engagement (ii.313-317). In an interlude of victory over the seemingly departed Greek armada, the dream still defines Hector as the bulwark of the Trojan forces and expresses dismay at, and seems to be approaching rebuke for, his absence from recent events. The two questions in Aeneas' speech find a parallel in the succeeding scene of Troy's final night when a Greek soldier, Androgeos, mistakes Aeneas and his cohorts for allies and urges them to hasten into the fray:

'festinate, uiri! nam quae tam sera moratur
segnities? alii rapiunt incensa feruntque
Pergama: uos celsis nunc primum a nauibus itis?'
(ii.373-375)

["Hurry, men! For what so tarrying sluggishness delays? Others are plundering and carrying off the burning Trojan citadel: Are you now first arriving from the tall ships?"]

³⁷ Note too Hecuba at ii.522.

Thus here we see a default setting of execution and exploit. Our hero will not flee Troy; his inclination is still of loyalty to his homeland. As a human with only partial knowledge he does not yet stand ready to recognize what the gods know and are here allowing him to know. It is not Hector's purpose to respond to empty questions, and that is all Aeneas has at this time: Questions of war in an hour when said matters prove futile and ought to be dismissed.³⁸

Immediately upon waking, Creusa's husband climbs to the highest peak of their home's roof seeking to discover the origins of the pandemonium whereat he equates himself, via simile, with a shepherd trying to understand the furious power of nature that he perceives off in the distance, why this destruction occurs, and to what extent the damage has reached (ii.304-308). This pastor, *inscius*, "unknowing" (ii.308), *stupet*, "stands in awe" (ii.308) of the catastrophes affecting the land. While spinning his lies surrounding the true nature of the horse, Sinon asked, *tu modo promissis maneat seruataque serues / Troia fidem, si uera feram, si magna rependam*, "only, Troy, may you keep your promises [of providing me safe-haven] and, made safe, keep your word, if I speak the truth, if I repay you great things" (ii.160-161). Once perched on the rooftop *tum uero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt / insidiae*, "then, truly, the truth becomes evident, the treachery of the Greeks begins to reveal itself" (ii.309-310). Just as the riotous mob awaits direction from a civic leader in an earlier simile that directly reverberates here (i.148-152), the hero starts to grasp the full extent of the Greek assault,³⁹ he witnesses fire running rampant throughout the city (ii.310-312) and hears the Greek trumpets

³⁸ H.-R. Steiner (1952: 31) notes the contrast between the weight of the task assigned and the idle questions on which Aeneas focuses.

³⁹ N.B.: The inchoative *patescunt*. We shall also note that Hector's description of the Greek assault is both terse and unspecific (ii.290).

urging on the charge (ii.313). He then runs into the fray in a wild attempt to provide any assistance he can:

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.
(ii.314-317)

[Frantic, I take up arms; yet there is not enough of a plan⁴⁰ in arms, but my spirit burns to gather a band for battle and to run to the citadel with allies; frenzy and rage toss my mind headlong, it appears beautiful to die in arms.]

This is a visceral reaction to the situation now perceived, a response that has gained admonishment from a number of modern scholars and is quite often considered a prime example of mad, uncontrolled martial rage.⁴¹ The Trojan prince needs to attempt all that he can to save Troy, as he himself attests:

Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum
testor, in occasu uestro nec tela nec ullas
uitauisse uices Danaum et, si fata fuissent
ut caderem, meruisse manu.⁴²
(ii.431-434)

⁴⁰ I would like to thank Professor H.-P. Stahl for pointing me to Caes. *BC* for a parallel passage: *Caesar a superioribus consiliis depulsus omnem sibi commutandam belli rationem existimavit*, “Caesar, disappointed by his first intentions, decided that the whole plan of the war needed to be altered” (iii.73.1).

⁴¹ In connection with the *inscius* simile, W.S. Anderson (1968: 7) characterizes Venus’ son’s response as “irrational;” R.A. Hornsby (1968: 147-148) thinks that Aeneas acts willfully but wrongly, in direct disregard of the injunctions relayed. C.J. Fuqua (1982: 239) comments how the dream helps point out “the ironies of the traditional heroic code and the need to transcend it.” K.F. Quinn (1968: 21) calling the heroic impulse here a “folly;” C.J. Fuqua (1982: 236) labels it “short-sighted.” On Vergil inspired by the Homeric motif of the mutilated corpse to denote the nature and extremes of heroic conduct: C.P. Segal 1971, *passim*. As mentioned in the first chapter, B.F. Otis (1963) sees Aeneas’ character developing over the course of the epic from the primitive code of the Homeric world into that of Augustan Age enlightenment. R. Heinze (1903: 32) views Aeneas as acting out *Wut der Verzweiflung*, “a rage of despair,” at the hopelessness of the present situation.

⁴² R.A.B. Mynor’s OCT, our default text, prints a comma after *uices*, thereby taking *Danaum* with *manu*. R.G. Austin (1964: *ad loc.*), followed by N.M. Horsfall (2008: *ad loc.*), removes the comma and re-punctuates so as to have *Danaum* a genitive associated with *tela*, a move I support.

[Ashes of Troy and final flames of my people, I call upon you to testify that on the occasion of your ruin I shunned neither the Greeks' spears nor other hazards and, if it had been fated that I fall, I earned that right by my own actions.]

In studying Aeneas' celestial intercessions, P.B. Kyriakou (1999: 320 n. 9) concludes that the function of such installments is not merely to foretell future events but rather to bolster the morale of the often hesitant or weary hero by a concealment of unpleasant facts surrounding his mission.⁴³ In reading Aeneas' address to the visiting shade, M.C.J. Putnam (1977: 482) sees him yearningly imagining away a death that would force him to lead, to face actively Hector's oracular undertaking. A.H.F. Thornton (1976: 89) reads the Trojan's *amens* (i.317) as "beside himself with grief." Aeneas feels grief for Troy and the devastation going on, however, it is not any sadness that drives him on but the innate desire to do what he can to counteract the manifest danger facing Troy.⁴⁴ He does not hesitate but, having sensed and then discovered danger facing the city, he instinctively runs to arms, unmindful of the flight decree⁴⁵ but, as we have seen, highly fixated on, and spurred on by, the ghastly images of Hector slain in battle. Indeed, Aeneas ignores the advice but takes his own from the bellicose imagery surrounding, even defining from Aeneas' point of view, Hector's image.

While Aeneas is standing there trying to garner the full extent of the catastrophe and figure out the best way he can respond to it, the priest Panthus arrives, himself also running around Troy *amens* in the face of the circumstances befalling the city (ii.321). The arrival of this holy figure toting sacred relics, the conquered gods of Troy, and his own wee

⁴³ See too E. Block 1984, 224-254; J.J. O'Hara 1990, 88-122.

⁴⁴ W.A. Camps (1969: 26) describes Aeneas' impulse as "plainly what Roman sentiment would approve." Cf. P.J. Burrell (1982: 69): "The thirst for death and blood that Aeneas initially shows at Troy would have been a kind of heroism traditionally repellent to the Romans."

⁴⁵ R. Heinze (1903: 26) states how it has no immediate consequence, and is never alluded to again; B.F. Otis (1963: 241) notes that the entire dream sequence does not entail any major shift in action.

grandchildren, in no way turns Aeneas' attention to Hector's mandate; instead, the warrior questions the vicar in explicitly militaristic fashion about the most advantageous stronghold to take up: '*Quo res summa loco, Panthu? quam prendimus arcem?*,' "where is the most advantageous location, Panthus? What stronghold are we to take up?" (ii.322).⁴⁶ The response helps to knock Aeneas out of his *inscius*, "unknowing," state by revealing how the gods have sanctioned Troy's fall (ii.324-327); Sinon's trickery vis-à-vis the horse (ii.328-330); how a huge number of Greek troops clog the city streets (ii.330-334), an idea that will be echoed repeatedly;⁴⁷ and, finally, how any attempt to put up resistance is to engage *caeco Marte*, "in blind conflict" (ii.334-335), to sally forth without a plan, as was the case at ii.314.

Of course, the ensuing action finds Aeneas doing just that, almost instinctively drawn to the skirmish: *Talibus Othryadae dictis et numine diuum / in flammis et in arma feror*, "by such words from the son of Othrys, and by the divine authority of the gods, I am thrust amongst the fires and arms" (ii.336-337). The medio-passive verb *feror*, a "dearly beloved" form of Vergil's,⁴⁸ signals "swift and not always willed motion,"⁴⁹ which seems apropos since the Trojan subconsciously must carry himself into harm's way, as his nature dictates.⁵⁰ The unspecified *numen diuum*, "divine authority of the gods,"⁵¹ I take to refer to the idea brought up in connection with the nocturnal shade, namely that Aeneas understands the vision to be

⁴⁶ *Quo res summa loco* has a parallel in Livy's *eodem et duo duces et duo exercitus Carthaginiensium, ibi rem summam agi cernentes, conuenerunt*, "likewise, the two leaders and two Carthaginian armies convened where they perceived held the most advantage" (xxiii.49.8). See too R.G. Austin (1964: *ad loc.*).

⁴⁷ At ii.424, 467, 496.

⁴⁸ N.M. Horsfall (2003: *ad loc.* 623), per vii.381, 673.

⁴⁹ E. Henry 1989, 87.

⁵⁰ H.-P. Stahl (1981: 172-173) refers to Aeneas' actions at ii.314-434 as a "kind of spontaneous fighter whose natural, almost instinctive inclination is to court death on the battlefield." Stahl (1981: 174) continues to discuss how in books one and two, Vergil works to present a picture of Aeneas' warrior side, "his greatness and spirit as an undaunted and undefeatable warrior," who ultimately at the epic's conclusion gets to kill Achilles (in the form of Turnus), an achievement denied him in the *Iliad*.

⁵¹ R.G. Austin (1964: *ad loc.*) comments: "*Numine diuum*: Mysterious."

divine and, therefore, when he takes from it his own directive to focus upon martial aspects, in the process ignoring Hector's word but not his warrior form. Similarly, from Panthus, who is, after all, Apollo's acolyte, Rome's founder learns for a second time that all is lost; and this time, fully awake, he recalls the warning (ii.348-354) – but instead takes it as a call to arms.⁵²

After resolving on combat and running into battle, five other Trojans (ii.339-346) *addunt se socios*, “join themselves (with me) as allies” (ii.339). Once assembled, Aeneas surveys the band and gives a rousing speech (ii.348-354) urging them to follow him *audens extrema*, “daring the very worst” (ii.349), since, per Panthus, the gods have abandoned Troy and, in the face of the Greek onslaught, the only hope for salvation is to fight to the death. The speech enflames the men, *sic animis iuuenum furor additus*, “thus fury was placed to the youth's spirits” (ii.355),⁵³ pushing them forth from their initial state of inactivity, *quos ubi confertos audere in proelia uidi*, “where I saw those who gathered had the courage for battle” (ii.347).⁵⁴ In connection with the effect of Aeneas' speech on the assembled group, I see a tangible development at work here: The assembled horde enter the picture and stand by their leader's side, who, surveying the hand he has been dealt, sees that they have courage to fight but are not yet doing so (and there is no textual indication to imply that they have been, only the spatial demarcation that as Aeneas is running through the moonlight, the five *lateri*

⁵² G.E. Duckworth (1956: 357 n. 4), commenting on how the priest's description of the fall of the city only strengthens Aeneas' determination to fight, deems part of Vergil's rehabilitation of Aeneas as a worthy ancestor of the Roman people. The Trojan hero must fight to the bitter end rather than leave the city at the first news of disaster.

⁵³ We shall turn to the nature of *furor* in a later chapter in connection with the slaying of Turnus.

⁵⁴ Here I veer from R.A.B. Mynors' OCT, which, following J.F. Gronovius' emendation in the 18th-century, favors *ardere*, “to burn,” rather than the infinitive *audere*, “to have courage for,” found in the codices and printed by R.G. Austin. (Austin's text, it should be noted, follows the 1900 OCT edition of Sir F.A. Hirtzel, the predecessor of Mynors' text.) I understand that *ardere in proelia* is Vergilian idiom.

adglomerant nostro, “add to our flank” [ii.341]).⁵⁵ Only following the battle cry oration is the group now stirred up to engage as Aeneas asserts himself as a leader.

Thus fueled, the band is then compared via simile to a pack of raving wolves running rabid with insatiable rage forgetful of their families (ii.355-360) they run into the *mêlée* and immediately see piles of slain Trojans lying everywhere (ii.361-369). In the midst of the chaos, a Greek platoon led by Androgeos mistakes the men for Greeks; the Trojans kill the pack and don their armour and, thus deceptively equipped, they can infiltrate the Greek ranks and enjoy some success (ii.370-401). This putting on of disguises is tragically unnecessary: The Trojans were doing fine and *aspirat primo Fortuna labori*, “Fortune smiled upon our initial efforts” (ii.385); instead, cloaked in their masquerades *uadimus immixti Danaï haud numine nostro*, “we proceed, mingling with the Greeks, under a hardly favorable divine presence” (ii.396) and by ii.412 the whole undertaking is labeled *error*, “a mistake.” This sidebar, in part, helps dispel variant traditions that assert that Rome’s forefather sold out Troy to the Greeks and on the night of its fall was spotted in cahoots with the enemy.⁵⁶ In the midst of this cloaked assault, Coroebus, a Phrygian royal who immigrated to Troy in an effort to woo Cassandra,⁵⁷ notices his beloved bound and being kicked around and temporarily assumes command leading the gang to attempt her rescue (ii.402-437). One might think this would turn Aeneas’ mind toward thoughts of Creusa but while there is still room to fight, even

⁵⁵ I am aware of the possible awkwardness in having two forms of *audere* within a two line span (ii.347, 349) and understand how a scribe could have mistakenly changed *ardere* to *audere* by looking ahead. Regardless, I like the idea that a leader, sensing his supporters ready for battle, informs them that he himself is also ready for war.

⁵⁶ See, e.g., Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* i.48.3. See too G.K. Galinsky (1969: 47-50) on Aeneas’ potential cowardice or treason here.

⁵⁷ Therefore, this whole failed mission of changing armor originates with a non-Trojan. Also, we should note that Aeneas himself probably, the text is ambiguous, does not don a foreign panoply, again so Vergil can refute Dionysius.

though it is an admitted fool's errand, he will do so and, as he says, *consequimur cuncti*, "we all follow" (ii.409) and fight until *obruimur numero*, "we are overrun by their numbers" (ii.424).⁵⁸ All posse members, with the exception of one, fall and reinforcements come in the form of two inept warriors, Iphitus, an old man, and Pelias, who has been wounded in the foot by Odysseus.

Hearing the siege of the citadel, the three run there and observe Trojans up on the roof tearing off the tiles and ripping down the turrets for ammunition to hurl at the invaders. As Aeneas reports: *His se, quando ultima cernunt, / extrema iam in morte parant defendere telis*, "with these weapons, sensing it the end, they prepare to defend themselves now on the brink of death" (ii.446-447).⁵⁹ In spite of the hopelessness of the situation, *instaurati animi regis succurrere tectis / auxilioque leuare uiros uimque addere uictis*, "our spirits were reinvigorated to bring aid to the palace and to relieve our men with aid and add strength to those beaten up" (ii.451-452). This last ditch martial effort renews Aeneas' zeal, which has been waning in the face of impending defeat impossible to counter and he scales up to the roof of the castle to take part in the assault helping to knock a defensive tower down upon the Greeks (ii.464-465).

The Trojans fighting at the palace are warriors by accident, *Dardanidae*, "the children of Dardanus" (ii.445), who happen to be there⁶⁰ and, given the impending onslaught they are facing, fight back. As far as Vergil tells us, none of them had a divine mandate to run, and

⁵⁸ Note too that Aeneas enters the palace through a secret entryway through which *saepius Andromache ferre incommitata solebat / ad soceros et auo puerum Astyanacta trahebat*, "Andromache, unattended, quite frequently used to carry wee Astyanax to his grandparents" (ii.456-457). This familial picture too does not turn Creusa's spouse towards thoughts of home.

⁵⁹ Verse ii.459 directly qualifies these weapons as *inrita*, "useless."

⁶⁰ N.M. Horsfall (2008: *ad loc.*) notes how the generalizing *Dardanidae* is "used with no special point here."

without this head start out of danger, or a guiding goddess clearing a path, as Aeneas will enjoy with Venus, they are stuck to do what they can, fight back with insufficient tools against an insurmountable foe. Similarly, Aeneas' two sidekicks at this point are both infirm and unfit for duty who nevertheless have no other option than to fight to the death. Indeed, the Greeks keep coming and coming, stout, well-armed warriors (ii.476-485, 491) in a continuous wave (ii.496-499). Of the five men who initially stood with Aeneas, only one Vergil qualifies as a warrior, Epytus (ii.339-340), and beyond Coroebus, whom Vergil tells us came for Cassandra's hand, the rest are souls who simply appear without comment and who are quickly dispatched.⁶¹ In summing up Coroebus' fate, Aeneas, ironically, without any self-reflection, laments the Phrygian's lot: *Infelix qui non sponsae praecepta furentis / audierit*, "unfortunate, he who did not hear the prophecies of his frenzied wife" (ii.345-346).

With nowhere to go, everyone dies. Only the titular hero makes it out thanks to another divine intervention. Before this happens though, Priam's slaughter must be witnessed as Anchises' son must learn for himself that the king is truly dead and be able to attest to said fact (ii.499-505). The scene plays out as follows: Seeing the palace walls penetrated, aged Priam takes up his armour only to be convinced by his wife Hecuba to seek refuge at an altar since all is lost (ii.506-525); Pyrrhus, Achilles' son, kills Polites in front of his parents' eyes (ii.526-532); Priam chastises the killer and tells him he does his father not proud (ii.533-546); Pyrrhus responds that he does not care and slays the king on the altar at which he sought refuge with a wound to the belly (ii.547-553); he then decapitates the monarch

⁶¹ Rhipeus falls at ii.426; Hypanis and Dymas at ii.428; Coroebus at ii.424. Epytus appears nowhere else in the poem. Did he make it out alive? Die in the fracas? Would Vergil have expounded upon Epytus in his planned revisions? N.M. Horsfall (2008: *ad loc.* 340) prints Iphitus, with extensive comment, none of which are germane to us here.

(ii.554-558). All this Aeneas witnessed first-hand from a secret, lofty vantage point he earlier scaled (ii.458).

G.W. Sanderlin (1972: 84) identifies Vergil's dilemma in book ii in that Troy cannot be saved and, therefore, the poet shifts the point of view in such a way as to make his protagonist more of an observer of the Trojan tragedy, which belongs to the past, while he acts more of a participant in the aftermath, which belongs to the (Roman) future.⁶² R. Heinze (1957: 41) concludes that book ii in general acts a messenger speech from tragedy and places Vergil's central character in the scornful position of watching the death of Troy's patriarch rather than acting out somehow.⁶³ As we have seen though, the onslaught cannot be stopped and even if one wanted to try to stay the hand of Pyrrhus (a difficult task at best given the Greek's strength and rage [ii.469-475, 491, 499-500]), the fall of Troy cannot be prevented, as we have been seeing; even Hecuba notes it (ii.521-523), commenting how not even her son could stop it now: *Non, si ipse meus nunc adforet Hector*, "not even if that Hector of mine were here now" (ii.522). This mention of deceased Hector has no effect on Aeneas.

A few lines later, Priam speaks of how *Achilles corpusque exsangue sepulcro / reddidit Hectoreum meque in mea regna remisit*, "returned the bloodless corpse of Hector to its sepulcher and sent me back to my kingdom" (ii.542-543). Priam and Hecuba's unembellished description of their dead son shares very little similarity with the gruesomeness of Hector that Aeneas describes appearing before him. Whereas Priam knows his son is dead and

⁶² On point-of-view symbolism and imagery in book ii: N.M. Horsfall 2000, 109-117. E.J. Kenney (1979: 109) discusses Vergil's "cinematographic" technique.

⁶³ Of course, N.B. Hector at ii.290.

watched it happen, he does not want to dwell on the details. But Anchises' son defines his cousin's mission to him not in the words that he speaks but by the battle scars on his flesh.

Perched up on high while the events unfold at the palace, it is neither the words of Hecuba nor the fate of Polites that makes the hero think of home. The recounting of events, we should recall, is taking place from the future, on the couches of Dido's banquet hall. As such, throughout most of the narration, Aeneas has been employing the perfect tense, perhaps switching into the present at times during similes, but playing the role of reporter. In wrapping up the image of Priam's death, however, we have a shift of tense in the narrative:

haec finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus illum
sorte tulit Troiam incensam et prolapsa uidentem
Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum
regnatorem Asiae. iacet ingens litore truncus,
auulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.
(ii.554-558)

[This was the end of Priam's destiny, by lot this death befell him, witnessing Troy ablaze and the Citadel raised, the once mighty master over so many Asian people and lands. A massive torso lies on the shore, and a head ripped from its shoulders and a body without a name.]

It is a moving experience not only for the audience hearing the tale but for its reciter who must revisit it and in so doing characterizes events as if going on in the moment.⁶⁴ While C. Knapp (1930: 103) notes how Aeneas is forgetful of all duty until he sees Priam, who is the embodiment of Troy in a way, die,⁶⁵ the king is also, lest we forget, a father, and the sight of

⁶⁴ K.F. Quinn 1963: 238. G.W. Williams (1983: 247): Vergil aims here to "to cancel the gap between the actual events and their narration; Aeneas, and his audience, are reliving the actuality of his experiences." M.A. Di Cesare (1974: 51) observes how *ingens truncus*, "massive torso" (ii.557), does not suit Priam, who has been depicted as a feeble old man, but now, in death, Aeneas sees him in this state, focusing upon his past heroic stature rather than his present helplessness.

⁶⁵ A.M. Bowie (1990: 472) too observes how Vergil intended Hector's death (as well as that of Priam) symbolic of the end of Troy.

him being struck down by *crudele vulnus*, “a cruel wound” (ii.561), grips Anchises’ son with *saeuus horror*, “wild terror” (ii.559). He thus turns for the first time to thoughts of his own domesticity: His *carus genitor*, “dear father” (ii.560); *deserta Creusa*, “forlorn Creusa” (ii.562); *direpta domus*, “ravaged home” (ii.563); and *parvus Iulus*, “wee Iulus” (ii.563). As for how he might save his family, Vergil does not share any plan and given Aeneas’ earlier disregard for Hector’s warning to flee, it is not immediately obvious that he now intends to flee the city with them. Indeed, the first thing the Trojan does is survey the martial resources he has at hand: *Respicio et quae sit me circum copia lustrō*, “I look back and take stock of what troops are around me” (ii.564). His assessment reveals that he alone remains up on the roof as *deseruere omnes defessi*, “all the men, exhausted, deserted” (ii.565), and they did not necessarily depart for safer ground but some committed suicide (ii.565-566).⁶⁶

Thus, by way of a generalizing recap, I am arguing that the Hector episode, as well as the ensuing scenes, exists as a moment where the divine and the human levels at work in the poem interact. The vision helps us see the character of Aeneas, a hero who cannot listen to the order to flee from the situation at hand and live for a destiny that will come about at a later date. The appearance thus represents a conversation that shows Aeneas’ desire to aid Troy in her time of need⁶⁷ delivered by a figure Aeneas knows to be dead and knows to speak with otherworldly authority.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Donatus *ad loc.* clarifies that the men are exhausted because defeat itself is exhausting, which explains their subsequent jumping off the roof into the flames below in the face of an unwinnable situation. Servius: *Doloris vox, non accusationis*.

⁶⁷ Cf. R.J. Clark (1998: 834-835), who correlates the visit of Hector and the “objective type” of Homeric dream in which the receiver of such hallucinations is “the passive recipient of an objective dream-figure.” Furthermore, Clark sees the ghost as trying to inform Aeneas of the invasion and devastation at hand: “The noise, the flames, and the fetching of the gods in Hector’s dream-message were a parallel enactment of the present” (837; also 841).

⁶⁸ Note too when Aeneas stops at “Toy Troy” in the next book, Andromache, upon seeing him, asks whether he is truly alive, or, if dead, then where is Hector:

Despite the sad tone of the dream stressing the supremacy and brutality of the Greeks⁶⁹ – not to mention Hector’s extremely gruesome visage and words of warning, Aeneas jumps up and defiantly runs to action. That Hector appears in the form of dream to a slumbering Aeneas does not explain nor justify Aeneas’ disregard for the vision’s content and instructions. Hector appears before his cousin as a deceased character who now speaks with divine authority and knowledge, and Aeneas knows this to be the case. Still, however, while the form of Hector Aeneas has no control over, he can interpret the specter of his dead cousin for himself and choose how to define the significance of the vision, ignoring the flight mandate but focusing upon the martial elements of the presentation. Although the war has ostensibly concluded and the Greeks have set sail for home, Aeneas senses throughout the encounter with Hector that this might not indeed be the case and upon awaking he immediately runs out to survey the damage (ii.298-308), and perceiving the full extent of the Greek invasion (ii.309-313), he calls for arms (ii.314-317). Aeneas has not awaken unmindful or forgetful of the dream; rather, the battered image of Hector and issues of war and battle, the main focus of Aeneas’ attention throughout the encounter, speak to Aeneas. An edict of

‘uerane te facies, uerus mihi nuntius adfers,
nate dea? uiuisne? aut, si lux alma recessit,
Hector ubi est?’

(ii.310-312)

[“Your face...do you come a real messenger here before me, son of a goddess? Are you alive? Or if the nurturing light has faded, where is Hector?”]

Not only do Andromache’s words express the belief that the dead possess knowledge the living are not privy to but they also reinforce the idea that Hector is dead, and his death was known far and wide amongst the Trojan community.

⁶⁹ N.M. Horsfall classifies Hector’s weeping, *uisus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus*, “he seemed to be before me and to be pouring forth abundant tears” (ii.270-271), as sadness over what he knows to be happening even as he speaks, namely the fall of Troy. Note too R.J. Clark, footnote 62 *supra*.

flight does not and when the hero arises to survey the ongoing destruction for himself, this evidence giving urgency to Hector's flee directive Aeneas takes as a call to arms.

Now of course Hector does not expound upon Aeneas' ultimate Roman mission nor does he explain why Troy has fallen. Venus, and then Creusa (and to a certain degree the priest Panthus), appears and reiterates the order to run for safety, all adding the important caveat that it is the will of the gods that Troy fall. Yet he still fails to embrace said intelligence, not yet ready to accept to his mission. Even when Aeneas eventually leaves the *mêlée*, it is out of necessity rather than an empirical choice, the only other option being to stay and face certain death. For the time being, though, Aeneas in his hopelessness to take on the Greek hoard finds a way to earn some renown through valor, even if it is a less than ideal situation, one that his mother will have to dissuade him from executing.

2.1.2 The Intervention of Venus

Now unaccompanied and unaided, Aeneas spots Helen cowering near the entrance to the Temple of Vesta and immediately any consideration for domestic concerns fall to the wayside as the hero debates internally whether or not to slay the Spartan, ultimately settling on her death (ii.567-588). This passage has caused a great amount of consternation amongst editors as to its authenticity as well as its location within the general sphere of book ii.⁷⁰ I read the

⁷⁰ Donatus skips over it entirely in his commentary. Servius preserves the passage but does not examine it in his commentary; he does, though, note how the section was excised by Vergil's literary executors Plotius Tucca and Lucius Varius Rufus. R.G. Austin (1964) prints it, placing a lacuna between ii.586-587. R.A.B. Mynors' OCT prints the episode but with the caveat that it should be excised. N.M. Horsfall (2008: 553-586) expunges the episode, justifying its removal in a lengthy appendix. I shall not rehash all the arguments pro and con here, on which, I will note a few sources: R.G. Austin (1964: 219) has a comprehensive bibliography of early sources on the matter; the first extensive discussion devoted exclusively to the passage is H.R. Fairclough 1906. G.P. Goold (1970) revisits the issues in a highly influential article. The most recent treatment, many points of which are worked into his aforementioned appendix, is that of N.M. Horsfall 2006a.

passage as genuine and in its proper place, a logical segue from the Aeneas that we have just laid out, a man who briefly recalls his domestic duty but then recognizes the loss of his comrades in arms. The hero does not start up for home, a rational maneuver given his situation, but remains in place for some time surveying the scene, *Erran[s] passimque oculos per cuncta feren[s]*, “pacing about and carrying my eyes randomly over everything” (ii.570).⁷¹ Once again Aeneas searches for some outlet rather than flight, and find it he does, a course of action that grants going after *invisa*, “an abhorred woman” (ii.574), who knows full well the animosity the Trojans feel toward her (ii.571-573).

Having spotted the Spartan queen, Aeneas soliloquizes, in the process demonstrating his priorities and the dominating martial imagery that sits forefront in his mind:

‘scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenae
aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho?
coniugiumque domumque patris natosque uidebit
Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris?
occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?
Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus?
(ii.577-582)

[“Shall this woman, unharmed, actually behold Sparta and her native Mycenae and travel as a queen in a procured triumph? Shall she see her husband, home, parents and offspring accompanied by a throng of Trojan women and Phrygian attendants? With Priam having died by the sword? Troy incinerated by fire? The Dardanian shore so often soaked in blood?]

The domestic concerns have no palpable effect on the Trojan prince. Despite introducing the scene with the patronymic *Tyndarida*, “daughter of Tyndareus” (ii.569), rather than a straightforward “Helen,” Aeneas shows no concern for his own father but instead with the

⁷¹ W.A. Camps (1969: 124-125) translates *errans* “as I hesitated,” citing lexical parallels. On the sense of unexpected suddenness, compare *aspicio* (ii.569), which R.G. Austin (1964: *ad loc.*) renders as “I catch sight of.”

Oath of Tyndareus, the treaty responsible for the Trojan War.⁷² The answer to Aeneas' questions, of course, is an emphatic *non ita*, "not a chance" (ii.583); instead, he has found an opportunity both to enact vengeance and become renowned for doing so. Just as Aeneas will not want to die passively at the hands of Aeolus' storm and be lost, unsung (i.94-101),⁷³ so too here he finds an avenue that will satisfy his personal desire for action and wish to be known for having aided Troy in her final hour, even if he has to earn such renown in the less than ideal circumstance of killing a woman:

namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
feminea in poena est, habet haec uictoria laudem;
extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis
laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuuabit
ultricis ꝑfamam et cineres satiasse meorum.'
(ii.583-587)

584 habet haec] nec habet *Seruii codd. recc.* 587 famam *Servii codd.* (*et famae et flammae recentiores*), *famae D Serv.*

[For even though there is no distinguished celebrity in the punishment of a woman – a conquest holding no praise⁷⁴ – nevertheless, I will be praised for extinguishing evil and for having exacted punishment, and it will be pleasing to have filled my soul with the fame of vengeance and to have appeased the ashes of my people.]

M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 24-25) reads the Helen episode in connection with Venus' first words to her son after he settles on her death – "*nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras? / quid furis?*," "son, what so great pain stirs up your uncontrollable anger? Why are you raging?" (ii.594-595) – as meant to convey a negative judgment of Aeneas' desire for vengeance

⁷² Similarly, the patronymic is highfalutin, poetic language worthy of Aeneas' mental state here of having found a situation that can garner him stature worthy of epic.

⁷³ A full discussion of this scene forthcoming in chapter three.

⁷⁴ I am reading *nec habet* here.

through the extraction of punishment, and of a woman at that.⁷⁵ The Trojan himself acknowledges the precarious situation vis-à-vis slaying a female but recognizes it as perhaps his last chance to do something noteworthy, as evidenced by the quick repetition of forms of *laudare/laus* (ii.584, 586), to earn some *fama*, “fame” (ii.587), and bring some relief to his deceased comrades.

Aeneas admits *furiata mente ferebar*, “I was rushing on with an enraged mind” (ii.588),⁷⁶ a state that he cannot necessarily control but is thrown upon him, as indicated through the medio-passive verb. Thus he presumably would have made the charge toward the cowering Spartan had not Venus taken it upon herself to intervene and stop her son: *Dextraque prehensum / continuit*, “she halted me, held up by her right hand” (ii.592-593). Unlike how Hector never overtly declares himself to be speaking with any divine authority but Aeneas understands him to be doing so, the goddess’ true self is openly revealed and there remains no doubt as to her divine status (ii.589-591, 606, 632). Venus’ speech begins with a reciting of events of which Aeneas himself is already fully aware: You are angry (ii.594-595) but should turn your attention to home (ii.596-598) since the Greeks surround them on all sides (ii.598-600);⁷⁷ you do not want to slay Helen – it is not her fault (ii.601-602). Of course, Aeneas has already at times internally considered all these points and chosen instead to engage the

⁷⁵ Studying the Helen episode in connection with Philodemus, J.B. Fish (2004) reads the passage as providing an instance where we see Aeneas gaining pleasure in doling out punishment, a state of mind from which the hero will transform: When he slays Turnus, the Trojan emerges as the wise man who can impose vengeance justly in that he does not do so for the sake of personal gratification.

⁷⁶ R.B. Egan (1996) reads Aeneas here as a maddened hero whose irrationality impairs his cognitive and visual acuity, blinding him from seeing that Helen is not actually Helen but in fact Venus. While I disagree with Egan’s thesis, I am intrigued by the idea that Aeneas misread his mom for a figure whom he could possibly kill.

⁷⁷ Venus here is being intentionally deceptive since the Greeks are not actually attacking Anchises house, which, once again, lies in a remote corner of Troy. She ties the general warring going on in Troy to the specific location of Aeneas’ home to give her son a sense of personal urgency to returning home to protect his family.

enemy as best he could.⁷⁸ Venus' speech quickly transitions into a revelation of the inevitability of Troy's collapse, a demise sanctioned and performed by the gods (ii.602-618), destruction that Venus shows to her son by removing the mist the clouds mortal vision.

Venus' revelatory images have made an impression on her son and, unlike with Hector, he will obey her injunction and bring her wish to fulfillment: *Tu ne qua parentis / iussa time neu praeceptis parere recusa*, "you, do not fear any of your mother's commands nor refuse to heed directions" (ii.606-607). The vocabulary surrounding the divine machinations against Troy highlights the martial prowess at work in its demise and gives Aeneas no other option but to obey the maternal command, *eripe, nate, fugam finemque impone labori*, "take flight, son, and put an end to your exertion" (ii.619). Here lies the empirical proof that Hector did not provide as evidence to back-up his similarly worded flee order. Venus' appearance and her injunctions sink into Aeneas because they speak to his internal desire to fight. She speaks of the gods razing Troy, which Panthus declared to be the case but which Aeneas now sees.

⁷⁸ G.B. Conte (1986: 196-208) argues on structural grounds that the Helen episode is authentic and stands as a reenactment of the Homeric scene where Achilles draws his hand in anger against Agamemnon but is ultimately stayed by Athena:

Πηλεΐωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ', ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ
στήθεσσιν λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριζεν,
ἦ ὅ γε φάσγανον ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ
τοὺς μὲν ἀναστήσειεν, ὃ δ' Ἀτρεΐδην ἐναρίζοι,
ἦε χόλον παύσειεν ἐρητύσειέ τε θυμόν.
ἦος ὃ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη
οὐρανόθεν:

(Hom. *Il.* i.188-195)

[Distress came upon the son of Peleus, and his heart within his shaggy breast was divided whether drawing his sharp sword from beside his thigh he should break up the assembly and slay the son of Atreus, or stay his anger and curb his spirit. While he pondered this in his mind and heart and was drawing from its sheath his great sword, Athena came down from heaven...]

This parallel helps emphasize how just as Achilles was already reaching for his sword while in the midst of an internal debate as to what he should do, Aeneas in a similar period of introspection settles on bloodshed against an enemy who has personally caused a personal affront.

B.C. Fenik (1959: 7ff.) discusses how the mist that Venus lifts from Aeneas' eyes so as to allow him to see the gods leveling the city symbolizes the blindness of *furor*; without the cloud, i.e., with the removal of *furor*, Aeneas' heroic qualities, as opposed to his human fallibility, shine. With the shroud lifted, though, Venus' tone becomes very didactic, the speech of a mother addressing a willful child with his own ideas of what he should do: ii.619 directly echoes Hector's words at ii.268ff. and harken back to Aeneas' dismissal of his cousin's guidance; in the middle of her illustration of the bellicose gods attacking Troy, Venus exhorts her son *respice*, "look more closely"⁷⁹ (ii.615), i.e. give the situation closer attention than you have been. As a result, *apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae / numina magna deum*, "dreadful forms appear and great power of the gods hostile to Troy" (ii.622-623). Aeneas now has a full picture of Troy's imminent ruin and a justifiable excuse for his flight, for to fight against the gods is futile (and of course, impious, but Aeneas' piety is another issue entirely).

V.A. Estevez (1981: 335) ultimately concludes that the argument for keeping or deleting the Helen-Venus passage all comes down to the readers and their own subjective interpretations of the hero since the aside gives Aeneas a stronger justification for fleeing Troy but also makes him all the more culpable for his subsequent (ii.668) discounting of Venus' disclosures and instructions. While I am hesitant to completely eschew the manuscript tradition, Estevez raises an intriguing point in that Aeneas should now be willing to flee; however, as we will see, with Anchises having refused to leave the house, the dutiful son cannot very well make it out of Troy having left his father to face certain death. Thus

⁷⁹ The translation of E. Adler 2003, 274.

Aeneas' call for arms and election to reenter the fray occur, once again, in the face of having no other course of action to pursue that would keep his name alive or earn him fame.

Aeneas' meeting with his mother temporarily turns his thoughts away from war and seeking to earn glory through martial exploits to the rescue of his family.⁸⁰ Venus has shown her son empirical evidence of Troy's loss, a hopelessness Hector spoke of but did not demonstrate to Aeneas firsthand. Finally, Aeneas' attention turns to flight from the city,⁸¹ although as we shall see it is a temporary farsightedness and our hero will once again myopically focus upon living on through earning some fame on the field of battle, despite the impossibility of successfully saving the city.

2.1.3 The Shade of Creusa

Venus directed her son to remember his family and domestic duty and promised to lead him safely home through the tumult, a divine guidance twice mentioned in close proximity (ii.619-620; 632-633) that further emphasizes the omnipresent peril running rampant to Troy's ruin. Rushing homeward, Aeneas' thoughts momentarily turn to his family, notably his father *quem tollere in altos / optabam primum montis primumque petebam*, "whom first and foremost I was desiring to carry into the high mountains and whom I first sought out" (ii.635-636). Crossing the threshold of the house, the son finds his dad aware of the city's sack but stubbornly unwilling to flee (ii.638-643), opting instead to remain behind alone and fight to

⁸⁰ P.J. Burrell (1982: 332) thinks to himself whether following the vision of Hector, "one would have thought that his [Aeneas'] first duty was to try to save his family. Others will perhaps be better able to explain why Aeneas does not rush now to protect it...." Hopefully I fall into this category.

⁸¹ Explaining the Helen interlude, H.-P. Stahl (1981: 171-172) sees it as removing any opportunity to blame Aeneas of cowardice whilst also demonstrating how the hero first works patriotically to save Troy before turning to the sub-unit of the country: Family.

the death citing his elderly feebleness and physical handicap (ii.647-649).⁸² In the center of Anchises' speech we see where Aeneas gets his genes:

sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus.
ipse manu mortem inueniam; miserebitur hostis
exuuiasque petet. facilis iactura sepulcri.
(ii.644-646)

[With my body laid out thus, o as it is, having said your final goodbyes, depart. I shall find death myself with my own hand; the enemy will pity me and will seek my spoils. The loss of a burial is agreeable.]

Despite recognizing that Troy's downfall is imminent and in the face of continual pleas⁸³ and tears of his family, the old man remains fixed in his resolve to, in essence, encounter a satisfying death in battle even if it means that his body will never enjoy full burial honors.⁸⁴ All this despite defining himself by his elderly and decrepit state, an enfeebled shift from his earlier robustness.⁸⁵ Thus Vergil gives us Aeneas' father rejecting flight to stay and fight a losing battle, very similar to Aeneas earlier in the book.⁸⁶

In summing up the full portrait of Aeneas on the night Troy falls, B.C. Fenik (1959: 4) concludes: "We see Aeneas mainly as a warrior, as a dutiful son, a husband, and father. His duties here, his loyalties and obligations are obvious and clear-cut, while attention is focused on his prowess as a warrior and on his family-type virtues, his *pietas*." Venus did turn Aeneas'

⁸² On Anchises lameness being a traditional element in antiquity: *HH* [to Aphrodite] v.286-288; Hyginus 94; Servius *ad loc.* ii.647. D.J. Gillis (1984: 335-336) thinks Anchises is not infirm so much as weary, broken by a long asexual half-life post his liaison with Aphrodite – although Gillis notes how he can quickly galvanize.

⁸³ As indicated by the imperfect *perstabat* at ii.650.

⁸⁴ L.J.D. Richardson (1940: 101) believes that the scene shows Anchises believing that he will in fact receive full burial. Cf. F.H. Sandbach 1941, 102.

⁸⁵ See Evander's description of Anchises at viii.162-163.

⁸⁶ A.H.F. Thornton (1976: 91) notes how Anchises misinterprets his getting struck by lightning as a negative when in fact is a positive thing: Anchises has been touched by the gods but is not yet aware of his great destiny); again, as with Aeneas.

attention back to his familial responsibilities but once the household cannot sway Anchises from his obstinacy, instinctively⁸⁷ *rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto*, “I [Aeneas] am carried back to arms and, very upset, desire death” (ii.655), wondering to himself what plan or outcome might be on offer. Immediately he addresses his parents, telling his father that he would never leave him and his wished for death is close at hand; to Venus he speaks in a harsh, reproachful⁸⁸ tone rhetorical asking why she directed him home if this would be the outcome. Upon concluding his speech, Aeneas renews a call for arms and reiterates a desire to rejoin the fray and not perish unavenged:

arma, viri, ferte arma; vocat lux ultima victos.
reddite me Danais; sinite instaurata revisam
proelia. numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti.
(ii.668-670)

[Arms, men, bring arms; the final light calls to the vanquished. Lead me back to the Greeks; permit that I revisit the ongoing battle. Today never shall we all die unavenged.]

Aeneas worked in accord with the domestic element inherent in his *pietas*, but quickly expresses anger in the face of having wasted time and been led into a homecoming mission that proved to be of no value and earned him no glory.

As he is running out the door back to harm’s way, Creusa clasps her husband’s foot and pleads that if he is resolved to put his hopes in arms, then either take them into the melee or stay and at least fight here defending the house. Upon finishing her entreaty, Vergil quickly moves the narrative along: *Talia uociferans gemitu tectum omne replebat, / cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum*, “crying out such things, she was filling the entire house with

⁸⁷ See footnotes 47 and 48 *supra* on the medio-passive *feror*.

⁸⁸ Per R.G. Austin 1964, *ad loc.* 655, 664.

a groan when suddenly a wonder – miraculous to say – occurs” (ii.679-680). The swiftness of the action marks a necessary pacing, for had Aeneas time to weigh Creusa’s request, I am not so certain he would have acquiesced to either point, or at the very least Vergil did not want to give his hero a chance to emerge in an unfavorable light by denying his wife’s requests. Indeed, in the words to his mother in the immediately preceding scene, Aeneas expressly laments the fact that he might witness enemies invading his house and slaughtering his family (ii.664-667). Similarly, Aeneas’ words show him fixated on the death of Priam at Pyrrhus’ hands (ii.659-663) and he himself admits to Dido that he was on the verge of rushing out of the house (ii.671-672). I am not sure that fighting in a remote corner of Troy – for, as we discussed, Anchises’ home is situated nowhere near the center of the city⁸⁹ – would have satisfied Aeneas and for him to lead his family into the face of death at the tail end of the night after the majority of the city has already been lost is a situation unbecoming the hero.

V. Pöschl (1950: 58) understands the essential conflict in the *Aeneid* to be between Aeneas’ heroic fulfillment of duty and his human sensitivities. Here is a clear instance of that conflict and rather than have Aeneas push aside his family for battle, Vergil removes the opportunity with the appearance of a fiery halo above Ascanius’ head, a sign prompting Anchises to have a change of heart and agree to abandon the lost city. Such a divine omen directly appeals to Anchises and his earlier utterance where he states how the gods are the one who can ward off the imminent death and destruction: *Me si caelicolae uoluissent ducere uitam, / has mihi seruassent sedes*, “if the heavenly ones had wanted me to go on living, they would have preserved my halls here” (ii.641-642); now *laetus*, “rejoicing” (ii.687), Anchises

⁸⁹ This point brings up the wish of Aeneas when we first encounter him during Juno’s storm in book i. There the hero wishes that he had died fighting beneath the walls of Troy for all to see.

asks for confirmation from Jupiter that the sign is in fact an omen and receives it in the form of a comet blazing across the sky (ii.689-691), a star that comes immediately:

Vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore
intonuit laeuum, et de caelo lapsa per umbras
stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit.
(ii.692-694)

[Hardly has the old man said these things when suddenly, with a crash, it thundered on the left and slid down from heaven through the darkness a star, leading a trail of fire it rushed forth with a strong light.]

Once again, Vergil moves the action along quickly without giving Anchises a chance to linger in uncertainty and perhaps strengthen his resolve to stay behind. Instead, the presence of the blazing portent leads the old man to declare: *Iam iam nulla mora est; sequor et qua ducitis adsum, / di patrii*, “now, now no delay; I follow and where you lead I am there, o gods of my fathers” (ii.701-702). Just as the catalyst for making Aeneas realize that he needs to flee was Venus showing him the gods at work against Troy, here again we get a glimpse of from where Aeneas gets his DNA in that his father will only flee after a series of divinely shown images.

Similarly, we see how in the bloodline there is tendency first to work in accordance with personal wants and desires before being coaxed into working in agreement with an overarching divine will. Granted, Anchises cites his old age and limp as justifications for remaining behind, but he stands firm in his decision, *abnegat inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem*, “he refuses and remains steadfast in his resolve and very position” (ii.654),⁹⁰ even

⁹⁰ R.G. Austin (1964 *ad loc.* 654) reads the scene as a picture of stubbornness and the employment of *incepto* as implying “something monstrous.”

when said obstinacy is said to directly result in death for the household writ large in light of Aeneas' inability to leave his father behind:

“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
teque tuosque iuuat, 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
Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creusam
alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam?
(ii.657-667)

[“Father, did you imagine that I would be able to move a step with you being left behind and so great an unspeakable outrage having passed your paternal lips? If it please the gods that nothing remain of this so great city, and it is set in your mind and delights to add both you and yours to the city's imminent fall, the path to that very death lies open, at any moment, coming from the profuse blood of Priam, Pyrrhus will be on hand, he who slaughters the son before the eyes of the father and the father at the foot of the altar. Nurturing mother, was this the reason why you rescued me from spears and fires, in order that I might see the enemy in the recesses of my home, Ascanius, my father, Creusa next to them, butchered each one in the others' blood?]

In studying the role of Anchises in the *Aeneid*, R.B. Lloyd (1957b: 45) argues that Vergil had a clear, carefully worked out design for the presentation and evolution of the old man in the epic. To briefly reiterate this dissertation's thesis: Come the end of the epic, Aeneas represents the hero who works with his divinely mandated fate and when he slays Turnus he satisfies his personal desire for action while simultaneously taking out an enemy who stands in the way of the conditions that will lead to the eventual founding of Rome. In the portrait of

Anchises in book ii, we see on a microcosmic scale the traits present in Aeneas, characteristics that need to come to work in harmony with fate.⁹¹

Commenting on Anchises here, P.V. Jones (2011: 279) classifies him as a “selfish old man [who] can do nothing but think of himself.” Just as Aeneas’ rushing in to try to save to Troy earlier in the book should not be read as selfless but the expression of the hero’s personal desires for fight over flight, Anchises’ desire to remain behind should not be read as a selfless sacrifice. Worried that his slow pace would bring trouble to the rest of family if they were all to flee together, it is instead the resolve to remain that places everyone in jeopardy. Even as Aeneas prepares himself to reenter re-enter battle in light of Anchises’ refusal to budge is only countered by Creusa.⁹² Anchises remains mute.

It is only with Anchises made aware of the divine powers urging their departure that he relents and the family can flee – good timing, too, since the destruction has been making its way closer to the house and is now rather perceptible: *Dixerat ille, et iam per moenia clarior ignis / auditur, propiusque aestus incendia uoluunt*, “thus he had spoken and now the fire is heard rather loud through the city, and the flames of the blaze roll rather near” (ii.705-706). It is only after Anchises’ resolve to leave after Jupiter’s encouragement that the tumult arrives at the scene. The last previous indicator of the ambiance was at ii.633 where Aeneas notes that Venus leads him safely and *dant tela locum flammaeque recedunt*, “the spears give way and the flames recede.” N.M. Horsfall (2008: *ad loc.* 705) comments how the passive *auditur*

⁹¹ In discussing Anchises’ slow reaction to the fire halo portent, H.T. Rowell (1957: 16) points out how undesirable the presence of a true prophet would be in the upcoming wanderings of the Aeneadae, motivated as they are in Vergil’s poem by gradual revelations of their destiny.

⁹² Note the use of imperfects here to highlight how Anchises had ample opportunity to chime in as Aeneas’ departure was not instantaneous but he needed time to get ready: *Hinc ferro accingor rursus clipeoque sinistram / insertabam aptans meque extra tecta ferebam*, “then I put on my sword again and having fitted it on I was inserting my left hand into the shield and was carrying myself outside the walls” (ii.671-672).

indicates “the sound of the flames now carries to the appalled Trojans and the passive makes the point,” that is, the scene is now filled with “the newly-perceived roar of flames.” Anchises agrees to run not out of fear of the incoming onslaught, which at the time of his resolution is not yet perceptible, or at the very least is still far off white noise.

Everyone in the house (for it is not just his immediate family who is there but domestic servants as well, per ii.652) now makes their way out of the city, setting out at staggered times (ii.711), traveling along different paths (ii.716) to the agreed upon meeting place of an ancient mound of Ceres with a cypress tree planted nearby. In a famous image, Aeneas places his father on his shoulders (who himself is holding the holy Penates) and clasps the hand of his young son. Creusa follows behind. En route, all grows quiet and Aeneas confesses to Dido that he was afraid:

ferimur per opaca locorum,
et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta mouebant
tela neque aduerso glomerati examine Grai,
nunc omnes terrent aerae, sonus excitat omnis
suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem.
(ii.725-729)

[We carry forth through the shadows of places and me, whom until then not any javelin onslaught nor any horde of Greeks arranged in opposition bothered, now every breeze terrifies and every sound troubles, anxious and fearful equally for my companion and my burden.]

Looking closely at just what makes Aeneas fearful, we see that earlier in the book Venus warns her son, *tu ne qua parentis / iussa time neu praeceptis parere recusa*, “you, do not fear the things ordered by your mother nor refuse to obey the instructions” (ii.606-607). There is no mention of Aeneas actually being afraid or in need of such a fortifying pep talk, even when

he does in fact come face to face with *dirae facies*, “dreadful forms” (ii.622).⁹³ Aroused out of sleep following Hector’s visit, Aeneas set the mood of the scene with *clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror*, “the din of arms grows more and more clear and their shaking looms loud” (ii.301), an atmosphere which, as discussed, does not scare off Aeneas but rouses him to join the battle, with no mention of doing so out of fear. The ghastly image of decapitated Priam reminds Aeneas of his own aged father at home and it is only at such a thought that *at me tum primum saeuus circumstetit horror*, “then wild terror first enfolded me” (ii.559). Silence and the possible loss of family, then, scare Aeneas; and to this idea of silence, might we refine its definition by qualifying it as silence encountered in the absence of the noise of warfare (here because they are running away from the mix)? The loss of family is, of course, a devastating possibility that Aeneas naturally fears, but might we qualify it by noting how Aeneas’ hands are employed with leading on his father and son and not being able to wield a sword to stand his ground and fight; that is, he would be responsible for the death of kin without being able to do anything about it, to ward off any attack?

Continuing on in the quiet dark toward the gates of the city, footsteps are thought to be heard behind the convoy, prompting Anchises to urge his son to run.⁹⁴ Sprinting through the streets now infected by a *male numen*, “untoward divine power” (ii.735-736), the trio go down an unfamiliar series of alleyways and backstreets⁹⁵ but do eventually reach the agreed

⁹³ Note too how the grisly image of heavily wounded, slain Hector covered in viscera and gore did not elicit any fear from Aeneas. Might Venus herself be afraid that her son will want to continue to fight?

⁹⁴ An unconfirmed reality that Aeneas couches with *uisus adesse pedum sonitus*, “a charge of footsteps seemed to be at hand” (ii.732) but to which Anchises assertively declares, *fuge, nate; propinquant. / ardentis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno*, “get out of here, son; they are close by. I see their glimmering shields and gleaming bronze” (ii.733-734). R.G. Austin (1964: *ad loc.*) comments: “There is nothing feeble about Anchises now; he is alert and practical.” How about scared (N.M. Horsfall [2008: *ad loc.*] a “cry, almost of panic”), for indeed it is a stressful, dangerous situation? Regardless, for our purposes, once again Vergil quickly moves the action so, having perceived possible trailing footsteps, Aeneas does not have a chance to respond but is hastened to sprint.

⁹⁵ Troy is a vast city and there are different paths through which one can make it out of the city (per ii.716).

upon meeting spot, only to then realize that Creusa has not made it (ii.736-744). Vergil takes great pains to ensure that blame cannot be put solely upon Aeneas (or, better yet, Aeneas-Anchises, since the old man prompted the hasty flight): Beyond the *male numen* having wormed into Aeneas' mind, none of the rest of the fleeing caravan noticed Creusa's loss (ii.744).

Let us briefly here give some consideration to just who is this Creusa? What sort of woman would Aeneas choose to marry? In discussing the role of Creusa, C.G. Perkell (1981: 372) argues that by giving more attention to the safety of Anchises and Iulus, Aeneas is unmindful of his wife, "neglect" that points to his "capacity for inhumane action" and calls into question the desirability of his mission, and therefore Roman rule. Counter to this idea of a misogynistic hero, in a survey of the roles women in ancient Greece played in wartime, D.M. Schaps (1982: 199-200) supports the idea that Creusa is an equal partner with Aeneas, just as Andromache was an equal of Hector in *Iliad* vi.⁹⁶ Aeneas has to give the lion's share of his attention to (aged) Anchises and (wee) Iulus; Creusa is fine trailing along, she is Aeneas' equal and her ability to follow along is never questioned. Even when her absence becomes known, Aeneas rhetorically asks what might have happened to her postulating three scenarios before determining it is impossible to know:

heu misero coniunx fatone erepta Creusa
substitit, errauitne uia seu lapsa resedit,
incertum;

(ii.738-740)

⁹⁶ Likewise L.B. Hughes (1997: 416) argues that Creusa's presence and loss increase our sympathy for Aeneas where his actions recall and repeat those of Hector in *Iliad* vi. On Andromache as an equal partner to Hector: M.B. Arthur 1981.

[Alas! Was my wife Creusa snatched away by a wretched fate as she stopped? Did she wander from the path? Having fallen down was she left behind? It is uncertain.]

The first explanation, that fate led her astray, reflects the *male numen* idea working against Aeneas himself and stands as a plausible cause of her disappearance. That she got lost mirrors Aeneas' own experience fleeing the city. That she fell makes perfect sense given the frantic situation, although it is a theory that Aeneas himself disproves when he returns to look for her and does not find her prostrate along the side of the road. Both the reader and Aeneas will soon learn that it was a *fatum* – but not a *miserum* one – that snatched her away. Creusa is a strong woman whom Aeneas does not need to worry about. When he focuses his attention on his father and son, he is not dismissing Creusa but stands confident that she, an equal to him, can make it out without any hand holding.⁹⁷

L.B. Hughes (1997: 423) declares that “the loss of Creusa symbolizes the loss of the essence of Troy” and that the whole of the second book is not so much a defense of the hero's leaving, but a statement of what he suffers in the process; Creusa marks the first in a series of real and profound losses that Aeneas must endure before he can start on the future. S.F. Wiltshire (1989), building off the seminal work of A.M. Parry (1963), discusses two layers at work in the poem, the private and the public, and how the private sphere encounters repeated, painful sorrow because of the demands of the public; the long-range destiny of Rome is magnificent but the present in which Aeneas and the other characters grope toward that future is unbearably unhappy. Aeneas reacts to Creusa's vanishing by wildly blaming

⁹⁷ In connection with this idea of Creusa being a female equivalent to Aeneas, Vergil could have gone with one of the variant traditions surrounding Iulus' lineage (see, e.g., Livy 1.1.11) but found in Creusa a matriarch well suited for the future Julian clan. On Vergil adopting Creusa in a conscious effort to make the Caesars the legitimate heirs of Troy, see R.J. Edgeworth 2001.

any god or human he can think of for this final straw of cruelty, a justifiable venting given all that the hero has encountered throughout the night (ii.745-746).

In the face of this loss, Aeneas hands over his father and son to the care of their fellow companions and places them all in a winding valley for safe hiding (ii.747-748) while he himself, freed from the burden of his kin (ii.729), returns back to the city donned in his armor willing to once again reenter the fray (ii.749-751). Retracing his steps, the hero makes his way home in the chance of finding Creusa there (ii.752-757). *Horror ubique animo, simul ipsa silentia terrent*, “everywhere terror in my heart, at the same time the silence itself terrifies” (ii.755). N.M. Horsfall (2008: *ad loc.*) characterizes this terror as inspired by solitude. I take it a step further: Earlier in the night, while having just witnessed Priam’s death, Aeneas found himself alone, abandoned by his men (ii.559-566). There he copped to *saeuus horror*, “a wild terror” (ii.559) out of fear for his father who, left unaided, might very well face Priam’s fate. Being alone, *per se*, does not bother the hero. Also, at that moment Aeneas was in the middle of the city surveying the damage from a lofty vantage, so much in the thick of the action that Venus has to divinely lead him to safety. Here the hero is a warrior absent from battle as well as a husband fearful of his wife’s death, an event that, if true, he would not have any recourse to prevent.⁹⁸

Upon reaching Anchises’ house, Aeneas finds that the Greeks had already overrun it and are currently occupying it (ii.757). A final blow⁹⁹ comes when the Greeks set the abode ablaze (ii.758-759), prompting Aeneas to search other neighborhoods for his wife. In an odd,

⁹⁸ Note Aeneas’ expressed desire to find Creusa and a yearning to be able to then lead her out to safety: *Inde domum, si forte pedem, si forte tulisset, / me refero*, “I carry myself homeward, in the hopes that had made her way there” (ii.756-757).

⁹⁹ N.b. *ilicet*, perhaps best translated here as “well, that’s it then” (ii.758).

not to mention dangerous route that one must wonder if Creusa would have ever even considered taking, Aeneas returns to the precinct of Priam's palace, where the enemy now piles its booty (ii.760-766). Seeing Trojan women and children standing there in a long line awaiting, as Creusa will allude, slavery (ii.766-767), the hero, *furens*, "raging" (ii.771)¹⁰⁰ boldly ventures to call out repeatedly to his wife, to break the silence with his cries, an action which elicits the immediate arrival of her shade:

ausus quin etiam uoces iactare per umbram
impleui clamore uias, maestusque Creusam
nequiquam ingeminans iterumque iterumque uocaui.
quaerenti et tectis urbis sine fine ruenti
infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae
visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago.
(ii.768-770)

771 ruenti *Pcd*: furenti *Mω*

[Aye, daring to throw forth sounds through the darkness I filled the streets with shouting, in my wretchedness I called forth, groaning, "Creusa," again and again, in vain. To me searching and raging endlessly amongst the buildings of the city the unhappy ghost and shadow of Creusa herself appeared before my eyes, in a form greater than I'd known.]

Rather than risk the possibility of his wife being taken into the possession by the Greeks, Aeneas starts a ruckus; he breaks the silence that has settled over Troy. Perhaps it is now that Creusa's shade appears before her husband, for are we to imagine that Aeneas would have

¹⁰⁰ There is debate as to whether to print *furenti* or *ruenti* and different editions vary (the OCT, it should be noted, prints *ruenti*). The rushing around idea fits in with the *quaerenti* earlier in the line and looks back to ii.760ff. when Aeneas is wandering throughout the city looking for Creusa. *Furenti*, though, should be printed, for reason I am going to discuss.

ever ceased his searching, or even would have been able to continue looking with the attention he was drawing to himself, bound to inevitably attract the Greek forces?¹⁰¹

In her speech, Creusa first beseeches her husband to stop indulging his crazed grief, for it the will of the gods that has taken her from him (ii.776-789); she mentions Aeneas' private life in Italy: His fated marriage to a princess, and the happiness he will enjoy there after long wanderings (ii.780-784); she proudly and affectionately dwells on her happy Trojan past (ii.785-787); reiterates how the gods have taken responsibility for her (ii.788); and ends her speech with a reference to the human bond that unites her and Aeneas: Their son (ii.789). Creusa has, in effect, answered all of Aeneas' questions and alleviated his concerns for her safety – and this is principally what he takes away from the encounter.

G.A. Hight (1972: 97) pairs Creusa's speech with that of the ghost of Hector a few hours earlier, characterizing both mainly as prophecies. D. Gall (1993: 26-28) sees the Creusa scene as a pendant to the Hector dream sequence, and how they, linked by verbal parallels, mark the beginning and end of Aeneas' personal involvement in the sack of Troy and incorporate divinely-backed prophecies about the Roman future made by deceased children of Priam, stressing that Aeneas must abandon the past. Concerning the divineness of Creusa – and a divine authority we may recall was never overtly avowed or alluded to by Hector himself during his appearance, beyond her own explicit admission that Olympus has taken her and now she resides in the fold of Cybele,¹⁰² she imparts geographic knowledge –

¹⁰¹ Note how Creusa's opening remarks, *quid tantum insano iuuat indulgere dolori, / o dulcis coniunx*, "o sweet husband, what's the benefit to indulge in crazed grief to such an extent" (ii.776-777), echoes the opening of Venus' address to her son, *nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras*, "son, what so great grief arouses this uncontrolled rage" (ii.594). In both instances, a loved one encounters Aeneas as he is starting to set into motion martial events.

¹⁰² L.B. Hughes (1997: 423) notes how Creusa's virtual apotheosis, and in particular, her bond with Cybele and Venus, is another assurance to Aeneas that his quest is sanctioned by the gods. R.G. Austin (1964: *ad loc.* 773) notes that Creusa "has something of the mystery of apotheosis about her." Conington-Nettleship (1871: *ad loc.* ii.773)

Hesperia (ii.781) and the Tiber River (ii.782) – unrecognizable and unknown to Aeneas.¹⁰³ In terms of the form this apparition takes, Aeneas narrates: *Infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae / uisa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago*, “the unlucky ghost and shadow of Creusa her very own self appeared before my eyes, and in a form greater than I had known.” N.M. Horsfall (2008: *ad loc.* 591) asks, “is Creusa larger because prophetic? Or because divinized? Or for both reasons?” I say yes to both; however, the important question is whether Aeneas recognizes this too, to which I again say yes.¹⁰⁴ As one final piece of evidence, note how Creusa reaffirms that the gods have forsaken Troy and Aeneas must leave, a direct reiteration of Venus’ words (ii.594-620).

Once Creusa wraps up, without delay *lacrimantem et multa uolentem / dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras*, “she left me [Aeneas], crying and wanting to ask many things, and faded into thin air” (ii.790-791), but not before Aeneas tries to hug her three times, all in vain (ii.792-794). S.F. Wiltshire (1989: 72-73) notes how Hector gives over his public authority to Aeneas whereas Creusa’s apparition operates at both the public and the private domain, again, pointing to the suffering of the latter at the expense of the former. R.G. Austin (1964) notes how the scene writ large is emotional and deeply personal. Aeneas does indeed long for Creusa, both figuratively as well as literally via the failed embrace. This missed opportunity at touching his wife leads A.M. Parry (1963: 71) to interpret the scene as

inches this way but without diving into full committal: “Vergil means evidently that Creusa is to become one of [Cybele’s] attendants, passing from ordinary humanity into a half-deified state.” R. Heinze (1957: 34-35) postulates that Creusa never actually even died at all.

¹⁰³ Note how the Penates define Hesperia for Aeneas and give it characteristics by which he can find it (iii.163-166). H.A. Khan (2001: 907-909) believes that Aeneas finds Creusa’s words baffling, not enlightening, akin to a perplexing oracle.

¹⁰⁴ As Servius, discussing *nota maior imago*, comments: *Et per hoc mortuam uult ostendere, aut ex homine deam factam*, “and through this Vergil wants to reveal that she is dead, or else a goddess made from a human.”

characteristic of the whole mood of the poem, the sadness, the loss, the frustration, the sense of the insubstantiality of what could be palpable and satisfying.¹⁰⁵ The widower then sits and ponders for some time the events of the night (ii.795) writ large, focusing not on what he needs to do next but on what has already happened, which keeps with the previous three lines of him trying to grasp Creusa, physically, but not her wisdom or prophesizing.

D. Felton (1999: 29-30) notices a twofold significance of this particular ghostly visit: "This is not only the moment of Creusa's passing, but also the moment when Aeneas realizes he has a duty beyond that of his immediate family and the doomed city of Troy." Vergil does not give us access to Aeneas' ruminations following his wife's visit but it is evident that, just as he did with Hector's visit, he takes none of her advice to heart as the next morning the survivors of Troy come out of hiding *incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur*, "uncertain to where the fates carry, where it is granted to settle down" (iii.7),¹⁰⁶ and neither does Aeneas make any mention of his wife's directives. When Aeneas returns to his companions, he finds that others have escaped and are now looking to him to lead them across the sea. In narrating the inner thoughts of the crowd, Aeneas speculates that *parati / in quascumque uelim pelago deducere terras*, "they are prepared to head along the high sea for whatever lands I wish to lead them" (ii.799-800). Now would have been an ideal time for him to fortify his command with a declarative, "I have a plan, divinely inspired: Hesperia - westward,"¹⁰⁷ sensing their concern about what they are going to do. Rather, Aeneas will need repeated divine reiterations of

¹⁰⁵ C.P. Segal (1973-1974: 98) reads the failed embrace as intensifying the otherworldly mysteriousness of the shade and the pathetic distance between shade and hero. On embraces in general in the *Aeneid*: E.S. Belfiore 1984.

¹⁰⁶ On the question of whether or not this discrepancy would have been remedied in a polishing of the work which Vergil never had time to do, see P.B. Kyriakou 1999, 326 n. 22. In connection with our discussion of Aeneas' development, I do not read it as an error that needed to be edited upon revision.

¹⁰⁷ Of course the problem still remains that Aeneas does not know where this "western" land is.

where he has to go, of his fated mission. With the sun rising, Aeneas looks back at Troy one last time and sums up the night with words emphasizing how the reason he resigns to run for the hills is the utter inability to offer up any sort of resistance:

Danaïque obsessa tenebant
limina portarum, nec spes opis ulla dabatur.
cessi ...

(ii.803-804)

[The Danaans were holding the threshold of the gates under blockade, nor was there any hope of aid.¹⁰⁸ I yielded....]

To paraphrase: The city is impenetrable; there is nothing more I can do; so, I suppose, it is time for me to go.

In the three visions of book ii, the hero ignores Hector's flight mandate to take up arms and fight; he is moved by Venus' appeal to focus on his family and cease fighting to save Troy after seeing the gods razing the city; in searching for Creusa he learns the full damage done to Troy and how there is nothing left to do, but he nevertheless emerges unmindful of the task her shade reveal to him. Only Venus' fully reaches Aeneas since she showed the futility of further fighting through the concrete images of bellicose gods at work against the city while also giving him another outlet in which to act without simply placing himself in the hands of an ordained future. His mother concerned herself exclusively with the private realm.¹⁰⁹ Might this be why she is successful in reaching her son? The private level

¹⁰⁸ *Nec spes opis ulla* has been interpreted in a number of widely variant manners: R.G. Austin (1964: *ad loc.*) reads it as "no prospect of relief for himself and his company." R. Fagles (2006: 102) translate as "no hope of rescue now." I favor Servius' analysis of *opis ferendi auxilii*, "hope of bringing aid," also backed by T.E. Page's (1894: *ad loc.*) "[No hope] of affording help" and N.M. Horsfall (2008: *ad loc.*), who sees Aeneas "giv[ing] up any hope of a final attempt to attack the Greeks."

¹⁰⁹ R.O.A.M. Lyne 1987, 184.

information is what Aeneas accepts from Creusa and marks his main focus throughout her encounter; he is not yet ready to accept the public role.¹¹⁰ When he does emerge at the end of the book as a commander of the Trojan exiles, it is only because there is nothing else to do and he will take his wards on an odyssey in the entire next book as he sails the high seas unmindful of his ordained mission. Creusa speaks to Aeneas' concerns for her safety (I'm not going to be a slave; divine will took me) but the content of seek Hesperia is alien to Aeneas and subsequently in one ear and out the other.¹¹¹ Even Creusa's appeal to Aeneas' future happiness vis-à-vis a new wife he cannot receive since it is couched within the context of things that will happen in the distant future. If he had digested Creusa's explicit directions, no wanderings, no trouble at Carthage. Perhaps if Creusa had said get to Italy because there you'll get to engage in battle, battle that you will win and receive a new wife and eternal fame as a result of winning?¹¹²

R.G. Austin (1964: xvi) sums up the second book with: "Vergil did not intend Aeneas, at this stage in his epic, to have heroic stature: That was to come later." In discussing this idea of heroic stature, E. Adler (2003: 263) sees a development in Aeneas throughout the three

¹¹⁰ Toward this point, R.A. Hornsby (1970: 25) states how "it requires his mother's intervention as well as that of Creusa to force him to obey the instructions of Hector."

¹¹¹ R.D. Williams (1972: *ad loc.* 7) refers to this uncertainty about where to go as "one of a number of minor inconsistencies which book iii contains," a reading that I believe does not fully take into consideration Aeneas' personality. H.A. Khan (2001: 915) thinks that Creusa's prophecy is not lost on Aeneas at the opening of book iii, it is just that he does not yet know what exactly it means; Creusa's information is simply useless to Aeneas at this point in time.

¹¹² In book v, the Trojan women, weary of having to continue their labyrinthine voyage on the high seas, set the Trojan fleet alight. After this insurrection, Aeneas sits weighing over whether to continue on to Italy or settle there in Sicily when his father's shade appears before him and, asserting that he speaks with divine authority [H.R.-Steiner (1952: 55-58) argues the Anchises here represents the will of Jupiter], urges his son to take to the seas (v.721-745). Prior to the burning of the fleet, Aeneas had already determined to sail forth upon the conclusions of the funeral games (v.59-60; 626-629). Furthermore, the information conveyed by Anchises reiterates, although in a slightly expanded manner, Helenus' earlier prophecy of which Aeneas is fully aware (iii.369-462). Thus here one finds another meeting of the divine and human, only in this case the vision reflects the internal mindset of Aeneas. In his speech, Anchises mentions how Aeneas will have to conquer a brave race in Italy (v.730). Is this why Aeneas jumps up mindful of Anchises' shade and shares the vision's information with his comrades (at v.747)?

visions under discussion from the old Homeric hero to a new Roman one; each encounter turns the Trojan from the resolve to seek a noble death in battle to the resolve to save himself. Of course, Aeneas leaves the shores of Troy because there is nothing left for him to do, it is not a resolve to save himself per se. In book ii, Aeneas is a hero who repeatedly engages in martial exploits and places himself in the thick of battle, thinking himself as defined not by some distant future. Aeneas is a warrior, not a seer. His actions during Troy's final night should not be read "a series of illustrations of human weakness of a leader, his inadequacy to the task abruptly thrust upon him."¹¹³ Rather, the series of visions Aeneas encounters all work to reveal the inner nature of Aeneas to the reader. It is this inner nature that will need to come into accord with the divinely ordained future oriented mission to establish nascent Rome.¹¹⁴

2.2 AENEAS' DREAM OF ANCHISES (v.719-745)

By way of a concluding remark on the issue of the human level working in connection with the divine level action of the poem (or not working, as we have been arguing is the state of Aeneas regarding his mission at this point in the *Aeneid*), before segueing into our discussion of the Turnus-Allecto dream sequence in the seventh book, a foil by which we can further understand Aeneas as well as define his major foe, let us look at one other dream sequence, Aeneas' dream of Anchises (v.719-745).

¹¹³ K.F. Quinn 1968, 114.

¹¹⁴ P. Kragelund (1976: 45) explains Aeneas' forgetfulness of Creusa's words in that at the time of Troy's burning, he should not, and cannot, be expected to be able to give yield to some reference to an ambiguous Hesperian land; his adoption of his mission undergoes a gradual process which at the night of Troy's fall lacked all the specification that subsequently happen. This is the whole point of book iii, argues C. Saunders (1957). A.S. Pease (1917: 7) compares the revelations of the *Aeneid* to the riddling Delphic Oracle.

After the Trojan women's insurrection and their mutinous burning of the fleet, Aeneas is weighing whether to sail on to Italy or settle where they are in Sicily (v.700-705; 719-20) when his father comes to him while asleep.¹¹⁵ Of course, the reason the fleet was set alight is because Aeneas was planning on sailing forth upon the conclusions of the funeral games (v.59-60; 626-29). This temporary setback, while admittedly distressing, is just that, temporary; and even the advice Anchises imparts reflects Aeneas' preexisting onward march tendency. Furthermore, the information conveyed in the dream reiterates, although in a slightly expanded manner, Helenus' earlier prophecy of which Aeneas is fully aware (iii.369-462). Thus, here one finds another meeting of the divine and human, only in this case the dream reflects the internal mindset of Aeneas and Anchises speaks to matters that his son has already been considering and leaning towards enacting.¹¹⁶ Anchises at v.730 mentions how Aeneas will have to conquer a brave race in Italy – is this why Aeneas is mindful of Anchises' shade and so tells his men of his words (at v.747)? Not to mention Anchises offers his son a chance to travel to Hades!

2.3 TURNUS' DREAM OF ALLECTO

While our primary aim is to investigate the nature of Aeneas, in connection with trying to understand Vergil's portrayal of his titular character, let us momentarily turn our attention to a scene that directly echoes Aeneas' slumbering encounter with Hector, that of Turnus' dream of Allecto in book vii. That the two passages intentionally play off one another should

¹¹⁵ R. Heinze (1957: 314) believes that Vergil thinks of the appearance of Anchises in Book 5 as a vision, and not a dream; cf. Stearns, 1927; 27.

¹¹⁶ Plus, Nautes, whom Anchises explicitly mentions at v.728, recently stood up at v.704 and made a speech that Anchises explicitly echoes. Again, Anchises' words reflect issues that his son is turning over in his mind.

not come across as too controversial: Both scenes mark the first appearance of the two protagonists asleep when a visiting specter emerges urging a course of action in the face of external circumstances. Unlike Hector's appearance before Aeneas, we have Turnus finding his own desired course of action in Allecto's manifestation, a visit wherein the goddess' words can be seen to directly represent Turnus' own will.¹¹⁷ This episode will show how the Fury and the Rutulian operate on the same plain; that is, the divine level and the human level are in sync. What Allecto asks of Turnus are things to which he himself is already predisposed;¹¹⁸ there is no learning curve or having to come to learn to work in accordance with her wishes. Indeed, she will emerge as a divine reflection of, and catalyst for, Turnus' own inclinations to start a war in Italy against Aeneas.¹¹⁹

The Allecto dream unfolds (vii.405-474) in two movements. First, the Fury, disguised as Juno's aged priestess, rather ineffectually sets herself upon a sleeping Turnus and tries to incite him to action but her speech is unpersuasive and mockingly rebuked (vii.415-444). Allecto consequently reveals her true horrendous self and replies in a stinging rejoinder emphasizing her divine power and ability to carry forth war and death before hurling herself on Turnus driving him into a pugnacious frenzy from which the Rutulian darts up to stir his comrades to arms (vii.445-474). Let us look at the two individual sections in piecemeal:

¹¹⁷ For Vergil's use of the gods as tropes of human emotion see G.W. Williams 1983, 20-35.

¹¹⁸ S.G.P. Small (1959: 251 n 23) note how Juno knows Turnus to be susceptible to Allecto's words and ripe to be her victim and agent.

¹¹⁹ R.F. Thomas (1998) notes that Vergil consciously chooses to develop the Turnus tradition least favorable to the Trojan element, i.e., inspired by Allecto he attacks unjustly. Cf. H.-P. Stahl 1990, to whom Thomas is directly responding. P. Shenk (1984: 27-48, 306-13) believes that Allecto does not inspire war madness in Turnus but simply reveals his true nature and there is no diminution of responsibility on the Rutulian's part. P. Kragelund (1976: 72) views an inherent dichotomy at work between Aeneas and Turnus' dreams in that the former wants to believe not that his own personal sufferings but those of the city and the people are over (ii.281-286); the latter character, on the other hand, expresses purely private wishes (vii.436-439). To R. Heinze (1957: 211), this is the basic difference between Turnus and Aeneas.

'Turne, tot incassum fusos patiere labores,
 et tua Dardaniis transcribi sceptrum colonis?
 rex tibi coniugium et quaesitas sanguine dotes
 abnegat, externusque in regnum quaeritur heres.
 i nunc, ingratum offer te, inrisum, periculis;
 Tyrrhenas, i, sterne acies, tege pace Latinos.
 haec adeo tibi me, placida cum nocte iaceres,
 ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit.
 quare age et armari pubem portisque moueri
 laetus in arua para, et Phrygios qui flumine pulchro
 consedere duces pictasque exure carinas.
 caelestum uis magna iubet. rex ipse Latinus,
 ni dare coniugium et dicto parere fatetur,
 sentiat et tandem Turnum experiatur in armis.'

Hic iuuenis uatem inridens sic orsa uicissim
 ore refert: 'classis inuectas Thybridis undam
 non, ut rere, meas effugit nuntius auris;
 ne tantos mihi finge metus. nec regia Iuno
 immemor est nostri.
 sed te uicta situ uerique effeta senectus,
 o mater, curis nequiquam exercet, et arma
 regum inter falsa uatem formidine ludit.
 cura tibi diuum effigies et templa tueri;
 bella uiri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda.'

(vii.421-444)

["Turnus, will you suffer so many labors poured forth in vain, and that your reign is being legally transferred to Dardanian settlers? The king denies you marriage and the dowry-offerings gained by bloodshed, and a foreign hero is being sought for the kingdom. Go now, expose yourself, laughing stock, to unrewarding dangers; go, lay low Tyrrhenian battle lines, protect the Latins by peace. This very message the all-powerful Saturnian one herself ordered me to speak directly to you, while you are lying in bed in the tranquil night. So come on and happily arrange that the youths be armed and moved out from the gates into the fields, and destroy the Phrygian leaders who have encamped by the lovely river and the painted ships. The mighty force of the heavens so orders. Let King Latinus himself feel it to his cost unless he consent to offer marriage and obey (his) pledge, and let him experience Turnus in arms at last."

At this point the youth, laughing at the priestess, speaks with his mouth in reply such first words: "The news that a fleet sailed in on the waves of the Tiber has not escaped my ears, as you think; please do not make up such terrors. Royal Juno is not unmindful of me. But you, o mother, old age, overcome by neglect and sterile of truth, troubles with cares without good reason, and deceives – although you are a priestess – with empty dread amid the arms of kings. To watch over the effigies and temples of the gods is your concern; men shall wage wars and peace, by whom wars should be waged."

To summarize the speech: Turnus, you have helped Latinus before in the understanding that you would marry his daughter and, therefore, gain his kingdom. This no longer is the case thanks to the newly arrived Trojans. Will you play the laughing stock lying idle in your bed, or react and attack the Trojans, and Latinus too, until he should change his mind? Juno herself and the will of heaven send me with this message. By looking at a few elements in the speech, and the knowledge presented therein, one can see Allecto is a divine intervention helping to thrust the Rutulian into a desired, preconceived course of action under the guise of legitimacy.

The information Allecto conveys seemingly comes from her divine authority, but it also can be explained on the human level. Allecto explains that *externusque in regnum quaeritur heres*, “a foreign king is being sought for the kingdom” (vii.424), to which Turnus declares *non...meas effugit nuntius auris*, “the news has not escaped my ears” (vii.436f.). The other major piece of knowledge in her address, that a promised bride is now betrothed to another, is untrue since no formal engagement has taken place and Lavinia is not legally Turnus fiancée – although it is consistent with how Turnus sees matters: Just as Amata through her own fondness for Turnus and personal desire that he marry Lavinia and enter the family (vii.56f.) understands Turnus and Latinus’ prior collaborations as a evidence of Lavinia’s being entrusted to the handsome hero but now only standing as *fusi labores*, “wasted efforts” (vii.421), so Turnus himself believes this to be the case, or in the best case scenario at least she

is still on the market (e.g., ix.123; xi.440; xii.80, 937).¹²⁰ Turnus has intentionally been misinterpreting the current situation in Latium, a misreading the Fury Allecto reaffirms.

Allecto's summoning Turnus to arms and her mention of his previous dealings in Latium clearly resonates with his emphatic declaration that she needs to mind the temples and idols because *bella uiri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda*, "men shall wage wars and peace, by whom wars should be waged" (vii.444). Thus, Vergil's opening image of Turnus shows a warrior having heard reports about the Trojans arrival and their new accord with King Latinus¹²¹ and already aggravated and weighing the lay of the land. Asleep, he enjoys a dream whose progression allows him to self-justifiably commence what is in effect an Italic civil war, the brutal confrontation that will govern the remaining books of the epic.¹²² Make no mistake, it is an internecine conflict that Turnus starts using Allecto as his divine spur. Aeneas may have landed in Italy setting into motion the events of the second half of the poem but it is Turnus-Allecto here who initiates the marital matters that will dominate the second half of the epic.

Of course, Allecto so far has not had any influence over Turnus but instead we have seen how she stands as a divine level mirror image of Turnus' own internal mindset on matters in Italy.¹²³ The second movement of the action occurs after Turnus' rebuke when

¹²⁰ Note too how Juno also explicitly instructed Allecto that she arrange things so *neu conubiis ambire Latinum / Aeneadae possint*, "the Trojans cannot win over Latinus with intermarriage" (vii.333-334).

¹²¹ Admittedly it is an accord detrimental to Turnus; however, there is plenty of evidence in the earlier events of Book vii, as well as within Turnus' own dream, that he knowingly at times acts against the wishes of fate and the gods, not only impiously disregarding the well-travelled prophecy of Faunus' oracle (vii.58-106), but his own disdainful, mocking tone to Allecto, whom the Rutulian encounters as – and truly believes to be – a priestess of Juno.

¹²² S.G.P. Small (1959: 246-249) highlights how Allecto attacks Turnus as he lies sleeping, that is, at a time when the conscious, rational and moral self is dormant and the Fury, in effect, takes over the preconscious depths of Turnus' personality and causes it to undergo a transformation and become a force for evil.

¹²³ E.D.M. Fränkel (1945: 5) notes how to complete her goals, Allecto plays to Turnus' private egoisms and tailors her approaches accordingly.

Allecto sets herself upon Turnus while he is still *cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura*, “procrastinating and wanting to speak matters further” (vii.449), shedding the guise of Juno’s attendant and revealing her divine, furious nature, thrusting a torch into the Rutulian’s breast shaking him out of his state of discussion and deferment (vii.445-462). Turnus had recently mentioned how Juno stands in his corner and will not neglect him (vii.438-439), so logically when the priestess morphs into a divinity (albeit a Fury), why wouldn’t Turnus think it a sign from Juno herself telling Turnus the time for internal debate is over. The *falsa formido*, “empty dread” (vii.442), and *tanti metus*, “such terrors” (vii.438), that Turnus had heard and had in mind (vii.436-437) might just very well prove real. Thereafter he energetically sets out and encourages his soldiers to arms, who follow (vii.467-474).

Sandwiched between these two events lies an important simile where Vergil points out that Turnus has all along since the outset of the dream been in a stirred up state, which is now exacerbated to a full boil:

magno ueluti cum flamma sonore
uirgea suggeritur costis undantis aeni
exsultantque aestu latices, furit intus aquai
fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis,
nec iam se capit unda, uolat uapor ater ad auras.
(vii.462-466)

[Just as when a fire of twigs, with a great crackling, is placed under the sides of a seething cauldron, and the water boils up from the heat, inside smoke raves mad with the water and also the pool bubbles high with foam, and no longer the liquid contains itself, dark vapor flies to the air.]

Now one could argue that the simile is intended specifically to illustrate the effect *fax* and *taeda*, “the firebrand and torch” (vii.456 and 457), Allecto throws into Turnus’ hand, i.e., they immediately enflame the Rutulian but one should not take it to mean that Turnus has been

slowly seething since the outset of Allecto's visit. Such an interpretation can be countered by recapping the first movement of the Allecto-Turnus interaction (vii.421-444): Allecto's summary of events in Italy does not reveal any new information to Turnus but is a divine level rehashing of data he already knows. The Fury's call to arms likewise reflects the action expected out of *audax Rutulus*, "the bold Rutulian" (vii.409), a phrase used at the outset of the Allecto sequence as well as its ending *dum Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus implet*, "when Turnus fills the Rutulians with bold spirits" (vii.475).

The above two discussions should hopefully point out how Aeneas and Turnus engage in slumbering visitations that result in providing us with an insight into their character and how they deal with their present situations. Aeneas is seen as focusing on martial prowess whilst himself sensing that the time for action is close at hand. Hector presents the only two options available in such circumstances: Flee, or fight, dismissing the latter option as futile. Nevertheless, Aeneas chooses the latter, demonstrative of his personality. Allecto engages with Turnus so as to provide a heavenly catalyst helping to thrust him into the path of action he has been rolling over in his mind all along but has not yet pulled the trigger on.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Cf. R.G.G. Coleman (1982: 145; 161) who, investigating the role of the gods in the *Aeneid*, determines that in post-Homeric epic psychological explanation had superseded the notion that divine activity fulfills a puppet master role in human affairs; rather, the gods are fill-ins for unexplainable psychological events and Allecto, in essence, causes a mental breakdown in Turnus. D.C. Feeney (1991: 155) reads Allecto's assault as powerfully expressing through fantasy what in human terms cannot be accounted for, namely Turnus' catastrophic surrender to battle lust, the utter madness of civil war, creating in effect a "dismaying poem." Similarly E.D.M. Fränkel (1945: 5).

2.4 THE HARPIES (iii.209-277)

Returning to our question of Aeneas' personality and his ability to accept his destined fate, at the outset of the third book, having just escaped burning Troy, Aeneas and a band of fellow refugees build a fleet and set forth to leave Asia Minor but Aeneas stands neglectful of Creusa's references to the Trojans destined future in Italy (ii.780-784): *Incerti quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur, / contrahimusque uiros*, "we, uncertain where the fates would carry, where it would be granted to settle, gather the men" (iii.7-8). The evacuees then sail to Thrace (iii.8-68), Delos (iii.69-120), and Crete (iii.121-191) before being directed by the Penates to leave the island and seek Hesperia (iii.147-171). On their way to Italy, a violent storm rains down for three days and delivers the fleet to the Strophades, dwelling place of the monstrous half-woman, half-bird Harpies (iii.192-218). In an action reminiscent of Aeneas' hunt in book one, to be discussed in chapter iii, the typhoon ravaged crew immediately comes across an unguarded herd of cows and slaughter them, prompting an attack from the Harpies (iii.219-228). After this initial assault, Aeneas and company re-set up their tables in a shaded recess and once again the Harpies swoop down upon them (iii.229-233). As Aeneas relates it, in response *sociis tunc arma capessant / edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum*, "I order my allies then to take up arms and wage war against that dreadful race" (iii.234-235), in vain, it turns out, since their swords cannot pierce the beasts' plumage (iii.236-244). One of the Harpies, Celaeno, *infelix uates*, "an inauspicious prophet" (iii.246), addresses the Trojans (iii.247-257), speaking of their destiny in Italy and the hardship they will face as a punishment for *nostraeque iniuria caedis*, "the injustice of our slaughter" (iii.256), asking: *Bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuvenis, / Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis...*, "war too, war you plan to

make on behalf of the slaughter of the cows and calves laid low, sons of Laomedon" (iii.247-248)?¹²⁵

Reacting to Celaeno's words, Aeneas' companions *nec iam amplius armis, / sed uotis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem*, "demand to implore for peace no longer by arms but with prayers and entreaties" (iii.260-261). Once again here we see Aeneas' default as a call for arms and even his assuredness in arms to bring about future safety, as was the case with the frieze of Juno's temple. After the first strike by the Harpies, seeing these mythological creatures and their physical strength and miraculous powers, might not flight or supplication have been a more appropriate step then attacking them?¹²⁶ Prayers do turn out to be the next step, but the carrying out of religious matters is performed by Anchises.¹²⁷ Earlier in the third book, Anchises interpreted the revelations of the Penates despite their having appeared before Aeneas (iii.178-191).¹²⁸ Even before that, while stationed in Thrace, Aeneas attempts to make sacrifice to Venus (iii.19-68) but looking for greenery with which to decorate his altar, he ends up maiming his cousin Polydorus, who had been transformed into a myrtle bush. This is not to say that Aeneas is disrespectful of the gods or impious when it comes to divine worship and reverence; that too marks an aspect of the hero's personality. Yet, as with the Ezra Pound anecdote at the outset of this volume: Aeneas is no priest. He may act piously at times, but we should not define the hero as a man of the cloth but a warrior who at times acts piously. On this point, having left the clashing rocks of the Harpies, Aeneas and crew travel along the

¹²⁵ T.E. Page (1894: *ad loc.* 247) reads Celaeno's tone as "indignant."

¹²⁶ As N.M. Horsfall comments (2006b: *ad loc.* 231), "after iii.213, it should be clear that setting tables for dinner in the Harpies' presence is simply asking for trouble, a positive invitation to the monsters, a signal to the alert reader, and a discreet drum-roll for the coming attack."

¹²⁷ On Anchises role in this book as the experienced leader in terms of *res diuina*, "divine matters," N.M. Horsfall (2006b: *ad loc.* 9) has a lengthy aside.

¹²⁸ Anchises also leads the making of sacrifice at iii.118-120.

western coast of Greece¹²⁹ without incident, reaching Actium (iii.270-277), where, thankful to have enjoyed safe passage through such a hostile territory, they engage in games and Aeneas dedicates to Apollo the arms once carried by mighty Abas, the captain whose ship was lost in Juno's storm, to Apollo (iii.278-288). Aeneas is not a warrior-priest¹³⁰ but, if anything, a priestly warrior.

Aeneas will emerge as the hero of the war in Latium, the victor who will set up the conditions for future Rome, the city that will be universally revered. Having successfully sailed past their Greek enemies unnoticed after leaving the land of the Harpies, Aeneas recalls that he and the crew were grateful (iii.282-283). This should not be read as cowardice or fearful; the Trojans do not stand in a position to fight nor is this the time. The time for war arises once Aeneas reaches Latium.

To recap the central argument of this chapter: Over the course of the evening, Aeneas is thrice told not to strive to ward off the destruction of now lost Troy but to be mindful of the future and live to fight another day; when the light of day finally fills the sky, Aeneas finds himself in command of a band of Trojan refugees and he has no idea of what to do, where to go, or the explicit mission that has been conveyed to him – a macrocosmic un-mindfulness echoing the repeated instances during the night of his natural inclination to live in the moment; Aeneas is no prophet: He is a hero, and at this point in the epic he is not yet attuned to receive his mission of turning away from the present for the prospect of a remote future settlement and subsequent, potential glory.

¹²⁹ Notably past Ithaca, home to Odysseus, whose wanderings, of course, Vergil is consciously echoing in the third book.

¹³⁰ As, say, Haemonides (x.537).

Following the wanderings of the third book, Aeneas and crew will find themselves crash-landed in Carthage thanks to Juno's rage inspired storm. This time spent in northern Africa will further help us see how Vergil wants the reader to understand Aeneas' personality as well as help us track his development over the epic as he comes to accept and work toward his destiny that will center around the future greatness of Rome.

3.0 AENEAS IN CARTHAGE AND THE ROLE OF VENUS

In the previous chapter we looked at Aeneas' first appearance in the text, chronologically speaking. Turning our attention to the *in medias res* design of the *Aeneid*, let us look at how the hero first appears to the reader in book i. In connection with the portrait of Aeneas that we get in the opening book – and it will be a portraiture that once again shows Aeneas to be a hero concerned with action and warfare – we will study Venus' approach to her son on the shores of Carthage before transitioning into her role in book viii when she presents Aeneas with his new armor. In our fourth chapter we shall see how Venus' focus develops throughout the *Aeneid* as she learns to work with her son's personal proclivity for action and battle and ceases to shield him from some of the dangers he is destined to encounter. In words that echo our discussion of Aeneas in the previous chapter, M.L. Colish (1985: i.233) observes Venus in the *Aeneid* as personifying the immediate gratification of desire, impulsiveness, and the unwillingness to subordinate personal interests and leanings to larger goals; i.e., the goddess marks the triumph of the pleasure principle. Just as Aeneas develops to a state where he comes to work in concord with his destiny, Venus, who is fully aware from the outset of her son's mission to found Rome (i.234-237), has to come to terms with this preordained fate in store for her child.

3.1 VENUS, JUPITER, AND AENEAS' DESTINY

And just what is Aeneas' ordained assignment exactly? Although the *Aeneid* opens with an eleven line proem summarizing Aeneas' destiny and the harsh wrath of Juno working against

him, the action proper begins with Juno's divinely inspired storm that shipwrecks Aeneas and his crew (i.12-226). As a result of Juno's interference, Venus approaches her father to ensure her son's safety (i.227-253), apprehension that a smiling Jupiter (i.254-256) sets aside by reiterating Aeneas' destiny to be the forefather of future Rome (i.257-296). To paraphrase Jupiter's speech: Fear not, Venus, you will see Aeneas found a new colony and eventually be elevated to the heavens (i.257-260); after a mighty war in Italy, Aeneas will rule for three years (i.261-266); Ascanius will transfer the throne to Alba Longa and rule for thirty years (i.267-271); Alba Longa will reign for three-hundred years until Romulus shall venture out and found Rome (i.272-277); this is fated and Juno will come to accept matters (i.278-283);¹ the Romans shall subdue all of Greece (i.283-285); a Caesar born from Aeneas' line, destined for deification, will conquer the East and expand the empire to the edges of the world (i.286-290); with the era of battling having come to a close, Romulus, working with his brother Remus, shall make laws and the Gates of War will be sealed, trapping impious Fury within (i.291-296).

This revelation of Aeneas' destiny follows directly on the heels of *tristior*, "an unusually sad" (i.228),² Venus protesting to her father against the current misfortunes befalling her son.³ To synopsise her words: After an opening address to Jupiter, Venus explains how she not only does not understand what could have happened to warrant such suffering (i.229-233), but she is flabbergasted that Jupiter allows it happen, especially

¹ On Juno's reconciliation being limited since her wrath continues in later Roman tradition, see D.C. Feeney 1984.

² The translation of R.D. Williams 1972, *ad loc.* R.G. Austin (1971: *ad loc.*) suggests the possibility that the comparative here might very well be in contrast to Aphrodite's oft repeated Homeric epithet, φιλομειδής, "laughter-loving," although he does not take a declarative position on the issue.

³ M.A. Greenwood (1989: 132), studying Venus' interventions with her son, states: "Venus, in her role as goddess-mother, shows a deep and passionate concern for her son's safety and well-being...."

considering the Trojans have already endured the loss of their city (i.234-241), imploring: *Quem das finem, rex magne, laborum*, “great king, what end of labors do you grant?” (i.241); the goddess next recounts how Antenor, a Trojan noble, was able to escape Troy’s destruction and establish a colony for himself in Padua, Italy (i.242-249);⁴ yet, we – your daughter and your grandson – are kept out of Italy all on account of the anger of your wife (i.250-252); is this to be the reward for our reverence, is this how you restore our rule (i.253)?

Now that we have the speeches of Venus and Jupiter laid out side by side, let us compare two important sections that will help us see the goddess’ attitude toward her son’s destiny: Venus’ digression on Antenor (i.242-249) and Jupiter’s unrolling of Aeneas’ destiny (i.261-266).

Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achiuis
 Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus
 regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timaui,
 unde per ora nouem uasto cum murmure montis
 it mare proruptum et pelago premit arua sonanti.
 Hic tamen ille urbem Pataui sedesque locauit
 Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit
 Troia, nunc placida compostus pace quiescit:
 (i.242-249)

[Having slipped through the Greek center, Antenor was able to enter Illyrian harbors and sail safe through the interior lying kingdom of the Liburnians and the wellspring of the Timavus River whence the flood of water bursting forth flows out through nine mouths with the huge roar of a mountain and pounds the fields with its ringing tide.

⁴ Antenor is a shadowy figure in mythology with two unique stories behind his escape from Troy: The first describes how Menelaus and Odysseus showed him mercy out of respect for his hospitality on an earlier occasion; the second that Antenor was spared because he betrayed Troy. I shall not discuss these variants but will simply document that, as discussed in chapter ii, there existed a tradition that Aeneas too betrayed Troy, hence his survival during its fall, a report that Vergil wished to dismiss by explaining Aeneas’ being seen running around with Greek soldiers by the fact the these “Greeks” were really Trojans disguised in Greek clothing. R.G. Austin (1971: *ad loc.* 242ff.) has a lengthy footnote on Antenor and his traditions. On Aeneas associated with Antenor vis-à-vis being a turncoat, see S.C. Spence 2010, 136-138.

In these parts, nevertheless, that man established the city of Padua and seats for the Teucrians, gave the people a name, and hung up Trojan arms; in tranquil peace now settled he rests.]

The biggest difficulty Antenor faced, it seems, is not an arduous, circuitous journey or a belligerent native population but a babbling brook with a tendency to flood and his calm peace is rather easily brought about, especially in light of the hardships Aeneas will have to endure. Naturally Venus reminds Jupiter of Antenor, for as A.M.E. Wlosok (1967: 59) notes, the goddess' true sphere is one of peace, security and bliss for her son.⁵ Similarly, G.K. Galinsky (1988: 336) sees Venus as wishing for her son to enjoy the Epicurean ideal of ἀπάθεια, "absence of injury,"⁶ in some far-off corner of Italy on the model of Antenor. Jupiter did promise that eventually Rome will rule the world, make laws, and stow away Fury (i.291-296). Of course, he also confirms a demanding existence for Aeneas, leading H.-P. Stahl (1969) to observe how Venus is more assured by the tone of Jupiter's revelation than by its specific content. The goddess quickly and happily passes on this reassuring news to her son rather than the prophecy's fuller implication that history is built on human labor and self-sacrifice and only through harsh wars may one arrive at the *Pax Augustana*, "Augustan Age Peace." To quote Jupiter's words concerning Aeneas' destiny:

Hic tibi (fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,
longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo)
bellum ingens geret Italia, populosque feroces
contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet,

⁵ Wlosok also views Aeneas' true nature as Arcadian, an interpretation I disagree with, as should be evident by this point.

⁶ A philosophical concept about which I do not pretend to have any insight; rather, my definition of this complex term hails directly from the LSJ.

tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas,
ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
(i.261-266)

[You'll see, this man (Aeneas) – for I will speak rather at length since these concerns eat at you and unrolling the secrets of the fates I shall put them into words – will wage a huge war in Italy, crush ferocious peoples, establish institutions and city walls for men, until a third summer sees him ruling in Latium and three winters pass since the Rutulians have been thrown down.]

So much for Venus' wish of *placida pax* and *quies*, "soothing peace" and "quiet" (i.249), for her son. Rather, Venus, as well as Aeneas, must submit to Zeus' stern law of historical, imperial destiny, which calls for harsh, dangerous labors. Ultimately the hero will enjoy respite, Jupiter promises – but even then it will only be for three years.

In looking at Jupiter's prophecy, J.J. O'Hara (1990) comments on how the world order of Jove's prophecy,⁷ which comes across as so desirable and positive, nevertheless cannot be achieved without suffering and sacrifice; throughout the text, we see an intentional suppression in prophecies of material that would be disturbing or discouraging in order to encourage their recipients.⁸ Jove expressed the full prophecy to Venus; however she myopically fails to grasp the implications of the labors in store for the Trojans, which O'Hara

⁷ The question of whether Fate is the will of Jupiter or an independent entity is an important one, albeit one that we shall not broach beyond this footnote. The old prevailing trend that fate is the will of Jupiter, first championed by R. Heinze (1903: 293), has come under scrutiny recently. Relevant for our overall discussion, C.H. Wilson (1979: 367) disagrees with Heinze citing that the *fata* that Jupiter mentions at the opening of his address to Venus – *parce metu, Cytherea, manent immota tuorum / fata tibi*, "spare your fear, Cytherean one, the fate of your offspring remains intact, you'll see" (i.257-258) – relates to his understanding of history and represents a destined, historical reality. In connection with our overarching interest in Vergil's design for on his epic, L.E. Matthaëi (1917), and later H.L. Tracy (1964), interprets Vergil's ambiguity as to just how much of a role humankind has in shaping destiny as intentional and meant to convey a sense of unreconciled tension in just what is fate; as a result, the poet is expressing a pessimistic view of life. For further investigation into the issue of fate in the *Aeneid*, I direct readers to consult M.B. Sullivan's (2012: 3 n. 28) recent, comprehensive bibliography.

⁸ Note too the similar interpretation of R.G. Austin 1972, *ad loc.* 223-24.

(1990: 149) points to as a possibility that the surface optimism of Jove's prediction might be undercut here by the darker material covered over and "as Jupiter deceives Venus, so Vergil deceives or misdirects the reader: The beginning of the *Aeneid* sets up expectations that will not be fulfilled, as the poem becomes more complex and ambiguous."⁹ Of course, in connection with this question of deceptive optimism, we need to question why Venus acts as she does toward her son by relating the final outcome of Jove's prophecy as it concerns Aeneas (i.e., Aeneas will set up a kingdom in Italy) but not its specifics (i.e., only after harsh battles and only for a small window of time). On this issue, A.M.E. Wlosok (1967: 86-88) acknowledges a tension between the goddess' personal and dynastic aspects causing a painful distance between mother and son, very different from the affectionate interactions of Thetis and Achilles in the *Iliad*.

Just what is the relationship between Venus and Aeneas and how does the goddess approach her son here in book one? In looking at this question, we see a doting mother, content to coax her son into settling in Carthage, blissfully finding safe harbor from Juno's anger through a scenario that sees her son finding comfort and companionship with Dido and her blossoming kingdom.

3.2 VENUS APPEARS BEFORE AENEAS (i.314-417)

In Venus and Jupiter's interaction, thrice the goddess' *curae*, "emotional concerns," are mentioned (i.226, 261, 290), anxieties that persuade the king of the gods to reiterate her son's destiny as well as send Mercury down to Africa to ensure the Trojans receive a hospitable

⁹ Cf. E. Henry (1989) who reads joy and optimism in the prophecies of the *Aeneid*.

welcome from the generally bellicose Carthaginians (i.297-304). Meanwhile, having crash landed on an unfamiliar shore, Aeneas has taken it upon himself to do some reconnaissance in an effort to see exactly in what territory he and his men have washed up (i.305-313). While on this expedition, Venus appears before Aeneas,¹⁰ who is accompanied by his faithful companion Achates, in the guise of a virginal huntress and the two engage on a rather lengthy exchange (i.314-417), points of which we shall parse in order to look at how Venus relates to and guides her son, starting with the form Venus adopts. Now presumably the goddess could have taken any shape but she appears as a skilled huntress defined by her weapons (i.315, 318) and physical superiority per the connection with Sparta and Harpalyce (i.316-317).¹¹ Venus' camouflage does not fool Aeneas and he senses the maiden conceals a divine nature (i.327-329, 334), an assertion of divinity she pushes away, explaining:

'haud equidem tali me dignor honore;
uirginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram
purpureoque alte suras uincire cothurno.
(i.335-337)

[“Surely not do I deem myself at all worthy of such honor; it is the custom of Tyrian virgins to carry a quiver and bind our calves up high with crimson boot.]

While Venus' choice of disguise has generally caught the attention of scholars, a few zero in on her descriptive footwear. *Cothurni* are notably the shoes both of Diana and of tragic actors and E.L. Harrison (1972-1973) sees them here specifically referring to the erotic hunt of

¹⁰ The models for this scene are the encounters of Odysseus with Nausicaa (Hom. *Od.* vi.110-197) and Athena (Hom. *Od.* vii.1-77; xiii.197-440). A.G.C. Cartault (1926: 112-113) has some general remarks on Vergil's use of Homer here. G.N. Knauer (1964: 158-163), naturally, fully analyzes the parallels.

¹¹ Note too Harpalyce stands as a parallel for Camilla, the great female warrior of book xi.

Aeneas and Venus against Dido and with the imminent tragedy that will unfold in book iv.¹² K.J. Reckford (1995: 24) sees a sexual tension in this passage¹³ in that what Aeneas wants at this point is rest and present happiness, to be Odysseus among the Phaeacians, or, better still, Odysseus returned to Ithaca; to enjoy the most basic reassurances of human touch and human speech, longings that Venus cannot or will not satisfy.¹⁴

T. Fuhrer (2010), on the other hand, argues that the verbal interactions between Aeneas and Venus can be read as comical and the audience can find themselves amused by precisely these miscarried scenes and performances. By way of addressing Fuhrer's thesis, let us further move into Venus' interaction with her son. Venus opens her address assertively yet welcomingly with *heus*, "hey there" (i.321),¹⁵ asking the duo if they have seen her quiver bearing (i.323) sister wandering about the forest hunting. After stating that they have not seen anyone, Aeneas pleads, *leves... laborem*, "may you lighten our labor" (i.330), by providing information on where exactly the storm has deposited them. Venus identifies the land as the realm of the Carthaginians, *genus intractabile bello*, "a race fierce in war" (i.339), a theme repeatedly emphasized over the course of the book (i.302, 444, 523), ruled over by Queen Dido. The goddess then narrates Dido's life back in Tyre: The murder of her husband Sychaeus at the hands of her brother the king; her dream of Sychaeus' shade urging her to

¹² Harrison qualifies the boots as symbolizing especially the role of a god setting a tragedy in motion. On this tragic buskin idea, S.G. Papaioannou (2007: 184 n. 404) comments: "In acting the part of the maiden huntress, Venus is anticipating the theatrical performance, the drama within which Aeneas is about to participate upon entering the theatrical space of Carthage."

¹³ Reckford (1981) also sees a sexual tension at work in the Helen episode of book ii with the Spartan's potent sexuality fomenting violence in Aeneas and his desire to strike her down.

¹⁴ Cf. A.M.E. Wlosok (1967: 75-106), who reads how in the meeting with her son, Venus' aphrodisiac aspects are completely deemphasized and she speaks and acts primarily as the Aeneadic ancestress.

¹⁵ R.G. Austin (1971: *ad loc.*), a bit strongly, calls her, "no demure miss.... Boyish" and equates this *heus* to comedy, giving Venus a "gay tone," which loosely fits in with our overall discussion here of a nurturing Venus trying to coax her son into Dido's fold.

flee the country; her ultimate establishment of Carthage (i.341-368). She concludes her opening remarks by asking Aeneas and Achates who they are and from where they have come (i.369-370), a response Fuhrer (2010: 68) regards as completely superfluous and even ironically contradictory in that Aeneas states how it is his mother who shows him the way – *matre dea monstrante viam*, “with my divine mother showing the way” (i.382), yet this is couched within his complaint about the present state of affairs: *Ipse ignotus, egens, Libyae deserta peragro*, “I myself wander through the Libyan desert, a stranger and destitute” (i.384).

On this point, J.M. Seo (2013: 35-39) notices how at the outset of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is a hero without an identity, which corresponds with his obscure representations in the epic tradition prior to Vergil, and in his speech to Venus he is trying to understand this lack of identity,¹⁶ to which Venus is cruelly indifferent in her reply.¹⁷ E.W. Leach (1997) critically interprets the goddess, sensing that she falls short in her provision of maternal comfort, ultimately concluding that Vergil has shaped the goddess’ persona with elements that are more human than idealized or otherworldly and subject to human capriciousness. However, Leach (1997: 371) adds the caveat that it does not inevitably follow that Vergil dislikes Venus, or compromises her status as the mother of Rome; rather, with Aeneas’ destiny rooted in a material and historical future whose ramifications exceed the capacities of his imagination, he is a different kind of hero from Achilles whose desired κλέος, “fame,” his mother facilitates in the *Iliad*. In Venus’ appearance before her son in the wilderness surrounding Carthage, B.F. Otis (1963: 235-238) finds that Aeneas’ nostalgia and pessimism concerning his fated mission

¹⁶ Seo (2010: 47), building off P.R. Hardie’s 2002 work on Ovid, specifies how “the fixity of who Aeneas must become is challenged in the fictionality of the epic with its multiplicity of voices, rumors, insinuations.”

¹⁷ C.P. Segal (1981) pays particular attention to the isolation Aeneas feels because he has been deceived by his mother.

in his reply contrasts with the long-range purpose embodied by Venus. R.O.A.M. Lyne (1987: 35) thinks Vergil was inimical toward Venus: "One might expect Rome's great epic to defer to her and assign to her dignity, benevolence, magnificence.... [Instead] the explicit action (the epic voice) as well as the further insinuating voices present her in roles that are traditional but hardly flattering.... Vergil is not fond of this goddess in spite of her illustrious associations."

I interpret Venus and Aeneas' exchange as relating to a shared tendency to live in the present. The traditional interpretation of Venus' interaction with Aeneas first championed by R. Heinze (1915: 119-120), is that the goddess wants to arouse in Aeneas a liking and respect for Carthage, its inhabitants and queen. To take this a step further, that Venus wants her son to enjoy a respite from his hardships, to put them out of his mind and instead make his way to Dido's palace where, she adds, he will reunite with his presumed drowned shipmates (i.387-401). Their exchange does not show Venus' indifference toward her son nor her failure as a guiding figure but her desire to shepherd him to Carthage where he will find happiness for the moment. Aeneas, not in the mood for Venus' coyness, responds to her question of who is he, *suspirans imoque trahens a pectore vocem*, "sighing and emitting a voice from the depths of his breast" (i.371), entering into a woeful speech (i.372-385) that Venus abruptly cuts off: *Nec plura querentem / passa Venus medio sic interfata dolore est*, "Venus, putting up with him lamenting no further, thus interrupted the middle of his moaning" (i.385-386).

When Venus leaves her son, *sedesque revisit / laeta suas*, "she happily returned to her halls" (i.415-416). Aeneas, though, at the moment of departure, having recognized the huntress to in fact be his mother, as he long suspected, has a seemingly dejected response:

“quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis
ludis imaginibus? cur dextrae iungere dextram
non datur ac ueras audire et reddere uoces?”
talibus incusat gressumque ad moenia tendit.
(i.407-410)

[“You also cruel, why do you so often deceive your son with false appearances? Why is it not given to unite right hand in right hand and to hear and exchange true words?”
He rebukes her with such things and directs his path toward the city.]

E.L. Harrison (1972-1973: 12-13) points to this moment of Venus abandoning her disguise and appearing before her son as designed to highlight Aeneas’ sense of loneliness and to make him vulnerable to Dido. Does it have to be so tragic or isolating? Aeneas knew – or at the very least highly suspected – he was speaking with a divinity and even took pains to define himself as a dutiful, pious servant and defender of the household gods: *Sum pius Aeneas, raptos qui ex hoste Penates / classe veho mecum*, “I am pious Aeneas, who carries alongside me in my ship the Penates rescued from enemy hands” (i.378-379). Thus, Conington-Nettleship (1871: *ad loc.* i.407) comments on Aeneas’ complaint of repeated deception with how, “Venus has only appeared once before to Aeneas and then in her proper person (i.589); the expression must therefore refer to the feeling that he has been generally mocked and baffled.” Might it be more of an “I knew it” moment rather than a soliloquy on the duplicitous nature of his mother?

In his complaint, Aeneas speaks of not being allowed to exchange *ueras uoces*, “true words” (i.409), with his mother. As discussed above, the truth is, per Jupiter’s revelations, that Aeneas will wage a mighty war in Italy, killing many, before setting up a reign that will last a mere three years (i.257-266), information that Venus does not pass along. That she suppresses these points demonstrates that she is not yet willing for her son to make his way

into the inevitable battling and adversity that lies ahead. Venus stands acutely aware that her son is destined for war, but not now, not if she can do anything about it. She knows Aeneas will find himself in battle both because Jupiter explicitly said so but also, less explicitly, by knowing her son's nature, for as we see, the portrait of Aeneas that emerges over the course of the first book paints him as hero who is defined by his martial tendencies and abilities.

3.3 AENEAS IN THE STORM

Aeneas' first appearance in the epic finds the hero in the midst of a storm sent by Juno, a typhoon ripe with dark clouds, thunder and lightning, and threatening immediate death to all on the high seas (i.81-91). The storm itself comes very quickly (*eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque / Teucrorum ex oculis*, "suddenly the clouds take sky and day away from the Trojans' eyes" [i.88-89]) and before one even has time to think, Aeneas immediately breaks into a speech that he did not have time to plan out but which spontaneously comes out, revealing in the process his inner thoughts and how he must have been mulling over for some time his lamentable fate wandering lost on the high seas as opposed to having enjoyed a famous, renowned death.

In response to the squall, Aeneas' posture has been cited as cowardly: *Extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra; / ingemit*, "straightaway Aeneas' limbs grow slack with cold; he groans" (i.92-93), wishing that he were already dead, having been killed at the hands of Diomedes, bravest of the Greeks, in front of the walls of Troy in the company of the heroes Hector, Achilles, and Sarpedon:

'o terque quaterque beati,
 quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
 contigit oppetere! o Danaum fortissime gentis
 Tydide! mene Iliacis occumbere campis
 non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
 saeuus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens
 Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
 scuta uirum galeasque et fortia corpora uoluit?
 (i.94-101)

[O three, four times blessed, they who chanced to die before the faces of their elders under the lofty walls of Troy! O son of Tydeus, bravest of Greeks! Why was it not permitted for me to have fallen, to have poured out this here life by means of your right hand in the fields of Ilium, where fierce Hector lies thanks to the spear of the son of Aeacus, where huge Sarpedon lies, where the Simois has rolled under its waves so many snatched shields, helmets, and stout bodies of men.]

In connection with our thesis that Aeneas must progress over the course of the epic to a point where he can work in acceptance of his mission, R.D. Williams (1967b: 31) believes that Aeneas must come to learn that his life is not his to throw away and, as such, Aeneas represents a new type of hero, “an unheroic” one full of “human frailty.” R.G. Austin (1971: *ad loc.* 92) sees Vergil’s Aeneas as far removed from the Homeric world, an ordinary man with no confidence in his heroic destiny, frightened in the world.¹⁸ Such interpretations, however, H.-P. Stahl (1981: 159-165) squarely addressed, soundly concluding that Aeneas does not yearn to have died in the past, *per se*, but under noble circumstances; he does not pray for salvation but for a heroic end, one which he fears he will not get. Stahl continues on how Vergil takes great pains to show Aeneas as a full scale Homeric warrior with full heroic

¹⁸ Consider too R.G. Austin (1971: *ad loc.* 95), who sees Aeneas considering *beati*, “blessed” (i.94), those who got to die on the Trojan battlefield *ante ora patrum*, “before the faces of their elders” (i.95), lamenting not having experienced “the saddest of all deaths.” Cf. Achilles at Hom. *Il.* xxi.272-283. N.P. Gross (2003: 153) sees Aeneas, in wanting to die in the sight of his elders, as wanting to affirm his self-image and his Trojan persona for all time.

ideals and his desire to die at Troy is his desire to become an eternally recognized hero rather than some lost sailor drowning anonymously.¹⁹

After Neptune quiets the sea, Aeneas and seven of his fleet originally twenty in number find haven on the African coast. Having disembarked, Achates at once strikes up a fire and makes preparations for roasting what grain they still have (i.174-179). While the arrangements are underway for this light meal,²⁰ Aeneas climbs a nearby peak to attempt to locate his lost ships, specifically the vessels helmed by three captains who are defined by their prowess or aptitude in battle elsewhere in the poem: Antheus, a son of the great warrior Sarpedon (i.100); Capys, who later appears killing Privernus (ix.576); and Caicus, the soldier who first reports Turnus' attack (ix.35). He does not spot his comrades but does find a herd of deer and *nec prius absistit quam septem ingentia uictor / corpora fundat humi*, "the conqueror did not cease before laying out seven huge carcasses on the ground" (i.192-193).²¹ Aeneas then distributes the meat, orders what good wine they have to be brought out, and makes a speech where *dictis maerentia pectora mulcet*, "he soothes (his men's) grieving breasts with words" (i.197), stating how they have had some setbacks but in Latium they will find peace, so take courage. All the while, though, Aeneas privately suppresses his own internal worries

¹⁹ Equating Aeneas here with Odysseus (through Hom. *Od.* v.297), G.K. Galinsky (1988: 346-347) views this Odyssean reminiscence pointing both to the human endurance of divine rage and to the stable order which overcomes that rage: The anger of Aeneas is a world apart from Juno's and while Aeneas would have drowned undeservedly, Turnus dies justly as a result of his anger. More on Galinsky in connection with Aeneas' rage at the end of book xii.

²⁰ There is debate as to whether this rudimentary meal of grain is being prepared or has been prepped and already eaten when Aeneas goes on his exploratory climb with the issue resting in the adverb *interea* (i.180). R.G. Austin (1971: *ad loc.* 180) comments that Aeneas has eaten before setting out. R. Fagles (2006) seems to take the two actions as contemporaneous in his translation, that is, the meal has not been fully cooked. For interpretative reasons, I favor the idea that Aeneas quickly runs up the hill to survey the scene having not waited for food. This grain can then be incorporated as a side in the *dapis*, "feast" (i.210), of venison that Aeneas will provide for the troops.

²¹ R.G. Austin (1971: *ad loc.* 192) considers the use of *uictor* referring to the enormity of the task. R.D. Williams (1972: *ad loc.* 192) refers to the use of this noun as militaristic but "over-emphatic." I do not see it as overkill but apropos to Aeneas and the scene, especially so given its immediate context to the upcoming mention of *Acestes*... / *heros*, "the hero Acestes" (i.195-196). Aeneas is a heroic figure in this instance.

and anxieties: *Curisque ingentibus aeger / spem uoltu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem*, “sick with deep concerns, he fakes hope on his face, he suppresses deep sadness in his heart” (i.208-209).

In connection with Aeneas’ actions here, D.C. Feeney (1983: 214-215) reads Aeneas’ concealment of his private pain²² as an example of “un-Homeric isolation” at work in Vergil where Aeneas stands distant from his troops and unable to truly interact with them.²³ Comparing the Homeric precedent behind this hunting scene (Hom. *Od.* x.142-171), D.O. Ross Jr. (2007) compares how Homer’s presentation is detailed oriented whereas Vergil’s main concern is with his hero’s action and feelings.²⁴ Of course, Ross (2007: 10) continues on how the hero Aeneas is not allowed to express his human grief, or rather, he can do so only once at Juno’s storm before having to resign himself to follow his fate; Vergil grants us glimpses of Aeneas’ anguish to show us a non-Homeric hero full of conflict and this is indicative of the profound sadness of the poem: “Virgil has written a poem not so much about Rome’s origins and its imperial present, but about the deceptive images that we continually make and remake to restore our past and imagine our future.”

Aeneas is indeed forlorn at this moment in the poem, and he should be. He knows his men are hungry and dejected and sets out to do something about both, first hunting and then using that event to help assuage their sorrow by preparing a feast, a meal to provide physical nourishment in support of his call for spiritual resolve. Might we say that Aeneas’ isolation

²² On the “interiority” of Aeneas, see G.B. Conte 1999.

²³ B.F. Otis (1963: 237-238) suggests that the protective mist cast around Aeneas later in the first book may indicate his “psychological distance” from the world around him.

²⁴ See too W.R. Johnson 1976, 36.

here is the very thing that unites him with his people and makes him a successful leader?²⁵ With the banquet set, *pius Aeneas*, “pious Aeneas” (i.220) mourns the tragic lot of a few missing – but as it turns out not lost – crew members (i.220-222): Fierce Orontes, who is later defined by his connection with a great race of archers (vi.334); Amycus, an expert hunter and mixer of poisons later killed by Turnus (ix.771-773); Lycus, also to be killed by Turnus (ix.544-562); brave Gyas, seen killing Ufens (xii.460);²⁶ brave Cloanthus, the *uictor*, “winner,” of the boat race during Anchises’ funeral games (v.245).

Aeneas admittedly did not set out to kill some deer but he alone – albeit accompanied per usual by his trusty sidekick Achates, did set out to climb a mountain peak without food while the others remained on the beach tending to culinary matters. When the herd crosses his path, he pounces on the opportunity; he did not set out to kill per se, but he can and will. G.A. Staley (1990) puts forth the thesis that Aeneas the hunter is both a Jupiter and a Juno, i.e., a force for order and a force for chaos, and as an agent of civilization he must combine both of these roles; his hunt is a symbolic equivalent of order, of Neptune calming the waves, whilst simultaneously paralleling the storm and all its violence and destruction. Staley (1990: 31-32) concludes that behind the civilizing act of the hunt is violence and destruction of a previously ordered society, i.e., the herd; therefore, Aeneas’ first act in the poem presents him as a victim of Juno who acts in the ways of Juno herself.²⁷ In discussing the nature of Juno in the epic, M.L. Colish (1985: i.233) tidily sums up the goddess as personifying wrath, hatred,

²⁵ V. Panoussi (2002) observes how the leaders Dido and Turnus (as well as Ajax) define themselves through constant reference to their relationship with their people, only to engage in action which pits them against the interests of their communities and which results in their complete isolation; this behavior having no place in the future Rome or Aeneas.

²⁶ Gyas is also the captain of the *Chimaera* in the boat race of book five.

²⁷ Cf. V. Pöschl (1950: 24ff.), who reads the opening of the epic (i.8-296) as a struggle between the forces of order and the forces of chaos, culminating in the victory of order.

and vengefulness as she seeks to inflict sufferings on the Trojans, to place obstacles in their path, and to aid their enemies despite the fact that she cannot impede their destiny in any final sense.²⁸ In shooting the stags, does Aeneas show any wrath, hatred, or general desire to kill? Might it be that Vergil presents his readers with a picture of Aeneas as a heroic figure whose natural inclination is not to sit idly by but to involve himself actively in affairs and situations? Unexpectedly, Aeneas encounters a food source. That he ends up taking down some of its numbers is consistent with other defining moments of the hero we find in the opening book.

3.4 THE APPROACH TO CARTHAGE

Returning to Venus and Aeneas' encounter, D.J. Gillis (1984: 328 n. 18) sees a parallel in Venus-Aeneas with Venus-Anchises in the Homeric tradition, only the resolution of the Vergilian meeting is an inversion of its predecessor: Venus guarantees Aeneas' life by providing him with a protective mist as he makes his way through Carthage to Dido's presence (i.411-414); in the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite, Zeus' thunderbolt leaves Anchises a non-fully-functional, lame human being. To run through the entire episode of Venus appearing before her son: She descends from heaven in the guise of a huntress, tells the woeful tale of Dido, and tries to curtail Aeneas' sorrow by directing him into the city. Now the Carthaginians are a naturally bellicose people (i.14, 302, 323, 339, 444, 539-542) and earlier Jupiter had sent Mercury down to North Africa (i.297-304) to procure a hospitable welcome of the Trojans by the locals and ensure that Dido adopt a kind attitude toward the refugees.

²⁸ Citing as evidence i.22, 107; v.604; vii.313-316; x.62-65.

Venus' enshrouding bubble seems unnecessarily protective. However, she knows her son's natural inclination toward action (as evidenced in the hunting scene, not to mention all of book ii, as discussed in the first chapter) and wants to make sure that his journey to Dido goes unnoticed: *Cernere ne quis eos, neu quis contingere posset / moliriue moram aut ueniendi poscere causas*, "so that not anyone was able to see or touch them or cause them delay or demand their reasons for coming" (i.413-414). Venus reports nothing of Jupiter's daunting prophecy for Aeneas and while he speaks to his shipwrecked mates of their mission to reach Italy (i.205), he follows Venus' *non...ueras...uocas*, "untrue words" (i.409), and heads toward Dido.

Speaking of knowing the divine overarching plan at work in the world, Dido might very well be *fati nescia*, "unaware of fate" (i.299), but she is definitely aware of Aeneas and his exploits as evidenced by the temple of Juno she erected in a grove near the center of town – and it is to this place of worship that Aeneas and Achates arrive. En route, the pair pass the vast construction project going on in Carthage (i.418-436), prompting Aeneas' admiration: *O fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt*, "o fortunate ones whose walls already rise" (i.437) – and in the fourth book, Mercury will find Aeneas hard at work constructing towers and roofs in Carthage (iv.260-261), living in the moment rather than turning his attention to his destiny in Italy.²⁹ Inlaid upon the temple is the history of the Trojan War,³⁰ bringing for the first time a sense of hope to Aeneas that all will work out in the Trojans' favor:

²⁹ J.H. Starks Jr. (1999) sees Aeneas as becoming, in effect, a Carthaginian during his time in Africa.

³⁰ On the exact architecture of the temple, D.W.T. Clay (1988: 202) believes that Aeneas must be looking at a series of discrete panels. On the exact nature of the format of the frieze, see S.D. Lowenstam (1993: 37 n. 3). R.S. Conway (1935: *ad loc.* 488) assumes that Aeneas knows the figures represented on the frieze because they are somehow labelled as they would be on a Greek vase.

hoc primum in luco noua res oblata timorem
leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem
ausus et adflictis melius confidere rebus.
(i.450-452)

[In this grove, for the first time a new thing having appeared eased his fear, here for the first time Aeneas dared to hope for safety and to put greater trust in his afflicted situation.]

M.H.W. Schuller (2001: 252) understands Aeneas as intentionally deluding himself, with his fascinated gaze (*miratur* at i.456, 494) clouding his awareness of some of the temple's less appealing aspects. As R.A. Smith (1997: 41) puts it: Aeneas must go forward, whether or not he wants to, so he is purposely misreading the temple by not reading it as a picture of bloody messes and death.³¹ Introducing the temple ecphrasis,³² Vergil tells us that the temple imagery delineates *Iliacas ex ordine pugnas / bellaque*, "the Trojan battles and the war in order" (i.456-457), i.e., Aeneas gazes for an extended period of time upon the full events of the campaign whilst awaiting the arrival of Dido (i.454-458).

Naturally Vergil does not want to rehash all the minutiae of the entire ten-year conflict (in the process rewriting the *Iliad*),³³ but the action he does show Aeneas reviewing will help us further see into Aeneas' personality. The portions of the frieze that Aeneas marvels at are as follows: Achilles generally causing havoc (i.466-468); Rheseus' death at the hands of Diomedes (i.469-473); Troilus' slaughter by Achilles (i.474-478);³⁴ the Trojan women fruitlessly praying to Athena after the fighting has turned against the Trojans (i.479-482); the

³¹ Smith is influenced, no doubt, by J.J. O'Hara (1990: 39): "Aeneas...is deceived by his own misinterpretation of this work of art."

³² For a general introduction to Vergilian ecphrases, see A. Szantyr 1970.

³³ A. Barchiesi (1997: 275), and earlier Servius (*ad loc.* i.456), suggests that we are meant to understand the ecphrasis as a selection from a more comprehensive image mediated through Aeneas.

³⁴ Troilus is discussed in chapter two, footnote 13.

abuse of Hector's corpse at the hands of Achilles and Priam's subsequent supplication (i.483-487);³⁵ his own self fighting the Greek chiefs, a reminder of his prowess as a warrior, and the Ethiopians under King Memnon, who have joined the Trojan ranks (i.488-489);³⁶ Penthesilea and the Amazons daring to fight amongst men (i.490-493). Thus, beyond the reference to the suppliant women and Priam's pleas for Hector's corpse,³⁷ we find explicit references to battle, not unexpectedly so in a mural depicting war; however, it is these images that encourage Aeneas to exhort to Achates, *solue metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem*, "let go of fear; this fame will bring some salvation to you" (i.463). This refers in part to the thought that Dido knows about the Trojans already and the actions of the Trojan War will work to their benefit: *Sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi, / sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*, "even here honor has its due reward; even here tears fall for men's lot, and mortality touches the heart" (i.461-462).³⁸

And just what are the actions of the Trojan War, that is, what are we to take from the images that Vergil relates Aeneas marveling upon? W.V. Clausen (1987: 131 n. 8) summarizes the episode noting how Achilles dominates the scene, asking: "The intended effect? The man of sensibility contemplates the man of violence." S.D. Lowenstam (1993: 48-49) expands upon Clausen, writing: "The man of sensibility observes the man of violence he will become.... At

³⁵ Discussed in detail in chapter two.

³⁶ E. Riess (1919) takes the reference to Aeneas mixing it up with the Greeks as one image and the Ethiopians under Memnon as a separate one, i.e., Aeneas is describing two separate panels of the frieze. I am fine keeping them together as one complete thought, retaining the comma at the end of i.488, as R.A.B. Mynor's OCT so punctuates. However, I would like to emphasize how it is Aeneas alone specifically fighting against the Greek captains, and then we have a tangentially connected thought – and the Ethiopians were on the field of battle too.

³⁷ Which in itself recalls Venus' report in book two that the gods have turned their back on Troy and are themselves physically working to bring about its downfall.

³⁸ This translation hails directly from R.G. Austin 1971, *ad loc.*

the very point that Aeneas first gains hope from past ordeals, new ordeals are suggested.”³⁹ I am hesitant to call Aeneas a man of sensibility. Nor do I conclude as M.C.J. Putnam (2001: 172-173) does, that by associating Aeneas with Achilles vis-à-vis the frieze, a Trojan, and source of incipient Rome, becomes the Greek destroyer of Troy, and initiates his new epic career by sharing in the seduction of Dido away from her regal duties and into an existence that portends her death and the doom of her city. Putnam (1998: 256-260; 2001: 172) similarly notes how the final frieze image of the Amazon queen Penthesilea, who in the classical tradition is killed by Achilles only to have the Greek fall in love with her as she lay dying, foreshadows Dido and Aeneas’ tragic relationship.⁴⁰ S.G. Farron (1980: 40) suggests that Vergil deliberately portrays Aeneas’ mission as brutal and destructive, introducing it as such in the first book where, “Vergil made Dido the center of interest and deliberately created compassion for her, but he had no interest in producing sympathy for Aeneas.”

As the hero surveys the illustrations, *animum pictura pascit inani / multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine uultum*, “groaning much, he feeds his spirit on the insubstantial frieze and wets his face with an abundant stream” (i.464-465). The close repetition of his emitting tears, *lacrimans*, “crying” (i.470), leads A.M. Parry (1963: 79-80) to see sorrow and a profound sense of human suffering in this scene. M.H.W. Schuller (2001: 255-256) discusses Aeneas’ personal involvement in looking at the frieze via his weeping and groaning as “public” as opposed to “private” – as it is when Odysseus in *Odyssey* viii remains at a distance from

³⁹ D.K. Stanley (1965: 274-277) directly connects the pictures on the temple with Iliadic scenes in the poem’s second half.

⁴⁰ S.D. Lowenstam (1993: 43-44) thinks that Penthesilea prepares the reader for the arrival of Dido, “with whom Aeneas will soon be in conflict.” N.P. Gross (2003: 140 n. 17) also sees the outcome of Aeneas’ relationship with Dido foreshadowed in his initial glance at the Carthaginian queen occurring immediately after turning from the mural of Penthesilea. See too G.B. Conte 1986, 194-195.

Demodocus' song and is moved to tears because of memory; Aeneas weeps as if suffering the defeat of Troy right there in the middle of Carthage. In discussing Aeneas' reaction to the frieze, M.C.J. Putnam (1998: 244) sees the hero actively reproducing and defining the images on the temple through his emotional responses,⁴¹ determining that Aeneas feels sorrow, yet also pride at the images. Putnam (1998: 245) continues to suggest that the levels of intent in this ecphrasis are more profound and troubling than what we sense Aeneas experiences because the whole backdrop of the scene and book i is struggle and toil. The pride that Putnam sees in Aeneas is chalked up by R.O.A.M. Lyne (1987: 210) to dramatic irony in that pictures on the temple mean one thing to the audience who sees that Aeneas is taking solace (ironically) in Juno's Temple,⁴² and another to Aeneas, for whom the frieze radiates sympathy and esteem for the pathetically defeated. Similarly, the fact that the temple itself is to Juno has led R.J. Hexter (1992: 355) to read Aeneas' taking from it the possibility that her devotees would act kindly to him a "monumentally stupid inference."⁴³

Of course, in his surveying the temple walls, Aeneas associates himself in the same company with Achilles and Diomedes; he defines himself as a warrior first and foremost, one who takes on the heads of the Greek assault. Aeneas is now assured that others will know his great, brave identity; he is not some anonymous, shipwrecked sailor. S.G. Papaioannou (2007: 53) states how "in his particular portrayal of Achilles, Vergil attacks the Homeric ideal of epic

⁴¹ Note too R.D. Williams (1960: 151) on how Aeneas exhibits "the subjective element in the interpretation the tragic pictures." On Aeneas as a subjective viewer of Juno's temple, see C.P. Segal 1981; D.W.T. Clay 1988, 202; E.W. Leach 1988, 318; A.J.W. Laird 1996, 89. On the problem of focalization of the scene, i.e., we are reading Aeneas reading, see D.P. Fowler 1991.

⁴² Other authors have seen the irony of Aeneas taking comfort from works of art on a temple dedicated to Juno depicting Trojan sufferings, a comprehensive list of whom can be found in S.D. Lowenstam 1993, 49 n. 39.

⁴³ A. Barchiesi (1994: 120-122) also discusses the ominous presence of Juno and its implications for future Roman involvement with Carthage.

heroism, which along the course of the *Aeneid* he juxtaposes with his own as embodied in Aeneas.”⁴⁴ The reference to Rheseus also associates with a less than ideal heroic situation, the famous nocturnal raid of Odysseus and Diomedes, whom Vergil qualifies as *multa... caede cruentus*, “bloody with much slaughter” (i.471), where the two slay the recently arrived Thracian, as well as twelve other unnamed soldiers, while asleep and steal his horses.⁴⁵ J.M. Seo (2013: 42-47) sees the temple relief placing Aeneas in the epic tradition with studied ambiguity, i.e., without any references or physical descriptions; just a generic placement that works as a nod to Homer while purposely leaving the old imagery of Aeneas un-discussed so as to have Aeneas be a blank canvas. Yet this does not mean that Aeneas has a blank personality or when he views himself on the temple artwork he recognizes himself “almost absently” (W.V. Clausen 1987, 18), or “with no emotional comment” (R.G. Austin 1971, *ad loc.*).⁴⁶ Nor does Aeneas lose his personality here, as M.H.W. Schuller (2001: 251) hints at: “Aeneas, for the first time since leaving Troy, becomes exposed to the brutality and the suffering of the war, an experience that has a stupefying and numbing effect on him: *Stupet obtutuque haeret defixis in uno* (i.495).”⁴⁷

E.W. Leach (1988: 311) suggests that Aeneas’ encounter with the images of Troy has a cathartic effect on the hero: “After indulging by his contemplation those regrets for past sorrow that his exile continually nourishes, Aeneas is ready to meet the Carthaginian queen

⁴⁴ R.D. Williams (1960: 149-150) earlier determined that the temple pointedly projects Achilles as the incarnation of Greek behavior that is marked by *crudelitas*, “cruelty,” and *perfidia*, “perfidy.”

⁴⁵ As told in Hom. *Il.* x.469ff.

⁴⁶ M.C.J. Putnam (1998: 254) believes that when Aeneas finds himself on the murals, “here and in what follows there is no display on Aeneas’ part of empathy toward the scenes themselves. Likewise in the change from *agnoscit lacrimans* (i.470) to *agnovit* (i.488), we experience a lessening of intensity as we turn from the hero’s immediate, emotional acceptance of what he sees to an act of mere cognition.”

⁴⁷ B.W. Boyd (1995: 77) sees this passage involving “a juxtaposition of Trojanness with the loss of Trojan identity.”

with equanimity.” Aeneas does not equate his sufferings with those of Dido’s as Venus reported to him, nor do the images produce a catharsis in the hero. I would put it that Aeneas’ combat against the Greek leaders⁴⁸ shows the hero in his glory and emphasize both his prominence and his possible success in the future in that he will receive an enthusiastic reception by Dido. As it turns out, it is just this sort of martial prominence that Dido focuses upon and wants to hear retold:

nec non et uario noctem sermone trahebat
infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem,
multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa;
nunc quibus Aurorae uenisset filius armis,
nunc quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles.
(i.748-752)

[And unfortunate Dido was drawing out the night in varied conversation and drinking in deep droughts of love, asking many things concerning Priam, many things concerning Hector; at one point with which weapons the son of dawn had come, at another point what sort were Diomedes’ horses, at yet another how great was Achilles.]

Dido wants to have the images on the frieze brought to life by the hero who lived through them. It is Aeneas’ heroism that defines his character and the attribute by which others define and recognize him and at which Dido stands in awe.

Later in the first book (i.519-560), Ilioneus, the senior officer representing the twelve ships that were blown off course from Aeneas’ command during the tempest, introduces the wandering Trojans to Dido and informs her they mean no harm but simply seek permission

⁴⁸ We should note too how the frieze lacks any real specificity of detail, especially in light of Aeneas’ connection with Achilles and Diomedes, both of whom Aeneas has unsuccessful, aborted campaigns in the *Iliad*.

to re-rig their ships and continue on their way. In his speech he praises the merits and virtue of his presumably lost commander Aeneas: *Rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter / nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis*, “Aeneas was our king, than whom another was not more just in his duty, nor greater in war and arms” (i.544-545; consider too how earlier in his speech Ilioneus acknowledged the Trojans’ bellicosity but told Dido that such intentions they have put aside and they, in effect, come in peace as an orphaned tribe [i.527-529]). In response to Ilioneus’ words, Dido once again defines the Trojans and Aeneas himself in terms of bravery and exploits in war: *Quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem, / uirtutesque uirosque aut tanti incendia belli*, “who does not know the race of Aeneas, the city of Troy, and its bravery, men, or the flames of so great a war” (i.565-566). The frieze, in essence, helps bring Dido and Aeneas together and sets up for the reader the queen’s subsequent falling for Aeneas. As Dido declares to Ilioneus: *Adforet Aeneas*, “if only Aeneas were present!” (i.576).

3.5 DIDO’S PERSONALITY

Continuing our discussion on Dido, let us take a look at the mindset of the queen. While admittedly not a martial figure, nor preoccupied with war and war matters, Dido’s own personal desires determine how she acts. The queen will have an encounter with the divine level action but she will work in concord with it. As was the case with Turnus’ starting war in Italy with the Fury Allecto acting as a catalyst, on the poetic level Dido falls in love with her Trojan guest through the interventions of Mercury (i.297ff.) and Venus via the agency of Cupid disguised as Ascanius (i.657ff.). The machinations of the gods enflame in Dido the passion that will ultimately result in her suicide. A divine wind similarly brings Aeneas to

Carthage, as the hero himself admits: *Me digressum uestris deus appulit oris*, “having departed [Sicily], god drove me to your lands” (iii.715).

However, on a personal level Dido already has an affinity for Aeneas. The images of Juno’s temple reflecting Aeneas’ heroism reflect Dido’s awe for the Trojan. When the Trojans first arrive at Africa’s shores, Dido initially comes into view as a queen worried about her half-built Carthage (i.563-564; iv.36-44)⁴⁹ and clinging to keep loyal to her dead husband Sychaeus (i.344; 720f.; iv.28f.). She begins to find not only a partner in Aeneas, another long-suffering leader, but also a possible source of security.⁵⁰ Dido emerges as a fully human character, with all the weaknesses that such entails, and as T.R. Bryce (1974: 258) comments: The success of Vergil’s Dido-Aeneas affair depends very largely on the extent to which we can accept the lovers as real people in a real situation. Venus coaxed her son to Dido, who herself was prepared to receive Aeneas’ coming.

As such, Dido retains some personal liability in her fate and Cupid’s intervention must not fully relieve Dido of responsibility for her own emotions.⁵¹ Her new love is a source of weakness, a guilt-ridden passion, as iv.19 shows where Dido calls it *culpa*, “a ‘fault’ in love”

⁴⁹ This first point explains Jupiter’s sending Mercury to ensure the safe reception of the Trojans in Carthage: The nascent city would obviously be leery of a fleet of ships full of foreign warriors having unexpectedly washed up on their shores.

⁵⁰ F. Muecke (1983: 152-153) points out how Jupiter’s ensuring the disposition to *hospitium*, “warm welcome,” that Dido displays so innocently in the scene in the temple is an example of dramatic irony in that, of course, Dido-Aeneas and Carthage-Rome are only ever momentarily aligned. S.G. Farron (1980: 39) defines Dido and Aeneas as human symbols for Rome and Carthage and in describing how the pursuit of Aeneas’ mission brutally destroys Dido, Vergil is symbolically describing the brutal destruction of Carthage by Rome.

⁵¹ As C.P. Segal (1990: 2) aptly puts it: “No divine intervention was required to depict Dido’s falling in love with Aeneas. The gods’ intervention...may reflect authorial as well as divine control. Venus’ plotting in a privileged, inaccessible space above the earth – and therefore also above the area of naturalistic human emotions – sensitizes us to Virgil’s conscious structuring of emotions in his own plotting, the literary construct as an artificial creation of his own mind.” Cf. G.W. Williams (1962: 44) who suggests that Cupid’s intervention is “to relieve Dido of responsibility for her own emotion.” R.G. Austin (1971: *ad loc.* 657-694) comments: “The Venus-Cupid plot is deliberately introduced, partly to show that external forces took away any personal control from Dido....” Although please note Austin in the next footnote.

(see too iv.172, where Vergil labels it *culpa* as well).⁵² Dido's affair with Aeneas will bring her nearly unmitigated misery and the microcosm that is the first book maps out such a progression: The simile introducing Dido (i.498-502) stresses how happy and active she is (similarly at i.503 she is *laeta*; i.685 *laetissima*); however, thanks to Venus-Cupid she subsequently becomes *infelix* (i.712, 749). Venus made her so because she fears Dido's – and Juno's – agency (i.661-662), a fright that overrules her earlier happiness for Aeneas' future (i.416). H.-P. Stahl (1969) explains Venus' two interventions in the *Aeneid*'s first book through an analysis of the goddess' shifting psychological states from despondent (i.228) to happy (i.416) to anxious and fearful again when Vergil tells us: *Quippe domum timet ambiguum Tyriosque bilinguis; / urit atrox Iuno et sub noctem cura recursat*, “indeed, she fears the unpredictable house and the duplicitous Tyrians; savage Juno vexes (her), and her anxiety returns again at night” (i.661-662).

Distrusting Dido, Venus sets in motion a plot to secure her affections for Aeneas by substituting Cupid for Ascanius who will beguile her with his charm (i.664-688), the goddess instructing her son as follows: Son, my great aid, you who scorn Jupiter's lightning bolts, help me (i.664-666); you know that Aeneas, your brother, is being attacked by Juno and it saddens you (i.667-669); now Dido delays him with flattery and I fear what may come of Juno's hospitality here (i.670-672); I intend to beguile Dido so that she will fall deeply in love with Aeneas (i.673-675); to this end, I will lull young Ascanius to sleep and you adopt his form (i.676-682); for this one night pretend to be the boy so that when the queen receives you in her lap you may breathe hidden fire into her and poison her (i.683-688). The final line of

⁵² This is the translation of R.G. Austin (1955: *ad loc.* 19), who goes on to qualify it as “used of Dido's ‘weakness’ in her passion for Aeneas, which she knows is wrong – the ‘tragic flaw’ in her character.”

Venus' directions, *occultum inspire ignem fallasque veneno*, "may you breathe a hidden fire [into her] and be unobserved in your poisoning her" (i.688), does not mean that Cupid sets aflame Dido out of the clear blue. The presence of the child on her lap is only part of the equation: Dido is also presented a splendid robe and cloak by Aeneas as a token of gratitude for her kindness. There is more to it as well, but let us take a look at Vergil's depiction of Dido's emotional reawakening to feelings of love and passion now geared to Aeneas:

mirantur dona Aeneae, mirantur Iulum
 flagrantisque dei uultus simulataque uerba,
 pallamque et pictum croceo uelamen acantho.
 praecipue infelix, pesti deuota futurae,
 expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo
 Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque mouetur.
 ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit
 et magnum falsi impleuit genitoris amorem,
 reginam petit. haec oculis, haec pectore toto
 haeret et interdum gremio fouet, inscia Dido,
 insidat quantus miserae deus. at memor ille
 matris Acidaliae paulatim abolere Sychaeum
 incipit, et uiuo temptat praeuertere amore
 iam pridem residues animos desuetaque corda.
 (i.709-722)

[They marvel at the gifts of Aeneas, they marvel at Iulus, at the god's glowing features and deceptive words, and at the robe and the veil embroidered with yellow acanthus. The unfortunate Phoenician, especially, doomed to an awaiting ruin, cannot satisfy her mind and she becomes aflame by gazing, and she is aroused equally by the child and the gifts. That one, as soon as in the embrace of Aeneas, and when he has hung on Aeneas's neck and has sated his fake father's great love, he seeks out the queen. This woman with her eyes, this woman with her whole heart clings to him and from time to time she caresses him in her lap, unaware how great a god is sitting on poor her.⁵³ But he, mindful of his Acidalian mother, gradually begins to remove the

⁵³ I am taking *miserae* as a dative with the compound verb *insidat*. Cf. R.G. Austin (1971: *ad loc.* 719) who urges for a proleptic translation, "to her sorrow."

memory of Sychaeus and, with a living passion, tries to preoccupy her spirits, dormant for a long time now, and her disused heart.]

Dido retains personal liability and Venus-Cupid's intervention must not relieve the queen of responsibility for her own emotions or lamentable fate.⁵⁴ Dido is highly mindful of the Aeneas of legend as pictured on the Temple of Juno (i.488, emphasized by Dido's recalling of the imagery at i.751) and already stirred up by the mere image of Aeneas and Cupid-Ascanius (i.714) long before the tot lays it on thick by jumping into her lap (i.717ff.), an action that has no immediately palpable effect but leaves Dido continuing to attach herself emotionally to Aeneas (i.720-22). Dido's disposition allows the poetic intervention of the gods legitimacy and the ability to be effective in their apparent task of enflaming her, just as the speech of her sister Anna (iv.31-53) gives Dido external justification to embark on a course to which she herself has already turned her mind (iv.1-30).⁵⁵ Thus on the human level, Dido is personally responsible for causing her own downfall. Here we have the divine and human level standing in concert to bring about a series of events desired on both planes.

E.M. Wiegand (1930: 172) focuses on how Venus-Cupid make no plot against Aeneas since Dido's charm seems to have been great enough to deserve his love without divine assistance; whereas Dido's struggle is between her sense of duty and the divinely inspired love, Aeneas' lies between his human love and his divinely appointed duty. But Aeneas is

⁵⁴ B.F. Otis (1969: 51), looking at Vergil's literary predecessor for the Cupid episode – the Medea narrative at the outset of Apollonius' *Argonautica* iii, notes how with Dido Vergil wants us to look at her psychology while with Medea we are obviously meant to think of Eros as the actual agent of the emotion, physically shooting the Asian princess and leading her then to fall in love instantaneously. Similarly, R.G. Austin (1971: *ad loc.* 688) writes of the scene: "Vergil has rejected Apollonius' arrow-shooting for something more psychological."

⁵⁵ Cf. how Mercury has to intervene and ensure that Carthage and Dido stow their default hostile mentality (i.339) so as to welcome warmly, without bellicosity the shipwrecked Trojans (i.297-304). Despite the intervention of the messenger god, Ilioneus still complains of the savage treatment and uncongenial reception the shipwrecked Trojans have received at the hands of the Carthaginians (i.539-541).

not working at this point in the epic towards his mission. Venus marks the quintessential doting mother seeking to bring immediate respite and pleasant, even intimate companionship for her son. Venus sets Cupid upon Dido to ensure that the queen will not deceive Aeneas (as the Carthaginians are wont to do, i.661) but be fully inclined to receive her Trojan guests, which is itself unnecessary since Dido already stands in a state of reverence for the Trojans and Aeneas himself.

What Vergil is doing here is giving us a portrait of Venus and how she wants her son to be able to live in the present, happy, safe, and satisfied. Venus does not intend for Aeneas to remain permanently in Carthage with Dido (iv.110-12, in keeping with the information Jupiter previously conveyed to her in Book i). Of course, the fact that he lingers too long in Africa – not to mention how Venus never gives her son any nudge to get back to sailing for Italy, in direct violation of her pledge to Jupiter (iv.227-31, per i.234-37) – points to our overriding discussion of Aeneas’ tendency to act rather than look forward to unknown events.⁵⁶ Aeneas not giving consideration to leaving North Africa for the coast of Italy can be defended by Venus’ coaxing speech wherein she directs her son to Dido’s fold painting the Trojans’ arrival at Carthage as divinely welcomed. With Aeneas recognizing divine Venus, despite her disguise as a Carthaginian maiden, why would he question her directives and directions?

As we stated above, part of Venus’ motivation in the first book is to shelter her son from Juno’s wrath (i.250-253), and, by extension, guarantee Dido’s welcoming Aeneas into

⁵⁶ D.P. Fowler (1990: 47) takes notice of how Aeneas’ decision to depart from Carthage is made swiftly enough (iv.281), although he then dawdles in the land that he has come to consider *dulcis*, “sweet” (iv.281), requiring yet another urgent prompting by the gods.

her realm (i.661-662). Her permanent solution to Juno's meddling is to help push Dido into a state of impassioned feelings for Aeneas, which in turn leads Juno to confront Venus early in the fourth book (iv.90-128). Juno opens their conversation by accusing Venus and Cupid of having worked on Dido (iv.90-95) out of fear of Carthage's might (iv.96-97) before proposing a truce that declares since Dido is enflamed toward Aeneas, why not a union between the Trojans and Carthaginians (iv.98-104)?

Venus, sensing that Juno's true motivation is to keep Aeneas out of Italy (iv.105-107), agrees with the caveat that only if fate and Jupiter allow it (iv.107-112), asking the queen of the gods to broach the subject with her husband (iv.113-114). Juno tersely responds that such a task is hers (114-115) before changing the subject to laying out a plan by which Aeneas and Dido might be brought together in marriage (iv.115-127).⁵⁷ The scene ends with Venus content in the outcome and secure in the fact that she outdid Juno: *Non aduersata petenti / adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis*, "not opposed to her suggestion she consented and the Cytherean one smiled at (Juno's) deception having been discovered" (iv.127-128). Thus, the manner in which Venus ceases Juno's hostilities against her son coincides with promoting a scenario for Aeneas in which he gets to enjoy a respite from his epic journey and play house with Dido, or rather play castle – since he finds himself the king, for all intents and purposes, of a nascent Carthage already well on its way to becoming a city. And Aeneas can have an active role and play a hand in establishing and furnishing Carthage, as Mercury's visit finds him doing.

⁵⁷ Whether or not the union of Dido and Aeneas is an actual marriage is a legitimate question, albeit one outside the scope of this study. I will point out that in the text Dido refers to it as one (iv.316), a claim Aeneas quickly refutes (iv.338). Vergil, describing Dido, seems to point to the queen's understanding of their relationship to be a marriage as sincere yet flawed: *Coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam*, "she calls it a marriage, with that name she costumes her sin" (iv.172).

3.6 THE ROLE OF MERCURY

Turning our attention to this divine entrance of Mercury in book iv, learning of Dido and Aeneas' dalliance through the prayers of Iarbus, a rival suitor for Dido's hand (iv.198-218), Jupiter becomes aware of how *oblitos fama melioris amantis*, "the lovers are neglectful of their more favorable fame" (iv.221). He subsequently enjoins his herald to remind Aeneas that his mission is Rome (iv.223-237), that is why Venus twice rescued him from the Greek horde (iv.227-228) – that he might rule over Italy, a land *gravidam imperiis belloque frementem*, "pregnant with empire and crying out for war" (iv.229), and in the process *totum sub leges mitteret orbem*, "the whole world he would pass beneath his law" (iv.231). Mercury then swiftly rushes down to Africa and rebukes the lingering Trojan (iv.265-276) in a speech that admittedly omits a lot of Jove's martial aspects but instead focuses upon talk of future fame and the Italian kingship that is destined for Ascanius in Aeneas' wake. The messenger god was previously directly involved in having a hand in Aeneas' story in the first book and while Venus' meeting with her son occurs the morning after Mercury was in some fashion working to ensure that the Carthaginians warmly welcome the Trojans, we will recall how the goddess does not relate to her son the toilsome, dangerous aspects of Jupiter's prophecy in store. Why should Mercury here do any differently? His job is to get Aeneas orientated to Italy, a task he successfully brings about without having to reiterate Jove's command verbatim.⁵⁸ Mercury does not enjoy the close relationship with Aeneas that Venus does and he follows her lead in

⁵⁸ I am here remind of *Iliad* ix, wherein Odysseus does not relay to Achilles Agamemnon's truce offer word for word, notably leaving out the Mycenaean king's final disclaimer that Achilles must ultimately bow down before him. K.B. Muse (2005) attributes the wordplay of Mercury at iv.271 (*teris ... terris*) as the catalyst jolting Aeneas into action.

how he approaches the Trojan prince. Once again Aeneas' ultimate destiny and the martial events that he will encounter in Italy are hidden from him.

We should mention how Mercury will have to once again appear before Aeneas and urge him to forego spending the night moored in Carthage but instead immediately depart to escape possible obstruction from Dido (iv.560-570). Aeneas ultimately obeys Mercury and cooperates with the divine will, but his attitude is reluctant, as he summarizes his position to Dido: *Italiam non sponte sequor*, "I seek Italy not willingly" (iv.361). Mercury's involvement here, continues the mini-tragedy that Vergil weaves into his overall epic: That of Dido's doomed love life and lamentable fate. Both Mercury and Venus could have simply said, get to Italy *now*, thereby relegating Dido to a passing character in the epic instead of one of the major protagonists whose fate becomes tied up with Aeneas' mission. Yet this sojourn in Carthage is important for the development of Aeneas and his mother in terms of accepting fate.

J. Pearson (1961: 38) views Mercury's being sent to Aeneas as a recalling of the Trojan to his duties, namely the life of *uirtus*, "virtue," and *pietas*, "piety," that will enable him to fulfill his destiny since the mortal soul forever remains ignorant of its divine nature and of its responsibilities to that nature. We will briefly tackle the complex issue of Vergil's understanding of the soul in connection with the underworld passage in the next chapter, but Aeneas here is not actively trying to forget his mission or his own sense of self in Carthage. D.C. Woodworth (1930: 117-118) reads Mercury's appearance before Aeneas as reflecting the hero's inner psychology and expressing what he has been considering in his own mind, concluding that, therefore, what really prompts Aeneas to leave Carthage are thoughts that he may be doing wrong to his son. Woodworth builds off H.W. Prescott (1927:

282), who writes: "Mercury accomplishes here what in modern literature Aeneas himself would accomplish by a calm consideration of his moral obligation." While paternal concern for Ascanius' future is surely one aspect of Aeneas' motivation, Aeneas' actions in Carthage represent the hero carrying out the moral obligations he has to himself in the best way that he can, given the circumstances. Having been coaxed by his mother into Dido's embrace, the hero's live-in-the-moment, action oriented personality emerges as a dominant, defining trait of his character. Aeneas becomes, in effect, Dido's king and the architect of Carthage.

Should we refer to Mercury's mandate to leave Dido and Carthage as a cruelly imposed order of the gods, as J.S.C. Eidinow (2003: 267) does? Rather, is it not a welcome intervention, albeit one that could have been more efficacious in its delivery? R.C. Monti (1981: 47) remarks how when Mercury visits Aeneas, "his transformation by Dido is nearly complete and, but for the jolt given him by Mercury, might have continued:"

ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,
Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta nouantem
conspicit. atque illi stellatus iaspide fulua
ensis erat Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
demissa ex umeris, diues quae munera Dido
fecerat, et tenui telas discreuerat auro.
continuo inuadit: 'tu nunc Karthaginis altae
fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem
exstruis? heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum!

(iv.259-267)

[As soon as he reached the Punic huts on his winged feet, he saw Aeneas erecting towers and renovating roofs. And his sword was studded with shiny jasper and that mantle hanging from his shoulders shined with Tyrian purple, gifts that wealthy Dido had made, and she varied the warp with golden threads. Straightaway he assaulted: "Are you now setting the foundations of lofty Carthage and, property of your wife, constructing a pleasing city? Alas, forgetful of your kingdom and your matters!]

Nowhere does Dido explicitly ask Aeneas to help out in construction projects. Instead, it is more that Aeneas clearly perceives how the building program has stalled since his arrival distracted Dido to thoughts of love rather than hammers and nails:

non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuuentus
exercet portusue aut propugnacula bello
tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta minaeque
murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.
(iv.86-89)

[The towers begun do not rise up, the youth do not practice at their weapons⁵⁹ or engineer the harbor or the ramparts, protection in battle: The interrupted work is left in the balance and the huge pinnacles of walls and the crane level with the sky.]

Aeneas stands as the foreman of a vast Punic building program donned in what we might call a mock-heroic outfit – Mercury qualifies Aeneas as *uxorius*, “property of your wife” (i.266),⁶⁰ either content in his ornate finery or giving it no thought as he is, after all, in appropriate native garb.

The lavish, bejeweled sword, however, seems a very odd choice of arms. Studying the presence of this baroque weapon, R.G. Basto (1984) defines it as a token given to Aeneas in exchange for his own steel, the blade that Dido hangs in her bedroom and will use to commit suicide. Aeneas still presents himself as a warrior, only here in Libya he is a bedazzled shadow of his former self as embodied on Juno’s frieze and so defined by Ilioneus.

⁵⁹ While not explicitly addressed by Vergil, might we also presume that Aeneas oversaw the renewal of military training that had gone dormant along the way with the job sites?

⁶⁰ As R.G. Austin (1955: *ad loc.*) comments, a “sneer.”

3.7 VENUS AND AENEAS' FATE

In seeking protection for her son from Juno's rage, Venus works to foster an environment where he will enjoy shelter from the queen of the gods as well as find a queen with whom he can work to establish up a kingdom, all the while Venus knowing that Africa is not where Aeneas' fate lies. In trying to deceive Juno to accept a more favorable state for her son, Venus places Dido's life in jeopardy – although admittedly it is a situation that Dido freely welcomed and personally desired and fostered. I would not go so far as to say that Venus is sheltering Aeneas in the first half of the epic, although she well knows that once he reaches Latium, there will be blood and battle. Just as Aeneas lives in the moment of satisfying his personal desires in the Odyssean books, we have Venus working similarly and striving to bring happiness to her son in the here and now vis-à-vis Dido. Once Aeneas finally makes it to Italy and war is inevitable, she has a change of heart – as Vulcan attests – and delivers Aeneas the armor emblazoned with his future so he can go forth and secure his fate in setting up what in due course will be Rome. And the images on the shield speak to the martial exploits that will come to define Rome.

Venus is, to a certain degree, ignoring the divine level fate and acting almost in the realm of the human, allowing her own personal desires to set into motion events that run directly counter to Jupiter's prophecy still fresh in her mind. However, come the Iliadic half of the epic, once battle lines are arranged and war an unavoidable reality, Venus will alter the stance she takes regarding her son. Venus in the first book is not ready for her son to tackle the labors and warring she knows he will, just as Aeneas himself is not yet ready to

fight in a manner that will both allow him to satisfy his personal yen for action while advancing the prophecy of Rome, as he will come book viii, to which we turn our attention.

4.0 AENEAS' ACCEPTANCE OF HIS FATE

4.1 *PARCERE SUBIECTIS ET DEBELLARE SUPERBOS*

As discussed in the introduction to this study, the final episode of the *Aeneid* has caused a terrible amount of consternation amongst its readers and often is offered up as the linchpin for painting the poem writ large in a somber light. Having gained the upper hand over Turnus, who in turn has pled for clemency, Aeneas hesitates and halts his sword only to then change his mind and run his enemy through. In slaying his foe Aeneas seemingly overrides the paternal mandate bestowed upon him during his journey to the underworld wherein Anchises advises:

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.
(vi.851-853)

[You, Roman, remember to rule people by your sway (these shall be the arts to you),
to set up the condition for peace, to spare the conquered and throw down the proud.]

While Aeneas killing Turnus certainly does show the hero forgoing leniency for the enactment of personal vengeance, as we have been considering, Aeneas had to act, had to slay Turnus, not necessarily out of any sort of moral obligation but in connection with his personal desire to act in the moment, a yearning that Anchises in the catabasis qualifies as attributable to souls *clausae tenebris et carcere caeco*, “trapped in the darkness and in a sightless dungeon” (vi.734), thanks to the “dark-prison house of the body.”¹ Due to this corporeal

¹ As R.G. Austin (1977: *ad loc.*) expands and qualifies the passage.

nature, we are by definition passion-ridden. As Anchises will declare, without bodies humans would by nature be heaven-bound but are in fact weighed down by these fleshy shells. For Aeneas not to have acted as he did would have equated him to *falsum insomnium*, “a false dream” (vi.896), having become the very thing he supposedly became at the end of his journey to the underworld when he exited through the Gate of False Dreams.

Yet Aeneas historically emerges as the progenitor of the dream that will be Rome, as we well know, bringing to fruition Jove’s prophecy in the first book (i.257-296). Similarly, the vision of future greatness Anchises recounts is shepherded into reality by the actions of his son in his capacity as a non-passive hero. The world order of Jove’s prophecy and Anchises’ narrative cannot be achieved without suffering and sacrifice. Inherent in the aforementioned *parcere subiectis* mandate stands an inherent difficulty – if not downright impossibility – as Anchises strives to make his son unmindful of all the past hardships and personal tragedy he already encountered. Anchises wants Aeneas to reorient himself psychologically to forge ahead and become Rome’s founder and standard bearer.² In doing so, A.J. Boyle (1986: 144-151) sees Anchises speaking of a rational and ordered human society wherein humans, or specifically here a human, Aeneas, are so constituted that the ideology of an ideal empire can

² The Sibyl also hints at the fact that this expedition holds special psychological significance for Aeneas:

quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est
bis Stygios innare lacus, bis nigra uidere
Tartara, et insano iuuat indulgere labori,
accipe quae peragenda prius.

(vi.133-136)

[But if you have such passion in your mind, if there is so great a desire to twice navigate the Styx’ waters, to see black Tartarus twice, and it pleases you to indulge this foolish mission, listen to what must be done in advance of this.]

N.B.: The final clause of verse 133 reappears in Aeneas’ question on why anybody would desire reincarnation.

be made reality and the glorious process of history assured can be dreamt. However, Boyle continues (1986: 153), Aeneas must adopt amnesia for individual suffering, for all the human tragedy and loss accrued in the march to empire.³ Yet, when Aeneas slays Turnus, it is Pallas' loss that Aeneas is mindful of and that is the driving factor behind his final stroke.

Realistically, in the *Aeneid* the impulse toward personal gratification stands as the dominant trait in the figure of Aeneas.⁴ Similarly, in the underworld, the presence of desire fueled by the body rather than a spiritual desire for ephemeral bliss is alluded to often; indeed, it is explicitly mentioned by Anchises in connection with the dark prison episode mentioned *supra*. How does this inherent domination of yielding to one's passion mesh with the fatherly edict *parcere*, "spare," that is, not act out?⁵ As J.J. O'Hara (1990: 166) summed up the entire meeting: "The encouragement offered in the parade of heroes is in fact undercut and questioned by numerous details of Vergil's presentation."⁶ Might, though, the catalogue of heroes be the central message of the catabasis? G.B. Conte (1986: 154-156) refers to a dualistic double-duty contained in Anchises' injunction: The duty of vengeance (i.e., of the personal) and the necessity of forgiveness (i.e., sacrificing the personal for the greater good); Aeneas yielding to the former thereby gives credence to the supremacy of the body over the spirit in the mythology of Rome's establishment.⁷ And is not that what the parade of future

³ D.L. Quint (1993: 62-65) similarly reads Anchises' role as paradigmatic of constructive forgetfulness, the necessary preliminary to the Trojans' escape from the failures of the past.

⁴ M.C.J. Putnam (1995b: 166) sees this leading to pessimistic conclusions, whereas I do not, as should be manifestly clear by this point.

⁵ J. Griffin (1979: 65-66) comments how Anchises' mandate holds back as much as it offers; denies as much as it asserts.

⁶ O'Hara relies heavily on D.C. Feeney 1986.

⁷ See too M.C.J. Putnam (2005: 459), who summarizes Anchises' spare mandate as suggesting an ethics of forbearance for those in power in order to secure that very power, of self-mastery in order morally to master others.

Roman leaders speaks to: Glory gained through action, conquest then leading to empire and peace in the world.

In the *Aeneid*, liberation from the body, while preached by Anchises as noble in so far as souls can then turn to *auras*, “the heavenly air from which they have sprung” (vi.733),⁸ receives little championing elsewhere in the epic. Instead, and even within Anchises’ own discourse, without might, without acting in accordance with the body,⁹ Rome would never have been founded nor her destiny fulfilled. Of course, the question begs to be asked: What do we make of Aeneas’ query concerning why souls would yearn to return to sluggish bodies since it is a return to the dark prison and is not a move to spiritual refinement or freedom but a bodily hell:¹⁰

‘o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est
sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reuerti
corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?’
(vi.719-721)

[“O father, must it be imagined that from here any souls rise aloft to go toward the sky and return once more to deadening bodies? What so horrible a desire for the light do these wretched one have?”]

⁸ This definition hails from R.G. Austin 1977, *ad loc.*

⁹ Read in concordance with Dante’s notion of the body in so much as physical concerns get in the way of one’s seeking God’s love, this passage has lead M.C.J. Putnam (1988) to see dark pessimism in Vergil and his portrayal of Aeneas. I refute this interpretation in a paper I delivered 13 October 2012 during the Virgil and Renaissance Culture / *Virgilio e la Cultura del Rinascimento* Conference in Mantua, Italy. On Dante’s love and encyclopedic knowledge of the *Aeneid*, see *Inf.* xx.114. Painstakingly, J.H. Whitfield (1949: 73) counts Dante’s corpus adapting or quoting classical authors c. 1500 times, the majority of these from the Vulgate (500 times), followed by Aristotle (300 times), then Vergil (200 times); of these Vergilian echoes, 90 are found in the *Inferno*, 34 in *Purgatorio*, thirteen in *Paradiso*, with the rest scattered in lesser writings, essays, and letters.

¹⁰ On a pessimism, which I dispute, underlining Aeneas’ questions of why would anyone want to return to a body, see A.J. Boyle 1972, 140; G.W. Williams 1983, 207-208; J.J. O’Hara 1990, 165. This idea of body as a prison is an old idea and by no means the invention of Vergil. Plato’s *Phaedo*, e.g., discusses the notion (66B-C). On the Platonism of vi.730-34, see E.L. Harrison 1977. On the body-prison in Orphism, see E.R. Dodds 1951, 169 n. 87.

Anchises' reply propounds how the body and soul are sharply distinguished and the body is regarded as the soul's dark prison with only a select few souls ever remaining in the happy fields of the afterlife without ever gaining a desire to return to another body (vi.724-751). To parse Anchises' explanation: He speaks of how the entirety of the physical realm is suffused by a divine spirit and from this spirit life arises; while humans are confined within their decaying, physical body, they experience physical needs and desires, fears and troubles, which do not trouble the divine within us but do leave a taint on that spirit; upon death the deceased need to be purged of such stain (this is the section of Anchises' lengthy answer that I have taken the liberty to omit in our imminent discussion) and, purged, arrive in Elysium; after a thousand years, they gather around the River Lethe, drink the water, and forget in order to be born anew:

igneus est ollis uigor et caelestis origo
seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.
hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras
dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.

...

mittimur Elysium et pauci laeta arua tenemus,
donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
concretam exemit labem, purumque relinquit
aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem.
has omnis, ubi mille rotam uoluere per annos,
Lethaeum ad fluuium deus euocat agmine magno,
scilicet immemores supera ut conuexa reuisant
rursus, et incipiant in corpora uelle reuerti.

(vi.730-734; 744-751)

[Fiery is the vigor and divine the origin of those seeds (of life), so much as the harming body does not clog them and earthly limbs and mortal frames do not blunt them. Hence they fear and desire, mourn and rejoice, nor do they discern the heavenly air

from which they have sprung, (their souls) being trapped in the darkness and in a sightless dungeon. ... Then we are sent to Eysium and a few of us possess the blissful fields, until a length of days, with a cycle of time having been completed, removes the hardened stain and leaves in its pure state the ethereal sentient power, the elemental fiery breath, and the brightness of natural air. But all these here, when they have rolled time's wheel through a thousand years, god summons in vast throng to the River Lethe, you see, so that they, made unmindful, may once more revisit the vault above and begin to wish to be returned into a body.]]¹¹

In Anchises' narrative, souls are near unanimously and continually turned into new bodily shells to be reborn, washed forgetful of their ethereal identities in the river Lethe.¹² The shades do not drink of the stream to simply forget the past prior to returning into a body, nor do they drink in order to forget the past and so then wish to return. Rather, they drink so as to begin to wish to return. Aeneas understandably cannot fathom why these *exsangues umbrae*, "bloodless shadows," as the Sibyl calls them (vi.401), must conceive a desire to return to *tarda corpora*, "sluggish bodies" (vi.720-721), that is to experience in all its recalcitrant framework.¹³ M.C.J. Putnam (1985: 17) states that Aeneas might well exclaim on the dread desire of those who opt for rebirth since he himself, even while visiting his father in the underworld, is suffering through the emotional world of the living and his epic story is a general reminder of life's negative potential as well as a particular acknowledgement that Roman history will continue to recreate the less gentle aspects of human nature; Aeneas, as

¹¹ Large swatches of my translation of the second half of this difficult philosophical passage hail directly from R.G. Austin 1977.

¹² In the *Commedia*, Dante has two rivers, this one and the Eunoe, which the pilgrim drinks of to expunge his past sins and purge himself for entrance to eternal rewards. The Lethe purges sin and the Eunoe preserves the remembrance of excellence, memories that the pilgrim must hold to continue his spiritual progression. Vergil has no Eunoe, no revivification of the past, only the forgetful river Lethe.

¹³ R.R. MacDonald 1987, 51.

he yields to his own living, experiencing self, ultimately undercuts his potential as symbol of Roman idealism by becoming the embodiment of a very human emotionalism.

Aeneas does indeed cater to his human emotionalism when slaying Turnus, but as D.C. Feeney (1986: 110) notes, per Anchises' philosophy life on earth is essential antipathetic to the concerns of the soul. In Anchises' injunction to his son stands a paradox, as Livy expresses it: *Ostendite modo bellum; pacem habebitis*, "merely make war, then you will have peace" (6.18.7). War will lead to empire that will then usher in peace; this is the necessary progression and without it being followed the ability to even be able to spare would not exist.

4.2 PARADE OF HEROES

Despite Anchises' promoting a divisional-body philosophy, a tension between the body (i.e., human want) and Rome's destiny (i.e., Aeneas surrendering himself to fate) is constantly at work. We also see a tension at work between the instructions of the divine level action as unfolded by Anchises in the underworld and Aeneas' human level desires.¹⁴ Anchises' exegesis is capped with a seemingly contradictory parade of heroes who gain their valor in warfare, itself capped with grief over a body slain before its prime before ever having a chance to prove itself in battle (vi.752-886).¹⁵ This cavalcade of Roman greatness consists of the purified spirits of those who have lived previously and who will return again as future heroes, as we will see from a helpful synopsis of the full scene: Anchises leads his son and

¹⁴ M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 36) reads Aeneas' actions in the second book where Aeneas, caught up in the passionate swirl of Troy's final hours, stands for the impulse of every man, as alluded to by Anchises at vi.730-734.

¹⁵ D.C. Feeney (1986: 4) shows how Vergil's underworld eschatology in the pageant of heroes points significantly in the direction of the values of earthly rather than otherworldly life; that is, the parade attempts to give politics and history value in the face of, and in contradiction to, the metaphysical implications of the cycle of souls.

the Sibyl to a lofty vantage point and commences pointing out the coming glory of Aeneas' lineage (vi.752-759); the first images are of Alba Longa (vi.760-776), whose leaders are renowned for their arms (vi.769) and strength (vi.771) and who will build citadels (vi.774) and forts (vi.775) on their way to ruling over the world; Romulus, the son of Mars, will establish Rome, which will match the power of the earth and the will of heaven (vi.777-790); Augustus Caesar conquers the known world (vi.791-807), his reach surpassing that of Hercules (vi.801) and Bacchus traveling with his tiger drawn chariot (vi.805); Anchises then speaks to Aeneas not needing to have any doubt or hesitation in an effort to inspire and encourage him (vi.806-807); the kings Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, and Ancus Martius are introduced (vi.808-816); the reign of the Tarquins segues into the creation of the consulship led by Brutus *ultor* (vi.817-823), "the avenger" (vi.818) who will wield the savage axes of authority (vi.819); the Decii, Drusii, Camillus, and Torquatus make an appearance (vi.824-825), the last of this group *saevus securi*, "brutal with his axe" (vi.825); Caesar and Pompey materialize (vi.826-835), *paribus ... in armis*, "in matching arms" (vi.826), foes who will usher Rome into an era of civil war, to whom Anchises' appeals, in vain as we know from history:

ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella
neu patriae ualidas in uiscera uertite uiris;
tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo,
proice tela manu, sanguis meus! —
(vi.832-835)

[Do not, sons, do not familiarize your spirits to such wars nor turn the mighty power of the homeland against itself; you be the first, you who derive your heritage from Olympus, spare, throw your weapons from your hand, my kin!]

The parade continues with a litany of major conquests from Roman history (vi.836-846); Anchises speaks of how Roman greatness will not lie in the arts and sciences but in law and conquering (vi.847-853), the final lines of which we quoted at the outset of this chapter; next arise the successes of M. Claudius Marcellus (vi.854-859), *uictor*, “conqueror” (vi.856), of the Carthaginians and rebellious Gauls, and recipient of the *spolia opima*, “supreme prize of captured arms” (vi.855); Aeneas asks about the identity of a youth in blazing armor walking with a downcast gaze and Anchises relates the great loss of Marcellus the younger, Augustus’ heir apparent who died early before having a chance to reach his full potential as Rome’s great leader (vi.860-886):

heu pietas, heu prisca fides inuictaque bello
dextera! non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
obuius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem
seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
(vi.878-881)

[Alas the virtue, alas the ancient honor and right hand invincible in war! Not anyone meeting his path would have carried themselves against him while armed safely, either when he came against the enemy on foot, or was digging into the flanks of his foaming steed with his spurs.]

In short, the heroes are generally defined by their bodily selves both in terms of their living past and their forthcoming exploits. Again, this is where M.C.J. Putnam (1990) reads an unhappy tone in the poem, especially in contrast to the *Commedia*: Whereas in the latter epic the end is heaven, in the former we end not with the idealizing dream fulfilled but only with further damning evidence of the passionate individuality of gods and man standing triumphant; the ending of the *Aeneid* projects the reader structurally and emotionally back to

the items that we have been seeing since the opening book: Aeneas' emotionality and Juno's wrath. Putnam concludes (1998: 166) that, therefore, the bookends of the epic are rage and passion dominating over restraint. But should we be so upset at this, in light of either Turnus' deserving death, or even the underworld's central message?

Earlier in book six, Aeneas' body stands as the defining trait that marks him as real (vi.292-94, 413-414). The ferryman Charon too defines Aeneas by his corporeal form, comparing him to the last living visitor he had, Hercules, whom one might call the paradigm of the body since it is the medium via which he achieves immortality (vi.392-97).¹⁶ Upon reaching the gates of Dis, Aeneas' first impulse is to slay the mythical anthropomorphisms he sees, which the Sibyl warns he would be striving to do in vain against empty air (vi.290-94). Likewise, Aeneas' former Greek enemies run in terror to their ships at the sight of his gleaming weapons (vi.491-92). In terms of entering the underworld, Aeneas plays an active role in that he fetches the Golden Bough and holds the requisite funerary rites for Misenus.¹⁷

¹⁶ We shall discuss Hercules' lengthy presentation in book viii imminently. Germane to our discussion here though, I would like to note how when Aeneas hears tale of Hercules' battle with the monster Cacus from King Evander (viii.184-305), we see a clear separation between action and religion, between battle and worship. The initial content of this lengthy narrative aside focuses upon Hercules' exploits against his foe (viii.184-267). It is only after Evander has spoken of Hercules' defeat of Cacus, that is, only after the battling has concluded, that the story then transitions into the worship of the hero (viii.268-305) performed in honor of Hercules' so mighty exploits:

quare agite, o iuuenes, tantarum in munere laudum
cingite fronde comas et pocula porcite dextris,
communemque uocate deum et date uina uolentes.
(viii.273-275)

[Come now, o youths, bind your locks with foliage, pour forth cups with your right hands in service of such glory, and call upon the universal god and give forth your wine willingly.]

¹⁷ Cf. E.W. Leach (1999: 113), who sees Aeneas, here more than elsewhere in the epic, as a spectator dependent on the Sibyl's guidance and displaying "a notable passivity." On the symbolism of the Golden Bough as mediating between the world of the living and the dead, see R.A. Brooks 1953.

A.J. Boyle (1986: 168) sees how any potential optimism hinted at in Anchises' procession finds itself destroyed with the allusion to Pompey and Caesar's civil war and the premature death of Marcellus – *ingens luctus*, "a great sorrow" (vi.868) – a pious, faithful youth whose military vigor Vergil nonetheless chooses to underscore. D.C. Feeney (1986: 119) reads the encouragement of Aeneas by Anchises in the parade of heroes as in fact undercut and questioned by numerous details of its presentation, namely the conflict between Anchises' panegyric speech and the actual telling of events, which comes across as full of sorrow and lamentation, showing national and individual accomplishments but also civil war, *populares*, demagogues, fathers killing sons, shunning of art, hunger for personal glory; in short, the political life's intolerable demands on human nature.¹⁸

Vergil might indeed be expressing both the hope for the peace of a golden age under a future Aeneas, specifically Augustus, and fear that this hope might be deceptive and illusory. Likewise, Vergil might be expressing the paradox that peace is brought about by violence, it does not spring up organically but has to be imposed. What the poet certainly is doing here is setting up the path that Aeneas will have to take; a path Anchises asked his son not to take but which he will take nonetheless: The path of action, the defeat and slaying of enemies, is the civic virtue that will lead to peace. C.M. Bowra (1945: 56-70) notes how in Aeneas, Vergil had to present a hero who could be compared with the Homeric idols but who also possesses all the suitable Augustan Age qualities, something analogous to being simultaneously a good citizen and a good warrior, an Achilles with *uirtus*, "virtue," a figure

¹⁸ W.R. Johnson (1976: 108) notes how the center of the parade contains a reference to the great Augustus (vi.791-807), yet Vergil's pro-Roman frieze melts away to Marcellus and, therefore Vergil intends to show that Aeneas (and Turnus) moves around in a world where appearances are not only deceptive but also potentially fatal; the brighter the shining glory of prophecy will be, the more terrible the darkness will be.

full of compassion who also at times burns with rage. G.W. Williams (1983: 210) notes how Vergil fails to provide an adequate philosophy to underpin Aeneas' actions: The poet does not believe in any sort of existence after death and the whole Hades installment represents a trope, metaphoric in nature, for the hopes and fears of humankind. In this sense the speech of Achilles, that life beats death any day, rings true to his Roman counterpart:

μη δὴ μοι θάνατόν γε παραύδα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ.
βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλω,
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ὃ μὴ βίοςτος πολὺς εἴη,
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.
(Hom. *Od.* xi.488-91)

[No, do not speak soothingly to me of death, glorious Odysseus. I would choose to slave on earth for another man, some poverty-stricken man whose livelihood was but small, rather than to rule over all the breathless dead.]

B.F. Otis (1964: 280-283) sees Aeneas' catabasis marking the psychological turning point at which his sympathies seemingly come at last to be aligned fully with his mission.¹⁹ Yet in the latter half of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas comes across as fully occupied with his immediate problems and not thinking of the future of his race.²⁰ He sees the immediate usefulness and need for favoring the body over a focusing on the abstract future or giving into the realm of the mind. Faith in Rome's greatness will not stop Turnus or any opponents, nor will inaction. To bring this around to Anchises' directive to his son, just as the first thing the Trojans do when they land in Italy at the outset of book seven is *nec parcere*, "to spare not" (vii.115), their bread in

¹⁹ R.R. MacDonald (1987: 49) interprets Aeneas' leaving the bough for Proserpina as symbolic of his resigning himself to his own death, a dedication of himself to history and the future.

²⁰ R.A Brooks. (1953: 260) understands the sixth book as the middle ground between the predominantly individual experience of Aeneas in the first books and the predominantly social experience of arms in the last.

an effort to satisfy their hunger, Aeneas will not be able to pardon his prone enemy. He will follow his father's bidding as much as he can but ultimately this spare wish of Anchises stands as an unrealistic expectation.²¹

4.3 GATES OF SLEEP

After Aeneas' shock at the idea of reincarnation, Anchises' subsequent discourse on the body/soul relationship and his wish for his son to practice restraint, and the parade of heroes that contradicts said mandate, the excursus concludes with a cryptic departure:²²

Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua ueris 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 uiam secat ad nauis sociosque reuisit.
(vi.893-898)

[There are two gates of Sleep, of which it is said one is made of horn and offers a ready exit to true shades, the other shining with polished ivory but through it the Manes send false dreams skyward. To these then Anchises escorted his son as he talked and he sent him and the Sibyl too through the ivory gates; Aeneas made his way to his ships and rejoined his comrades.]

²¹ G.W. Williams (1983: 208-209) finds a loophole in support of reading Aeneas as not disobedient to his father in that Anchises is addressing himself not to Aeneas but to *Romane*, "a Roman" (vi.851), whom Aeneas will be forefather of but is not himself. J.J. O'Hara (1990: 208-209) similarly. Cf. J.D. Reed (2007: 41): "Aeneas, the overt addressee, is hailed directly into Anchises' version of Roman identity." Reed (2007: 164) continues to note how Anchises is not a Roman, nor is Aeneas per se, but both are proto-Romans and this is Anchises' principal message: Promoting the Trojan-Roman identity. R.J. Tarrant (2012: 18 n. 71) sees Aeneas being addressed proleptically.

²² For the Egyptian, Near Eastern, and Homeric traditions surrounding the gates, see B.S. Haller 2009, 398-399.

W.A. Camps (1967) notes that Anchises' speech about Rome's upcoming glory does not have much, if any, of an effect on Aeneas.²³ As B.F. Otis (1959: 176-177) remarks, if we choose to read the expedition as a psychological rather than a physical event, the whole experience of descent and prophecy assumes the value of an evanescent dream.²⁴ While I do not attribute the descent to be a dream of a slumbering Aeneas or a manifestation of his internal psyche, the exit through the gate of false dreams is intentionally designed to make us call into question and challenge the journey, and specifically the lessons Aeneas learned there. Specifically, I take the exit to refer to Aeneas' ability to not act, to ignore all the great martial heroism he saw and how he learned that only via war will peace emerge.

A.J. Boyle (1986: 145-146) considers the ivory consistency of the gate of false dreams both a harbinger of the imminent doom of the poem's second half and a symbol of Rome's future greatness in the Augustan Age.²⁵ I agree and do not see this as paradoxical: Violence and war leads to peacetime. R.R. MacDonald (1987: 53) further qualifies the gate's material as of polished-ivory, yet experience and human life, Vergil wants to remind us, does not deal in symmetry, in the perfection of ivory, but in the roughness, the coarseness of horn. R.J. Tarrant (1982: 53) reads the walking through the gate of false dreams as hinting at the limitations imposed by mortality on all individual striving and expectation.²⁶ I would add to

²³ On the lack of personally useful information for Aeneas in Hades, see H.H. Bacon 1986, 317.

²⁴ A.K.L. Michels (1981: 145) literally sees the *insomnia* referring to the fact that the Aeneas and Sibyl figures and the entire journey itself are but dreams of a sleeping Aeneas and, i.e., *falsa*. N.B.: Servius' commentary defines *insomnium* as *quod videmus in somnis*, "what we see in sleep" (*ad loc.*v.840). I am hesitant to adopt such an interpretation, although otherwise I agree with much of Michels' argument and conclusions.

²⁵ Note Augustus' famous, albeit conceivably apocryphal, declaration: *Marmoream se relinquere, quam latericiam accepisse*, "I found Rome built of bricks and left it in marble" (*Sue. Aug.* xxviii.3).

²⁶ See too W.V. Clausen 1964, 146-147. Tarrant's (1982: 54) main thesis sets the imagery of the gates in the context of the Platonic doctrines of the soul, determining that Vergil uses Plato's view of the physical world as a mere shadow of a purer world a useful structure of thought by which to express his own sense of the evanescence of mortal aspirations.

this sentiment that the “false” part refers to the blind sparing of captives given the unavoidable authority of the body.

Palinurus the helmsman’s final address, a sort of protest against his lot in Hades (vi.363-371), elicits stern reproach from the Sibyl not to protest or complain: *Desine fata deum flecti sperare precando*, “abandon hope by prayer to make the gods change their decree” (vi.376). Aeneas has a mission and through reasons never fully explained to him,²⁷ Aeneas in the underworld surfaces as the father of what will be Rome and her heroes, a future shown to him to exist centered on the bodily forms of empty, idle, inanimate shades. Told of what he should do to help usher in this new greatness, our protagonist reemerges into the light to cope with the present; in short, to act. Aeneas, while he has seen the future, still lives in the moment when he slays Turnus, just as the parade of heroes oriented him to do. Aeneas has neither the reason nor the medium to abandon the bodily emotions.²⁸ The exit through the

²⁷ Note how Horace writes that the gods deliberately conceal the future from mortals, who should not be unduly concerned with it:

prudens futuri temporis exitum
caliginosa nocte premit deus
ridetque, si mortalis ultra
fas trepidat.
(*Odes* iii.29.29-32)

[Knowing the end of future time, god hides (it) in black night and laughs should humankind be anxious to surpass what they ought.]

Text is as it appears in the 1912 OCT of H.W. Garrod.

²⁸ That said, I do not take this in the direction that D.J. Gillis (1984: 341) does: “The *Aeneid* closes with the dark and profound knowledge that force rules our lives. The canons of *pietas* as fulfilled by Anchises during his long and tragic life have vanished in his son. This is why Anchises had him leave the Lower World through the Ivory Gate (viii.895-898), the Gate of False Dreams. Father Anchises himself – for his acceptance of destiny, his endurance of suffering, his devotion to gods and family, his creative resiliency, above all for his compassion – is the true hero of the poem, not his errant and unstable son. This is Vergil’s point.”

ivory gates should not be read as the sixth book concluding on a note of doubt or skepticism about Aeneas or his actions in the second half of the epic.²⁹ Aeneas is not meant to spare.

R.B. Lloyd (1957a: 134) observes that Aeneas consistently disregards prophecies of mortals or their shades except for when he encounters Anchises in the underworld. But does Aeneas really ascend from Hades mindful of Anchises' words and forecasts? Papillon-Haigh (1892: ii.275) links the sixth book with Aeneas' receiving of new armor in the eighth where the shield provides another opportunity of instilling a poetic luster over Augustus, such as was afforded by Anchises' exposition on the great names and deeds of Roman history. Leaving aside the complex question of Vergil's wanting to comment on the reign of Augustus, by looking at the episode surrounding Aeneas' new protective gear, we see how the hero will bring to fruition the future Roman greatness Anchises pointed to through war, that is, once again, not by sparing.

4.4 AENEAS ARRIVES IN ITALY AND PREPARES FOR WAR

The conditions surrounding the outbreak of hostilities in Italy unfold throughout book seven. We have already discussed in chapter two how Turnus commences the war; however, a quick summary of the seventh book will prove useful background material for discussing the psychological change Venus undergoes in the eighth book in connection with Aeneas' readying for battle: After burying his nurse Caieta, Aeneas sails safely past the land of Circe and comes upon a lovely river with many pretty birds flapping around it and orders his men

²⁹ S. Bartsch-Zimmer (1998: 338) understands the ivory gates as Vergil reminding us that we ourselves interpret the *Aeneid*, that we can read it as a "tool in the service of political control; we can undermine its efficacy by emphasizing the deceptive nature of art; or we can realize it, give it life for ourselves, and find in it a meaning that will encourage us to forswear passivity and despair."

to turn up it (vii.1-36); Vergil writes a second proem, calling upon the Muse Erato to aid in him in his *maius opus*, “greater task” (vii.37-45); the situation in Latium is laid out, notably how Turnus seeks the hand of Lavinia, the daughter of aged king Latinus, but portents confirmed by an oracle declare that she should marry a foreigner and their descendants will one day rule the world (vii.45-106); upon landing on shore, Aeneas and crew in their hunger eat the wheaten cakes they had used as plates, thereby fulfilling the prophecy of Celaeno from book iii (vii.107-147);³⁰ next morning Aeneas starts building a settlement and sends emissaries to Latinus, who receives them hospitably and offers Lavinia to Aeneas (vii.148-285); Juno catches sight of these events and, even though she knows that Aeneas has fate on his side, rouses the Fury Allecto to help her stir up strife in Italy (vii.286-340); Allecto sets upon Queen Amata, who rebukes her husband for giving their daughter to a stranger, *Paris alter*, “another Paris,” but Latinus rebuffs her and she raves through the city in a Bacchant’s frenzy and leads the Latin women with her to the woods (vii.341-405); Allecto visits Turnus, as we discussed in chapter two (vii.406-474); Allecto makes her way to the Trojans and induces Ascanius to shoot a sacred stag, which prompts the ire of the local farmers, a battle erupts, and the Fury reports to Juno that she has done as asked and Juno sends her back to Hades (vii.475-571); the enraged Latins call upon King Latinus to declare war but he refuses and, unable to control his angry people, abdicates (vii.572-600); since Latinus will not perform the ceremonial act of opening the gates of War, Juno does it herself and the Italian countryside prepares for war (vii.601-640); in an echo of Homer, Virgil calls upon the muses to help him list the full panoply of warriors on the Italian side (vii.641-817).

³⁰ On the encounter with the Harpies, see the final section of chapter two.

Thus, with the Italian forces having marshaled in large numbers (*undique cogunt / auxilia et latos vastant cultoribus agros*, “they gather forces from all quarters and devoid the wide fields of their caretakers” [viii.7-8]), when we first encounter Aeneas at the start of the eighth book, he sits pondering events:

Laomedontius heros
cuncta uidens magno curarum fluctuat aestu,
atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc diuidit illuc
in partisque rapit uarias perque omnia uersat...
(viii.18-21)

[The hero from Laomedon’s line, surveying everything, sits on edge in a great sea of cares and he turns his active mind this way and that, seizing on various matters and turning everything over...]

Now the River Tiber comes to Aeneas in a dream. As we have discussed, Aeneas has formerly had a hard time following visions that he has received earlier in the epic. This time, however, Aeneas takes the prophecy and advice to heart, perhaps because specifically he is troubled by war (viii.29) and despite Turnus’ false pronouncement that many tribes have already sided with the Trojans (viii.13-14),³¹ Aeneas’ *curae*, “cares” (viii.35), which the Tiber will directly address, center around how to prevail victorious – *neu belli terrere minis*, “do not fear the threat of war” (viii.40) – against the assembled enemy: *Nunc qua ratione quod instat / expedias uictor, paucis (aduerte) docebo*, “now by what design you may emerge the victor in what is at hand, I will teach (listen up) in a few words” (i.49-50). Aeneas awakens to follow the river’s instructions to pray to the water nymphs and make sacrifice to Juno. This

³¹ Which C.J. Fordyce (1977: *ad loc.* 13f.) qualifies as, “a diplomatic misrepresentation.”

supplication, though, is a perfunctory precursor to warring since Aeneas, upon immediately concluding his religious obligations marshals his troops: *Sic memorat, geminasque legit de classe biremis / remigioque aptat, socios simul instruit armis*, “thus speaking, he chooses two ships from his fleet, affixes oars, and at once orders his allies to arms” (viii.79-80).³² During his worship, Aeneas asks to be safeguarded from danger (viii.73), i.e., that he be granted victory in battle, as the Tiber prophesized, and divine confirmation of which Aeneas sought out (viii.78). War is upon Aeneas and the Tiber’s words reflect the hero’s preexisting concerns for victory against overwhelming odds. So he takes the dream to heart, having received in it assurance of his forthcoming success on the field of battle.

The outbreak of war, it needs to be said, lies not with Aeneas but with him acting in response to already begun hostilities, commenced, in part, by Turnus.³³ Studying the action of the seventh book, G. Howe (1927: 609-611) writes how Latinus and Aeneas are both ready to make peace and alliance; there is no thought of war whatsoever in these two leaders. Howe (1927: 614) continues to discuss how Allecto does not go after either of these two kings because they are “responsible leaders,”³⁴ sincere and steadfast in their desire for an amicable adjustment; Aeneas arrives in Italy as a peaceful émigré – although we should note that he is in fact returning to his ancestral homeland. In the face of Turnus’ galvanizing, Aeneas weighs

³² Note too the detailed attention paid to the sailors’ shields at viii.92-93.

³³ The commencement of actual fighting and the spilling of first blood results from Ascanius’ divinely guided hand in shooting a stag sacred to the native community, prompting a skirmish between the local farmers and a band of Trojans who run to Ascanius’ protection, resulting in the death of a number of Italians (vii.475-539). Note too how Aeneas himself marked out walls with a shallow ditch, toiled at the site, and surrounded his first settlement on Italian shores with a rampart and battlement in the style of a fortified camp (vii.157-161), a move that speaks to his personal proclivity to work in the moment as well as a logical construction considering their bivouac on unexplored shores.

³⁴ Exploring notions of kingship in the *Aeneid*, F. Cairns (1989: 67) states categorically: “In essence, Turnus is a bad king.”

matters over before being promised success by the Tiber and ordered to seek out Evander, a local king for whom war against the Latins is a constant presence (viii.55), as well as the potential for war against Turnus (vii.146-149).³⁵

After sailing up stream for a day and a half, Aeneas and crew arrive at Evander's settlement and happen upon a religious ceremony honoring Hercules in progress, their appearance causing alarm (viii.106). Pallas, Evander's son, grabs his spear and confronts the strangers, shouting:

'iuuenes, quae causa subegit
ignotas temptare uias? quo tenditis?' inquit.
'qui genus? unde domo? pacemne huc fertis an arma?'
(viii.112-114)

[He asked: "Warriors,³⁶ what motive leads you to travel unknown paths? Where are you going? What race are you? From what home? Do you bring peace or war to this place?"]

³⁵ Although hostilities between Evander and the Latins have been calm for some time prior to Aeneas' arrival in Italy (vii.46). K.W. Gransden (1976: *ad loc.*) attributes this seeming inconsistency to "perhaps reflect the tension between the 'hard' and primitive 'native' Italians and the civilized and peace-loving Trojan immigrants." Might such a lull in hostilities be seen as part of Turnus' motivation and his desire to rise to arms, for as Aeneas declares, the Rutulian race has designs on subjugating the whole of Italy:

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.
(viii.146-149)

[The same Daunian race that pursues you with cruel war (pursues us); they believe that if they expel us, nothing will be present lest they should throw all of Italy entirely under their yoke, and possess the sea which lies to the east and that which flows on the west.]

Cf. C.J. Fordyce (1977: *ad loc.* 146), who reads Aeneas' words here as a "total misrepresentation" since there has been no overt statement by the Rutlians speaking to their having designs on anything that is not their own. So too did Conington-Nettleship (1871: *ad loc.* 147): "Like his opponents (vv. 13, 17), Aeneas seems to think it part of diplomatic policy to exaggerate facts and attribute motives."

³⁶ Per Conington-Nettleship (1871: *ad loc.*): "*Iuuenes* applies to all of a military age, all warriors." Both R.S. Fitzgerald (1983) and R. Fagles (2006) translate as "soldiers."

Pallas defines the strangers in primarily martial aspects and Aeneas, sensing this too, offers an olive branch (viii.116) before replying that they are Trojans, hostile to the Latins, with whom they are now engaged in war, and have come seeking an armed alliance with Evander (viii.117-120); young Pallas welcomes Aeneas ashore and leads him to the halls of his father (viii.121-125); Aeneas addresses the king, noting how the two are distantly related through a shared connection to Atlas, stating how destiny has brought him to his lands to fight a common enemy in Turnus (viii.126-152), concluding his speech with a testament to the Trojans military prowess: *Accipe daque fidem. sunt nobis fortia bello / pectora, sunt animi et rebus spectata iuuentus*, “accept and offer loyalty. We have hearts stout in war and spirits and youth tested in matters” (viii.150-151).

Whereas Aeneas quickly jumped up after the Tiber’s speech and set in motion gathering allies in opposition to the assembled Italian horde, Evander takes his time (*ille os oculosque loquentis iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus*, “for a long time he was letting his gaze pass over the mouth, eyes and entire body of him speaking” [viii.152-153]) before enthusiastically recalling how as a young man he had the pleasure of meeting Anchises. Evander then pledges to aid the Trojans.³⁷ The two sides then sit down for a feast and celebration of the renowned hero Hercules in his capacity as the slayer of Cacus, a half-human monster that used to terrorize the nearby countryside (viii.184-305). In discussing the nature of Evander, J.J. O’Hara (2014), in a forthcoming *TAPhA* article whose abstract I consulted, characterizes the old man as sweet and demonstrating palpable sorrow at the loss

³⁷ T. Fuhrer (2010: 74) comments on how Evander in no way addresses the points of Aeneas’ speech vis-à-vis the carefully constructed family tree, the genealogical relationship and concomitant duties; rather, what matters to Evander is Aeneas’ relationship to Anchises, whom he admires extravagantly and whom Aeneas has not even mentioned and, once again, Aeneas has chosen the wrong illocutionary role for his speech. To which I would add, because skill in oratory is not one of the forefront attributes of his personality.

of his son, but also as displaying a “Tarentino-esque interest in killing and gore that complicates his status” as a forefather of Rome, evidenced by the story of Hercules he relates and the hymn his people sing in celebration of the hero.

4.5 HERCULES-CACUS

To parse this lengthy – Evander speaks more lines in the poem than any other character beside Aeneas – ecphrasis: Having finished dining, Evander points out to the Trojans a rocky overhang that once held a cave where Cacus used to litter the ground with blood and decorate the walls with human heads (viii.184-197); Vulcan was Cacus’ father (viii.198-199); Hercules, answer to their prayers, arrives in the region driving a herd of cattle (viii.200-204); Cacus, mad with frenzy, steals four bulls and covers his tracks (viii.205-212); preparing to continue onward, Hercules hears a heifer low from the recess of Cacus’ cave (viii.213-218); incensed, the hero grabs his weapons and heads for the cave, much to the alarm of Cacus, who pens himself inside (viii.219-230); thrice Hercules attacks the hollow but unable to find a way in, he angrily rips off its rocky roof, exposing Cacus (viii.230-246); Hercules assaults the monster with missiles and jumps down to choke it to death, dragging out the carcass for all to behold (viii.247-265); the people, in awe of the hideous sight, marvel at the beast’s rare form (viii.265-267); as a result, ever since the people have worshipped the mighty hero (viii.268-272); so come, Evander encourages, o youths, and honor him (viii.273-275); Evander and others offer libation (viii.276-279); the priests set out and pile the altars high with sacrificial cuts (viii.280-284); the Salii, dancing holy men, sing of baby Hercules’ killing Juno’s twin snakes sent to kill him and how the cruel goddess forced him to endure his labors, which are enumerated

(viii.285-300); the celebrants shout, Hail, Hercules, grace us with your presence, thus ending the service (viii.301-305).

The exact purpose of Evander's aside has been debated amongst scholars. The general consensus is that Vergil is here foreshadowing the duel between Aeneas and Turnus,³⁸ but to what end and with what agenda lies the dispute. G. Binder (1971), applying the idea that places, people and events in the *Aeneid* are to be seen as prototypes of places, people and events in Roman history directly to the eighth book, reads Hercules-Cacus as a harbinger of Aeneas-Turnus, itself predicting the events of Octavian-Antonius at Actium. G.K. Galinsky (1966: 26) also sees Hercules-Cacus as an allegory anticipating Aeneas' victory over Turnus and reflecting the triumphs of Augustus.³⁹ Galinsky (1966) points out a number of verbal parallels between Turnus and Cacus (27-37) and determines that Turnus is dominated by fury and madness which takes on the aspect of wickedness; the conquest of Aeneas over Turnus, therefore, "marks the beginning of the triumphant ascendancy of the Aeneidae" (40) with Turnus representing the monster that a hero of Greek mythology would be expected to slay (48). Turnus will deserve to die and Aeneas will triumphantly, justly run him through with his sword, just as Cacus deserved his fate from Hercules.

Evander depicts Cacus as a savage monster⁴⁰ and Hercules a civilized man, justifiable in his actions, the hoped for avenging savior of the territory: *Attulit et nobis aliquando*

³⁸ J.R. Bacon (1939: 103) unites Actium with the earlier Hercules-Cacus episode vis-à-vis the theme of the "happy triumph of civilization over barbarism." For Hercules as a prototype of Aeneas, see V. Buchheit 1963, 116-133. For Hercules as a prototype of Augustus, see U. Huttner (1997: 369-376), who references earlier, similar readings likewise performed largely by German classicists.

³⁹ Similarly K.W. Gransden 1976, 8-20.

⁴⁰ In other traditions, Cacus is merely a shepherd (Livy i.7.5-15) or a mortal robber (Dionysius of Halicarnassus i.39.2; Propertius iv.9). See P.T. Eden (1975: xxii-xxiii) for more on the comparison between Vergil and Livy and Dionysius. Ovid (*Fast.* 1.551-585) depict Cacus as Vergil does: Savage, fierce, and monstrous.

optantibus aetas / auxilium aduentumque dei. Nam maximus ultor..., “and time at last brought to us, hoping, the aid and arrival of the god. For the greatest avenger...” (viii.200-201). After recounting Cacus’ defeat, Evander claims that his people continue to make dedications to Hercules because they were *periculis seruati* “saved from danger” (viii.188-189). The *Salii* priests sing of the deeds of Hercules and add the slaying of Cacus to his labors, alongside his taking care of other dreadful beasts such as the Cretan bull and Hydra.⁴¹ Whereas these labors require violence on Hercules’ part, the *Salii* are careful to explain that Hercules’ handling of Cacus was controlled and rational: *Non ... rationis egentem*, “not lacking in reason” (viii.299). As K.W. Gransden (1976: 12) notes, this phrase underscores the hero’s “controlled wrath” in the face of unrestrained monsters; thus, in Vergil’s account, Hercules creates stability by defeating the enemy who has no control over his violence. Gransden (1976: 107) goes on to point out how although Hercules himself behaves violently, in the end he emerges victorious as a defender of civility and civilization. To this end, P. McGushin (1964: 232) sees Aeneas as a Herculean figure who at the cost of immense exertion carries out the labors imposed upon him. B.F. Otis (1964: 331-338) perceives a moral development from the heroism of Hercules to that of Aeneas, and ultimately Augustus.⁴² Aeneas will indeed act with a fury in slaying Turnus but rightly so.

G.K. Galinsky (1988: 338-339) reads the vocabulary in the Hercules-Cacus episode as permeated with phrases connoting anger (viii.219-220, 228, 230) but designed to show that Hercules, who does act in a rage, has justice on his side; since that episode is a mythological

⁴¹ P.T. Eden (1975: *ad loc.* 283f.) comments on how the *Salii* bring together Evander and Augustus, the former the institutor, the latter the preserver of this priestly college. See too Eden 1973.

⁴² K. Gilmartin-Wallace (1968) likewise emphasizes differences between Hercules and Aeneas that suggest the Trojan’s moral superiority.

paradigm for Aeneas' battle with Turnus, the same emotions are purposely employed in the final scene of the epic to justify Aeneas' final stroke (xii.945, 951). O.J. Hekster (2004: 11) also reads Hercules-Cacus as prequel to the slaying of Turnus, where an enraged Aeneas uses violent methods to defeat a greater evil.⁴³ G.K. Galinsky (1996: 45) recognizes similarities between the imminent depiction of Augustus' victory at Actium (viii.675-713) and Hercules' defeat of Cacus, arguing that the contrasting representations of Cleopatra's monstrous gods and the Roman gods create a parallel between her and the monster Cacus. In the Actium passage, J.D. Reed (2007: 105) see the alignment of Romans, Italians, and Greeks on the same side against the Antonius and Cleopatra, and, since the Trojans will have merged with the Italians and will eventually have become Romans, these associations show the connection of Augustus with the founding figures of Aeneas and Hercules. Similarly, Reed continues, the eighth book works to portray Augustus as decidedly just and Roman by contrasting him with the barbarous and foreign Cacus. The violence of Hercules (and by extension Aeneas and Augustus) stand excusably necessary as it works to remove an immediate threat so as to enable Evander and his wards to found a settlement safe in its security. As G.K. Galinsky (1972: 138) asserts: Hercules-Aeneas-Augustus are "not bent on bloodshed. They are goaded into a righteous rage by the deceitfulness and cruelty of their opponents."

Not all, though, see this episode as designed to promote a Hercules-Aeneas association or the notion that Hercules is the paradigm of goodness against the purely evil Cacus. R.O.A.M. Lyne (1987: 28-29) enumerates the panegyric elements of the ecphrasis before pointing out further details that "comment on, question, and occasionally subvert" the

⁴³ M.B. Poliakoff (1992: 75) compares Turnus rushing to the fray when his countrymen violated their pledge and disrupted the treaty (xii.512) with the Cacus imagery at viii.197.

superficial panegyric. L. Morgan (1988: 176) determines that Virgil elevated Cacus to represent a powerful monstrosity, creating a dualism between Hercules and Cacus with the two figures symbolizing good and evil, respectively. However, Morgan (1988: 183) continues, some of the savagery of Cacus rubs off on Hercules, and, by extension, on Augustus, whom the hero signifies, intentionally so in light of Vergil wanting to comment on Octavian's civil wars, where dreadful destruction and the potential for subsequent good operate in tandem;⁴⁴ destruction for the sake of progress must occur and in the poetic combat between Hercules-Cacus and Aeneas-Turnus (and the historical conflict of Octavian-Antonius) one element must be destroyed in order for progress to be made.⁴⁵

As B.A. Heiden (1987: 670) states: "The foundation of Rome requires the deliberate suppression from consciousness of savagery by giving it the name of order."⁴⁶ M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 30-31) notes how Hercules gets rid of Cacus only after the monster has stolen four of his herd, it is not out of some sort of Stoic desire to rid the world of evil that Hercules acts, it is personal revenge. Putnam (1990: 32) sees the furies of Hercules and Cacus not as separate or distinct but often a linked up in terms of darkness imagery and pride (viii.196, 198-99, 202, 219-220, 258, 262) and, thus, Hercules should be viewed along with Cacus – and Turnus – as acting irrationally, a character who himself becomes a monster and "Aeneas, at the epic's conclusion, must be classed no differently."

⁴⁴ On how Vergil's heroes often share characteristics with their monstrous enemies, see also R.O.A.M. Lyne 1987, 27-32.

⁴⁵ A. Ferenczi (1998/1999: 332) comments that Hercules had already shown Cacus-esque brutality since he had stolen from Geryon the very same cattle that Cacus will pilfer, per Pind. *Fr.* 169a, on which see P.B. Kyriakou 2002.

⁴⁶ J.W. Zarker (1972: 46) thinks the negative qualities of Hercules, and his imitator Aeneas, did not pass unnoticed by Augustus, of whom the two heroes are an obviously intelligible allegory.

The battling in Italy will be fierce, but just as Hercules was up for it, so too will be Aeneas. Neither figure started the events that found them in battle but they will fight, often filled with rage, but rightly so. What about Venus, the concerned, doting mother in the first book who sends Aeneas to Dido rather than on to the toils and warfare Jupiter prophesied to be in store for the Trojan? We see a change in her persona and she will come to provide Aeneas with the tools that will show him that now is the proper time to fight – not that he was avoiding doing so, but now he is fighting for himself and the future glory of Rome.

4.6 INVOCATION OF ERATO

Before turning to Venus in book viii, might we ask why Vergil invokes Erato at the outset of the Iliadic half of his epic:

Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora, rerum
quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, aduena classem
cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
expediam, et primae reuocabo exordia pugnae.
tu uatem, tu, diua, mone. dicam horrida bella,
dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,
Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
maius opus moueo.

(vii.37-45)

[Come now, Erato, I will speak of who were the kings, what the times, what the state of affairs in ancient Latium when the foreign troop first beached its fleet on the Ausonian shores, and I will recall the order of the opening conflict. You, goddess, you advise the bard. I will speak of brutal wars, I will speak of battle lines and kings driven by their spirits toward death, Etruscan bands, and all of Hesperia having come together under arms. A greater order of things is being born for me, I set out upon a greater task.]

Virgilian scholars since the time of Servius have been baffled over why the poet chooses to invoke the Muse traditionally associated with erotic poetry for assistance with *horrida bella*, “the brutal wars” (vii.41), of *Aeneid* vii-xii.⁴⁷ M.C.J. Putnam (2011: 15) calls it “one of Vergil’s richest ironies” and concludes that the section relevant to Erato materializes in the last thirty lines of the epic when the reader learn the *Aeneid* is “a poem that is concerned as much with the complexities of love as of war.” Putnam (2001: 175) sees the muse presiding over the Iliadic action announcing that the collaboration will mean the begetting of poetry given over to an eroticism complemented regularly by violence and death.

M.B. Sullivan (2012: 6) reads a connection between Erato and the fate for her son that Venus constantly worries about throughout the epic; this connection, in turn, formally recapitulates the destiny that compels the hero to Italy in Vergil’s first proem. Venus is, of course, deeply concerned for her son, as we have been discussing, but here I find the sage words of H.H. Bacon (1986: 332) an apt transition into our main subject, Venus’ change of attitude: “But if the second half of the *Aeneid* is to be conceived as love poetry it is because love and the love goddess have, like so much else in the *Aeneid*, been transformed.”

4.7 VENUS PREPARES FOR WAR

In the *Aeneid* we find a protagonist who develops from a subjectively driven character to one who can work in accordance with his destiny. Aeneas comes to this acceptance when Venus

⁴⁷ With uncharacteristic lack of insight, Servius himself suggests the Vergil simply put down Erato for Calliope or some other Muse. For a comprehensive bibliography on this complex question, see M.B. Sullivan 2012: 8 n. 1.

appeals to (just as Anchises did to a certain extent in book vi) his desire for action and presents his destiny as one based on combat which will then generate a long line of future warriors distinguished in combat and conquerors of the tribes of the world. While Hector's warning to flee rather than fight fails to pierce Aeneas' breast – as well as numerous other prophetic declarations throughout the early books of the epic⁴⁸ – once a new approach dictating action on the part of Aeneas is adopted, the hero sets out to complete his future looking mission while still satisfying the needs of his personality for action in the here and now.

It is only with the appearance of his new armor – a gift from his mother, a fact which is important to mention since it marks a shift in Venus' approach to her son in the epic in that she no longer hides some of the more dangerous, hardscrabble aspects he will face as she did conceal in book one; rather, she wants her son to commence and embrace war – that Aeneas truly grasps matters. In the earlier episodes discussed above in connection with Dido, Venus personifies the immediate gratification of desire, impulsiveness, and the unwillingness to subordinate self-interests to larger goals. Aeneas, as I hope I have been making clear, has similar tendencies and in the early books cannot align with his fated destiny that will find its glorious realization in Rome many years down the road. Venus, fully recognizing these attributes in her son, surveys the condition in Italy and seeing the imminent arrival of war orders up the means by which Aeneas will be able to act while doing so in a way that will

⁴⁸ Prior prophetic utterances to Aeneas involving his destiny to reach Italy and lay the foundation for future Rome, most of which we have discussed in depth, being delivered by: Hector's shade (ii.268-297), Venus (ii.589-621), Creusa's shade (ii.771-791), the Phrygian Penates (iii.147-171), Anchises' reiteration of the forecast of Cassandra (iii.182-189), Celaeno the Harpy (iii.245-258), Helenus the seer (iii.369-462), Mercury (iv.259-278), Anchises' shade (v.719-740). Even after the extended lecture in the underworld, upon reaching his geographic destination, but not his overarching end, Aeneas will still need (re)affirmation, which is provided both by the Tiber River (viii.31-65) and ultimately the images of his purposefully crafted new armor (viii.608-731).

simultaneously bring Jove's prophecy to fruition. Vulcan notes *et nunc, si bellare paras atque haec tibi mens est*, "and now, if war is your intent and your mind set on this..." (viii.400), demonstrating how Venus has shifted from trying to bring her son happiness through providing him physical safety, respite, and companionship to catering to his, let us say, maternal (i.e. impulsive, living in the moment) emotions and his ability to act as the situation warrants, in this case by engaging in an unavoidable, imminent war.

The opening verses of the Venus-Vulcan passage show the goddess fearful for her son and imploring her husband to come to Aeneas' aid (viii.370-373), arguing how in the Trojan War she did not ask him for help because she did not want to trouble him *incassum*, "in vain" (viii.378), even though she owed something to the sons of Priam and despite her shedding so many tears over Aeneas (viii.380). In other words, she was modest and restrained and knew that Aeneas engaging in battle – as she tried to steer him from doing in the second book – was a futile, hopelessly dangerous act and not part of his destiny, as she reiterated to Jupiter in the first book. Now though, the Trojans are threatened by the Rutulians and she comes as a suppliant seeking help for her son:

nunc Iouis imperiis Rutulorum constitit oris:
ergo eadem supplex uenio et sanctum mihi numen
arma rogo, genetrix nato.

(viii.381-383)

[But now by the order of Jove he has reached the territory of the Rutulians: Therefore, I myself come as a suppliant and ask a deity sacred to me for arms, a mother on behalf of her son.]

Venus next reminds her husband of help he previously gave – not to her but to Thetis, mother of Achilles, who had also asked him for weapons for her son (viii.383-386).

It is interesting that Venus would mention Thetis and generally play up the mother card as she does, especially since Aeneas is not Vulcan's son but the result of Venus' affair with the mortal Anchises. Venus is working every angle she can: That of mother and loving wife – for after the goddess concludes her words, Vulcan remains *cunctans*, "hesitating" (viii.388), whilst Venus enfolds him in a sweet embrace, spreading a warm feeling throughout his core (viii.387-393). M.C.J. Putnam (2001: 183) compares Vulcan's delaying with that of Aeneas at the end of the epic and how in the poem's final moment emotionality wins the day as irrationality gains victory over the ordered, measured use of power; no Volcanic shield results from Aeneas' passionate reaction, only a happenstance that helps the reader realize that Rome might very well abandon all restraints in her march to empire. R.O.A.M. Lyne (1987: 35-44) sees Venus and Vulcan's frivolity and sexual exploits in this episode as raising questions about the seriousness that characterizes Aeneas, his mission, and the glory of Rome. E.W. Leach (1997: 347-348) highlights how Venus' conjugal appeal to Vulcan comes across as rather disturbing, noting how Venus approaches Vulcan not as it occurs in previous traditions in his forge, but in their bedroom. M.C.J. Putnam (1985: 16) further discusses how, since Venus must seduce Vulcan at the creation of the arms, there is something deceitful, something irrational in the initial fortunes of Aeneas' arms and in the pattern this combination of arms and man will set for Rome to come; no wonder Vulcan hesitates.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Cf. R.D Williams (1972: *ad loc.*), who sees the hesitating simply as Vulcan mulling over the request without it necessarily demonstrating any sort of uncertainty or emotional nuance at play. I agree: It's just that Venus really wants to get the arms created for her son, so she uses her feminine wiles on her husband immediately before he has even fully digested her request.

Should Venus' seduction of Vulcan be read so pessimistically? The scene is full of strong pathos and presents a mother now fully worried for her son in war (viii.400), dangers which she is aware of and which she previously tried to conceal from her son and get him to channel his proclivity for action in another direction by finding a wife and already started kingdom in Carthage. Following their exchange of words, Vulcan lustfully embraces Venus and falls asleep in her bosom (viii.404-406). Upon awaking, the lord of the smithy straightaway heads to Etna to forge Aeneas' new arms (viii.407-453). While Aeneas and Evander discuss possible alliance (viii.454-519), Venus sends her son an encouraging omen that he shares with his troops (viii.520-584), and the army then make its way to the Etruscan camp with a loud commotion (viii.585-607) while *stant pauidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur / pulueream nubem et fulgentis aere cateruas*, "mothers, fearful, stand on the walls and follow with their eyes the cloud of dust and ranks gleaming with bronze" (viii.592-593). It is here that Venus appears before Aeneas presenting him with new arms.

Unlike the hoped for but never fulfilled embrace with his mother in the first book (i.408-409),⁵⁰ one finds a palpable closeness between Venus-Aeneas in that for the first time she embraces her son (viii.615). This hug follows upon Venus' unsolicited words that address Aeneas' no longer needing to put off warring:

talibus adfata est dictis seque obtulit ultro:
 'en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte
 munera. ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos
 aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum.'
 (viii.611-614)

⁵⁰ Note too the failed embrace with Creusa (ii.792-794).

[She spoke such words and presented herself to his surprise: "Behold the promised gifts brought to completion by the skill of my husband. Son, you do not need to hesitate to seek out shortly in battle fierce Turnus or the proud Laurentines."]

In discussing the intimacy of this scene, K.J. Reckford (1995: 30) characterizes Venus as embodying the "every mother embracing her war-bent son." J.R. Bacon (1939: 104) sees Venus as putting Aeneas beyond the reach of hostile forces in that on the shield he witnesses the accomplishment of his destiny; where before he had only inklings, vague warnings or promises, he has now has the sights his descendants know, the memories they cherish, the triumphs that have relieved their fears. Aeneas has been preparing to face the imminent conflict in Italy and Venus, realizing that her son would march forth with or without her help, decides to intervene to promote his safety, the tools she provides giving him a tangible portrait of his success and the glory that said success will produce. W. Kühn (1971: 123) sees Aeneas' acceptance of his *Gefordertseins*, "demanded things," as responsible for this new closeness between goddess and human. Of course, how accepting of his mission is Aeneas at this point? Not fully, yet.

4.8 THE ARMS OF AENEAS

Venus' gift is not only practical but it represents the moment of Aeneas accepting his destiny as he can physically lay his hands on its inlaid relief depicting embossed images of future

acts, the majority of which depict bellicose behavior and settings, feats upon which he cannot stop marveling despite his historical inability to grasp the events let alone their significance:⁵¹

Taliam per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.
(viii.729-731)

[He marvels at such things throughout Vulcan's shield, the gifts of his mother, and, not knowing the events, delights in the images elevating to his shoulder both the fame and the destiny of his heirs.]

Commenting on Aeneas' marvelling, M.H.W. Schuller (2001: 253) sees the verb as suggestive of an affective reaction on the part of the spectator; that is, Aeneas is fascinated, captivated by the images. Indeed, the long-term gifts Venus has presented her son are no less than the *fama et fata nepotum*, "fame and destiny of his offsprings" (viii.731).⁵² P. McGushin (1964: 240) sees the final line of book viii intentionally echoing the last line of the second book – *cessi et sublato montis genitore petivi*, "I yielded and sought the mountains with my father perched on my shoulders" (ii.804). Perhaps, although as noted in the opening chapter, we should be leery to rush to juxtapose the two passages; rather, the situations are very different and whereas Aeneas could not take Creusa's words of future events to heart, here we have the turning point in Aeneas' acceptance of his mission first indicated to him in Troy. McGushin (1964:

⁵¹ Hence the adjective *ignarus* (viii.730) referring to Aeneas' inability to fully understand the nuance and details of the presented events – let alone their historical importance – should not give us pause. Servius (*ad loc.*) notes how Aeneas cannot really know whether such images are true or not but he is delighted by the triumphs portrayed: *Ignarus erat veritatis, sed triumphorum imagine delectabatur*, "he was unknowing of their veracity but delighting in the imagery of triumphs." Vulcan, of course, knows the Roman victories to come and can accurately engrave them (viii.625).

⁵² P.R. Hardie (1986: 346-366) interprets this phrase as suggesting that the shield is a concrete, symbolic materialization of the initial promise Jupiter had made to Venus in the first book.

237) reads Aeneas here, after the enlargement of vision in Elysium and a more acute perception of his personal responsibility gained from his sojourn with Evander, as coming to some realization of the significance of this succession of trials and the role allotted to him. The shield itself, however, is the thing; the medium is inherently tied up with the message: The images of Roman triumphs will be carried out through battles, and these themselves cannot transpire until Aeneas himself brings about the conditions in Italy for Rome to spring, to stop the Italian forces marshalling against him.

J.R Bacon (1939: 104) reads Homer's shield of Achilles as a thing a super-craftsman might have made, i.e., more notable for its design rather than its content, whereas Vergil's is more like a fortune-teller's crystal ball in which Aeneas witnesses the shape of things to come. The final images describe the – symbolic as well as literal – center whereat lies the Battle of Actium (viii.671-713) and Octavian's subsequent ushering in of peace as Rome stands supreme over the tribes of the world (viii.714-728). Once Aeneas achieves victory over his conquered foe, he will then have to decide whether to spare or slay Turnus. In the midst of drinking in the situation and weighing his options, Aeneas will see that Turnus *umeris inimicum insigne gerebat*, "bore on his shoulders the badge of honor won from his foe" (xii.944), the sword-belt of Pallas, an *insigne* unjustly stripped. This token evokes the time spent with Evander wherein Aeneas not only became Pallas' adopted guardian but also the extensive tour he took of the site of future Rome. It also echoes the imagery of Agrippa at Actium depicted, where the Roman general stands not only in a divinely sanctioned heroic

light but in stark contrast to the *nefas*, “un-holiness” (viii.688), of Antonius and Cleopatra (viii.682-684).⁵³

P.T. Eden (1973: 80) quotes Vergil’s introduction of the new arms describing what Vulcan inlaid upon it – *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos ... pugnataque in ordine bella*, “Italian history and triumphs of the Romans ... and battles fought in sequence” (viii.626, 629) – as designed to show that the list of encounters Rome had with her enemies is chronological but emphasis is made not so much on the warfare, but on the triumphs of Rome culminating in Augustus’ triumph after the battle of Actium. Are the martial aspects really so downplayed? Perhaps it might be wise to parse the imagery of Aeneas’ new weaponry here: The opening lines speak to Vulcan’s knowledge of prophecy and the authority with which he can portray the history of Italy and Rome and *pugnataque in ordine bella*, “the wars fought in sequence” (viii.626-629); Romulus and Remus *impauidi*, “fearlessly,” nursing at the she-wolf’s teat (viii.630-634); the Sabines who wage war on Rome before entering into an alliance with the new colony (viii.635-641); Mettus the oath breaker being ripped apart for his treachery (viii.642-645); Lars Porsenna who attacks Rome for overthrowing king Tarquin the Proud (viii.646-651); the Gallic attack of 390BCE (viii.652-662); the Salii and Lupercalii priests (viii.663-666); Catiline being punished in Tartarus and Cato acting as judge (viii.666-670); the battle of Actium is introduced (viii.671-677): On one side stands Octavian and Agrippa (viii.678-684); on the other side Antonius and Cleopatra (viii.684-688); the two sides come

⁵³ C.H. Wilson (1979: 369) reads the *Aeneid* arising out of Vergil’s deeper thinking into the battle of Actium; Vergil was excited by the battle the moment it happened and understood its historical significance. On Vergil and the battle of Actium, generally speaking, see J. Thomas 1991.

together in a shower of missiles and pools of death follow, Mars, the Furies, Discord, and Bellona standing in the center of it all (viii.689-703), a massive campaign:

alta petunt; pelago credas innare reuulsas
Cycladas aut montis concurrere montibus altos,
tanta mole uiri turritis puppibus instant.
(viii.691-693)

[They take to the deep; you would think the Cyclades were set free to float upon the sea or mountains clash with lofty mountains, with such an undertaking men attack the towering sterns.]

Apollo intervenes and Cleopatra retreats to Africa (viii.704-713); victorious Octavian offers dedications to the gods, the streets resound with joy, triumphs march through Rome, the whole world subjugated (viii.714-728).

G. Binder (1971) compares Aeneas adopting the shield as a Hercules-esque figure with the arms giving Aeneas a glimpse of the dangers which his Roman descendants will overcome to reach their apex in age of Augustus; these picture gives provide Aeneas the strength to wage his own war in Latium – a case of the prototype finding encouragement in a later avatar. While Actium garners the coveted central position and gets the lion's share of attention, most of the other scenes are laden with martial aspects. It is the defining theme of the embossments.

M.C.J. Putnam (1985: 1) muses how Virgil could have opened his epic with *bella virumque*, "wars and the man," but instead, by putting a single emphasis on arms, he tells us that his poem is to be about the explicit, specific relationship of one man to the munitions he uses, for the two are constantly interconnected throughout the poem; the *Aeneid* is concerned with force and the moral dilemma its wielding creates. We will discuss the moral dilemma

of force in the next chapter in connection with the death of Turnus;⁵⁴ but Aeneas is connected with his arms, he carries with him the Roman greatness that he himself will set up, the conditions that he will bring about by which Rome may occur. M.C.J. Putnam (2001: 182-183) points to the final shield image, the river Araxes indignant at its bridge (viii.728), as odd since one would expect the climax presenting the emperor in all his glory, not a bridge objecting to the loss of dignity that subjugation implies. The Araxes, though, fits into the larger catalogue of the peoples and regions who will be conquered by Augustus (viii.722-728), a conquering that, yes, will see the world fall to empire but one that Aeneas now can firmly see and feel for himself. Just as Rome will take out her enemies, Aeneas needs to do the same with his foes in Latium.

At the end of book viii, Aeneas has put on his shoulders Roman greatness and now has solid cause for rejoicing since his mission is sure of fulfillment. Whereas Anchises teaches Aeneas of the wars and dangers he will encounter and how to successfully navigate affairs, Aeneas does not digest this knowledge:

quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit
incenditque animum famae uenientis amore,
exim bella uiro memorat quae deinde gerenda,
Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini,
et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.
(vi.888-892)

[After Anchises led his son through each individual place and inflamed his spirit with love of the fame that is to come, next he tells him of wars which will then have to be waged, he teaches him of the Laurentine peoples and the city of Latinus, and in what way he might flee or endure each trial.]

⁵⁴ S.G.P. Small (1959: 244-245) contrasts Aeneas' arms with those of Turnus, the main image of which is the Chimaera, a personification of the purposeless violent forces of nature that needs to be tamed as the world progresses; the blazons that Turnus wears constantly his claim to heroic greatness.

It is here with Venus, who makes Aeneas *miratur*, “stand in awe” (viii.730), about his fate, that the hero gets the necessary push to arise and be encouraged of his success in the imminent campaign, as he was worried about at the outset of the eighth book. In his speech, Anchises tried to convince his son not to have any doubt or hesitation anymore: *Et dubitamus adhuc uirtutem extendere factis, / aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra*, “and are we hesitating still to extend our accomplishments by deeds, or does fear prevent us from occupying Ausonian land” (vi.806-807). Yet it is here that, even though Aeneas and his followers will meet dangers and suffer losses, Aeneas’ mission is never really in doubt anymore. We have witnessed a change in Venus’ approach to her son in that she no longer tries to steer him away from the dangerous events that he will have to endure; instead, she speaks to her son’s martial nature by providing him not only the tools by which he can achieve success but affirmation of what his success will produce. The shield marks the turning point where Aeneas carries on his should his mission to conquer his enemies in Italy and set up a reign that will eventually transition into the Roman Empire. Aeneas enters the scene of battle in the tenth book triumphantly confident, asserting himself into the war that has commenced during his sojourn to Evander’s land, his appearance in battle – and subsequent action once in battle – to which we turn our attention now....

5.0. AENEAS, WARRIOR

Let us now look at the moment in book x when Aeneas sailing downstream first encounters the battle that has begun in Italy (x.118-259), an episode that provides the reader a glimpse into Aeneas' personality, shown to be focused keenly on issues of war and action but now working in connection with his divine assignment. In connection with this scene, we will consider Vergil's attitude concerning his hero's instinct for martial exploits, as well as scholarly interpretations of Aeneas' arrival on the field of battle and his subsequent actions in the warring that dominates the narrative of the final books. We shall then hone in on the *Aeneid's* final moment, the killing of Turnus, and discuss Aeneas' motivations, justifications, and how Vergil wants his audience to understand this act.

The tenth book historically has gone underappreciated, or, when discussed, earlier scholarship has tended to be critical of it;¹ however, in more recent scholarship its importance to understanding the *Aeneid* as a whole has been realized.² When Aeneas arrives on the scene *stans celsa in puppi*, "standing on the high stern" (x.261), he enters ready for war and aware of his fated mission (as he will explicitly declare at xi.108-119). When he subsequently joins the fray, he is at times brutal and merciless,³ although it is not with indiscriminate strokes that he fights but a controlled savagery. Aeneas acts when the time is right to kill and he works with a focused goal in mind, unlike how he did during Troy's final night. Aeneas himself

¹ See, e.g., W.Y. Sellar 1877.

² Note the recent commentaries on the tenth book by R.H. Jordan (1990) and S.J. Harrison (1991). K.W. Gransden (1984) gives detailed consideration to its place within the whole of books vii-xii.

³ As mentioned in our introductory chapter, R.D. Williams (1997: 70) labels Aeneas' behavior after the death of Pallas "unbelievably cruel;" C.J. Mackie (1988: 175) calls it "morally repugnant." C.M. Bowra (1933: 8) had earlier deemed it revolting. In a similar vein, looking at Aeneas in book xii, G.K. Galinsky (2005: 349) will tag the hero with the humorous declaration, "by the epic's end, he has not turned into Mother Teresa."

wishes no more deaths than is absolutely necessary and proper – yet when thwarted from his intended aims on the field of battle, he will then act out in a rage, appropriately so, given the circumstances. Once the battling of book x has segued into a temporary truce so as to allow time to bury the dead, Aeneas will propose to the Latin ambassadors the idea of a duel between him and Turnus to end the conflict once and for all (xi.116-119), a proposition the Rutulian will address but not accept until it represents the last possible option left and his troops implore him to do so – and even then Turnus will repeatedly seek to postpone the duel. In these final books, Aeneas knows that he will be bringing about the conditions of Rome, that he is working to usher in the prophecy tangibly evident on his embossed shield. He has matured from the wild soldier of book ii wandering aimlessly through the streets of Troy looking for a fight and ready to die. He now stands as a controlled warrior who can, and does, strike; but now he is operating mindful of his mission. Aeneas will kill, but he knows that the kill that matters is Turnus, the man who stands in the way of Troy and Italy uniting (a joint venture he promised Andromache he would bring about [iii.500-505]), the necessary condition from which the Roman race will spring.

In the underworld Anchises advises his son to spare the vanquished and humble the proud (vi.853) but throughout the *Aeneid* and Vergil's characterization of Aeneas, it is this latter trait that shines, this, the attribute that repeatedly defines Roman greatness.⁴ In the epic's final scene, Aeneas has defeated Turnus and the Rutulian has surrendered, thereby ensuring that the war is over and future Rome may come about. Yet should Aeneas let his enemy go free? This final chapter aims to first discuss Aeneas' role in the combat of the war

⁴ M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 8) translate Anchises' mandate of *debellare superbos* as "to tame in war the proud" (vi.853), an interpretation that really speaks to the martial aspects of Aeneas and Rome.

in Italy. That Aeneas at times rages should not cause us concern. Similarly, when a furious Aeneas kills Turnus, it marks the culminating moment that the warring of the last books has been leading up to and in that instance we do not see Aeneas acting blindly out of passion. Aeneas does yield to his personal proclivity for action, but in slaying Turnus he simultaneously works to complete his fated mission. It is not that fate takes over; rather, the human element, i.e. Aeneas himself, works to bring about the ends of the divine level action.

5.1 AENEAS' ARRIVAL IN BATTLE

After receiving new armor from his mother, we get the image of Aeneas the warrior assertively entering the fray, his arrival breathing new energy into his besieged troops:

Iamque in conspectu Teucros habet et sua castra
stans celsa in puppi, clipeum cum deinde sinistra
extulit ardentem. clamorem ad sidera tollunt
Dardanidae e muris, spes addita suscitatur iras,
tela manu iaciunt, quales sub nubibus atris
Strymoniae dant signa grues atque aethera tranant
cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo.
(x.260-266)

[And now standing on the high stern he holds the Trojans and his fort in view, then straightaway he raised up his polished shield in his left hand. The Dardanians send up from the walls a shout to the heavens, new hope renewing their fury, issuing forth their spears just as Strymonian cranes give signs of their approach under cover of black clouds and traverse the sky noisily, fleeing the South Wind with an encouraging cry.]

To place the scene in context, at the outset of book viii, Aeneas, aware of the insurgency of Turnus and trying to figure out a plan (viii.18-25) receives a visit from the Tiber River instructing him to sail upstream so as to seek alliance with a local king, Evander. While with

this leader, Aeneas learns about the instability in Latium. Mezentius, a sadistic Etruscan ruler who had been driven into exile by his subjects, has taken refuge with Turnus. The Etruscan people *regem ad supplicium praesenti Marte reposcunt*, “demand the king be brought back for punishment, war being imminent” (viii.495). In the very next line Evander expresses his intention to place Aeneas at the head of the Etruscan army: *His ego te, Aenea, ductorem milibus addam*, “I will place you, Aeneas, as leader to these thousands” (viii.496). Aeneas is weighing the precarious situation in Italy when Venus issues forth thunder and lightning in the cloudless sky, a divine confirmation that war is at hand (viii.520-540). This sign does not frighten Aeneas but instead he confidently heralds how much woe it will cause the Laurentines (viii.537) and Turnus (viii.538) before concluding his speech with a set of subjunctives calling for his foes to commence hostilities: *Poscant acies et foedera rumpant*, “let them seek battle and break their treaties” (viii.540).⁵

The journey to Evander takes a day and a half and during Aeneas’ absence Turnus seizes the opportunity to attack the Trojan encampment, an event that Aeneas anticipated and provided a contingency plan for to his troops (ix.40-43). The tenth book⁶ begins with a council of the gods that ultimately results in a stalemate between Venus and Juno concerning their support of the Trojans and Rutulians, respectively, with Jupiter ruling to let each side bear their own fortune (x.1-117). K.F. Quinn (1968: 214) sees Jupiter’s speech as solemn and ominous, symbolic of how the story of Turnus (and to a lesser extent the fates of Pallas,

⁵ K.W. Gransden (1976: 153) fleshes out Aeneas’ desire for war to commence, rendering the passage “so let them [i.e. the Laurentines under Turnus] have their war; I am ready for it and I shall win it.”

⁶ The ninth book relays the details of the initial skirmishing, a series of strikes that ultimately end in a stalemate with the Italian forces still surrounding the Trojan encampment but unable to breach it. Aeneas himself, in transit along the Tiber, is absent from this book entirely.

Lausus and Mezentius) will be worked out upon “tragic lines.”⁷ Of course, immediately following this resolution, the action resumes with Turnus renewing the assault (x.118-145) and *legio Aeneadum uallis obsessa tenetur / nec spes ulla fugae*, “the army of the Trojans is kept trapped within the fortification, no hope of escape” (x.120-121), seeking unsuccessfully to ward off the Rutulian attack. Aeneas, meanwhile, has left Evander’s settlement, sailing back down the Tiber to the Trojan camp (x.146-162), unaware of the exact nature of the Trojans’ plight (as Venus declares, *Aeneas ignarus abest*, “Aeneas is absent, unaware” [x.25], a phrase Juno echoes [x.85]). Now we just mentioned how from Evander Aeneas learned of Mezentius’ penchant for violence and how he has found safety and an ally in the ranks of Turnus’ army (viii.454-494),⁸ facts that are in the forefront of Aeneas’ mind (x.148-154), which he sits pondering during the night while he regales Pallas with astronomy and stories of his past adventures:

hic magnus sedet Aeneas secumque uolutat
euentus belli uarios, Pallasque sinistro
adfixus lateri iam quaerit sidera, opacae
noctis iter, iam quae passus terraque marique.
(x.159-162)

[There great Aeneas sits and ponders the varying issues of the war, and affixed to his left side, Pallas asks now about the stars, their journey across the dark night, now about what things Aeneas endured on land and sea.]

⁷ J.J. O’Hara (2007: Chapter 4) has an in-depth discussion of Jupiter’s role in the *Aeneid*, ultimately concluding as he did in his early interpretative work on the epic (1990), namely that during this congress Jove contradicts his earlier prophetic statements concerning future Roman greatness (i.263ff.) and this should come as troubling to the reader. S.J. Harrison (1991: *ad loc.* 908) similarly argues that, at best, book x is very complex and the final battle between Mezentius and Aeneas must leave the reader with “mixed emotions, anticipating the ending of the poem itself at the very instant when Turnus is killed.”

⁸ Whereas Evander made specific mention of Mezentius being violent and Turnus being the leader of an army, Aeneas here conflates the two, referring to Mezentius as the commander of forces and Turnus as ferocious. Note too how Allecto refers to past instances where Turnus aided Latinus with protection and even bloodshed (vii.423, 426).

Vergil then presents a catalogue of the Etruscan warriors who have joined Aeneas' ranks (x.163-214), an important aside further emphasizing how the ranks are set and battle inevitable.

Now while Aeneas weighs war matters and recalls his former exploits while navigating downstream toward the war – about which he has some idea but no exact details (x.215-220), he receives a divine encounter in the form of some Nymphs of Cybele, deities who were originally his fleet but transformed so as to escape Turnus' torches (x.220-259). This episode has caused a lot of bewilderment amongst scholars. K.F. Quinn (1968: 218) admits that Aeneas and his men's arrival "must not be produced out of a hat to save the Trojan camp. A feeling that they are on their way has to be given time to establish itself, a mood of suspense has to be created...." Quinn (1968: 216), though, also refers to the scene as an "intellectual irony" and many other scholars have read the appearance of the now divine ships as a sort of playful, ironic even, interlude – G.W. Williams (1983: 124) declares it "the most incongruous episode in the whole *Aeneid*" – designed to distract from the gravity of the main narrative and allow readers to distance themselves from the grim realities of war and imminent deaths to come.⁹ The grim realities of war are already at hand as the battling of Book ix attests and Turnus is already laying siege to the leaderless Trojan encampment. Aeneas is preparing to enter the scene to protect his beleaguered forces and has been consistently pondering the situation, aware of the general happenings and the players involved but without specific details. As we have laid out, x.146-162 reintroduces Aeneas

⁹ S.J. Harrison (1990: 131) writes how "this mildly fantastic episode of the Nymphs contrasts with the grim realism of war which is to follow...." P. Toohey (1992: 142) discusses how Vergil wants to temporarily distract us from the lugubrious moral message of the epic by drawing attention to the simple pleasure of reading this poetic scene.

back into the picture, a portrait of a man concerned with war. E. Fantham (1990: 114) senses how the catalogue of Etruscan warriors (x.163-214) unfolds so as to be progressively, actively foreshadowing the arrival of Aeneas. Book x will contain the *aristeia* of Aeneas and his entrance into the field of battle, which B.F. Otis (1963: 354) deems the crucial event of the book, unfolds with deliberate slowness and unwinds in its composition to build tension and then release.¹⁰

Upon their arrival, the most skilled orator of the Nymphs, Cymodocea, addresses the hero asking *uigilasne, deum gens, / Aenea*, “are you awake, Aeneas, son of the gods” (x.228-229), in an effort to attune the hero to receive her words, a question that the reader already knows to be the case given (x.159-160) – not to mention the hero’s overall preoccupation with the warring he knows to be occurring during his absence. Cymodocea then reveals how *perfidus Rutulus*, “the treaty-breaking Rutulian [i.e., Turnus]” (x.231-232),¹¹ took advantage of Iris’ news confirming Aeneas’ absence (ix.6-13, a fact Turnus himself knew to be the case per viii.548-550)¹² to attack suddenly the leaderless camp while it stands off guard (ix.33-39),¹³ and finding no way to breach the barred gates he turns his attention to burning the Trojan armada, which Cybele spares by transforming them into Nymphs (ix.47-76). She continues to relate how currently Turnus has the camp – with young Ascanius amongst its numbers – surrounded and is intending to cut off the Etruscan cavalry on its way providing auxiliary support. The Nymph concludes by urging Aeneas to gird himself for battle. The sea goddesses then provide a quickening push to the boat, a helping hand that Aeneas cannot

¹⁰ See also W.S. Anderson 1969, 81; R.H. Jordan 1990, x; S.J. Harrison 1991, xxviii-xxix.

¹¹ The “treaty-breaking” occurring at vii.467.

¹² As per our discussion of Turnus in chapter ii, Iris represents a divine goad spurring Turnus onto a course of action he already had in mind.

¹³ On Turnus’ surprise element, note too: *Urbi / improuisus adest*, “unexpected, he reaches the city” (ix.48-49).

explain, but he is glad for the increased speed. Aeneas immediately prays to Cybele and rouses his men.

In sum, the Nymphs give Aeneas divine confirmation of what he has been turning over in his mind and provide corroboration that the events for which he had set up contingencies to prevent are actually occurring. The warring that Aeneas sensed is truly happening. While Aeneas had an idea of what was happening in his absence, the sea Nymph highlights the urgency surrounding matters by spelling out the full range of devastation the Trojans are suffering at Turnus' hand. It is immediately following this scene that Aeneas enters the battle, on high brandishing his shield (x.260-266). Thus, what we have is our first portrait of Aeneas after having received his new armor intent on returning to camp to engage in war matters that he recognizes are going on, the details of which are confirmed by the Nymphs as they speed along Aeneas' return.

Aeneas is ready for war and the vision of the Nymphs provides a divine level confirmation that war will be what he encounters and now is the proper time to act. Cymodocea's penultimate sentence references Vulcan's shield, a token of divine favor and the tangible representation of Aeneas' fate, a destiny that must be ushered in through war in Italy: *Clipeum cape quem dedit ipse / inuictum ignipotens atque oras ambiit auro*, "take up your invincible shield that the god of fire himself gave you, having encircled it with a rim of gold" (x.242-243). Her speech ends with two lines forecasting success: *Crastina lux, mea si non inrita dicta putaris, / ingentis Rutulae spectabit caedis aceruos*, "tomorrow's light, if you are not

deeming my words empty, will see huge mounds of Rutulian cadavers" (x.244-245).¹⁴ The Nymphs give an unexpected burst of speed to the ships propelling them downriver at a faster pace (x.246-250), an event at which *stupet inscius ipse / Tros Anchisiades, animos tamen omine tollit*, "that Trojan, Anchises' son, stands amazed and although unknowing of how, nevertheless he raises his spirits at the omen" (x.249-250). The phrase *stupet inscius ipse* previously described Aeneas in his desire to figure out the full extent of the damage being done to Troy on its final night (ii.307, discussed in detail in chapter two).¹⁵ Both instances find Aeneas in a situation of imminent conflict pondering matters at hand, only in this latter occurrence, the Nymphs provide details to Aeneas' concerns whereas Hector told his cousin to forget battling and flee instead. Aeneas immediately prays to Cybele to be a divine leader and proctress in battle:

'alma parens Idaea deum, cui Dindyma cordi
turrigeraeque urbes biiugique ad frena leones,
tu mihi nunc pugnae princeps, tu rite propinques
augurium Phrygibusque adsis pede, diua, secundo.'
(x.252-255)

["Nurturing Idean mother of the gods, to whom Dindymon is a delight, and tower-crowned cities, and two lions yoked in reins, may you now be my leader in battle, may you duly draw near your prophecy and aid us Phrygians, goddess, with your favoring step."]

¹⁴ J.J. O'Hara (1990: 39-44) calls this verse "striking and memorable," yet indicative of how the prophecy is fulfilled in a bitterly ironic fashion through the death of Pallas, noting a verbal resonance with Vergil's comments on Pallas' death at x.509.

¹⁵ A slightly varied incarnation of the phrase occurs in a simile comparing Amata's infection by Allecto as a spinning-top set into motion by bewildered children: *Stupet inscia supra / impubesque manus mirata uolubile buxum*, "a band of young children, unknowing of how, stands amazed, marveling over the twirling boxwood" (vii.381-382).

Thus Aeneas prays. At daybreak he rouses his comrades to follow his lead and gird themselves for conflict (x.256-259).

S.J. Harrison (1990: *ad loc.* 159-160, 218) argues that x.258-259 plays up the idea of Aeneas as a good commander, one of Vergil's major themes in the epic, and especially the tenth book.¹⁶ C.J. Mackie (1988: 161) has placed great focus on Aeneas' *pietas*, "piety," in his address to Cybele.¹⁷ To combine these two ideas, I believe that the whole Nymphs passage is designed to show that Aeneas the commander here works in connection with his fated mission. The Nymphs provide divine level confirmation of what Aeneas on a personal, human level has been wrestling with. When Aeneas enters the scene – B.F. Otis (1963: 354) notes how when Aeneas' delayed return to the action does finally occur, it must be extended and glorified – he appears assertively *stans celsa in puppi*, "standing on the high stern" (x.261),¹⁸ holding blazing armor (x.270-275), ready to act in response to divine Cymodocea's verification that Ascanius and the Trojans are currently surrounded by Turnus (x.236-240 – per ix.123-167; x.119). Unlike the situation in book ii where we see how Hector's information is so important since from Aeneas' limited vantage point he cannot fully know Troy is already lost but must first wander the city and make his way to an elevated turret from which he can survey all the damage being inflicted before knowing that Hector's speech was true (ii.458-468), here we have divine confirmation of Aeneas' own perceived concerns for his troops caused by his absence and Turnus' ferocious, bellicose nature.¹⁹ We need to reiterate, though,

¹⁶ On Aeneas as a leader in general, see R.G.M. Nisbet 1978-1980.

¹⁷ On the question of Aeneas' *pietas*, the most recent work on this important and well discussed matter is that of J.D. Noonan 2007.

¹⁸ A stance echoing the severity of the Battle of Actium (viii.691-693), as discussed in chapter four.

¹⁹ M. Paschalis (1997: 332) notes how Cymodocea's reference to Mt. Ida (Idaeus, x.230) suggests both ἰδῆν, "timber," in relation to the ships themselves, and simultaneously ἰδεῖν, "to see," alluding to Aeneas' vigilance as well as to the guiding role of the Nymphs.

that Aeneas himself was internally pondering action before this visit and the sea goddesses' appearance provides the divine catalyst for human action already so inclined.

Cymodocea does not tell Aeneas anything he won't immediately learn for himself the moment he arrives at the besieged Trojan camp (x.260ff.) and the scene could be excised without losing any narratively vital information.²⁰ Arguing for its retention, K.W. Gransden (1984: 129) offers a symbolic interpretation of the episode, arguing that the Nymphs, born from the transformation of the Trojan ships, point forward to the transformation of the Trojans themselves after the war.²¹ E. Fantham (1990: 103-104) similarly puts forth the thesis that this scene, richly reminiscent of Hellenistic poetry and evoking the marine world of Aeneas' past, was designed by Vergil to prepare Aeneas – and the reader – for the new Italian world from which Rome will emerge. In line with the two planes at work in the poem that I have been supporting, R.D. Williams (1967: 39-41) thinks that Vergil strives to console his readers by reminding us that there is a realm other than “the real world of war and death,” one of “mythology, imagination, visions, of supernatural strangeness, a world transcending the mortal condition....” Similarly, on a microcosmic level, K.W. Gransden (1984: 128-129) suggests that a larger distinction can be drawn between the first section of book viii, with its immortal gods and Nymphs, and the remainder of the book which is dominated by death and mortality.

The remainder of book x does include a large number of killings, many of which Aeneas is directly responsible for; however, it should not be read as tragic, nor cast a shadow over his efforts and exploits. Sailing along the river, Aeneas fully expects to encounter battle,

²⁰ J.W. Mackail (1930: 335) argued for its removal many years ago.

²¹ The transformation of the Trojans into Italians is, after all, prophesied by Jupiter (xii.829-842).

and that is exactly what he finds – as the Nymphs confirmed he would. Conversely, the battling encounters a new major player, a warrior who appears on the scene in an assertive stance helming an armada of thirty ships (per x.213). Aeneas quickly disembarks himself and his troops (x.287-290). A delay occurs in getting all the troops marshalled on shore due to the over-exuberance of one ship's captain, who runs aground (x.290-307), but ultimately when the ranks are formed and the trumpet of war sounded, Aeneas leads the charge:

primus turmas inuasit agrestis
Aeneas, omen pugnae, strauitque Latinos
occiso Therone, uirum qui maximus ultro
Aenean petit.

(x.310-313)

[First Aeneas attacked the squadron of countrymen, a prophecy of the battle's outcome,²² and brought low the Latins, having killed Theron, greatest of men, who willingly sought out Aeneas.]

The appearance of the Nymphs parallels Venus' role in book viii when mother shows to her son how the imminent warring he is preparing for has the blessing of the gods in that it marks the necessary step for bringing out the conditions that will produce Rome. With the Nymphs, Aeneas, sailing onto the scene battle having pondered and prepped for the imminent warring he will encounter, gets divine sponsorship of his upcoming efforts; the divine level action stands in harmony with the human.

²² "A prophecy of the battle's outcome," being the translation of R.D. Williams 1973, *ad loc.*

5.2 THE DEATH OF PALLAS

Aeneas straightaway continues on, taking down in quick succession five, including *Cissea durum / immanemque Gyan*, “tough Cisseus and huge Gyas” (x.317-318), warriors who fight wielding the club, the weapon of Hercules, with whom their father enjoyed friendship. These two figures might have Herculean weapons but they are not Herculean. It is Aeneas who fights mightily, rushing next against the seven sons of Phorcus (x.328-329). In discussing Vergilian battle narratives, D.A. West (1974: 23-25) compares Homer’s war portraiture as swift and realistic whereas Vergil’s is slower and less concerned with military verisimilitude: Homer has greater soldierly realism; Vergil is interested in the impressive detail and in his political purpose.²³ The battles in the *Aeneid* do indeed have impressive details, and many surely are programmatic, the ones in the tenth book designed to paint a definitive portrait of Aeneas and Turnus and help us understand Aeneas’ pivotal moment when he slays Turnus.

K.F. Quinn (1968: 253) reads the *Aeneid* as an anti-militarist poem intentionally emphasizing the dehumanizing effects of war and the way in which it can corrupt the character and motives of even the most high-minded of leaders. Aeneas’ action in the battling of book x, however, if anything, place the hero in a humanizing, moral light. M.B. Poliakoff (1992: 92-94) determines that Aeneas’ acts in an ethically ambiguous way throughout the war in Italy, albeit with his actions ultimately motivated, and justified, by occurring on the march to completing his divine mission and securing Rome’s destiny.²⁴ After this initial action of

²³ R. Heinze (1957: 205-208) noticed how Vergil abandons anatomy for psychology and has no clinical interest in wounds or wounding, such clinical details being inconsonant with the dignity of his epic.

²⁴ A.K.L. Michels (1997: 399) argues that no character in the *Aeneid*, apart from Sinon and Pyrrhus, are portrayed as entirely good or entirely bad from beginning to end. C.M. Bowra (1993: 9) claims that if Vergil was trying to make Aeneas into the ideal hero, he failed horribly to do so: Aeneas is a “coward, a muddler, and a seducer, who tries to justify his behavior by attributing it to divine ordinance.”

Aeneas at the outset of battle, focus shifts to Pallas, his *aristeia* and downfall, a death that comes at the hands of Turnus and which finds a doublet in the demise of Lausus at the hands of Aeneas. Comparing these two episodes will help us see how Aeneas does not act unethically when he slays his young foe; quite the opposite. It is Turnus who takes out his inexperienced rival unjustly and does away with *belli commercia*, “commerce in war” (x.532).²⁵

Prior to the contest between Pallas and Turnus, Pallas receives a lengthy portrait as a force in battle and a leader of men, having killed nine and breathed courage into the army (x.362-425). In opposition to Pallas’ success and force, the youth Lausus meets him on the field of battle, the two being of similar age and talent. Pallas and Lausus would make for a great, not to mention fair, battle; however *mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste*, “their fate is soon waiting for them at the hand of a greater opponent” (x.438): Pallas with Turnus, Lausus with Aeneas. In studying unfair contests in the *Aeneid*, E.A. McDermott (1980: 154) asserts that it is not fate or Jupiter who truly denies the meeting between Pallas and Lausus but Vergil himself since “the tragic potential of these two egregious mismatches is irresistible to the poet.” A.F. Rossi (2004) argues that the *Aeneid* presents ill-matched bouts as part of an overall approach to show war as irrational and confused; they are contests that aim to make a special point. The death of Pallas sets in motion not only the future events of the tenth book but the death of Turnus at the poem’s conclusion, where Aeneas will announce: *Pallas te hoc*

²⁵ I.e., the exchanging of silver and gold for the return of a slain body, or the offer of money to have a life spared. On this phrase, H.-P. Stahl (2011: 11) notes how Turnus, by replacing the currency of ransom money with that of blood and defiling the father-son relationship, has invalidated any appeal to Iulus and Anchises at the end of the epic. Stahl (1990: 209) claims that Turnus has forfeited all claims to mercy because he himself horribly sinned against the sacrosanct father-son relationship by killing the son in order to cause pain to the father.

uulnere, Pallas / immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit, “Pallas, Pallas sacrifices you with this strike and exacts retribution from (your) polluted blood” (xii.948-949).

Beside it being fated that Pallas and Lausus not engage one another, as the two stand poised to engage one another, Turnus’ sister Juturna directs her brother’s attention to come to Lausus’ aid (x.439-440), which Turnus does crying out:

‘tempus desistere pugnae;
solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas
debetur; cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset.’
(x.441-443)

[“It is time to cease fighting; I alone am being brought against Pallas, Pallas is owed to me alone; I wish that his father were present as a spectator.”]

Granted, Juturna did direct Turnus to intervene, but only in so far as he aid Lausus, not that he rush forth and aim to slay Pallas, an opponent *uiribus imparibus*, “with unequal strength” (x.459).²⁶ In response to Turnus’ words, Pallas admits that either he will fall or else emerge victorious, returning with *spolia opima*, “rich spoils:” *Aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis / aut leto insigni*, “either I shall soon be praised for the *spolia opima* having been snatched or for a renowned death” (x.449),²⁷ before then praying to Hercules to assist his great enterprise,

²⁶ Evander also speaks to Turnus’ towering advantage over Pallas:

tu quoque nunc stares immanis truncus in armis,
esset par aetas et idem si robur ab annis,
Turne.
(xi.173-175)

173 aruis *Bentley*: armis *codd.* (cf. A. vii.430)

[You too would now stand, Turnus, a huge mass in arms, if your age were equal and the same strength from your years, Turnus.]

I favor *armis*, “arms,” over R. Bentley’s conjecture *aruis*, “fields,” which the OCT prints.

²⁷ On the question of whether Pallas is legally able to capture the spoils – and this question relating to an issue in 29BCE when M. Licinius Crassus claimed them unsuccessfully, see S.J. Harrison 1989.

the close connection between the two passages designed to promote the assertion that Pallas would then offer up these spoils to the semi-divine hero to whom he just prayed.²⁸

Looking at duels between unequal opponents in the *Aeneid*, E.A. Hahn (1925) sees Vergil siding with the underdog and often painting them, especially in the moment of their death, with gentleness bordering even on pity, in spite of any inherent violence that may in fact be in them; Vergil's sympathy for his characters grows as their misfortunes increase, whatever the side they represent – yet this does not mean that he approves or excuses the persons whom he pities. Pallas actively fights against Turnus, hurling his spear at his foe and piercing the Rutulian's shield and grazing him in the process. In response, Turnus *diu librans*, “poised to throw for a long while” (x.480),²⁹ aims his own spear at Pallas, boasting: *Aspice num mage sit nostrum penetrabile telum*, “behold if my spear is with a greater sharpness” (xi.481) – the answer he knows to be yes. Turnus' lets his dart fly and it straightaway lands in Pallas' chest. Standing over his deceased enemy, Turnus attributes his death as the cost for having given aid to Aeneas, and so declaring he puts his foot on Pallas' corpse and strips off his sword-belt, an act that Vergil comments on in a narrative aside: *Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae / et servare modum rebus sublata secundis*, “the mind of men, unknowing of fate and fortune to come, and how to preserve moderation exalted by favorable outcomes” (x.501-502). While this statement does not refer to Turnus, per se, Vergil continues to note how Turnus' *spolia* (x.504) will lead to his downfall,³⁰ spoils which Turnus does not offer up but

²⁸ As J. Ingleheart (2007: 78) so interprets.

²⁹ I.e., Pallas does not pose an immediate threat and Turnus does not need to strike him down out of any sort of self-preservation instinct.

³⁰ This passage has a poetic forefather in Hector's stripping the armor of Achilles from slain Patroclus (Hom. *Il.* xvii.201-206). On Vergil's tragic foreshadowing through unequal duels, see T. Krischer 1979.

keeps for himself.³¹ Turnus then stands *superbus / caede noua*, “proud in his recent slaughter” (x.514-515), a slaughter over an unequal opponent whom he himself sought out in single combat. It is not that Pallas should not have been on the battlefield, or that he himself did not stand up against Turnus willingly; he did, heroically so. Turnus, though, willingly seeks out this young foe with a desire to lay him low before the eyes of Evander, a quite ignoble situation, one that, we may recall, Aeneas wished for during Juno’s storm as a sort of better circumstance than dying unheralded alone at sea.³²

M.C.J. Putnam (2011: 13) characterizes Aeneas as going on a full out rampage following the killing of his protégé Pallas, “an intense bout of fury that is far disproportionate to the event that it claims to avenge....” On this point, first of all, as E. Block (1980) has argued, Pallas and Aeneas share a close emotional bond.³³ N.M. Horsfall (1987: 49-50) reads Pallas as a substitute Ascanius in that Vergil’s tragic vision of victory necessitates a great sacrifice on the Trojan side at some stage before their position is established; since Ascanius is destined to live and the future of Rome depends on him, Pallas fulfills this role.³⁴ Secondly, whereas Turns vaunts over Pallas’ corpse, T. van Nortwick (1980: 310) sees Aeneas’ subsequent anger in battle as essentially an expression of both his *pietas* and *furor*, and the hero using his anger

³¹ On the religious significance of Turnus’ failure to dedicate his spoils, consult R.A. Hornsby 1966.

³² A death that R.G. Austin (1971: *ad loc.* 95) comments upon as demonstrating how Aeneas, in considering *beati*, “blessed” (i.94), those who got to die on the Trojan battlefield *ante ora patrum*, “before the faces of their elders” (i.95), laments not having experienced “the saddest of all deaths.” Aeneas, of course, wishes to have died in heroic circumstances bringing honor to his family, whereas Turnus wishes to make Evander suffer in witnessing Pallas’ demise with his own two eyes.

³³ Cf. A.K.L. Michels (1997: 413), who, citing as evidence x.159-162, concludes: “I do not see any evidence that Aeneas was particularly attached to young Pallas, whose hero worship must have been a bit tiresome.” B.R. Pavlock (1992) reads Pallas-Aeneas as enjoying an erotic relationship. Note too M.C.J. Putnam (1985: 13): “On the Tiber journey, Pallas becomes another Dido.” They two figures are close, yet I am hesitant to take their relationship to such intimate levels.

³⁴ See too H.-P. Stahl 1990, 209. On the Homeric legacy of Pallas playing a role in the tale of Aeneas, see G.N. Knauer 1964b, 79ff.

in the expression of piety, the only character in the *Aeneid* who, once possessed by *furor*, is not destroyed by it. We must remember that Aeneas' men are still being besieged by the Italian forces, as they were at the outset of book x, and *tempus uersis succurrere Teucris*, "it is time to aid the routed Trojans" (x.512). Following Pallas' death, Aeneas seeks out Turnus,³⁵ in the process mowing down the enemies standing around him, taking eight victims for later human sacrifice, and even killing a priest of Apollo and Diana.³⁶

K.F. Quinn (1968: 17-18) describes Aeneas' actions in war as the urge to kill in its ugliest, most base form. M.C.J. Putnam (1965) contrasts Aeneas the merciless killer against the idea of a pious Aeneas who does not seek to punish or admonish but simply kills senselessly. Aeneas is violent in several of the battle scenes; yet as T. Fuhrer (1989: 67) asks, does this entail that Aeneas stands as a superior warrior, or a man who has lost control of himself? C. Knapp (1930) reads Aeneas as a red-blooded hero who gives into his elemental savagery but also knows how to master and control said passion; Aeneas is no stranger to human nature in its raw, impassioned state, a real human being, capable of reverting, as he does in books ii, x and xii, to elemental savagery. Aeneas is fighting with a purpose in mind: To get to Turnus, in the process defending his people and establishing a homeland for them. To this end he encountered opponents and *Dardanides contra furit*, "the Trojan raged against them" (x.545), never calling out to his foes or taunting them with imminent death but only

³⁵ C. Renger-Zorn (1985) thinks that Aeneas acts rightly in fighting to avenge Pallas, being justified both by the archaic duty of blood-retribution and by the more civilized values of Augustan law and society; Aeneas has no choice but to fight for his destined land and the creation of a great nation, while Turnus is merely pursuing personal ambitions in defiance of national interests.

³⁶ M.C.J. Putnam (2011: 32) sees the killing of this priest, Haemonides, as ironic in that the priest should be the one performing sacrifice. Aeneas, we should note, happens upon the priest who is on the field of battle *conlucens ueste atque insignibus armis*, "shining with respect to his robe and his remarkable arms" (x.539 – I am reading *armis*, a reading found in the codices, in place of *albis*, a manuscript reading favored by Servius and printed in the OCT). Also, Haemonides, of course, is working against Apollo's chosen offspring (i.e. the Roman race and, notably, the Caesars) and Faunus' oracle (vii.45-106). His slaughter is justifiable.

speaking in response to supplications imploring him to spare (x.521-534; 552-560; 586-600). The spoils that Aeneas does take from the field of battle he ultimately dedicates to Mars (x.542). Vergil compares Aeneas with the hundred-hander Aegaeon who went up against Jove's lightning bolts (x.565-570), a simile implying not any sort of impious action on the part of Aeneas but stressing his formidable strength.³⁷ Aeneas' actions ultimately result in the desired outcome of the rescuing of his troops (x.605), the intended goal from the start.

Following Aeneas' rescuing of his men from immediate danger, there occurs a narrative break in the action as Juno withdraws Turnus from the fight (x.606-688), an admittedly temporary reprieve (x.622-627), prompted by the intervention of Venus on the side of the Trojans which has turned the tables, as Jupiter notes to his wife:

'o germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx,
ut rebare, Venus (nec te sententia fallit)
Troianas sustentat opes, non uiuida bello
dextra uiris animusque ferox patiensque pericli.'
(x.607-610)

[O my sister and likewise my dearest wife, as you presumed – nor does your opinion deceive you – Venus sustains the Trojan power, not their right hands strong in war, not their spirit brave and enduring of danger.]

Venus is fighting alongside the Trojans, helping to prop up them up, the goddess now fully involved in her son's martial exploits, no longer steering him from battle. It is now Juno who shelters Turnus, shepherding him away from the melee by having him chase a phantom

³⁷ Cf. M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 9-10): The Aegaeon simile forces the reader to question not only the quality of the piety which Evander and Pallas elicit from Aeneas and which urges Aeneas to action; but also any Olympian rationality on his part – in that Aeneas incorporates not Jovian order but the sheer physical brutality of those who opposed it.

Aeneas up the Tiber River far away from the fighting. Meanwhile, Aeneas wanders amongst the feuding armies calling out to the now absent Turnus (x.661).

5.3 THE DEATH OF LAUSUS

While searching in vain for Turnus, Aeneas encounters Mezentius, the savage, exiled Etruscan leader, a mighty force in war who has just been seen to kill six, an opponent whom no one will engage in hand-to-hand combat but only attack from afar with missiles (x.714-716). The two men find themselves face to face and Mezentius boasts to Aeneas that he shall strip the armor off his fallen body and cloak his son Lausus in it – an unjust despoiling – before hurling forth his spear, errantly. *Pius Aeneas* (x.783) does not respond³⁸ but letting his actions speak for themselves he casts forth his own javelin into Mezentius' shield, piercing it and lodging the dart in the Etruscan's groin. E.A. Hahn (1931: 9) points out how it is commonplace to claim that the epithet *pius* belongs especially to Aeneas and the attribute *uiolentia* especially to Turnus; however, she notes how emphasis has not been laid upon the fact that *pietas* and *uiolentia*, respectively, characterize in general all the forces, divine and human, individual and collective, that are arrayed for and against Aeneas. Might we not want to rather qualify that Aeneas can embody violence in carrying out pious acts? Mezentius, as we learned in the eighth book, is a monster, prone to torturing his people and exiled from his country accordingly, leading M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 23, 27) to determine that the only wrath that is justifiable in the epic is that wrought against Mezentius. I agree that Mezentius deserves to face Aeneas' wrath (and Aeneas is indeed enraged here [x.802]) and die. So too

³⁸ Note how Aeneas also receives the *pius* epithet when taking out the braggart Lucagus (x.591).

though will Turnus. The figure who will not deserve to die, as Vergil admits (x.791-793) and Aeneas will try his hardest not to strike down, is Mezentius' son, young Lausus, who rushes against Aeneas to save his father.

Lausus stays Aeneas' sword and, with others providing cover, manages to drag his father out of harm's way. In response to his involvement, Aeneas rebukes the child, trying to steer him out of the conflict, not draw him in as Turnus did with Pallas: *Quo moriture ruis maioraque uiribus audes? / fallit te incautum pietas tua*, "To where are you rushing, you about to die, and why do you dare things greater than your strength? Your duty betrays you to rashness" (x.811-812). While Aeneas stands there enraged at being prevented from having delivered the death blow (x.813), Lausus charges and Aeneas runs his sword through his inadequate armor. B.F. Otis (1963: 359) comments how Aeneas does not yet grasp the nature and nobility of Lausus but it is only when he turns to look at his victim's dying body that his mood changes from a state of blind rage to one of sadness (x.821-824).³⁹ Otis (1963: 360) though sees a moral justification in Aeneas' actions here. M.C.J. Putnam (1981: 141-143) writes how through his son's sacrifice, Mezentius elicits a vivid demonstration of *pietas* which in turn forces *pious Aeneas* to become a killer of the pious. Aeneas not only tried to steer Lausus away from conflict but he grants the return of the corpse unstriped and deeply lamented, even broaching standard heroic etiquette by lifting the lifeless body himself instead of leaving it for Lausus' comrades to come and collect:

"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.

³⁹ Note x.822, a golden line, with a significant patronymic adding pathos.

hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:
Aeneae magni dextra cadis." increpat ultro
cunctantis socios et terra subleuat ipsum
sanguine turpantem comptos de more capillos.
(x.825-832)

[“Wretched boy, what now shall pious Aeneas give you in return for these commendable deeds of yours, what thing worthy of so great a nature? Keep your arms, in which you rejoiced; I send you back to your fathers’ shades and ashes, if at all that is a concern (to you). Nonetheless, with this you, unhappy one, shall find comfort for your pitiful death: You fell by the hand of great Aeneas.” Of his accord he rebukes (Lausus’) hesitating allies and he lifts him up from the ground, his neatly trim hair, as was his custom, befouled with blood.]

In referring to himself as *pious Aeneas* (x.826), S.D. Lowenstam (1993: 46) remarks that Aeneas, stressing his own piety at this moment only succeeds in expressing this virtue after the fact of violence, after having killed the very youth whom he admires. Just as Aeneas defines himself as pious in this scene, Lausus’ death should not stain his hands or conscience; nor ours in regard to our interpretation of Aeneas.

Meanwhile, the injured Mezentius rests under a tree and repeatedly asks his men about Lausus before witnessing the return of his son’s limp body. The father, throwing dirt into his white hair, cries out, apologizing, in effect to his son: *Tuum maculaui crimine nomen*, “I tarnished you name by my criminal action” (x.851). With a great sense of *pudor mixtoque insania luctu*, “shame and madness mixed with grief” (x.871), he shouts for Aeneas, who, happy at the chance for being able to finished what he started, offers up a brief prayer to Apollo and enjoins Mezentius to resume hostilities: *Incipias conferre manum*, “recommence the coming to combat” (x.876). It was after all Mezentius’ roaming about like a whirlwind over the field of battle that drew Aeneas to engage with him since Turnus had left the action. Mezentius rises against Aeneas knowing full well that the odds are not on his side: *Venio*

moriturus, “I, going to die, come” (x.881). The only way he can even put up a fight is to attack Aeneas from a chariot, *iniqua pugna*, “an unequal battle” (x.891). Aeneas takes out the chariot’s team, knocking Mezentius to the ground. Just as Aeneas addressed Lucagus after knocking him off his vehicle (x.592-594), Aeneas looms over the prostrate Mezentius and asks: *Ubi nunc Mezentius acer et illa / effera uis animi*, “where now is fierce Mezentius and that savage strength of spirit” (x.897-898)? S.J. Harrison (1991b: *ad loc.*) declares this statement a taunt, based off a Homeric predecessor. Mezentius too responds, speaking his final words: *Hostis amare, quid increpitas mortemque minaris*, “bitter enemy why do you taunt and threaten me with death” (x.900). Aeneas is proud of this kill and rejoices in defeating his foe.⁴⁰ If this is indeed a taunt, then his derision is fully warranted in light of the lamentable situation that Mezentius’ withdrawal found him having to face vis-à-vis slaying Lausus. Aeneas then runs his sword into Mezentius’ throat.

In the next book, Aeneas will present the idea of a duel to end the war:

si bellum finire manu, si pellere Teucros
 apparat, his mecum decuit concurrere telis:
 uixet cui uitam deus aut sua dextra dedisset.
 nunc ite et miseris supponite ciuibus ignem.
 (xi.116-119)

[If Turnus plans to end the war by force, to expel the Trojans, it was becoming to fight me with these weapons: He would have survived, he to whom god or his own hand had granted life. Now go and light the fires for your unfortunate countrymen.]

⁴⁰ M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 33-34) interprets Mezentius’ final pose where he lifts his eyes to the sky and gulping the air regains his thought (x.898-899) as his sharing in the higher aspects of the soul, as per Anchises’ underworld discourse concerning a soul’s rejoicing in its heavenly origins (vi.733-734). Mezentius dies a dignified death, not pleading for clemency or a stay of execution but asking to be interred next to his deceased son, whose death he stands responsible for, as opposed to Turnus who will admit defeat but then plead for his life.

Aeneas spends the rest of the eleventh book setting up position against the Latin stronghold, a plan he announced early on (xi.17), which then becomes news (xi.448-449 – and Turnus will confirm [xi.511-514]), to return to the narrative only at the tail end of the book (xi.904).

5.4 THE DEATH OF TURNUS

Having gained the upper hand over Turnus, who in turn has pled for clemency, Aeneas hesitates and halts his sword only to change his mind and, enraged run his enemy through:

et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri, uictum quem uulnere Turnus
strauerat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
ille, oculis postquam saeui monimenta doloris
exuuiasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
terribilis:

(xii.940-947)

[And now more and more (Turnus) had begun to turn Aeneas, hesitating, with his words, when there appeared high on his shoulder the unfortunate sword-belt and there gleamed the baldric with its familiar studs of the youth Pallas, whom, defeated, Turnus with a wound had laid low and he was carrying this hostile insignia on his shoulders. Aeneas, after he drank in with his eyes this despoiled token and reminder of cruel grief, enraged with furies and terrible with anger...]

Two key questions need to be discussed in connection with this killing: First, is there ever a good time to be burning with fury? (Yes, as Vergil makes clear in viii.493-503 where Etruria rises up against their savage king, Mezentius, a figure explicitly linked thereat with Turnus and whose actions work to the detriment of Italy – as do Turnus' in starting war in Latium.) Second, is this a proper time for Aeneas to burn with fury and slay his foe?

Parsing the end of the poem, we see the internal workings of Aeneas' mind (as too was the case with the Hector dream sequence, discussed in full in chapter ii). The scene plays out in separate stages that grant a repose and provide Aeneas a chance to mull things over: First, a javelin pierces Turnus' thigh (xii.926); second, he falls to his knees (xii.927); third, the on-looking Rutulians issue a deep groan that echoes far and wide throughout the surrounding hills and woods (xii.928-929); fourth, Turnus formulates and delivers a brief speech declaring Aeneas the victor and pleading for clemency (xii.930-938). In response we can clearly see Aeneas' thought process as he, first, stands there shifting about his eyes (xii.938-939); then he stays his hand (xii.939); finally he starts to fully digest Turnus' words (xii.940-941). In short, Aeneas gives full consideration to the lay of the land, until, that is, his roving eyes spot Pallas's sword-belt (xii.941-947) and he addresses Turnus in two sentences which point to the idea that I have been endorsing: Aeneas is a man of action who considers war matters, not to mention revenge, and acts when necessary:

‘tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc uulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.’
(xii.947-949)

[“Are you thus to be snatched from me, wearing the spoils of one who was my own? Pallas, Pallas sacrifices you with this strike and exacts retribution from (your) polluted blood.”]⁴¹

Make no mistake, Aeneas *feruidus*, “burning with emotion” (xii.951), slays Turnus but in a sacrificial way,⁴² a remuneration for the Rutulian's slaughter of Pallas. It is not mindlessly

⁴¹ R.O.A.M. Lyne (1983: 194) argues that Turnus' robbing Pallas' belt is in fact defensible as it accords with “Roman no less than Homeric codes of honor.”

⁴² The fact of it being a human sacrifice does not inherently equate it to be a savage act. Earlier Aeneas had captured victims intending them for sacrifice (x.517-20), and sacrificed they are (xi.81-84), an act Evander deems a worthy

savage, but a due killing, one Aeneas weighed in his mind and then executed: *Hoc dicens ferrum aduerso sub pectore condit / feruidus*, “speaking this, enraged he plants his sword in his enemy’s chest” (xii.950-951). It is also a case of revenge, but a case deservedly so.

5.5 THE WRATH OF AENEAS

Now that we have laid out the particulars surrounding Aeneas’ killing Turnus, let us give some consideration to the act, its justness, and how it relates to Aeneas’ character. As I hope this chapter has been demonstrating, Aeneas can rage in battle and he does kill many; however, when he acts in these late Iliadic books he is working with the understanding of his destiny in mind, literally on his shoulders. Even Venus aids her son on the field of battle (xii.52-53, 383-467, 554-555, 786-790). When Turnus is killed we should not see it as the moment of Aeneas’ spiritual annihilation, as N.P. Gross (2003: 15) does: “At the conclusion of the epic, the only goal of personal importance left is vengeance for Pallas, whose death becomes the epitome of Aeneas’ lost past....” G.K. Galinsky (1988: 340-348) discusses how whereas Achilles fights for a private cause, takes pleasure in killing and has no hesitation in striking down Hector, Aeneas acts for the sake of a community, he does not take pleasure in killing Turnus and, in a humanizing way, Vergil shows Aeneas moved with pity for Turnus. This does not, of course, mean that Aeneas should spare Turnus, *pietas* and *furor* are not mutually exclusive ideas.⁴³

tribute to Pallas (xi.169-171). Did not Octavian slay humans as a tribute to Julius Caesar in 40BCE? That the sacrifice of prisoners is an allusion to Octavian's Perusine massacre, see C. Renger-Zorn 1985, 64.

⁴³ C.J. Mackie (1988: 203-204) interprets book xii as a final affirmation of the complementarity of *pietas* and *furor*; Aeneas’ *furor* complements his *pietas* and can be seen in his determination to bring about his ordained destiny, even if that entails slaying those who stand in the way.

In discussing the heroic impulse, K.F. Quinn (1968: 1-22) reads the *Aeneid* as a long illustration of heroic shortcomings and heroic action as a reflex motivated by a desire to kill, virtually equating heroism with rashness, with lack of reason; Aeneas' bloody acts in battle tarnish his *pietas*. R.O.A.M. Lyne (1983: 188-191) sees Aeneas as having abandoned under the relentless pressure of human reality the very aim of warfare in stoic thought which calls for rational, dispassionate behavior in battle with the sole purpose of gaining peace and security.⁴⁴ K.C. King (1982: 55) sees Aeneas representing a transplanted version of the violence and fury of Achilles' epic world. S.L. James (1995: 624)⁴⁵ sees the verb used to describe Aeneas' slaying Turnus, *condit*, "he plants [his sword]" (xii.950), working as a bookend with *dum conderet urbem*, "until he could found the city," in the epic's proem (i.5), to show "the violence and fury beneath the founding of Rome" and how the final act links the foundation of Rome with the enraged, murderous passion that has previously characterized not the city's founder and the poem's hero but his chief opponent, Juno.⁴⁶

Yet Aeneas' anger is anything but irrational and Vergil has been at pains to prepare for its justification both in terms of Turnus' conduct, as well in connection with Aeneas' overall warrior proclivities. H.-P. Stahl (1990) reads Turnus as an utterly irredeemable figure

⁴⁴ Similarly, M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 36) understands Aeneas' fury as a moral blindness, citing Cic. *Tusc.* iii.19, which states the stoic doctrine that the wise man never submits to anger or fury, an emotion that arises out of one seeking personal revenge. See too Putnam 1965, 51-58. On the stoic significance of *furor* in Vergil's characters, see C.J. Gill 2004. A.F. Rossi (2004: 164) reads the final act as a moment of crisis where "victor and victim become indistinguishable." S.C. Spence (1991: 18) states that the image on Pallas' baldrick indicates that "relatively little distinction exists between the victim and the victor." G.B. Conte (1986: 183-184) reads the ending as meditating on the reasons why one person or people emerge victorious over another; and the "other" is not ignoble per se but was a necessity: Victory necessarily involves destroying the rights of others.

⁴⁵ James builds off the earlier work of K.J. Reckford 1961.

⁴⁶ A.M. Parry (1963: 68) reads the movement of the last books of the poem as hinting that the formation of Rome's empire involved the loss of the pristine purity of Italy, the plot of the closing books centering on Turnus, the embodiment of a simple valor and love of honor who cannot survive the complex forces of civilization. I agree that Turnus has valor and love of honor, but these exist only on a personal level and he uses his own personal desires and inclinations to ends that justify his ultimate ruin.

with flaws in his nature who must be swept aside by Aeneas, as the Trojan rightly does. W.S.M. Nicoll (2001: 190) postulates that Turnus' death, far from being a disquieting triumph over *impius Furor* as Jupiter alluded to in his prophecy of Aeneas' future (i.294-296), is in fact essential to secure the destiny of Aeneas. M.C.J. Putnam (1965: 193) defines Aeneas as becoming *impius Furor* at the conclusion of the poem, determining (1985: 18) that Aeneas' final rage is not motivated through a reasoned application of *pietas* but results from a terrible loss for which he compensates by killing the person who had caused this deprivation. And why should not Pallas' death work as a piece of evidence supporting Aeneas' actions at the end of the epic? As A.K.L. Michels (1997: 415) notes, for most Romans vengeance enacted for a wrong done to a relative or a friend was not merely justified but was an obligation.⁴⁷ As G.K. Galinsky (1988: 327) aptly puts it: "To the contemporary Greek and Roman. . . the picture of the avenging Aeneas, who is stirred to anger and meting out punishment in proportion to the crime, would have looked anything but odd and out of place." As A.M.E. Wlosok (1973: 150) notes, *Der Zorn des Aeneas über den Freveler ist sozusagen ein heiliger Zorn*, "the anger of Aeneas over the wrong-doer is, for all intents and purposes, a righteous anger."

By giving way to his anger over Turnus' brutal killing of Pallas, Aeneas closes the poem with a human level action as he yields to his own personal desires for vengeance. Of course, this act also marks Aeneas bringing to completion his fated duty, a mission that he stands fully aware of when he slays Turnus, having come to accept it in the eighth book and toward which he has been working through all the battling leading up to this final moment

⁴⁷ Note too R. Heinze (1957: 166): "To have shown mercy on this occasion would have been a cowardly failure to do what duty demanded." G.K. Galinsky (1988: 327) states that had Aeneas not punished Turnus with death, it would have been un-Roman and left the reader aghast. Cf. P.J. Burrell (1987: 198): "The Roman reader could be expected with slight reservations to condemn (Aeneas' killing Turnus)."

where Turnus, the final obstacle, needs and deserves to be removed. G.K. Galinsky (1988: 342-343) notes how when Aeneas slays Turnus he acts on behalf of a civilized society where the murder is a virtue and not a throwback to Italian primitivism; the new culture in Italy will be a society Turnus, by his own temper and actions, will never be able to assimilate into because his furor has become autonomous and one-dimensional instead of being the problematic means to an end.⁴⁸ D. Armstrong (1967: 167) notes how the end of the *Aeneid* undercuts all the poem's heroic promises with the statesman who sacrifices himself to duty and destiny in the end finding to his alarm that this means sacrificing others too.

M.C.J. Putnam (1965: 193) summarizes the scene: "It is Aeneas who loses – leaving Turnus victorious in his tragedy, submitting to the forces of violence and irrationality which swirl around him, failing to incorporate the ideal standards proper for the achievement of empire." Is Turnus truly to be read as a tragic figure? W.W. Fowler early on (1919) read this to be the case, considering the twelfth book as a series of three tragic acts,⁴⁹ work which lead E.L. Highbarger (1948: 120) to discuss the tragic features of the final book with special emphasis on the figure of Turnus himself. Highbarger ultimately concludes that the triumph of Aeneas necessitates the downfall of Turnus; it is, though, a tragedy of the battlefield, not of the palace. Turnus falls on the field of battle, but we should not characterize Aeneas' stroke as M.C.J. Putnam (1995: 166) does: "Aeneas' final deed reminds us of the essential perversity of power even in the hands of those who could with some truth lay claim to have established

⁴⁸ See too E.L. Highbarger 1948, 118. R. Heinze (1957: 211) determines that Turnus needs to be slain because he is an enemy of the state. G.B. Townend (1987: 86) envisions that Turnus would inevitably mount another challenge against Aeneas after a brief period of time were he to be spared. G.K. Galinsky (1988: 343) similarly notes how to spare Turnus would just be a temporary reprieve since he will never change his spirit.

⁴⁹ J.B. Garstang (1950) sees Vergil as painting the tragedy of Turnus is a way that would make Sophocles proud, with a tragic development having taken place throughout books vii-xii culminating in the reader coming to pity and lament Turnus' fate.

the most orderly society that the world has yet known.” Putnam (1995: 166) also notes that Turnus’ youthful misguidedness elicits pity and masks a yearning for a credible threat to the order that would soon be established. G.E. Duckworth (1940) earlier noted that Aeneas’ tragic flaw is his inability to live up to his stated ideals and promises at critical junctures.

One of the major, moral failures of Turnus is his decision to recommence fighting after the truce of book xii is violated (xii.216-265)⁵⁰ and, in the renewed conflict, Aeneas receives an arrow in his thigh from an unknown hand:

Turnus ut Aenean cedentem ex agmine uidit
turbatosque duces, subita spe feruidus ardet;
poscit equos atque arma simul, saltuque superbus
emicat in currum et manibus molitur habenas.
(xii.324-327)

[As soon as Turnus saw Aeneas withdrawing from the ranks and his leaders in chaos, fervid with sudden hope he blazes; he calls for his horses and also arms, and proud he darts forth with a jump into his chariot and takes up the reins with his hands.]

As H.-P. Stahl (1990: 209) concisely notes, Aeneas does not breach the treaties, Turnus does; as such, Aeneas stands in a position to practice *clementia*, “clemency,” but he is also free to avenge Pallas’ death.⁵¹ After the breach of the truce, G.K. Galinsky (1988: 339) similarly sees Aeneas having every reason to respond with anger,⁵² although he notes how Aeneas, *pius*

⁵⁰ Servius (*ad loc.* xii.949) also connects the breaking of the treaty to Turnus’ death: *Pallas immolat et ad suae mortis et ad rupti foederis ultionem*, “Pallas calls for the sacrifice both in revenge for his own death and in revenge for the breaking of the truce.”

⁵¹ Stahl considers the slaying of Turnus a necessary act since Evander has imposed the task on Aeneas as an inescapable, sacred duty and ever since book viii readers have been subliminally led to the point where they share Aeneas’ savage pain at the sight of Pallas’ baldric.

⁵² As Galinsky (1988: 327) attests: Turnus’ guilt is indeed obvious, “that record is clear. The question is how to punish.”

and *inermis* as he is (xii.312),⁵³ enjoins his army, *o cohibete iras*, “o, control your anger” (xii.314), in the process showing how logos, not pathos, guides his planned course of action:

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.”
(xii.314-317)

[The agreement already has been struck and all its terms fixed. To me alone is it lawful to fight; allow me to do so and banish your fears. I will make this treaty sound with my hand; these rights already owe Turnus to me.]

Of course, Turnus does not cooperate; he irresponsibly evades Aeneas.

There are many multiple references to Turnus’ delaying the duel or putting off its outcome: Aeneas expresses the idea of him and Turnus deciding matters in single combat at xi.116-119, a situation Drances challenges Turnus to consider (xi.375); in his reply to Drances, Turnus acknowledges the idea (xi.434, 442) but then orders his troops to marshal for combat (xi.459-467); after the battling of the eleventh book, the twelfth begins with Turnus declaring that he will face Aeneas alone (xii.11-17), but, following the breaking of the agreed upon truce, a relapse into battle spurred on by Turnus’ sister Juturna, Turnus will rejoice when Aeneas gets an arrow in the thigh and urge his troops forward (xii.324-327); healed by his divine mother, Aeneas will once again singularly hunt out Turnus (xii.466-467), ultimately declaring how he can no longer put up with Turnus’ constant deferrals (xii.570-572); with the Trojans having the upper hand in the war, Turnus, faced with no other options, agrees to the match (xii.676-680, 693-695); in the fight, Turnus’ sword shatters to pieces and, weaponless,

⁵³ Aeneas is *inermis*, “unarmed,” because he is preparing for the duel and not expecting conflict to resume.

Turnus, knowing that he can outrun Aeneas given his wounded knee, takes to flight (xii.731-734 – for which Aeneas will subsequently chastise him at xii.889-893); when Aeneas seeks to withdraw his spear that had gotten lodged in an olive tree sacred to Faunus, Turnus prays to that woodland deity to keep the weapon trapped in the trunk (xii.777-779); when Turnus expends his last energy throwing an off-the-mark boulder at Aeneas, he looks for an escape route (xii.914-918); struck by Aeneas' dart, Turnus admits that he does not deserve mercy (xii.931) before immediately pleading for clemency (xii.932-938).

5.6 KILLING TURNUS

M.C.J. Putnam (2011: 13-14) points out how Homer ended the *Iliad* with Achilles slaying Hector in the twenty-second book, leaving two more books that “bring the poem to a sad but satisfying close;” Vergil omits any catharsis from his epic.⁵⁴ S.G. Farron (1982: 140) notes how the ending of the *Aeneid* is unique in ancient literature both in terms of the abruptness with which it concludes as well as its violent ending. Of course, M.B. Poliakoff (1992: 73) considers how had Vergil ended the *Aeneid* at xii.939 instead of xii.952, then Turnus would have been spared but this would have removed the ambiguity surrounding Aeneas and made him a one-dimensional hero.⁵⁵ Whereas in the *Iliad*, Achilles mortally wounds Hector, Turnus' injuries are not life threatening and he would have survived had Aeneas stayed his sword.

⁵⁴ Cf. P.R. Hardie (1997: 151) who suggests a well-rounded and satisfyingly concluded plot. T.M. Troftgruben (2010: 84-93), studying the endings of ancient works of literature, notes how the denouement of the *Aeneid* generates more openness than resolution even though it gives completion to the narrative. This unsatisfying ending led the fifteenth century Italian poet Maffeo Vegio to compose a thirteenth book bringing the *Aeneid* to an appropriate conclusion.

⁵⁵ G.K. Galinsky (1988: 325) sees Vergil adding a touch of humanity to the final scene with Aeneas not simply acting as a stereotypical stoic. H.-P. Stahl (1981: 171) refers to Aeneas as not “a coolheaded Kantian hero.”

As M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 10) sums up Aeneas' killing of Turnus: "*Pietas* may be said to offer justification for Aeneas' final action but its nature and even its presence are left for the reader to ponder or debate. What Vergil makes explicit is that Aeneas is in the throes of fury and anger in slaying Turnus (xii.945-947)." R.J. Tarrant, in his recent commentary on the final book, (2012: 24) sums it up with: "One might say that Aeneas does the right (or the necessary thing) but does it in a terrifying way."

Is it terrifying? Should we "condemn the sudden rage that causes Aeneas to kill Turnus," as does K.F. Quinn (1968: 273), who proceeds to state that "the killing of Turnus cannot be justified"?⁵⁶ M.C.J. Putnam (1995b) sees Aeneas, who stands in a position to practice clemency but does not, as reflecting a sadly fundamental element of human nature: The impulse toward personal gratification. For Putnam (1990: 22), the sight of Pallas' baldric on Turnus rouses Aeneas to make a choice to slay Turnus and in opting to kill, "the hero is allowing some bestial aspect of his nature to rule his behavior as he kills (Turnus), not the soul's higher claim."⁵⁷ Is Aeneas' killing Turnus a choice, or a reflection of his natural inclination? Might we rather want to say that the "choice" lies in Aeneas' hesitating to enact the final blow, not in his slaying, which he must do, and is going to do because it is just and in keeping with his own goal since book x, not to mention his personal inclination for action. It is not that Aeneas chooses to kill Turnus, per se. M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 25) argues that the *furia* of Aeneas is solely generated from within his own self and he thinks only of personal revenge against Turnus for his treatment of Pallas. I would not say *only*, but Turnus' actions

⁵⁶ Echoed by T.M. Troftgruben (2010: 88), who considers Aeneas' killing Turnus as "entirely unjustified and unnecessary." I myself find it justified and necessary.

⁵⁷ Note too Putnam 1999a, 220.

vis-à-vis Pallas are fodder for Aeneas and I would add the caveat that while Aeneas is acting out in accordance with his personal wishes, revenge is not the only factor working in his mind. In looking at Aeneas' rage at different points in the epic, G.K. Galinsky (1988: 344) feels that one cannot compare Aeneas' emotionality the night Troy falls with his *furor* in the final scene since in book ii Aeneas' actions are misguided whereas at the epic's end they are not; at the *Aeneid*'s conclusion, Aeneas' own inclination stands in concert with divine will, the *dira dea*, "dire goddess" (xii.895).⁵⁸ I agree but would specify that it is Aeneas himself who kills Turnus; it represents the moment his personal *pyros* operates in tune with his fated mission.

T. van Nortwick (1980: 313-314) reads in Aeneas an element of self-destructiveness, a resignation to fate that parallels Achilles and that Turnus lacks; in killing Turnus, Aeneas puts to rest in Turnus, and in himself, that anachronistic Achillean heroism which is to be replaced by *pietas*, the cornerstone of the new civilization of Rome. Servius (*ad loc.* xii.940) understands Aeneas killing Turnus as the aftermath of Aeneas' inner struggle between *pietas* owed to his father and *pietas* demanded of him by Evander; Aeneas is glorified by Vergil in the act of removing Turnus because he is shown to be pious by following Anchises mandate via hesitating and he bears the mark of piety by enacting revenge per Evander for Pallas' death. As D.A. West notes (1974: 29 n. 3), Vergil evinces pity for Turnus, a victim of fate, but this does not mean that the poet disapproves of its instruments. Aeneas is a tool of fate when he slays Turnus, but a tool with its own personality and when the death of Turnus transpires, it is not purely out of blind rage but also a sense of decorum and a performing of retribution

⁵⁸ B.F. Otis (1963: 380) remarks that "it is really the *dira*, not Aeneas, that defeats Turnus" by convincing the Rutulian to attempt to throw a ridiculously huge boulder at Aeneas (xii.896-914), a challenge beyond his strength. In the death of Turnus, however, it is squarely Aeneas who throws down his rival.

enacted to impose justice on Turnus' actions earlier in the epic both for Pallas and for his standing in the way of Rome. For Aeneas not to have killed Turnus would have marked a reversal of the character traits we have seen in Aeneas all along. That would have ended the poem on an incomplete, tragic note.

M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 15) believes that "if... we allow any justification to his proclamation of revenge, then his deed should be performed totally without emotion, especially without anger," and since it is not, Aeneas' action is "morally dubious." Yet Aeneas does hesitate before slaying his prone enemy, a moment that separates him from the blind rage of Achilles, who does not dawdle in laying low Hector despite his pleas, at which Achilles scoffs (*Hom. Il.* xxii.345-354). G.K. Galinsky (1988: 341) labels Aeneas' pause a "humane hesitation," indicative of Aeneas' humane sensibilities and concerns.⁵⁹ W.V. Clausen (1987: 99) sees Aeneas as touched in his innermost being and his hesitation "an extraordinary moment of humanity; for the epic warrior never hesitates... he kills almost mechanically, showing no mercy, exulting in his success...." To M.C.J. Putnam (1990: 12), even if we consider Aeneas' hesitation a token of mildness, it is subsequently undercut by the violence of the scene; there is no gentleness in Aeneas' spiritual makeup. To which I say, in war, no, nor need Aeneas be gentle; in response to the events he has encountered since landing in Italy, similarly, no, indeed, an emphatic no.

⁵⁹ A hesitation that Galinsky (1988: 340-342) sees intentionally contrasting with Turnus' reaction to a similar appeal at the beginning of book xii where Latinus mentions Turnus' father (xii.43), which only inflames the Rutulian to a greater degree than he already was (xii.45-46).

6.0 CONCLUSION

This dissertation began as an investigation into the death of Turnus in an attempt to understand Aeneas' actions and motivation for striking down his prostrate foe. This concluding act of the *Aeneid* has caused a terrible amount of consternation amongst its readers and often is offered up as the linchpin for painting the poem writ large in a somber light. I have never approached the *Aeneid* from this camp, nor, I should say, did I approach the *Aeneid* from the opposite corner. I have, though, through reading the text and studying Vergil's portrait of Aeneas as it unfolds over the course of the epic come to see that the ending of the poem makes perfect sense in light of the action of the previous books and the nature of Vergil's titular hero and his development in coming to accept his fated mission.

At the end of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas, having gained the upper hand over Turnus, who in turn has pled for clemency, hesitates and halts his sword only to then change his mind and run his enemy through. In killing Turnus, Aeneas overrides half of the paternal mandate bestowed upon him during his journey to the underworld wherein Anchises advises: *Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, "spare the conquered and throw down the proud" (vi.853). That Aeneas does not spare Turnus has caused many to speculate that Vergil consciously concludes his poem with a scathing censure on Rome and specifically Augustan politics.

Speaking of Augustus, the attentive reader will note how this study makes passing references to the emperor but does not delve into the issue of Vergil's agenda vis-à-vis commenting on the new empire being ushered in by Octavian. Similarly, I do not explore Vergil's feelings on the emperor Augustus himself. Vergil's relationship with Augustus is an area of study in itself. Similarly, the title of my original prospectus was "Killing Turnus: A

Study of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*,” and I had the intention of investigating Aeneas in full, a feat that quickly proved Herculean and ultimately infeasible both in terms of scope and, I will fully admit, my familiarity and experience with Vergil.

I do not harbor grandiose dreams – at least none that I will confess to here – of my monograph garnering canonical status or securing the Society for Classical Studies’ Goodwin Prize for publication of the year. Realistically, I would like to add one more piece of evidence for a positive reading of the *Aeneid*. I hope that my work will provide evidence for future similar interpretations of the poem by, perhaps, a more senior scholar studying the epic in general, rather my limited focus on Aeneas’ martialism. My interpretation of the *Aeneid* builds off preexisting Vergilian criticism and I do not feel that I am pulling any of my thoughts or stances completely out of proverbial leftfield. I am simply fusing the idea that Aeneas matures throughout the poem with regard to accepting his mission by adding that he comes to accept his task once it appears to him in an aspect that appeals to his innate sense of action, namely in the form of his shield delivered to him by his mother at the end of the eighth book. But, and this is important and has often been neglected in discussing Aeneas’ battle exploits, the Trojan does not lash out blindly or without provocation, as was Turnus’ *modus operandi* in commencing war in Italy. Aeneas consistently responds to his external situations – admittedly even at times counter-pursuant to his divinely ordained fate. Yet once Aeneas’ mission and his proclivity for action link up, there is no more delay or faltering in completing his calling.

In Aeneas Vergil had to present a hero who could be compared with the Homeric idols but who also possesses all the suitable Augustan Age qualities, something analogous to being simultaneously a good citizen and a good warrior, an Achilles with *virtus*, a human figure

mindful of duty who also at times rages with indignation. Aeneas marks an abrupt break from the Homeric warriors paving the way for a pious warrior who works under the will of fate. Yet make no mistake, Aeneas is a man of action first and foremost and follower of divinely ordained fate second; he is a human figure who struggles to see the ramifications of focusing on the future rather than engaging in the impulse toward personal gratification due to his passion ridden existence. As Anchises professes, humans are *clausae tenebris et carcere caeco*, “trapped in the darkness and in a slightless dungeon” (vi.734), by virtue of existing in bodies. In humans the impulse toward personal gratification triumphs over a rarer, wiser instinct attuned to the external and the future. In the underworld, the presence of desire fueled by the body rather than a spiritual desire is alluded to often and is explicitly mentioned by Anchises in connection with the dark prison episode just mentioned. How does this inherent domination of yielding to one’s passion mesh with the edict “spare,” that is, not act but yield? How does one reconcile the dualistic double-duty contained in Anchises’ underworld injunction between the role of vengeance (i.e., of the personal, of gratifyingly laying low one’s enemy¹) and the necessity of clemency (i.e., sacrificing personal gratification for the greater good, a “public” element where the state trumps the private)? Aeneas yielding to the former in killing Turnus gives credence to the supremacy of the body over a future oriented mindset in the mythology of Rome’s establishment. It does not, though, make Aeneas killing Turnus a lamentable act.

¹ Reading in the compound verb *debellare*, a neologism created by Vergil, a sense of satisfaction gained by carrying a martial exploit to its full conclusion, i.e., either resulting in an enemy’s death, or, in the sense of a campaign in general, ending a war.

As we touched upon in chapter five, when Aeneas kills Turnus the language of his act – *ferrum adverso sub pectore condit / fervidus*, “enraged he founds his sword in his enemy’s breast” (xii.950-951) – echoes the proem: *Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem*, “Aeneas underwent many things and also war until he could found the city” (i.5). As this volume has been arguing, the epic works on two levels: The human and the divine. When Aeneas slays Turnus he does partly out of revenge for Pallas; he also is setting up the conditions for Rome. It is a human act and a divine, establishing act simultaneously.

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