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IV. THE *AENEID*

Epic Genealogies. The Homeric Models.

At the heart of the *Aeneid* the hero descends to the world of the dead and in its innermost recess is reunited with his father. Anchises, Aeneas's link to his destroyed Trojan past, reveals to his son the future of his race in the form of a procession of the souls of Roman heroes as yet unborn. In this place where time past, present, and future is held together, the *Aeneid* also comes to a heightened consciousness of its own literary genealogy, as literary memory is overlaid on family and racial memory.¹ The whole of the Underworld episode is modelled on Odysseus' visit to the land of the dead in *Odyssey* 11: Aeneas' meeting with his father reworks Odysseus' meeting with his mother Anticleia (*Od.* 11.152–224), which is immediately followed by the Catalogue of Heroines (*Od.* 11.225–332), the formal model for Virgil's very masculine Parade of Heroes. But the tears and words with which Anchises greets his son (6.684–9) allude to the Roman epic of Ennius and specifically to the scene at the opening of the *Annals* in which Ennius established his own place within the epic tradition, by narrating a dream in which the phantom of Homer explained to the sleeping poet how, through a Pythagorean metempsychosis, the true soul of Homer was reincarnated in the breast of Ennius himself. In restaging this scene of succession in the dreamlike setting of the Underworld Virgil hints at his own relationship to the dead epic poets to whose company he seeks admittance. The encounter of Aeneas and Anchises occurs within a set-piece of Homeric imitation; Anchises' running commentary on the Parade of Heroes functions as a summary of the matter of Ennius' historical epic, which it 'completes' by extending the story to Augustus' achievement of world-empire and restoration of a Golden Age (6.791–800).² Ennian historical

¹ Hardie (1993), 101–5 'Poetic succession'; epic underworlds are a conventional place for the poet to explore his own traditions: G. Most, 'Il poeta nell'Ade: catabasi, epico e teoria dell'"epos" tra Omero e Virgilio', *SIFC* 85 (1992), 1014–26. Memory is a central function of epic (the Muses are daughters of Mnemosyne 'Memory'); on the role of memory in the *Aeneid* see Henry (1989).

² Augustus occupies a central section in the Parade (6.791–805), the main part of which concludes with a famous quotation from Ennius, 6.846 *unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem* (cf. *Enn. Ann.* 363 Skutsch). Ennius and Virgil: Norden (1976), 365–75; E. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius. Kriegsbilder aus Roms grosser Zeit* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1915); Wigodsky (1972), 40–79. On earlier Latin epic see Goldberg (1995).

epic is thus framed in a Homeric mythological episode; in the first part of his speech (6.724–51) Anchises encapsulates another branch of the hexameter tradition, with a philosophico-theological account of the nature of the world and of the soul that is indebted both to Anticleia's explanation to Odysseus of what happens to humans after death (*Od.* 11.216–24) and to the Ennian Homer's more philosophical account of these matters,³ but couched in markedly Lucretian language: a miniature didactic 'de rerum natura' to set beside the miniature *Annals* that is to follow.⁴

The *Aeneid* is alive to the whole of the epic tradition, but it looks back continuously to the origins of that tradition in the poems of Homer.⁵ The version of literary history inscribed in the *Aeneid* thus reflects Virgil's momentous decision to replace Ennius' historical epic with a narrative poem that tells of Roman history from the perspective of the legendary ancestor of the current ruling family, Aeneas (who is himself a significant hero in the *Iliad*). Writing in the 20s B.C. of Virgil's growing epic, the elegist Propertius announces, perhaps not without a touch of the facetious, 'give way, writers of Rome, give way, writers of Greece! Something greater than the *Iliad* is coming to birth.' (2.34.65–6). The pentameter, *nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade*, echoes Virgil's own announcement, after the invocation that begins the second half of the *Aeneid*, that 'a greater succession of events is coming to birth for me, I am setting about a greater work' (7.44–5 *maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo, | maius opus moueo*). Here the comparatives *maior* and *maius* point (at least on the surface) not to the relative ranking of Homer and Virgil

but to Virgil's raising of his own epic pretensions as he moves from the Odyssean wanderings of the first six books to the Iliadic battles of the last six books.⁶ The first two words of the poem, *arma uirumque*, signal (in reverse order) the two halves of the poem, dealing respectively with an Odyssean 'man' and Iliadic warfare.⁷ This dichotomy has a general validity, but needs qualification; it is not just that some Iliadic episodes find a home in the 'Odyssean' half (notably the funeral games of *Iliad* 23, the model for the games in *Aen.* 5) and vice versa (Aeneas' visit to Evander in *Aen.* 8 is modelled on Telemachus' visits to Pylos and Sparta in *Od.* 3 and 4),⁸ but that Iliadic and Odyssean models may be combined in one Virgilian episode,⁹ on the large scale for example in the mapping on to the death of Turnus of both the Iliadic death of Achilles and the Odyssean slaughter of the suitors, or, on a smaller scale, in the combination in Numanus Remulus' violent invective against the Trojans (9.598–620) of Thersites' taunting of the Achaeans (*Il.* 2.235) with Alcinous' account of the Phaeacians' national characteristics (*Od.* 8.248–9).

Virgil's imitation of Homer is thoroughly Alexandrian both in its allusive density and erudition, and in its constant challenge to the reader to compare and contrast source and imitation, to use our knowledge of the Homeric texts as an interpretative filter in our reading of the *Aeneid*, and conversely to read the *Aeneid* as a commentary on the Homeric poems.¹⁰ For example our response to the kind of heroism displayed by Aeneas (see below, pp. 80–2) is guided by our memory of the behaviour of the several Homeric characters of which he is a composite. The reader's task of assessing the Homeric affinities of the Virgilian characters mirrors a competitive use of exemplarity on the part of the fictional characters themselves: the outcome of the war in Latium will be decided by the result of a sometimes self-conscious competition between Turnus and Aeneas

³ Skutsch (1985), 153–67.

⁴ Austin on 6.724–51 'The manner is constantly and pointedly Lucretian; the matter would have excited Lucretius' disdain.' On Virgil's use of the Ennian and Lucretian models in this passage see Hardie (1986), 69–83; in general on Virgil's imitation in the *Aeneid* of Lucretius, at once reverential and antagonistic, see *ibid.* ch.5. The *Georgics* had already explored the continuities between hexameter didactic and heroic hexameter epic; see pp. 40–2 above. For other examples of the miniature summary, a device that allows Virgil both to refer to the epic traditions on which he draws and to advertise, by contrast, the novelty of his own epic project, see the Shield of Aeneas at *Aen.* 8.626–728, a visual version of an Ennian historical epic, and the scenes in the temple of Juno at *Aen.* 1.453–93, an encapsulation of the hackneyed matter of the Epic Cycle: see A. Barchiesi, *AG&A* 40 (1994), 117–18; in general see E. C. Kopff, 'Virgil and the cyclic epics', *ANRW* II 31.2 (1981), 919–47. In a sense the whole of the *Aeneid*, a monumental twelve-book epic, is at the same time an exquisite miniaturization of the whole of the Greco-Roman literary tradition.

⁵ On Virgil's use of Homer Knauer (1964a) is indispensable, not least for his line-by-line tables of correspondences between the Homeric and Virgilian epics; his general conclusions are summarized in Knauer (1964b); Otis (1964) is still essential, if now somewhat dated, reading on the literary-historical background to Virgil's audacious decision to confront Homer head-on, with chapters on 'The Odyssean *Aeneid*' (ch. 6) and 'The Iliadic *Aeneid*' (ch. 7). See also Camps (1969), ch. 8; for a sophisticated discussion of the literary effects of Virgil's Homeric imitation see Barchiesi (1984).

⁶ In antiquity the *Iliad* was regarded as the more sublime of the two Homeric epics: [Longinus] *De Sublimitate* 9.11–15 (with Russell ad loc.).

⁷ On the poem of *Aen.* 1 see Anderson (1969), ch. 1; Buchheit (1963), 13–58.

⁸ For a convenient overview of the situation see Knauer (1964a), folding chart 5; for an analysis of the compilation of Homeric episodes within a single book see Hardie (1994), 6–10. Cairns (1989), ch. 8 presents an interesting, if overstated, argument for the greater importance of the *Odyssey* than the *Iliad* as a model for the *Aeneid*. On Virgil's use of each Homeric epic see R. D. Williams, 'Virgil and the *Odyssey*', *Phoenix* 17 (1963), 266–74; Gransden (1984).

⁹ A particular type of the more general use of what Knauer calls 'Kontamination', i.e. the combination of more than one Homeric model in a single Virgilian passage; inversely, by 'dédoublément' a single Homeric model may be divided between two Virgilian episodes: for example the person of Patroclus feeds into the characters and exploits of both Pallas and Camilla.

¹⁰ The most influential work in modern studies of allusion is Conte (1986); for discussions of allusion see also ch. II n. 12.

as to who plays the roles of the Iliadic winner, Achilles, and the Iliadic loser, Hector. At the end Aeneas' outburst on seeing the swordbelt of Pallas finally sweeps away any doubt that it is *his* anger and grief that is to be identified with the fearful wrath of Achilles announced as the theme of the *Iliad* in that poem's first word.¹¹

Virgil's allusive practice also forces us to ask *whose* Homer does he imitate? By the late first century B.C. the Homeric poems had been subjected to a great variety of reading practices, with consequences ranging from the basic establishment of the text to the widest issues of interpretation. For an example of choices at the level of textual variants take Apollo's prophecy to the Trojans at 3.97–8, *hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris | et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis* ('here [in your former motherland] the house of Aeneas will rule over all lands, and his sons' sons and their children'). Apollo 'quotes' a prediction made by Poseidon at *Iliad* 20.307–8, but not in quite the form found in modern texts, which read 'But as it is the might of Aeneas will rule over the Trojans . . .' Virgil's Apollo chooses a variant, preserved in the scholia and Strabo, that reads 'But as it is the race of Aeneas will rule over all men . . .'; the variant presumably arose as the result of a desire to incorporate into the *Iliad* a reference to Rome's dominance in the Mediterranean, and it suited Virgil's purposes neatly.¹² The Homeric interpretation of Greek, especially Hellenistic, commentators, also leaves its traces: R. R. Schlunk demonstrated that in his tendency to omit absurd or indecorous details in his Homeric models Virgil conforms to the *decorum*-based criticism of the Alexandrian commentators, fragments of which survive in the Homeric scholia. For example the scholia complain that it is most implausible that at *Iliad* 23.857–8 Achilles should foresee that one of the contestants in the archery contest might cut the cord attaching the dove to the post; in the contest at *Aen.* 5.507–12 it comes as an unexpected accident when Mnesteus' shot severs the cord.¹³ The fashion for the allegorical interpretation of the Homeric myths, associated in particular with the Hellenistic scholars of Pergamum, is also visible in the *Aeneid*, for example in the association of Juno with the lower air and storms, in line with the allegorization of Hera as *aer* 'air',¹⁴ or in the natural-philosophical subject-matter of the song of

¹¹ See Anderson (1957); L. A. Mackay, 'Achilles as model for Aeneas', *TAPA* 88 (1957), 11–16; D. West, 'The deaths of Hector and Turnus', in McAuslan and Walcot (1990), 14–23; T. van Nortwick, 'Aeneas, Turnus, and Achilles', *TAPA* 110 (1980), 303–14.

¹² E. L. Harrison, 'Virgil and the Homeric tradition', *PLLS* 3 (1981), 209–25, at 215 with n. 10.

¹³ Schlunk (1974), 15–17.

¹⁴ Feeney (1991), 149–50.

Iopas at 1.742–6, reflecting an interpretation of the scandalous story of Ares and Aphrodite in the Homeric song of Demodocus (*Od.* 8.266–366) as in truth an allegory of cosmic principles.¹⁵

The audacity of embarking on a comprehensive imitation of Homer was compounded by the prevalent ancient view that Homer was not only the earliest poet writing in the grandest genre, but that he was a universal poet, the source of all later literature and wisdom, of almost god-like stature, and one who saw into the deepest mysteries of the universe.¹⁶ It is a mark of the success of the *Aeneid*'s ambition that later centuries saw Virgil himself as a universal and almost divine poet.¹⁷ This act of literary aggrandizement also makes the *Aeneid* a peculiarly apt complement to the ideology of the new *princeps* Augustus, buttressed as it is by a claim to the universal power of Rome; Virgil's poetic triumph, as vividly described at the beginning of the third *Georgic*,¹⁸ makes of him the fitting poet for the *triumphator* Augustus; the literary imperialist rides by the side of the military imperialist.

Roman Alexandrianism. Generic Polyphony.

Paradoxically the epic universalism of the *Aeneid* allows the poem to include much that is not grandiosely epic. If Homer is the fountainhead of all later literature, to imitate the poet who contains multitudes will allow the admission of things that seem less than epic, or even non-epic.¹⁹ Like

¹⁵ Knauer (1964a), 168 n. 1; Hardie (1986), 62–3; Farrell (1991), 258–60. Hardie (1986), ch. 8 interprets the Shield of Aeneas in *Aen.* 8 as a symbol of the cosmic pretensions of Roman power, reflecting an allegorization of the Shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18 as a symbol of the physical universe. On allegory in the *Aeneid* see also p. 94 below.

¹⁶ For a statement by a later Latin epic poet, who himself almost literally worshipped Virgil, see Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 13.786–9 (the Sibyl on the ghost of Homer) '*meruit deus esse uideri, | et fuit in tanto non paruum pectore numen. | carmine complexus terram, mare, sidera, manes | et cantu Musas et Phoebum aequauit honore*'. Ptolemy IV erected a shrine to Homer, the Homereion, in Alexandria, with which the relief in the British Museum by Archelaus of Priene of the 'Apotheosis of Homer' may be connected. See C. O. Brink, 'Ennius and the Hellenistic worship of Homer', *AJP* 93 (1972), 547–67; Hardie (1986), 22–5. A representative account of the universal Homer is [Plutarch] *On the life and poetry of Homer*: see J. J. Keaney and R. Lamberton (eds.), *Essay on the Life and Poetry of Homer* (Plutarch) (Atlanta, 1996).

¹⁷ On the late antique and medieval pictures of the divinely omniscient and wonder-working Virgil see Comparetti (1895). The tradition of the universal Virgil finds its latest apologists in T. S. Eliot, who elevated the *Aeneid* to the status of *the* European classic (*What is a Classic?* [London, 1945]), and in the once influential book by T. Haecker, *Virgil, Vater des Abendlandes* (Leipzig, 1931) (tr. A. W. Wheen, *Virgil, Father of the West* [London, 1934]).

¹⁸ See p. 41 above.

¹⁹ On the *Aeneid*'s receptivity to non-epic genres see Jackson Knight (1966), 159–78; later epic in the classical tradition is also self-conscious about its generic inclusivity: see B. K. Lewalski, *Paradise*

the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, the *Aeneid* is characterized by a generic mixture of the high and the low, the neoteric and the Augustan (in the sense of the more publicly committed poetry of Virgil and Horace). In this respect the *Aeneid* also looks forward to Ovid's long hexameter poem, the *Metamorphoses*, whose overtly paradoxical combination of a Callimachean *deductum carmen* with a non-Callimachean *perpetuum carmen* lays bare a contradiction already present in the *Aeneid*.²⁰ The play of genres within the text is not simply an object for formalist analysis; a genre brings with it a way of looking at the world and a set of values, and to juxtapose different genres is at the same time to question the perspectives within which we judge moral and political issues.²¹

For an example of how epic and neoteric models are combined let us return to the speech with which Anchises welcomes his son in the Underworld and in which Virgil begins to outline a genealogy of his overarching genre, epic. At 6.692–3 Anchises exclaims *quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora uectum | accipio! quantis iactatum, nate, periclis!* ('I welcome you, my son, borne over what lands and over how many seas, tossed by how many dangers!') He defines his son's adventures as Odyssean, with obvious allusion to the first four lines of the *Odyssey*, while within the *Aeneid* the verb *iactare* has an almost technical application to the Odyssean sufferings of Aeneas (first used at 1.3 in the context of the narrator's own adaptation of the Odyssean opening). But Gian Biagio Conte points out that Anchises' verbal formulation more closely follows the first line of Catullus 101, *multas per gentes et multa per aequora uectus*, where allusion to the opening of the *Odyssey* lends a quality of epic suffering to Catullus' very personal journey to make an offering at the grave of his brother, who died near Troy.²² By this allusion Virgil signals his recognition of Catullus' Homeric source, which he reinstates in an epic context; but at the same time he introduces into his epic an element of Catullan pathos, retaining the non-Homeric use of the expression in a conversation between two close relatives, one of whom is dead.

Lost and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms (Princeton, 1985), ch. 1 'Paradise Lost as an encyclopedic epic'.

²⁰ Hinds (1987), 19. Hinds' book is central for the study of the dynamics of generic play in Augustan poetry; see also G. B. Conte, *Genres and Readers: Lucretius, Love Elegy, Pliny's Encyclopedia* (Baltimore and London, 1994); J. Farrell, 'Dialogue of genres in Ovid's "Lovesong of Polyphemus" (*Metamorphoses* 13.719–897)', *AJP* 113 (1992), 235–68. On paradox as a constituent feature of Virgilian poetics see P. R. Hardie, 'Virgil: a paradoxical poet?', *PLLS* 9 (1996), 103–21.

²¹ On the inseparability of generic analysis from the wider meaning and ideology of texts see S. Hinds, 'Arma in Ovid's *Fasti*', *Arethusa* 25 (1992), 81–153.

²² Conte (1986), 32–9.

Virgil's understanding that the Alexandrian and the epic (Homeric) are not mutually exclusive conforms with the demonstration by modern scholars that poets like Callimachus and Theocritus work out their poetics through a constructive engagement with, rather than hostility towards, Homer. (What is non-Callimachean about the *Aeneid* is its willingness to challenge the Homeric poems in their totality.) A larger example of Virgil's reincorporation into a full-scale epic of material from a Catullan poem constructed out of fragments of epic tradition is the massive diversion into the Dido episode in *Aeneid* 4 of elements of Catullus 64 (already an important model in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*), in particular the reworking of Ariadne's lament in the speeches of Dido.²³

Catullus' 'epyllion' has as one of its main, if somewhat disguised, models the single surviving Hellenistic epic, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, a writer who is now seen to share the poetic goals of poets like Callimachus.²⁴ A major growth area in recent scholarship on the *Aeneid* has been the study of its debts to Hellenistic poetry,²⁵ and nowhere have the results been as spectacular as in the case of Apollonius' *Argonautica*, whose influence on the *Aeneid* was seen by Knauer in 1964 as a mere trickle amidst the flood of Homeric material, but which now emerges as a major presence throughout the poem.²⁶ The importance of the Medea and Jason narrative in *Argonautica* 3 for Virgil's Dido and Aeneas is obvious, but a further model is the Hypsipyle episode in *Argonautica* 1. Virgil, like Apollonius, begins the second half of his epic by invoking the Muse of love poetry, Erato (7.37; cf. *Argon.* 3.1), posing readers a puzzle as to why his Iliadic 'greater work' should be placed under the same Muse as Apollonius' story of the love of Medea and Jason.²⁷ The journey of Aeneas is constructed as an

²³ Catullus and Virgil (see also ch. III n. 77); E. K. Rand, 'Catullus and the Augustans', *HSCP* 17 (1906), 15–30; R. E. H. Westendorp Boerma, 'Virgil's debt to Catullus', *Acta Classica* 1 (1958), 51–63; E. L. Harrison, 'Cleverness in Virgilian imitation', in Harrison (1990), 445–8 [on Cat. 66.39 and *Aen.* 6.460]; J. Ferguson, 'Catullus and Virgil', *PVS* 11 (1971/72), 25–47; R. Drew Griffith, 'Catullus' *Coma Berenices* and Aeneas' farewell to Dido', *TAPA* 125 (1995), 47–59; M. C. J. Putnam, 'The lyric genius of the *Aeneid*', *Arion* 3.2 (1995), 81–101; Wills (1996), 26–30 [on Ariadne's lament and the speeches of Dido in *Aen.* 4]; Lyne (n. 197); Petrini (n. 71).

²⁴ R. L. Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes: Argonautica Book III* (Cambridge, 1989), 32–8. For an analysis of the use of Apollonius in Catullus 64 see R. J. Clare, 'Catullus 64 and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius: allusion and exemplarity', *PCPS* 42 (1996), 60–88.

²⁵ There are many valuable observations in Clausen (1987), but it is far from being a comprehensive study of its subject. See also A. S. Hollis, 'Hellenistic colouring in Virgil's *Aeneid*', *HSCP* 94 (1992), 269–85.

²⁶ See the massive study by D. Nelis, *The Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Leeds, 1998); D. C. Feeney, 'Following after Hercules, in Virgil and Apollonius', *PVS* 18 (1986), 47–85.

²⁷ S. Kyriakidis, 'Invocatio ad Musam (*Aen.* 7.37)', *MD* 33 (1994), 197–206, with bibliography at 197 n. 2.

Argonautic quest, as well as an Odyssean wandering: the Harpies episode in *Aeneid* 3 is diverted from the Argo story into the legend of Aeneas. The simile at 8.622–3 comparing the gleam of the divine armour brought to Aeneas by Venus to a cloud lit up by the sun is taken from *Argonautica* 4.125–6, where it is applied to the Golden Fleece when Jason first sees it; allusion to the Argonauts' arrival at Colchis in Aeneas' journey up the Tiber at the beginning of *Aeneid* 8 foreshadows this hint at the end that Aeneas' new armour, with the Shield displaying scenes of the whole of Roman history, is *his* Golden Fleece.²⁸ More generally the *Aeneid* takes over from the *Argonautica* the Hellenistic epic's awareness of its belatedness in relation to Homer, and its interest in the aetiological traces left on the landscape by the adventures of its heroes.²⁹

In these last respects Apollonius' *Argonautica* explores the same territory as Callimachus' poetry. In *Aeneid* 8 Aeneas takes a break from his Odyssean and Iliadic heroics to become a Callimachean collector of aetiological lore from Evander, his host on the future site of Rome.³⁰ The impoverished Arcadian king's reception of the hero in his humble dwelling falls into a pattern used more than once by Callimachus, in Molorchus' reception of Herakles in *Aitia* 3, and in Hekale's reception of Theseus in the epyllion *Hekale* (in each case on the eve of the hero's slaying of a monster).³¹ In these episodes Callimachus, in typically 'Alexandrian' manner, engineers scenes of a less than epic elevation through a selective reading of Homer, for the original for such 'theoxenies' (receptions of a god or hero into a simple dwelling) is the swineherd Eumaeus' reception of Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, in *Odyssey* 14.

Callimachus' contemporary Theocritus created a new non-heroic, humble, genre of hexameter bucolic in part through a selective reading of Homer.³² The Evander episode in *Aeneid* 8 is also one of the places where pastoral enters the Homeric epic world (the inverse of the introduction of epic themes into the bucolic world in *Eclogue* 4: see

p. 16 above). Cattle graze in what was to become the Roman Forum; the humble inhabitants of the site of Rome are, significantly, Arcadians;³³ even the extravagantly hyperbolic narrative of the fight between Hercules and Cacus is at heart a tale about cattle-rustlers. Aeneas spends one night in Evander's hut before he must return to the epic business of warfare, rather as Meliboeus is invited by Tityrus at the end of *Eclogue* 1 to rest with him for the night before continuing his journey into an exile forced on him by the effects of war. In the *Eclogues* the tranquil world of the shepherds is recurrently threatened by violent events in the historical world; the transition in *Aeneid* 7 from the peaceful state that preceded the Trojan arrival to all-out war is also figured as a generic transition, from pastoral to epic: Allecto's last intervention (7.475–539) causes Ascanius unwittingly to shoot the pet stag belonging to the royal herdsman's daughter Silvia ('girl of the woods');³⁴ Allecto, the 'plague lurking in the woods', 7.505, calls the vengeful farmers to arms with a blast on her trumpet, cruelly labelled a *pastorale signum* ('herdsmen's signal'), to which nature resounds in a parody of the pastoral echo (7.514–18). A little later ploughshares and sickles give way to swords (7.635–6; cf. *Geo.* 1.506–8), as that other kind of countryside poetry, georgic, yields to epic.³⁵ The Homeric king is 'shepherd of his people', and herdsmen appear regularly in Homeric similes; working from these precedents, Virgil weaves a pattern of pastoral imagery around Aeneas, that stretches from the simile comparing the stunned hero on the night of the sack of Troy to a shepherd listening passively to the sound of forest-fire or mountain torrent (2.304–8) to the simile comparing Aeneas' siege-assault on Latinus' city to a shepherd smoking out bees (12.587–92).³⁶

Love elegy, like pastoral, is a genre that occupies a position at the bottom of the hierarchy of genres.³⁷ The Latin love elegist flaunts the inactive and unRoman nature of his lifestyle; one way of viewing the situation in *Aeneid* 4 is as the interference of the values of the world of

²⁸ P. R. Hardie, 'Ships and ship-names in the *Aeneid*', in Whitby, Hardie, and Whitby (1987), 163–71, at 163, 170.

²⁹ R. L. Hunter, *The Argonautica of Apollonius* (Cambridge, 1993), ch. 7 'Argonautica and *Aeneid*'. On the *Argonautica*'s relationship to its literary past see Goldhill (1991), ch. 5.

³⁰ E. V. George, *Aeneid VIII and the Aitia of Callimachus* (Leiden, 1974).

³¹ Gransden (1976), 26. For examples of detailed allusion to Callimachus in the *Aeneid* see S. J. Heyworth, 'Deceitful Crete: *Aeneid* 3.84 and the *Hymns* of Callimachus', *CQ* 43 (1993), 255–7; A. Barchiesi, 'Immovable Delos: *Aeneid* 3.73–98 and the *Hymns* of Callimachus', *CQ* 44 (1994), 438–43.

³² On bucolic's epic origins see Halperin (ch. II n. 5).

³³ Pace R. Jenkyns, 'Virgil and Arcadia', *JRS* 79 (1989), 26–39. See W. Wimmel, *Hirtenkrieg und arkadisches Rom: Reduktionsmedien in Vergils Aeneis* (Munich, 1973); D. M. Rosenberg, *Oaten Reeds and Trumpets: Pastoral and Epic in Virgil, Spenser, and Milton* (Lewisburg, 1981), 51–3 on Evander.

³⁴ Silvia's stag: E. Vance, 'Sylvia's pet stag: wildness and domesticity in Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Arethusa* 14 (1981), 127–38; M. C. J. Putnam, 'Silvia's stag and Virgilian ekphrasis', *MD* 34 (1995), 107–33.

³⁵ On allusion to the *Georgics* in the *Aeneid* see Briggs (1980).

³⁶ W. S. Anderson, 'Pastor Aeneas: on pastoral themes in the *Aeneid*', *TAPA* 99 (1968), 1–17.

³⁷ For this concept see A. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford, 1982), ch. 12 'Hierarchy of genres and canons of literature'.

love elegy in the Roman (and epic) mission of Aeneas. The effect of her infatuation on Dido is to paralyse her city-building activity (4.86–9),³⁸ her speech to Aeneas at 4.305–30 is an example of the 'schetliastic propemptikon', like those addressed by the elegist to his *puella* on the point of her departure on a voyage.³⁹

But tragedy is the genre that we most readily associate with Dido. Friedrich Leo went so far as to say that *Aeneid* 4 was 'the only Roman tragedy worthy of being put beside the Greek plays'. Dido fits the Aristotelian model of the tragic hero well enough, a superior being brought low by a tragic 'flaw';⁴⁰ her speeches and manner of death are in the tragic manner;⁴¹ some critics even try to discern the outline of a five-act structure in *Aeneid* 4.⁴² The 'tragedy of Dido' is introduced in *Aeneid* 1 in the speech in which Venus (as part of her—actor-like?—disguise wearing *coturni*, the boots of a hunter, but also the tragic 'buskins', 1.337) outlines to Aeneas the previous history of Dido, in the manner of the prologue delivered by a god in a Euripidean tragedy.⁴³ The influence of tragedy on the *Aeneid* is pervasive, and arguably the single most important factor in Virgil's successful revitalization of the genre of epic.⁴⁴ In order to set in motion the second, Iliadic, half of the poem Juno, a typically angry epic god, employs a character more at home in tragedy than in epic, the Fury Allecto.⁴⁵ Some readers see in

³⁸ See Pease on 4.86.

³⁹ On the schetliastic propemptikon see Cairns (1972), 7. Cairns (1989), ch. 6 takes the case for the influence of love elegy on the *Aeneid* as far as it can go.

⁴⁰ *culpa* at 4.19, 172 may be meant to put us in mind of the Aristotelian ἀμαρτία; see N. Rudd, 'Dido's culpa', in *Lines of Enquiry: Studies in Latin Poetry* (Cambridge, 1976), 32–53; J. L. Moles, 'Aristotle and Dido's hamartia', in McAuslan and Walcot (1990), 142–8; id., 'The tragedy and guilt of Dido', in Whitby, Hardie, and Whitby (1987), 153–61. In general see Pease (1935), 8–11; N. W. De Witt, 'The Dido episode as tragedy', *CJ* 2 (1907), 283–8; K. Quinn, 'Virgil's tragic queen', in *Latin Explorations: Critical Studies in Roman Literature* (London, 1963), 29–58; id. (1968), 323–49 'The contribution of tragedy'; F. Muecke, 'Foreshadowing and dramatic irony in the story of Dido', *AJP* 104 (1983), 134–55.

⁴¹ I have already pointed to the models of Catullus' Ariadne and, possibly, love elegy for Dido's speeches. Virgil looks back to the tragic models that underlie the hexameter narratives of Catullus 64 and Apollonius *Argonautica* 3, producing a tissue of quite extraordinary complexity, even by Virgil's standards. Dido is one of the most densely allusive of all Virgilian characters: see recently the convincing demonstration that Penelope is another important model by G. C. Polk, 'Virgil's Penelope: the Diana simile in *Aeneid* 1.498–502', *Vergilius* 42 (1996), 38–49.

⁴² E.g. A. Wlosok, 'Vergils Didotragödie. Ein Beitrag zum Problem des Tragischen in der Aeneis', in H. Görgemanns and E. A. Schmidt (eds.), *Studien zum antiken Epos* (Meisenheim, 1976), 228–50.

⁴³ See E. L. Harrison, 'Why did Venus wear boots? Some reflections on *Aeneid* 1.314f.', *PVS* 12 (1972/73), 10–25.

⁴⁴ For the argument see Hardie in Martindale (1997), ch. 20.

⁴⁵ Note especially the infernal *Lyssa* ('madness') used by Hera to drive Herakles mad in Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 822ff. On Allecto see Heinze (1993), 148–50; Pöschl (1962), 28–33; E. Fraenkel, 'Some aspects of the structure of *Aeneid* VII', in Harrison (1990), 253–76, at 258–65; Lyne (1987), 13–19,

Turnus, as much as in Dido, the pattern of a tragic career.⁴⁶ In the scene in the first book that corresponds to her evocation of Allecto Juno plays the part of the Odyssean Poseidon in raising a storm against her human enemy, but both in her opening monologue and in the ensuing storm description there are allusions to Roman tragedies on subjects from the Greek *Nostoi* from Troy.⁴⁷ The *furor* that rages through the poem owes as much to the madness and Maenadism of tragedy as it does to the anger and *thumos* ('battle-spirit') of epic.

Past to Present. History and Antiquarianism. Aetiology, Genealogy, Etymology. Cities and Sons. Cultural Histories.

The *Aeneid* contains implicit sketches of Greco-Roman literary history, but the poem's ostensible subject is the history of a nation, of a race, and of the leading families of that race. It quickly established itself as the national epic of the Romans, replacing Ennius' *Annals*. Whereas Ennius wrote a historical epic, recording Roman history sequentially from the Sack of Troy down to the most recent events of the second century B.C., the *Aeneid* may better be described as an aetiological epic, locating the origins of Roman history and culture in a legendary past. The decision to write about a Trojan hero allows Virgil to write a very Homeric kind of epic, but the concern to relate the Homeric past to a Roman present transforms the poem into a Hellenistic aetiological poem. The epic labours of the *Aeneid* have as their goal the foundation of a race (1.33 *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem* 'so great a struggle it was to found the Roman race'); from the time of leaving Troy the hero is programmed to found a city (in contrast to the 'city-sacking'

24–7. The generic change in *Aen.* 7 may thus be understood also as one from pastoral to tragedy: cf. Milton *Paradise Lost* 9.1–7 'No more of talk where God or angel guest | With man, as with his friend, familiar used | To sit indulgent, and with him partake | Rural repast, permitting him the while | Venial discourse unblamed: I now must change | Those notes to tragic; foul distrust, and breach | Disloyal on the part of man . . .'

⁴⁶ E.g. J. B. Garstang, 'The tragedy of Turnus', *Phoenix* 9 (1950), 47–58; M. von Albrecht, 'Zur Tragik von Vergils Turnusgestalt: Aristotelisches in der Aeneis', in M. von Albrecht and E. Heck (eds.), *Silvae: Festschrift für E. Zinn* (Tübingen, 1970), 1–5. Recent book-length studies of Turnus: P. Schenk, *Die Gestalt des Turnus in Vergils Aeneis* (Königstein, 1984); C. Renger, *Aeneas und Turnus: Analyse einer Feindschaft* (Frankfurt, 1985).

⁴⁷ See Austin on 1.44, 87, 88, 90, 102. Given the fragmentary state of the evidence, it is easy to overlook the importance of Roman tragic models for the *Aeneid*: see S. Stabryla, *Latin Tragedy in Virgil's Poetry* (Wrocław, 1970); Wigodsky (1972), 18–21, 76–97. Mezentius has the features of an Accian stage tyrant: see A. La Penna, 'Mezenzio: una tragedia della tirannia e del titanismo antico', *Maia* 32 (1980), 3–30.

hero of the *Odyssey*); the foundation of the city of Rome lies far beyond the chronological limit of the primary narrative, but is in an important sense the *telos* or goal of the poem. The *Aeneid* is thus a specimen of the 'ktistic' (foundation) epic popular in the Hellenistic period as an expression of national pride and antiquarian curiosity.⁴⁸

The story of the Trojan origins of Rome was first developed by Greek historians concerned to accommodate the history of the rising Mediterranean power within their own traditions, but by Virgil's time it had been willingly adopted by Romans as a way of articulating their relationship with the Greek East, and existed in many variants.⁴⁹ Virgil works freely with the tradition to create his own pattern of plot, introducing some stories into the Aeneas legend for the first time.⁵⁰ The Aeneas legend gained in prominence in the first century B.C. through the exploitation by Julius Caesar, and then by his adopted son Octavian (Augustus), of the claim that the Julian *gens* was descended from Aeneas' son Iulus (Ascanius);⁵¹ the *Aeneid* thus becomes an epic on the foundation of a dynasty as well as of a city. The wider craze among upper-class Romans for tracing Trojan ancestors is reflected in the *Aeneid* in the derivation of a number of other families from characters in the poem; for example the names of three of the four competitors in the ship-race are said to be the source of the names of Roman *gentes* (5.116–23).⁵²

The *Aeneid* delights in historical and antiquarian learning,⁵³ an aspect of the *Aeneid* which appealed particularly to the Virgil-worshippers of the 'pagan revival' of the late fourth- and early fifth-century A.D., anxious to maintain links with old Roman traditions in the face of a

⁴⁸ On the *Aeneid* as foundation-poem see N. M. Horsfall, 'Aeneas the colonist', *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 8–27; see also id., 'Virgil and the poetry of explanations', *G&R* 38 (1991), 203–11. The first sentence of the poem, after the opening *arma uirumque cano*, outlines a journey between two cities *Troiae . . . Romae*.

⁴⁹ See J. Perret, *Les Origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (281–31) (Paris, 1942); G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton, 1969); N. M. Horsfall, in J. N. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography* (London, 1987), 12–24; T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome, Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars* (c. 1000–264 B.C.) (London and New York, 1995), 63–8; E. S. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (London, 1992), 6–51.

⁵⁰ Particularly contentious is the question of whether Virgil invented the story of Dido's love for Aeneas: for the evidence see Pease (1935), 14–21.

⁵¹ 1.288 *Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo*. See S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford, 1971), 5–12.

⁵² The scholar and antiquarian Varro, an important source for the *Aeneid*, wrote a work *De familiis Troianis*; see T. P. Wiseman, 'Legendary genealogies in late-Republican Rome', *G&R* 21 (1974), 153–64.

⁵³ The keenest modern investigator of Virgil's expertise as scholar and antiquarian is N. M. Horsfall in many articles and a book, *Virgilio: L'epopea in alambiccio* (Naples, 1991).

triumphant Christianity.⁵⁴ Augustus' own stake in stressing the traditionalism of his régime was well served by the Alexandrian and late Republican traditions of antiquarianism obviously so congenial to Virgil, particularly in the field of religion (where Augustus invested so much of his ideological energy). The definition of Aeneas' goal at 1.5–6 is twofold: to found a city, and to bring the gods to Latium. As a priestly hero Aeneas departs from the Homeric models, but fittingly foreshadows the priestly role of Augustus.⁵⁵ The *Aeneid* provides *aitia* or models for various features of Roman religion, such as the distinction between the *omen oblativum* and the *omen impetrativum* (2.679–98),⁵⁶ or the practice of sacrificing with veiled head (3.405–7).⁵⁷ The aetiological book 8 is full of such things, most notably the *aitia* of the worship of Hercules at the Ara Maxima: Evander's protestation at 8.185–9 that the cult of Hercules is not the product of 'an empty superstition, ignorant of the ancient gods' further serves to root recent honours paid to the godlike Augustus in the traditions of Rome's remotest antiquity.⁵⁸

If *Aeneid* 8 is above all the book of Roman origins, the previous book sketches a very varied picture of early Italy, culminating in the colourful and often bizarre Catalogue of Italians at 7.641–817 (modelled on the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad* 2), which draws on Cato's *Origines* and Varro's *De Gente Populi Romani*. The Catalogue gives antiquarian and legendary depth to a gazetteer of Italy, catering for a pride in the primitive traditions of old Italy at the same time as fostering a sense that the past is a foreign country.⁵⁹ Augustus appealed as much to an Italian as to a narrowly Roman nationalism; at *Res Gestae* 25.2 he boasts that 'the whole of Italy of its own accord swore allegiance' to him in the war against Antony, and at *Aeneid* 8.678–9 on the Shield of Aeneas Augustus is depicted at Actium leading into battle the Italians together

⁵⁴ Comparetti (1895), ch. 5; R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarians and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, etc., 1988), ch. 5 'Servius'.

⁵⁵ See H. J. Rose, *Aeneas Pontifex* (London, 1948); the sacral mission of the Julian *gens* is stressed by E. Norden, 'Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit', in *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, 1966), 358–421, at 393–6; in general on religion in the *Aeneid* see Bailey (1935).

⁵⁶ Austin on 2.691; Heinze (1993), 32–4.

⁵⁷ Williams on 3.405.

⁵⁸ See Gransden on 8.187. On the historical and antiquarian allusions in *Aen.* 8 see Binder (1971).

⁵⁹ W. Warde Fowler, *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1918); B. Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italiens in Vergils Aeneis* (*Philol. Suppl.* 24.2, 1932); Fordyce on 7.641 ff., with further bibliography; C. F. Saylor, 'The magnificent fifteen: Virgil's catalogues of the Latin and Etruscan forces', *CP* 69 (1974), 249–57; W. P. Basson, *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid* (Amsterdam, 1975), 117–56. On the shorter Catalogue of Etruscans at 10.163–214 see Harrison (1991), 106–11.

with 'the senators and people' (i.e. the *Roman SPQR*). Sixty years earlier Rome had been at war with her Italian allies in the Social War (91–87 B.C.), a conflict arguably foreshadowed in the last half of the *Aeneid* in the war between an Italian confederation and the ancestor of the Romans. In the *Aeneid* Virgil's attachment to Italy, already displayed in the *Eclogues* and in the *Georgics*, engages with Augustus' policy of national unity.

In order to link the present with the past, aetiology and genealogy both exploit etymology. Names of peoples and places are linguistic bearers of historical or legendary origins; Virgil draws both on the Alexandrian poets' delight in etymologizing and on Roman linguistic scholarship, given encyclopedic treatment in Varro's *De Lingua Latina* (published in 45/4 B.C.). In the *Aeneid* etymologies cluster densely in lists or catalogues with historical or antiquarian content, such as the Parade of Heroes in book 6 or the Catalogue of Italians in book 7, but the etymologizing habit is ubiquitous in the poem and is applied to all kinds of words, not just proper names.⁶⁰

Cities and Sons

The *Aeneid* is concerned not just to locate the origins of the present in the past, but also to narrate the processes of change, smooth or violent, by which the present develops from the past. In this epic of exile the hero and his people are in a state of transition, forced by circumstances into a journey towards a future that remains to be fashioned (whereas the wanderings of Odysseus are directed towards the recovery of a past stability).⁶¹ One effect of writing a national epic from the perspective of a remote legendary past is to create a sense of the distance travelled between that past and the present. The Romans never tired of marveling at what a mighty oak of a city had grown from so small an acorn: Virgil's key statement of this amazing growth is placed at the point where Aeneas first approaches the pastoral settlement of Evander on the

⁶⁰ Virgilian etymology is now treated exhaustively in O'Hara (1996), with an introduction placing Virgil's practice within the whole history of ancient etymology (see in particular 102–11 'The poetic function of Vergilian etymologizing'), and a comprehensive catalogue of individual Virgilian etymologies (erring deliberately on the side of caution as to what counts as an etymology); for a more speculative study of the etymological associations of proper names see M. Paschalis, *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names* (Oxford, 1997).

⁶¹ The Roman sense of national identity seems bound up with myths of exile and outlawry (as in the case of the foundation story of Romulus; the first Romans are emphatically *not* autochthonous); see C. Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (Cambridge, 1996), ch. 5 'The city of exiles'.

site of the future world city, 8.98–100 *cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum | tecta uident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo | aequauit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat*. ('in the distance they see the walls, the citadel, and the scattered dwellings, which Roman power has now brought level with the heavens, but which then Evander ruled as his poor domain'). Evander's guided tour of his settlement is glossed by the narrator with references to the present-day appearance of Rome, so that, as in a double exposure, the reader sees the gilded temples of Augustan Rome superimposed on the rustic landscape.⁶² Change and growth is the law for the new city-to-be of Rome, which as, in a sense, the true hero of the poem is subject to the imperative imposed on the epic hero to be the best and greatest.⁶³ An object lesson in how not to refound Troy is provided by the city of Helenus and Andromache at Buthrotum, an exact miniature replica of the destroyed city, but one trapped in a sterile obsession with a dead past (3.349–51).⁶⁴

Before ever the wondrously mutating city of Rome is founded, the line from past to present is traced through a succession of different cities, Troy, the 'city' in the form of the camp thrown up by the Trojans on first landing at the mouth of the Tiber,⁶⁵ Lavinium, Alba Longa, and then Rome. Two of these cities are violently overthrown: Alba Longa (as later Carthage) is destroyed in the course of Rome's relentless expansion, while without the destruction of Troy there would have been no Trojan exile, and hence no Rome. Aeneas' task in book 2 is to detach himself from the horror of the Sack of Troy,⁶⁶ in order to ensure the survival of himself and his line. Cities are violently destroyed and must be replaced with new and better cities; the continuity of the bloodline must be preserved at all costs. The most hackneyed image of the *Aeneid* is that of Aeneas leaving Troy with his father on his shoulders and his son at his side, and it encapsulates the poem's central (and centrally

⁶² Edwards (n. 61), 30–43, 52–63. For other examples of the contrast between humble past and mighty present see Prop. 4.1; Tib. 2.5; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.509–36.

⁶³ On this imperative see Hardie (1993), 3–10. The wrath of Juno at the beginning of the poem has as its correlate not a quarrel between human heroes, but one between the cities of Carthage and Rome for world-empire (1.12–22); within the narrative the *aition* for the Punic Wars is the wrath of the slighted Dido.

⁶⁴ See Quint (1993), ch. 2; Hardie (1993), 15–17; M. Bettini, 'Ghosts of exile: doubles and nostalgia in Vergil's *parva Troia* (*Aeneid* 3.294 ff.)', *CSCA* 16 (1997), 8–33.

⁶⁵ Pointedly called an *urbs* on several occasions: Hardie (1994), 10–11. Jupiter foretells the sequence of foundations at 1.261–77. On the theme of cities in the *Aeneid* see J. Morwood, 'Aeneas, Augustus, and the theme of the city', *G&R* 38 (1991), 212–23.

⁶⁶ Modelled in part on Ennius' account of the sack of Alba Longa: see Austin on 2.313, 486 ff. On the epic and historiographical set-piece of the sacking of a city see G. M. Paul, 'Urbs capta: sketch of an ancient literary motif', *Phoenix* 36 (1982), 144–55.

epic) concern with fathers and sons.⁶⁷ This is another place where a Homeric theme intersects with a Roman, and specifically Augustan, obsession: the upper-class Roman families' cult of their ancestors, the desire of sons to live up to the virtuous deeds of their fathers and remoter ancestors, and the concern to perpetuate the male line become the expression of dynastic policy in Augustus' cult of the deified Julius and in his anxiety to ensure the succession.⁶⁸ In the *Aeneid* the generational cohesion of the Julian family with its past is represented through Aeneas' celebration of anniversary funeral games for his father in book 5, foreshadowing the games held in honour of Julius Caesar by Octavian in 44 B.C.,⁶⁹ and in Aeneas' otherworldly pilgrimage in book 6 to his dead past, where Anchises reassures his son of the success of future generations. Within the main narrative Ascanius/Iulus is the bearer of the family's hopes for the future: the divine guarantee of those hopes given by the omen of the flame around Ascanius' head at 2.679–86 is finally confirmed in Apollo's prophetic reaction to the boy's first success in war at 9.621–58.⁷⁰ On the human level Aeneas' last instruction to his son is to live up to the examples of courage offered by himself and Ascanius' uncle, Hector (12.432–40).⁷¹

Ascanius' success and survival mirrors that of Telemachus, who by the end of the *Odyssey* has proved himself as the worthy son of his father Odysseus, but Ascanius is the exception in the list of young men (and a woman, Camilla) in the *Aeneid* who die before their time and bring only grief to their fathers: Polites (cut down before the eyes of his father

⁶⁷ The subject of M. O. Lee's stimulating *Fathers and Sons in Virgil's Aeneid* (Albany, N.Y., 1979).

⁶⁸ On the importance of family traditions see J. Griffin, 'The creation of characters in the *Aeneid*', in Griffin (1985), 183–97. As *pater patriae* Augustus becomes the ideal father of all the Romans—and perhaps the ideal son of all the great Romans of the past, a relationship given visual expression both at the funeral of Augustus, accompanied by the *imagines* of all the Roman great men of the past, not just members of the Julian *gens* (Dio 56.34), and in the Forum of Augustus, with its galleries of statues both of members of the Julian *gens* and of other great Romans, with the statue of Augustus as *pater patriae* in the centre of the Forum. The statue galleries have often been compared with the Parade of Heroes in *Aen.* 6: e.g. H. T. Rowell, 'Virgil and the Forum of Augustus', *AJP* 62 (1941), 261–76; although a direct connection is questioned by A. De Grassi, 'Virgilio e il Foro di Augusto', *Epigraphica* 7 (1945), 88–103.

⁶⁹ The connection between the comet of 44 B.C., taken as a sign of Julius' apotheosis, and Aescetes' flaming arrow (5.522–8) was denied by Heinze (1993), 133, but is convincingly defended by D. West, 'On serial narration and on the Julian star', *PVS* 21 (1993), 1–16; see also Drew (1927), ch. 2. For other contemporary resonances of the games in *Aen.* 5 see A. Feldherr, 'Ships of state: *Aeneid* 5 and Augustan circus spectacle', *CA* 14 (1995), 245–65.

⁷⁰ See Hardie on 9.621–71.

⁷¹ This scene is given a more pessimistic reading by Lyne (1987), ch. 4 'The hero and his son'. On Ascanius see also N. Moseley, *Characters and Epithets. A Study of Virgil's Aeneid* (New Haven, 1926), 47–67. See also M. Petrini, *The Child and the Hero: Coming of Age in Catullus and Virgil* (Ann Arbor, 1997).

Priam, 2.526–32), Polydorus, Nisus and Euryalus,⁷² Pallas, Lausus, and Turnus himself. The models for this series are Iliadic (Patroclus, Hector, Achilles) rather than Odyssean; the fragility of hopes vested in the coming generation was exemplified in a death that occurred as Virgil was writing the *Aeneid*, that of Marcellus in 23 B.C., with which Virgil chooses to conclude the first half of the poem (6.860–86).

From the point of view of Augustus this story of change and growth cuts in two ways: on the one hand through his restoration of stability in Rome Augustus is the preserver and guarantor of the structures of Roman tradition that have grown over the centuries; but on the other hand he is also in the position of an Aeneas, who must travel away from the wreckage of a previous order (Troy, Republican Rome) to a new dispensation.⁷³ The paradox of an irreversible 'Roman revolution'⁷⁴ that is based on an intensely conservative ideology of a return to the past is reflected in Apollo's riddling oracular instruction to the Trojans at 3.96 to 'search out your ancient mother' (the solution: the Trojan ancestor Dardanus came from Italy), so that Aeneas' journey is both an exile and a homecoming. Augustus seeks to disguise his unprecedented status as ruler by presenting himself as just another traditional Roman leader; in the *Aeneid*'s final *rapprochement* in heaven Jupiter reassures Juno that the Trojan newcomers in Italy will lose their name and merge into the traditional language and ways of the native Italians (12.833–7).

The *Aeneid* also places the story of the Trojans and their Roman descendants within the context of larger cultural histories, of a kind already used in the *Georgics* (see pp. 38–9 above). Jupiter's rapid survey for Venus' benefit of the whole of Roman history ends with a hint of the coming of a new Golden Age (1.291) that is made explicit in Anchises' prophecy of the career of Augustus at 6.792–4.⁷⁵ A more complex view of the development of human society is found in Evander's history of Latium at 8.314–36 that combines elements of a Hesiodic myth of ages with a Lucretian account of the evolution of civilization out of a state of 'hard primitivism', leaving it to the reader to fill in the dots and complete

⁷² See Hardie (1994), 23–34 (with bibliography); Farron (1993), 155–64 'Recent interpretations of the Nisus-Euryalus episode'.

⁷³ For the Sack of Troy in *Aen.* 2 as an allegory of the downfall of the Republic (Priam as Pompey) see A. Bowie, 'The death of Priam: allegory and history in the *Aeneid*', *CQ* 40 (1990), 470–81. For further discussion of historical allegory in the *Aeneid* see pp. 92–3 below.

⁷⁴ To use the title of Syme's classic book (1939), still valuable background reading for the student of the *Aeneid*, even if ch. 30 on the 'Organization of opinion' is now dated.

⁷⁵ On the Golden Age see ch. II n. 57 and ch. III n. 48.

the story from the effects of Aeneas' arrival in Italy down to the present day.⁷⁶ At 9.598–620 the Italian Numanus Remulus attempts a character assassination of the Trojans by contrasting a stereotype of a hardy and virtuous primitive Italy with an equally clichéd picture of the decadent Oriental; in the heat of battle Numanus aims more at rhetorical effect than at the truth.⁷⁷

The construction of a Roman cultural identity in the two centuries before Virgil's time is largely the history of the Romans' negotiation of their relationship to the kingdoms and civilization of the Greek East. It is possible that the war with Pyrrhus (280–75 B.C.), who claimed to be descended from Achilles, first made the Romans think of themselves as Trojans;⁷⁸ the *Aeneid* tells the surprising success story of a band of Trojan refugees from a city wiped out by a Greek expedition, whose descendants turn the tables by conquering the conqueror. This remoter history is foretold by Jupiter (1.283–5) and Anchises (6.836–40), and is figuratively foreshadowed in Aeneas' assumption of the role of the 'best of the Achaeans', Achilles, in his defeat of Turnus, who is doomed to reenact the death of the Trojan Hector. Already before that point a real Greek, Diomedes, has rather surprisingly acknowledged the superior military strength of the Trojan Aeneas, as an excuse for not allying himself with the Latin army (11.278–93). But the *Aeneid* does not simply tell of ultimate Roman military control of the Greek world; not least important of the stories of cultural transition told in the *Aeneid* is that of the 'Hellenization of Rome'.⁷⁹ As we read through the poem we find that a prejudiced hostility to all things Greek as expressed in the totally negative image of the dishonest and cunning Ulysses and his creature Sinon in book 2⁸⁰ and of the unscrupulous violence of Achilles' son Neoptolemus will be superseded by the piety and virtuous lifestyle of the Greek king who lives on the site of Rome itself, Evander ('good

⁷⁶ See Gransden (1976), 36–41; Thomas (1982), ch. 4. On Virgil's picture of Italy see also B. Tilly, *Vergil's Latium* (Oxford, 1947); H. J. Schweizer, *Vergil und Italien: Interpretationen zu den italischen Gestalten der Aeneis* (Aarau, 1967); A. G. McKay, *Vergil's Italy* (Greenwich, Conn., and Bath, 1970).

⁷⁷ See Hardie on 9.598–620, with further bibliography (esp. N. M. Horsfall, 'Numanus Remulus: ethnography and propaganda in *Aen.* 9.598ff.', in Harrison (1990), 305–15). 'Harvard School' readers are tempted to take Numanus' speech at face value: Thomas (1982), 98–100.

⁷⁸ Cornell (n. 49), 65.

⁷⁹ See Gruen (n. 49); Galinsky (1996), 332–63 'Greek and Roman'.

⁸⁰ Drawing on a persistent strain in the post-Homeric reception of the figure of Odysseus: Stanford (1963), chs. 7, 8, 10. It is worth noting that we only hear of Ulysses in the *Aeneid* through the words of characters with a *parti pris* (cf. also 9.602 *fandi fictor Ulixes* [Numanus]). On the developing image of the Greeks see A. Rengakos, 'Zum Griechenbild in Vergils Aeneas', *A&A* 39 (1993), 112–24.

man'), a Greek from whom the Trojans are happy to receive gifts of horses (8.551–3). It is something of a shock in a poem of Roman origins to find that there were Greeks at Rome before it was Rome; Virgil perhaps hints that the Roman cultural identity was always defined through a relationship with Greece. Similarly in the Catalogue of Italians in book 7 many of the old towns and heroes of Italy turn out to have Greek origins.

The most famous definition of the Roman cultural mission is given by Anchises at 6.847–53 in an epilogue to the Parade of Heroes.⁸¹ He tells the Roman to practise the arts of empire, just warfare, and law and order, and to leave excellence in sculpture, oratory, and astronomy to the Greeks (*alii*). This austere division between Greek and Roman arts is belied by its very context, the speech of a character in a Roman epic that challenges comparison with Homer himself. The *Aeneid* itself is the monument to the final naturalization on Roman soil of Greek cultural goods transported from the east, a journey parallel to that of its hero Aeneas, from east to west, from the world of Homer to the world of Augustus.

Plot and Narrative. Points of View. Ecphrasis.

In recent years increasing attention has been paid to the ways in which the narrative of the *Aeneid* works in giving shape to the raw material of its legendary and historical subject-matter, and to the ways in which it addresses the reader.⁸² As in the case of Virgil's manipulation of generic differences, these issues are far from having a merely formalist relevance, and impinge on the widest questions of meaning and our response to the text. The shape of the story or stories within the text reflects the historical and ideological narratives used by the Roman ruling class to legitimize its power. The authority of the epic narrator, and the degrees of knowledge or uncertainty attainable by characters within the narrative, mirror competitions going on in the world outside the text between rival sources of authority and knowledge.

⁸¹ H. Hine, 'Aeneas and the arts (Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.847–50)', in Whitby, Hardie, and Whitby (1987), 173–83.

⁸² On the distinction between the story and the way that it is told see S. Chatman, *Story and Discourse* (Ithaca, 1978). Introductory works on narratology: G. Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (Ithaca, 1980); M. Bal, *Narratology* (Toronto, 1985). On Virgilian narratology see D. Fowler in Martindale (1997), 259–70.

Beginnings and endings are matters of especial concern for an epic poem, which has to decide where to start and where to stop within the vast span of legendary and historical time that is its legitimate territory. Ovid's hexameter poem the *Metamorphoses* boldly chooses to include the whole of recorded time, 'from the first beginnings of the world down to my own day' (1.3–4). But the *Aeneid*, like the two Homeric epics, opts for a discrete section of a longer story, whether we view that longer story as the whole of the prehistory and history of Rome, of which the *Aeneid* narrates only a small part of the prehistory, or as the story of the poem's hero Aeneas, of which we are told only the segment from his forced departure from Troy to his forcible assertion of his right to settle in Italy by the killing of Turnus.⁸³ Heinze stressed Virgil's concern to impose on the *Aeneid*, and on its constituent books and episodes, the unity of action (in the sense of a complete action, consisting of an integrated beginning, middle, and end) which Aristotle demanded of the good tragedy and also identified in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.⁸⁴ Heinze also showed that Virgil is more 'dramatic' than Homer both in the tightness and streamlining of his plotting, and in his creation of surprising and emotional turns of plot. Book 1 begins not with the Sack of Troy, which will be related in flashback by the internal narrator Aeneas in books 2 and 3, but with the sudden violence of the storm unleashed by Juno and calmed by Neptune.

This is a classic example of the *in medias res* epic beginning, but at the same time it sketches out a pattern of opening and closing that determines the movement of the whole poem, and, beyond that, of the whole of Roman history.⁸⁵ The Storm is a very literal opening, as the winds rush out when Aeolus opens their prison-house (1.81–3). When Neptune calms the storm he tells the winds that their ruler, Aeolus, should keep them closed up in their prison (1.140–1). This mythological closing is echoed at the end of the speech in which Jupiter calms Venus' distress at the near-annihilation of her son with a preview of the whole

⁸³ The events of the poem are squeezed into about twenty days, separated by longer or shorter intervals: Heinze (1993), 265–6.

⁸⁴ Heinze (1993), 348–69.

⁸⁵ The phrase *in medias res* comes from Horace *Ars Poetica* 148 (see Brink ad loc.). On the Storm and its functions as a beginning to the poem see Pöschl (1962), 13–24 (using the musical analogy of an 'overture' to analyse the Storm's introductory presentation of major themes in the epic); Otis (1964), 227–35; R. D. Williams, 'The opening scenes of the *Aeneid*', *PVS* 5 (1965/66), 14–23. See also A. D. Nuttall, *Openings: Narrative Beginnings from the Epic to the Novel* (Oxford, 1992), ch. 1 (focusing mostly on the first eleven lines of the poem). In general on the issues connected with literary beginnings see F. M. Dunn and T. Cole (eds.), *Beginnings in Classical Literature*, *YCS* 29 (1992); E. W. Said, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (New York, 1975).

glorious history of his descendants, concluding with a vision of the final closing of the Gates of War under Augustus, imprisoning a personification of *Furor*, roaring in his frustration like the winds in Aeolus' cave (1.293–6; cf. the winds at 1.55–6). The *pax Augusta* is the remoter ending of the story told in the *Aeneid*. Literary openings and closings here enter the world of history, via the particular institution (self-consciously revived by Augustus) of the opening and closing of the gates of the temple of Janus to mark the start and conclusion of war.⁸⁶ The rhythm of war and peace that defines the course of Roman history is generalized in the *Aeneid* into a recurrent pattern of the release of violence or madness (*furor*) followed by the painful reimposition of peace and calm, of chaos followed by the restoration of order. The whole of the second half of the poem conforms to this model: the martial frenzy unleashed through the eruption of the Fury Allecto from her Tartarean confinement will only be appeased through the death of Turnus.

The gods who stand, respectively, for chaos and order in the narrative, Juno and Jupiter, are themselves associated with opening and closing.⁸⁷ Where Juno keeps on opening up sources of disruption, Jupiter, the god of Fate, strives to impose a closure on the narrative that will guarantee the success of an 'official version' in which Aeneas and his Roman descendants complete their goal of overcoming their enemies and establishing a final settlement.⁸⁸ At the end of the *Aeneid* Jupiter strikes a deal with Juno allowing the Trojan settlement in Italy, and then intervenes on earth to frighten off Juturna, whose support for her brother Turnus threatens endlessly to defer the conclusion of the battle. Turnus recognises that it is really Jupiter who is his enemy (12.895); Aeneas completes the plan of Fate with a spear-throw that is compared in a simile to the thunderbolt of Jupiter (12.922–3), followed up with a final sword-thrust.

Finis. But this most conclusive of endings, the death of the hero's enemy, is also an open ending, leaving more stories to be told, more

⁸⁶ See Ogilvie on Livy 1.19.1–4; Williams (1968), 426–8. On the *Belli Portae* in the *Aen.* see D. Fowler, 'Opening the gates of war (*Aen.* 7.601–40)', in Stahl (1998), 155–74.

⁸⁷ Feeney (1991), 137–8; D. Herschkowitz, *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius* (Oxford, 1998), ch. 2.

⁸⁸ On the clausal devices of the *Aen.* see P. R. Hardie, 'Closure in Latin epic', in D. H. Roberts, F. M. Dunn, and D. Fowler (eds.), *Classical Closure* (Princeton, 1997), 139–62; R. N. Mitchell-Boyask, 'Sine fine: Virgil's masterplot', *AJP* 117 (1996), 289–307. In general on the theoretical issues involved see D. P. Fowler, 'First thoughts on closure: problems and prospects', *MD* 23 (1989), 75–122; id., 'Second thoughts on closure', in D. H. Roberts et al., *Classical Closure*, 3–22. On the death of Turnus see also pp. 99–101 below.

outbreaks of chaos to be reduced to order. (And paradoxically it is an outburst of chaotic emotion that impels Aeneas to deliver the *coup de grâce*.) Since the narrative of the poem stops at a point in the remote past, it is only through a series of repetitions of its plot structure reaching down to Virgil's own day that it can function adequately as a blueprint for the whole of Roman history. The repetitions within the narrative (the unleashing of Allecto in book 7 'repeats' the unleashing of the storm in book 1)⁸⁹ must be extrapolated beyond the limits of the narrative to take us in time down to Augustus. Even in the apparently final reconciliation between Jupiter and Juno (12.791–842) allusion to an Ennian Council of the Gods at a later point in mythical time indicates that Juno's hostility towards the Romans will need to be assuaged again in the future.⁹⁰ The major prophetic episodes sketch sequences of repetition, of wars (the Speech of Jupiter at 1.254–96; the Shield of Aeneas at 8.626–731), and of generations of Roman heroes (the Speech of Anchises at 6.756–886), which are capped with divine assurances of a triumphant conclusion that the reader may however experience more as pious hopes than as fixed certainties. The Speech of Anchises offers two endings: the universal rule of Augustus (6.791–805), an end to history, and the untimely death of the younger Marcellus (6.860–86), yet another of the many funerals in the poem and one that cheats Augustus' nephew of the triumph that he might have expected. David Quint has shown how the plot of the *Aeneid* is held in tension between two forms of repetition, 'regressive repetition' in the sense of an 'obsessive circular return to a traumatic past', and 'repetition-as-reversal' that allows an element of difference by which the past is mastered.⁹¹ Quint also uses the Renaissance codification of the distinction between epic (as a clearly structured narrative that achieves its goal) and romance (as a narrative of proliferating wanderings or adventures in search of an endlessly deferred goal) to think about the earlier history of the epic tradition.⁹²

History is the winners' story, but the *Aeneid*, the story of Roman success, is hospitable to other versions and other points of view. The

⁸⁹ Allecto and Storm: Otis (1964), 233–4, 328; Pöschl (1962), 71–85; Buchheit (1963), 59–85.

⁹⁰ D. C. Feeney, 'The reconciliations of Juno', in Harrison (1990), 339–62.

⁹¹ D. Quint, 'Repetition and ideology in the *Aeneid*', *MD* 24 (1991), 9–54; see also Hardie (1993), 14–18. Quint, like other recent analysts of epic narrative, draws on the psychoanalytic narrative theory of P. Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (New York, 1985).

⁹² Quint (1993), 31–41; see also C. Burrow, *Epic Romance. Homer to Milton* (Oxford, 1993), ch. 2 on Virgil. For reflections on the *Aeneid*'s attempt to arrest the mutability of historical process see P. R. Hardie, 'Augustan poets and the mutability of Rome', in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (Bristol, 1992), 59–82.

divine and human opponents of Aeneas try to write their own stories, viewed as an alternative 'fate' to Jupiter's script, Fate. Juno fosters Carthaginian world-rule, 'if the fates somehow might allow it' (1.17–18); Turnus asserts that he too has his fated duty, to extirpate the criminal race of Trojan wife-snatchers (9.136–7).⁹³ Even if these alternative scripts are rudely swept away by the juggernaut of Roman Fate, the losers' stories may be told from a point of view that elicits the reader's sympathy.⁹⁴ The *Aeneid* shows characters acting in the grip of strong emotions, and also aims at arousing strong emotions in the reader. Heinze identified this as another of the tragic qualities of the poem, seeing a direct connection between the Aristotelian tragic emotions and the astonishment, pity, and fear that the Virgilian narrative arouses.⁹⁵ Otis, in his analysis of what he called Virgil's 'subjective style', drew attention to the ways in which the narrative manipulates the reader's feelings by making us empathize and sympathize with the characters.⁹⁶ This kind of approach has been given new sharpness and sophistication by the application of modern theoretical approaches to narrative 'focalization', another way of saying the point of view from which an event is seen or experienced.⁹⁷ For example, at 4.281 *ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras* ('he is burning to depart in flight and leave the sweet land'), although it is the narrator who speaks, *dulcis* 'sweet' is said from the point of view of, focalized through, the character of Aeneas, torn between the urge to leave and the attractions of Carthage.

The activity of viewing, and of reacting to and interpreting what is viewed, is inscribed in the text in the device of ecphrasis, the formal description of a work of art that challenges the poet's powers of evoking images through words.⁹⁸ On five occasions Aeneas is confronted with

⁹³ For the idea of conflicting sets of fates see Bailey (1935), 212–13; W. Pötscher, *Virgil und die göttlichen Mächte: Aspekte seiner Weltanschauung* (Hildesheim and New York, 1977), 63–6.

⁹⁴ The conflict between 'winners' stories' and 'losers' stories' in epic texts is a central concern of Quint (1993).

⁹⁵ Heinze (1993), 370–3.

⁹⁶ Otis (1964), ch. 3, 'The subjective style'. Otis, however, drew too sharp a distinction between Virgil's 'subjective' and Homer's 'objective' style; recent narratological analyses of Homer have exploded the idea of a totally impartial and detached Homeric narrator: see I. J. F. De Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad* (Amsterdam, 1987). Farron (1993) argues that the *Aeneid*'s chief aim is to work on the reader's emotions, rather than to convey messages.

⁹⁷ On issues connected with focalization see D. P. Fowler, 'Deviant focalisation in Virgil's *Aeneid*', *PCPS* 36 (1990), 42–63; M. Bonfanti, *Punto di vista e modi della narrazione nell'Eneide* (Pisa, 1985); Conte (1986), 152–4.

⁹⁸ Ecphrasis has been the subject of intense theoretical attention in recent years, as a privileged locus for the study of the relationship between text and image: see D. Fowler, 'Narrate and describe:

artworks (or something like an artwork) that call for a reaction: (i) the scenes of the Trojan War in the temple of Juno at Carthage (1.450–93);⁹⁹ (ii) the scenes of Theseus and the Minotaur sculpted by Daedalus on the temple of Apollo at Cumae (6.14–37);¹⁰⁰ (iii) the Parade of Heroes in the Underworld (6.756–892; not a work of art as such, but a ghostly procession of statue-like figures); (iv) the Shield of Aeneas (8.626–731);¹⁰¹ (v) the swordbelt of Pallas (described at 10.495–9 at the moment when Turnus takes it from the body of Pallas, and viewed by Aeneas with fatal consequences at 12.941–6).¹⁰² The third and fourth of these are visual embodiments of epic narratives on the later history of Rome (both the Parade of Heroes and Shield of Aeneas contain Ennian allusion); Anchises uses the Parade of Heroes to fire Aeneas' nationalist spirit (6.888–9) in a manner paradigmatic for the effect of the *Aeneid* on its contemporary readership, whereas with the Shield there is an ironic gap between the craftsman Vulcan's (and the reader's) knowledge of the meaning of the scenes (8.627–8) and Aeneas' ignorance thereof (8.730). The scenes in the temple of Juno and the swordbelt of Pallas both trigger memories of the past in Aeneas, in the former case of the events represented in the temple, in the latter of an event with which the object has been accidentally associated. The Sibyl recalls Aeneas from his idle contemplation of the scenes on the temple of Apollo to the need for action in the here and now. In their various ways all these scenes raise issues of the interpretation and thematic relevance of artworks not just for the character Aeneas, but for the reader who observes Aeneas observing. The scene of the Danaids murdering their bridegrooms on the swordbelt of Pallas has a symbolic relevance to the deaths of both Pallas and Turnus that operates at a level separate from the logic of cause and effect within the narrative action. Likewise, for a careful reader the scene of the labyrinth on the temple of Apollo foreshadows

the problem of ekphrasis', *JRS* 81 (1991), 25–35; A. Laird, 'Sounding out ekphrasis: art and text in Catullus 64', *JRS* 83 (1993), 18–30; J. Elsner, *Art and Text in Roman Culture* (Cambridge, 1996); A. Barchiesi in Martindale (1997), 271–81.

⁹⁹ R. D. Williams, 'The pictures on Dido's temple (*Aen.* 1.446–93)', *CQ* 10 (1960), 145–51; D. Clay, 'The archeology of the temple to Juno in Carthage', *CP* 83 (1988), 195–205; A. Barchiesi, 'Rappresentazioni del dolore e interpretazione nell'Eneide', *A&A* 40 (1994), 109–24; M. C. J. Putnam, 'Dido's murals and Virgilian ekphrasis', *HSCP* forthcoming.

¹⁰⁰ W. Fitzgerald, 'Aeneas, Daedalus, and the labyrinth', *Arethusa* 17 (1984), 51–65; M. Paschalis, 'The unifying theme of Daedalus' sculptures on the temple of Apollo Cumanus (*Aen.* 6.20–33)', *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 33–41; Putnam (1995), ch. 4; S. Casali, 'Aeneas and the doors of the Temple of Apollo', *CJ* 91 (1995), 1–9.

¹⁰¹ D. West, 'Cernere erat: the Shield of Aeneas', in Harrison (1990), 295–304; Hardie (1986), ch. 8; Quint (1993), ch. 1; Gurval (1995), ch. 5.

¹⁰² Conte (1986), 185–95; M. C. J. Putnam, 'Virgil's Danaid ekphrasis', *ICS* 19 (1994), 171–89.

the labyrinthine journey through the Underworld that Aeneas is about to undertake. These imagistic and symbolic connections run not just between the ekphrases and other parts of the text, but between the ekphrases as works of art represented within the text and the work of art that is constituted by the text itself, so that our reading of them reflects on our own activity in reading the *Aeneid*. The Trojan scenes in the Carthaginian temple of Juno are a visual equivalent of the Epic Cycle, of which the *Aeneid* is as it were another instalment: when Aeneas 'reads' these scenes he does something similar to what we are doing as we read the poem of which this episode is a part.

In this, the first ekphrasis of the poem, Aeneas would seem to be an ideal reader and interpreter, in that as a leading player himself in the Trojan War he knows exactly what is depicted in the scenes. Ironically, he is not thereby automatically best placed to know what is the *meaning* of these scenes in their context.¹⁰³ The reader, who has recently witnessed Juno's furious attempt to destroy Aeneas, may suspect that in a temple of Juno the commemoration of the destruction of Troy serves purposes other than the glorification of a brave but doomed race, and pity for *lacrimae rerum*, as Aeneas takes it (1.461–3).

This scene is part of a sustained sequence of episodes in book 1 that explore models of controlling and making sense of narrative structures, in a way that may be taken as programmatic for the joint task of narrator and reader in the poem as a whole.¹⁰⁴ The kinds of generic allusion discussed above (pp. 57–63) are here put to very pointed use: Juno, in her enraged outburst at 1.37–49, takes as model for her desired punishment of Aeneas the model of Minerva's blasting of the impious lesser Ajax, an episode from the cyclic Nostoi that had been dramatized in a tragedy by Accius: this is her first attempt to rescript the narrative outline of the story of Aeneas and his descendants laid out by Jupiter as he unrolls the book of Fate for Venus (1.257–96). As we have seen, that imperious survey provides a model both for the rhythm of events in the rest of the *Aeneid* and in the longer story of Rome. But we may err if we assume easily either that Jupiter is a totally impartial narrator (like the traditional picture of the objective Homeric epic narrator), or that his

¹⁰³ Foreshadowing and irony are already found in Homer, but intensified in the *Aeneid* through Virgil's use of tragic models: G. E. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius and Vergil* (Princeton, 1933); Muecke (n. 40); Quinn (1968), 330–9, 'Tragic irony and insight'; K. J. Reckford, 'Latent tragedy in *Aeneid* VII.1–285', *AJP* 82 (1961), 252–69.

¹⁰⁴ The play of different 'voices' (the 'authorial' and the 'participatory') and of points of view in *Aen.* 1 is the subject of the suggestive article by C. Segal, 'Art and the hero: participation, detachment, and narrative point of view in *Aeneid* 1', *Arethusa* 14 (1981), 67–83.

blueprint will be faithfully followed in the sequel. For example, the simple image of the ending of war and the imprisonment of *Furor* hardly squares with the last scene of the poem, which certainly ends the war in Latium, but leaves us with the final picture of a hero who has not succeeded in bottling up his anger.

We as readers of the speeches of Juno and Jupiter are privy to a level of knowledge about the gods that is inaccessible to the hero of the poem.¹⁰⁵ This ironic disparity between what the hero knows and what the reader and the gods know is brought to a head in the poem's first encounter between a god and a mortal, when Aeneas meets his mother but does not know who she is, because she is in disguise. Aeneas is reduced to making guesses based on the way she looks (327–9), before Venus puts him straight—by deceitfully claiming to be just a typical Carthaginian maiden (335–7). The illusionism of the disguised and deceitful Venus leads naturally to her stagey tragic 'prologue' giving the previous history of Dido. The use of the prologue form suggests a model (that of the tragic heroine) for understanding the story of Dido that is accessible to the reader, but presumably not to Aeneas, who exists many centuries before the birth of Attic tragedy; similarly the reader, but not Aeneas, will be aware that Aeneas' questions to Venus at 327–9 cast himself and his mother in the roles of Odysseus and Nausicaa at *Odyssey* 6.149–52. This charade is ended when Venus reveals her true identity to Aeneas as she departs (402–5). But we cannot always rely on signs from the gods to correct our interpretative errors (and in any case signs from the gods, omens and oracles, can be notoriously tricky to read, as the Trojans discover for example at 3.84–191 in their attempt to obey Apollo's command to search out their 'ancient mother').

Aeneas proceeds to Carthage, where we have already seen him to be a possibly deluded reader of the scenes of the Trojan War. This process of matching new images to old memories continues when Aeneas' gaze is diverted from the striking image of the Amazon queen Penthesilea, last of the scenes in the temple, to his first sighting of the flesh-and-blood queen Dido. Penthesilea, the female ruler that Aeneas knew, is an immediate standard against which to measure the queen that he has never seen;¹⁰⁶ another image of Carthaginian femininity with which to

¹⁰⁵ On the divine point of view in the *Aeneid* see E. Block, *The Effects of Divine Manifestation on the Reader's Perspective in Vergil's Aeneid* (New York, 1981).

¹⁰⁶ See R. W. B. Lewis, 'On translating the *Aeneid*', in Commager (1966), 41–52, at 50–2; Williams (1983), 68–9; Conte (1986), 194–5.

match the proudly autonomous Dido will be that of the maiden huntress whom Aeneas (thought he) met in the woods outside the city. The simile at 498–502, the verbal image that together with the artistic image of Penthesilea textually frames the first entrance of Dido, asks to be focalized through the eyes of the viewer within the narrative,¹⁰⁷ Aeneas himself, who sees Dido through a haze of associations that may well incline him to love at first sight (the narrative situation is closely parallel to the typical occasion on which the hero of an ancient novel falls in love at first sight of the heroine). If it is correct to take this hint, then the models by which Aeneas frames his first reaction to the sight of Dido will indeed have momentous consequences for the ensuing narrative. Aeneas' busy matching of real woman with memory images is paralleled by the reader's work in making sense of the literary models alluded to in this scene, for the simile comparing Dido to Diana is closely based on the simile at *Odyssey* 6.102–8 comparing the Phaeacian princess Nausicaa to Artemis. The Homeric story of Odysseus and Nausicaa is one (but just one) of the many literary models with which we the readers, from our memory of earlier literature, will compare and contrast the Dido story in our search to make sense of it.¹⁰⁸ In one way we as readers are superior to the hero in our access to levels of knowledge denied to him, but in another way Aeneas' laborious attempts to make sense of and control the events into which he finds himself thrust are a model for the task of reading and interpretation imposed on the poem's audience.

¹⁰⁷ For another example of a simile that may be focalized through one of the characters rather than through the narrator see Williams (1983), 180 on *Aen.* 10.565–70 (is it the Italians who perceive Aeneas as like the monstrous Aegaeon?). The bee simile of the busy Carthaginians at 1.430–6 and the ant simile of the Trojans at 4.402–7 are focalized very literally through the eyes of the characters, respectively Aeneas and Dido, who in each passage are watching the scene from a high vantage point, so that people look small.

¹⁰⁸ For another example of a character in the text undertaking an act of interpretation analogous to that of the reader see J. J. O'Hara, 'Dido as "interpreting character" at *Aeneid* 4.56–66', *Arethusa* 26 (1993), 99–114, developing an argument in O'Hara (1990) that the interpretation of omens and prophecies by characters in the poem bears an analogy to the reading and interpretation of ambiguous works of literature such as the *Aeneid*. The reference to preexisting mythological or narrative models or examples ('exemplarity') on the part of both characters and readers in an allusive narrative such as Virgil's becomes the object of parody in what Conte calls the 'mythomaniac heroes' of Petronius' *Satyricon*, unable to rise above their constant temptation to see the sordid reality of their lives in terms of romantic mythical models: G. B. Conte, *The Hidden Author. An Interpretation of Petronius' Satyricon* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1996), ch. 1.

Character. Defining the Hero. The Godlike (Herculean) Hero. Epic Women.

The problems faced by Aeneas in establishing the correct frames of reference for the two females that he unexpectedly comes across at Carthage are also paradigmatic for the poem's concern to establish norms of behaviour, patterns of heroism, and the relationship between the individual and the society of which he or she is a part. Dido's eventually tragic instability is an understandable result of the new situation into which this woman has been thrust, formerly a devoted wife, but now a grieving widow who has to take on the role of a queen and lead her people into a new life in exile. Her career closely matches that of the hero Aeneas, who, from being a prince of a junior branch of the Trojan royal family with a good fighting record, is suddenly cast in the role of the leader of the survivors of Troy with a mission not only to establish a new society overseas, but also to lay the foundations for a race destined to world-rule in the distant future, but whose glory he will not live to see. The leader who must define his own role in the service of a new social and nationalist order emerging from the breakdown of a previous order—this is also the challenge facing Octavian/Augustus. The problems that confront Aeneas in his encounters both with other characters who would befriend or oppose him and with his own emotions and desires touch at many points the problems facing a ruler and his society in the far more complex world of late first-century B.C. Rome.

The definition of the hero in the *Aeneid* is also a matter of literary, cultural, and intellectual history. In creating a character¹⁰⁹ Virgil typically starts from a Homeric model, but then superimposes elements selected from the whole of the literary and cultural traditions that separate the age of Augustus from the age of Homer. This almost archaeological stratification of a character has encouraged some to see a linear development in the character of Aeneas, from an old-fashioned Homeric hero motivated by strong individualistic emotion to the socially responsible hero required in Virgil's Rome.¹¹⁰ But the modern reader

should resist the temptation to expect of an ancient epic the consistent and progressive development of character typical of the nineteenth-century novel.¹¹¹ The emotions that Aeneas feels at the very end of the poem (12.945–52) are hard to distinguish from his state of mind at the beginning of the story, when he wakes up to a realization that the Greeks are sacking Troy (2.314–17).

Two further general points are worth making about the relationship between Homeric and Virgilian concepts of the hero. Firstly, there is a fair similarity between the honour code and competitive individualism of the Homeric hero and of the traditional Roman Republican system of aristocratic values (whereas Homeric aristocratic values would have seemed far more anachronistic to a fifth-century Athenian theatre audience). If Aeneas has to rethink his relationship to his past, that past is perhaps better thought of as a time in the very recent past for Virgil's audience rather than as a distant legendary world of heroes.¹¹² Secondly, it is fallacious to see a simple contrast between an unreflective set of heroic values in Homer and the more complex demands imposed on a proto-Augustan Virgilian hero. The epic hero is always a problem: the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* already explore issues concerning the relationship of individual and community, the conflict between private emotion and duty, the need to integrate the warrior within the harmonious enclave of marriage and household, just as much as the *Aeneid* does.¹¹³ The *Aeneid* is certainly concerned to judge and revalue standards of heroic behaviour, but in this it is entirely conventional: the history of the epic tradition is the history of the revaluation of the hero.¹¹⁴

In looking at the various models from which the character of Aeneas is created, it may be more helpful to think in terms of role-playing than of character-development. The roles are bewilderingly numerous. Aeneas

(the religious hero); T. van Nortwick, *Somewhere I have Never Travelled: The Second Self and the Hero's Journey in Ancient Epic* (New York and Oxford, 1992) (using psychoanalytic models).

¹¹¹ In general on the issues of character and selfhood in antiquity see C. B. Pelling (ed.), *Characterization and Individuality in Greek Literature* (Oxford, 1990); C. Gill, *Personality in Greek Epic, Tragedy, and Philosophy. The Self in Dialogue* (Oxford, 1996).

¹¹² For a comparison of Homeric and Republican values see Thornton (1976), 1–12. The question of anachronistic modes of heroism in the *Aeneid* may be illuminated by recent work on Attic tragedy's exploration of the obsolescence of aristocratic values in a democratic society: see J. P. Vernant, 'The historical moment of tragedy in Greece', in J. P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Myth and Tragedy in Ancient Greece* (New York, 1988), 23–8.

¹¹³ On the problems of the Iliadic hero see esp. J. M. Redfield, *Nature and Culture in the Iliad: The Tragedy of Hector* (Chicago and London, 1975); Gill (n. 111), ch. 2.

¹¹⁴ Many read the *Odyssey* as implicitly reexamining and criticizing the models of heroism in the *Iliad*: see R. Rutherford, *Homer* (Oxford, 1996), 58–9. For the later tradition see J. M. Steadman, *Milton's Epic Characters* (Chapel Hill, 1968); J. A. Kates, 'The revaluation of the classical heroic in Tasso and Milton', *Comp. Lit.* 26 (1974), 299–317.

¹⁰⁹ The notion of 'creating a character' through the careful layering of diverse models is indebted to J. Griffin's excellent essay 'The creation of characters in the *Aeneid*', in Griffin (1985), 183–97.

¹¹⁰ The approach of Otis (1964). In general on the character of Aeneas see Camps (1969), ch. 3; Mackie (1988). For differing versions of the 'spiritual development' approach to the character of Aeneas see F. A. Sullivan S. J., 'The spiritual itinerary of Virgil's Aeneas', *AJP* 80 (1959), 150–61.

plays himself as an Iliadic character,¹¹⁵ but he must also act out other Iliadic parts, those of a Hector, guarantee of his city's survival, but also of a wrathful and avenging Achilles.¹¹⁶ His enemies try unsuccessfully to damn him as another Paris (4.215; 7.321, 363–4; 9.136–9). He must also play the part of an Odysseus, both as wanderer and as the slayer of the suitor Turnus in order to win his rightful wife, Lavinia. In his encounter with Dido he also relives some of the experiences of Apollonius of Rhodes' hero, Jason.¹¹⁷ Other sources are non-literary: later models for leadership include Hellenistic treatises on the good king,¹¹⁸ and the virtues of the good Roman general.¹¹⁹ In his anxious concern for the wellbeing of his comrades and dependents he displays the *cura*, responsibility, required of the *princeps*; his notorious taciturnity may reflect the reserved manner of Augustus himself.¹²⁰ Virgil is also alert to the intense scrutiny to which the behaviour and morality of the Homeric heroes had been subjected by the various philosophical schools; Odysseus in particular had been held up as the type of the Cynic or Stoic philosopher.¹²¹ The need for Aeneas to submit himself to the dictates of Fate, to endure impassively and to control his emotions, strongly suggests a Stoic framework for viewing his behaviour, and he sometimes speaks like a Stoic,¹²² but critics are sharply divided in their judgement as to how far along the path of the Stoic *proficiens* (philosophical learner) Aeneas has progressed by the end of the poem.¹²³

The Homeric hero is godlike, but always aware of his mortality.¹²⁴ The *Aeneid* milks to the full the pathos of mortality, dwelling obsessively

¹¹⁵ Diomedes excuses his refusal to support the Latins with his memory (rather exaggerated!) of Aeneas' prowess in the Iliadic fighting, 11.283 *experto credite*.

¹¹⁶ See above n. 11.

¹¹⁷ See Nelis (n. 26); B. E. Levy, 'Homer, Apollonius and the origins of Aeneas', *Vergilius* 7 (1961), 25–9.

¹¹⁸ Cairns (1989), chs. 2 and 3.

¹¹⁹ R. G. M. Nisbet, 'Aeneas Imperator: Roman generalship in an epic context', in Harrison (1990), 378–89.

¹²⁰ Feeney, in Harrison (1990), 187–9.

¹²¹ Stanford (1963), chs. 7 and 9; in the *Aeneid* Aeneas has some of the features of this version of Odysseus, whereas the Virgilian Ulysses stands in another tradition of judging Odysseus as the unscrupulous trickster (Stanford (1963), ch. 10). A typical example of this way of reading Homer is Horace *Epistles* 1.2, where the heroes of the *Iliad* are taken as examples of the bad effects of the passions, while Ulixes is 'a useful example of the power of virtue and wisdom' (*Ep.* 1.2.17–18).

¹²² E.g. his assurance to the Sibyl at 6.105 that no future ordeal can surprise him, *omnia praecepti atque animo mecum ante peregi* (see Norden and Austin ad loc.).

¹²³ Aeneas as a Stoic *proficiens*: Heinze (1993), 227; C. M. Bowra, 'Aeneas and the Stoic ideal', *G&R* 3 (1933/34), 8–21; M. W. Edwards, 'The expression of Stoic ideas in the *Aeneid*', *Phoenix* 14 (1960), 151–65; on Aeneas and the Cynic-Stoic ideal of the good king see Cairns (1989), 34–7.

¹²⁴ J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford, 1980); W. G. Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Poetry* (Baltimore and London, 1984), index s.v. 'Gods and Men'.

on young warriors cut down in the flower of their youth.¹²⁵ Homer focuses the contrast between the immortality of the gods and the transience of human existence in a famous scene (*Iliad* 16.431–61) in which Zeus is dissuaded by Hera from rescuing his mortal son Sarpedon from death at the hands of Patroclus. Virgil reworks this scene at *Aeneid* 10.464–73, in which Jupiter, remembering his own experience in the case of Sarpedon, consoles another of his sons, Hercules, to whom the young Arcadian fighter Pallas has just addressed a futile prayer for success in his forthcoming duel with Turnus.¹²⁶ Hercules had been a guest-friend of the Arcadians at the time when he rid the site of Rome of the monster Cacus in a titanic encounter retold to Aeneas by Evander at 8.190–275. This epic narrative within the epic is followed by ritual hymnic celebration by the Salii of the exploits of Hercules, now a god, at 8.293–302 (301 *decus addite diuis* 'a glory added to the gods').¹²⁷ Hercules is the great example of the suffering hero who transcends the Homeric barrier between mortal and immortal to become a god. He does not appear in the main narrative of the *Aeneid*, but his career is a model for the possibility of converting godlikeness into actual godhead, a reward that by Virgil's day was held out both to those who achieved philosophical (Platonic, Stoic) perfection and to the great and beneficent ruler.¹²⁸ The Homeric hero often has divine ancestry; the Virgilian hero elected by Fate both has divine ancestry and will himself be the ancestor of gods in the future (9.642, Apollo to Ascanius, *dis genite et geniture deos* 'begotten of gods and begetter of gods'). In his consoling speech in book 1 Jupiter assures Venus that she will raise her son Aeneas to heaven (1.259–60; cf. 12.794–5), whither in due course he will be followed by other great men in Rome's history: Romulus, Julius Caesar, and eventually Augustus.

¹²⁵ On the image of death in battle as defloration see D. P. Fowler, 'Virgil on killing virgins', in Whitby, Hardie, and Whitby (1987), 185–98.

¹²⁶ Barchiesi (1984), 16–30.

¹²⁷ Aeneas' story is already marked as 'Herculean' by the word *labores* at 1.10, 'labours' inflicted on him as on Hercules by a persecuting Juno. On the role of the Virgilian Hercules and the model that he holds up to Aeneas, see G. K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* (Oxford, 1972), 131–52; Gransden (1976), 17–20; see also J. W. Zarker, 'The Hercules theme in the *Aeneid*', *Vergilius* 18 (1972), 34–48; Feeney (n. 26); id. (1991), 156–61; Hardie (1993), 66–7. Otis, in his cheerfully optimistic reading of the poem, labels Aeneas a *theios aner* 'divine man' (Otis [1964], 219–22). See also N. W. De Witt, 'The influence of the saviour sentiment upon Virgil', *TAPA* 54 (1923), 39–50.

¹²⁸ In general on ruler-cult see L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, 1931); S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971); S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1984).

Gender: Epic Women

Epic is a very masculine genre, dealing in narratives of the male activities of quest and conquest. In Homer women are the cause (Helen and Briseis in the *Iliad*) and goal (Penelope in the *Odyssey*) of these male activities, but in the course of the narratives women tend to create obstacles and delays (Calypso and Circe in the *Odyssey*; in *Iliad* 6 Andromache tries to dissuade Hector from returning to the fight). The first two words of the *Aeneid*, *arma uirumque*, immediately strike a very masculine note, reinforced by the fact that in Latin the quality of the hero, *uir* 'virtue, courage', literally means 'manliness' (from *uir*).

Like the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid* is an epic that has as its goal (re)union in marriage. Aeneas' bride-to-be, however, is a strangely passive and enigmatic character who never talks in the poem (although for Oliver Lyne her blush at 12.64–9 speaks volumes).¹²⁹ Her actual marriage to Aeneas lies beyond the conclusion of the poem. Other images in the poem of the married state are characterized by loss and death (Priam and Hecuba, 2.506–58; Aeneas and Creusa, 2.735–46, 771–94), or by demonic disruption (the 'wedding' in the cave of Dido and Aeneas, 4.160–72, and its consequences; the crazed Maenadism and eventual suicide of Amata, wife of king Latinus, 7.373–405, 12.593–603);¹³⁰ stability is achieved only in a literal (Dido and Sychaeus, 6.472–4) or a figurative afterlife (Andromache and Helenus, 3.294–336).¹³¹ These negative images are related to the fact that Aeneas' divine opponent is the goddess of marriage, Juno, who in her very first intervention in the poem uses her power to perverted ends when she bribes Aeolus to unleash the winds with the sexual lure of a nymph in marriage.

The conflict that motivates the plot of the *Aeneid* is a strongly gendered one.¹³² On the divine level it is the opposition of the supreme male god Jupiter and his female consort Juno. Jupiter's sovereign rationality (as it appears at the beginning of the poem) is opposed by the forces of

¹²⁹ Lyne (1987), 114–25 [a shorter version of Lyne in McAuslan and Walcot (1990), 157–66]. Cairns (1989), ch. 7 argues unconvincingly that Lavinia's self-effacement itself marks her as the typical maiden of Greek choral lyric.

¹³⁰ On Amata see J. W. Zarker, 'Amata. Vergil's other tragic queen', *Vergilius* 15 (1969), 2–24; A. La Penna, 'Amata e Didone', *Maia* 19 (1967), 309–18.

¹³¹ Andromache's marriage in exile to Helenus is a throwback to the Trojan wedded households disrupted by the war; at the same time she is inseparably 'wedded' to the cenotaph of her first husband Hector. There are strong hints that Andromache exists in a kind of shadow land (see n. 64); on the episode see R. E. Grimm, 'Aeneas and Andromache in *Aeneid* 3', *AJP* 88 (1967), 151–62; G. S. West, 'Andromache and Dido', *AJP* 104 (1983), 257–67; Quint (1993), ch. 2.

¹³² See now the excellent discussion by E. Oliensis, in Martindale (1997), 303–11.

madness called up by Juno, above all through the agency of Allecto, a she-devil fertile in sowing chaos and discord. The hyper-masculine *furor* of Turnus is the result of possession by the female Fury; extremes seem to meet. Aeneas' other major opponent, Dido, is a real woman, who as a woman scorned turns into a kind of Maenad or Fury. Her tragedy seems to be partly the result of the fact that she is a woman forced to take on a man's responsibilities as the ruler of her people; many features link Dido to the even more monstrous woman in the second half of the poem, the 'Amazon' Camilla, who evokes in equal measure admiration and a fascinated horror, and who succeeds brilliantly for a while in the masculine world of war, before she disastrously reverts from being a warrior to a huntress in her pursuit of the spoils of Chloreus (11.782 *femineo praedae et spoliolum ardebat amore* 'she burned with a woman's love of booty and spoils').¹³³ These images of dangerous women out of their proper place might well remind a Roman audience of the 20s B.C. of that 'horror, the Egyptian wife' (8.688), Cleopatra, who according to Augustan propaganda had threatened the existence of Rome itself.¹³⁴

Before dismissing Virgil simply as a misogynist, or constructing a psychobiographical reading on the basis of hints in the ancient Lives that he was gay,¹³⁵ one should consider two female divinities whose role is not merely obstructive or destructive. In Cybele, or the Magna Mater, Virgil found a foreign goddess with a disturbingly orgiastic cult who had been made safe and installed at the centre of Roman religion (her temple was next to Augustus' house on the Palatine). At 9.77–122 the Magna Mater intervenes to save the Trojan ships from being burned by Turnus, by metamorphosing them into nymphs;¹³⁶ in a striking simile at 6.784–7 Anchises compares the all-powerful goddess Roma herself to the Magna Mater, mother of the gods.¹³⁷ Aeneas' own mother, Venus, is

¹³³ Camilla: Gransden (1991), 20–5; N. W. DeWitt, 'Vergil's tragedy of maidenhood', *CW* 18 (1924/25), 107–8; W. P. Basson, 'Vergil's Camilla: a paradoxical character', *Acta Classica* 29 (1986), 57–68; G. S. West, 'Chloreus and Camilla', *Vergilius* 31 (1985), 22–9; B. W. Boyd, 'Virgil's Camilla and the traditions of catalogue and ecphrasis (*Aeneid* 7.803–17)', *AJP* 113 (1992), 213–34.

¹³⁴ On Roman representations of Cleopatra see M. Wyke, 'Augustan Cleopatras: female power and poetic authority', in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (Bristol, 1992), 98–140.

¹³⁵ But the homoeroticism of the *Aeneid* stands in need of further study: for some thoughts see Hardie (1994), 33–4 (on the love of Nisus and Euryalus); Putnam (1995), 27–49 (suggesting a homoerotic charge to the relationship of Aeneas and Pallas).

¹³⁶ For further bibliography see Hardie on 9.77–122; add E. L. Harrison, 'The metamorphosis of the ships (*Aeneid* 9.77–122)', *PLLS* 8 (1995), 143–64.

¹³⁷ On the Magna Mater in Virgil and Augustan Rome see R. M. Wilhelm, 'Cybele: the Great Mother of Augustan order', *Vergilius* 34 (1988), 77–101; T. P. Wiseman, 'Cybele, Virgil and Augustus', in Woodman and West (1984), 117–28.

another goddess with a double nature, both a disruptive and irresponsible divinity of sexual desire, and as *Aeneadum genetrix* the nurturing mother-goddess of the Romans. In the *Aeneid* she disconcertingly appears in both roles, and even combines the two when she acts as sexual temptress to persuade Vulcan (who is at least her lawful husband) to forge a new set of arms for Aeneas at 8.370–406.¹³⁸

Many readers, from at least the time of St Augustine (*Confessions* 1.21) have of course sympathized more with Dido than with Aeneas. In recent years a number of feminist critics have started to look more closely at the ways in which women's voices make themselves heard in the *Aeneid*, finding in them alternative and even oppositional points of view that should not simply be silenced in the epic's celebration of the success of Roman arms and government. The cries of grief in the poem demand a hearing as well as the songs of triumph.¹³⁹

Structure

Recent studies on the narratology of the *Aeneid*, examining such issues as closure and narrative repetition (see pp. 71–4 above), have tended to supersede an earlier fashion for analysis of the structure of the poem in more static terms. An interest in the narrative dynamics of the text has replaced an appreciation of the 'architecture' of the poem; the figures on the well-wrought urn have leapt into an alarmingly unstable state of animation. Yet Virgil's own use of the image of a temple of epic poetry at the beginning of the third *Georgic* invites the reader to contemplate the carefully crafted symmetries of the poem. The *Aeneid* continues the intricate formal patterning of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*; but in Virgil's epic this Alexandrian *labor* coincides with the elaborate structuring of the narrative that articulates and lends coherence to the vast canvases of the Homeric poems.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Venus in the *Aeneid*: A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis* (Heidelberg, 1967).

¹³⁹ C. G. Perkell, 'On Creusa, Dido, and the quality of victory in Virgil's *Aeneid*', in H. P. Foley (ed.), *Reflections of Women in Antiquity* (New York etc., 1981), 355–77; S. F. Wiltshire, *Public and Private in Vergil's Aeneid* (Amherst, 1989), ch. 2 'Grieving mothers and the costs of attachment'; S. Georgia Nugent, 'Vergil's "voice of the women" in *Aeneid* V', *Arethusa* 25 (1992), 255–92; J. P. Sullivan, 'Dido and the representation of women in Vergil's *Aeneid*', in R. M. Wilhelm and H. Jones (eds.), *The Two Worlds of the Poet: New Perspectives on Vergil* (Detroit, 1992), 64–73. Books on women in Roman epic are under way by S. Georgia Nugent and A. Keith.

¹⁴⁰ On structural patterns in Homer see e.g. S. L. Schein, *The Mortal Hero: An Introduction to Homer's Iliad* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1984), 30–3; M. S. Silk, *Homer: The Iliad* (Cambridge, 1987), 37–46; O. Taplin, *Homeric Soundings: The Shaping of the Iliad* (Oxford, 1992); C. W. Macleod, *Homer: Iliad XXIV* (Cambridge, 1982), 16–35.

The most obvious formal feature of the Homeric poems is the use of formulaic repetition, regarded by the oralist school of the earlier part of the twentieth century as simply the result of the mechanics of oral composition, but viewed by recent Homerists more sympathetically as the bearer of poetic significance.¹⁴¹ No writer in Virgil's day would aim for the degree of repetitiousness of the Homeric poems, but Virgil does achieve a generally Homeric effect by a marked incidence of repetition, of stock epithets (*pius Aeneas*, etc.), formulaic introduction of direct speech, and the like.¹⁴² In many cases verbal repetitions alert the reader to more extensive relationships between their contexts: for example, the phrase *in ualle reducta* 'in a secluded vale' occurs twice, at 6.703 and 8.609, the setting firstly for the souls of the unborn in the Elysian Fields, and secondly for Venus' delivery to Aeneas of his new armour. Both vales, secluded from the main action of the poem, are the stage for major passages of prophecy, the Speech of Anchises and the Shield of Aeneas, passages which reflect each other in many ways. Another example: the phrase *stans celsa in puppi* 'standing on the lofty stern' (the place of the commander in a Roman warship) occurs thrice, at 3.527 of Anchises at the moment when he first catches sight of Italy and sees the omen of the white horses, portending both war and triumphal celebration of peace; at 8.680 of Augustus as he leads the Italians to the victory at Actium that will be celebrated in the triumph that forms the last scene on the Shield; and at 10.261 of Aeneas as he returns to his beleaguered camp to lead the Trojans to victory over the Latins. The formula highlights one of the poem's central themes, that of military struggle and eventual triumph, and its application to the three heroes Anchises, Aeneas, and Augustus highlights the importance of the generational continuity of the Julian gens for the successful history of Rome.¹⁴³

Another very pointed repetition is that of the phrase *soluuntur frigore membra* '[his] limbs are loosened in a chill', applied at 1.92 to Aeneas in his panic-stricken despair in the opening storm unleashed by his divine enemy Juno, and at 12.951 to Turnus as his life slips away through the

¹⁴¹ For accounts of Homeric repetition that seek to go beyond the mechanical approach of the oral school see Silk (n. 140), 67, 101–5; A. Kahane, *The Interpretation of Order: A Study in the Poetics of Homeric Repetition* (Oxford, 1994).

¹⁴² On Virgilian repetition see Moskalow (1982); and for a study in an older style see J. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford, 1931); for a case-study see C. P. Segal, 'Vanishing shades: Virgil and Homeric repetitions', *Eranos* 72 (1974), 34–52 (on 2.790–5, 5.738–45, 6.703–6, 12.952).

¹⁴³ Moskalow (1982), 136–9; Henry (1989), 115–21; Harrison on 10.261–2. My comments in fact touch only a few of the interconnections triggered by this phrase in the vast echo-chamber of the *Aeneid*, and which through the fire imagery of 8.680–1 and 10.261–2, 270–5 would take us on a tour of the fire imagery of *Aen.* 2 and its interaction with the theme of destruction and rebirth.

stroke of a victorious Aeneas, after Juno has finally agreed to abandon him to his fate. This repetition, at beginning and end of the poem, is part of a much more extensive ring-composition that links the storm scene and the death of Turnus.¹⁴⁴ The application of the phrase to the hero and his arch-enemy creates an inversion: by the end of the poem Aeneas, seen at the beginning in a condition of utter powerlessness, is in total control (of external circumstances, at least, if not of himself). Inversion is a powerful kind of repetition, in which the text alludes to itself but in a relation of opposition (in a manner analogous to the *intertextual* phenomenon of 'opposition in imitation'), and there are many examples in the *Aeneid*. For example, at the beginning of book 9 Juno sends down Iris to urge Turnus into battle (9.1–15); at the end Jupiter sends down Iris to warn off Juno from further aiding Turnus in the fight in the Trojan camp (9.802–5). A complex passage of recapitulatory repetition with ironic inversion is the final meeting of Aeneas with Dido in the Underworld at 6.450–76, that alludes to the whole course of the tragic relationship,¹⁴⁵ from an initial encounter in which one of the pair is less clearly visible than the other (Aeneas wrapped in a cloud at the moment when he first sees Dido in book 1, Dido at 6.452–4 hard to make out in the infernal shadows, like the moon peeping through clouds) to the final flight of one of the pair (Aeneas away from Carthage and towards a new wife in Italy in book 4, Dido away from Aeneas and back to her former husband Sychaeus at 6.472–4). The simile at 6.471 comparing the unresponsive Dido to a rock inverts the simile at 4.441–6 comparing Aeneas in the face of Anna's appeals on Dido's behalf to a firm-rooted oak-tree in an Alpine storm. Inversion also structures the poem's plot as a whole, a tale of a 'world destroyed and world restored'.¹⁴⁶

On a larger scale, the whole of the *Aeneid* is structured according to a complex and interwoven set of symmetries and contrasts.¹⁴⁷ There is a clear division between the two halves of the poem,¹⁴⁸ the Odyssean wanderings of the first half and the Iliadic war of the second half,

¹⁴⁴ On which see Hardie (1986), 177–80. On ring-composition see Moskalew (1982), 116–22.

¹⁴⁵ On this passage see M. von Albrecht, 'Die Kunst der Spiegelung in Vergils Aeneis', *Hermes* 93 (1965), 54–64; see also Hardie (1986), index s.v. 'inversion'.

¹⁴⁶ See P. R. Hardie, *PLLS* 9 (1996), 107–8, 113–14.

¹⁴⁷ Camps (1969), ch. 6 'Principles of structure: continuity and symmetry'; Otis (1964), Appendix 9; Perret (1965), 113–21, 'L'architecture de l'Énéide'; R. Lesueur, *L'Énéide de Virgile: Étude sur la composition rythmique d'une épopée* (Toulouse, 1975), 21–46 contains a useful survey of earlier schemes.

¹⁴⁸ G. E. Duckworth, 'The architecture of the *Aeneid*', *AJP* 77 (1954), 1–15. On the parallels between 1 and 7 see n. 89 above.

marked by the renewed invocation to a Muse at 7.37–45 and by the clear parallelism between Juno's rousing of the storm in book 1 and of Allecto in book 7, and between the deaths of young men (Marcellus and Turnus) that conclude books 6 and 12.¹⁴⁹ Another analysis discerns a tripartite structure,¹⁵⁰ the first four books containing the story of Dido, framing Aeneas' flashback narrative in 2 and 3, the last four concentrating on the battles in the war in Latium and the other main human obstacle to Aeneas' mission, Turnus, while the central four books are characterized by some relaxation of the narrative impetus and by a series of inset narratives, pageants, and spectacles that look both backwards to earlier events (the Games in book 5 on the anniversary of Anchises' death, the first part of Aeneas' journey through the Underworld in book 6, Evander's narrative of Hercules and Cacus in book 8), and forward to later Roman history (the Speech of Anchises, the Shield of Aeneas; the Games in book 5 also contain a variety of foreshadowings), while the Catalogue of Italians provides a survey of the geography and ethnography of primitive Italy.

Structural analysis may also be conducted at the level of the relationship between individual books. As in the *Georgics* there is (at least up to a point) an alternation between even-numbered books, darker and more pathos-charged, and odd-numbered books, lighter and more relaxed; this is most marked in the first half of the poem, where the intensity of books 2, 4 and 6 is punctuated by the generally calmer atmosphere of books 3 and 5.¹⁵¹ Significant relationships have also been traced between corresponding books in the two halves of the poem, whether that correspondence is sought (a) between the books in their linear sequence (matching 1 with 7, 2 with 8, etc.), or (b), as Otis suggests, according to a concentric arrangement in which (setting aside books 1 and 7 as the corresponding first books of their halves) 2 is matched with

¹⁴⁹ The clarity of this division into halves is complicated by the postponement of the invocation to Erato at the beginning of *Aen.* 7 until after the further narration of the Trojans' journey from Caieta, past the eerie island of Circe, to the mouth of the Tiber: on aspects of Virgil's transitional strategy here see P. R. Hardie, in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus* (Bristol, 1992), 66–9. In general on Virgil's use of book-divisions see E. L. Harrison, 'The structure of the *Aeneid*: observations on the links between books', *ANRW* II 31.1 (1980), 359–93.

¹⁵⁰ G. E. Duckworth, 'The *Aeneid* as a trilogy', *TAPA* 88 (1957), 17–30; W. A. Camps, 'A note on the structure of the *Aeneid*', *CQ* 4 (1954), 214–15; id., 'A second note on the structure of the *Aeneid*', *CQ* 9 (1959), 53–6, on the central place of the temple/council-chamber of Latipus. There is interesting comparative material in A. Fowler, *Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge, 1970), on 'triumphal patterns involving significant central points', and the 'numerology of the centre'. Symbolic centres in Virgil: R. F. Thomas, 'Virgil's ecphrastic centrepieces', *HSCP* 87 (1983), 175–84.

¹⁵¹ Heinze (1993), 363–4; R. S. Conway, 'The architecture of the epic', in *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), 129–49; Pöschl (1962), 165–73.

12, 3 with 11, and so on.¹⁵² Both schemes if pushed to the limit become Procrustean, but both yield interesting connections. For example, by the first scheme 2 is paired with 8, the book on the destruction of Troy with the book that proleptically tells of the foundation and growth of Rome, and at the end of each book Aeneas' piety towards family and nation is symbolized by a tableau in which he shoulders a burden, respectively his father (2.721–3: the past) and the shield on which are depicted the 'fame and fate of his descendants' (8.731: the future). By the second scheme 2, telling of the utter defeat of the Trojans by the Greeks, is paired with 12, in which Aeneas plays an Achillean role in bringing down Turnus.

Imagery, Allegory, Symbolism

The indefinitely proliferating network of interconnections in the *Aeneid* that is supported by the structural links discussed in the previous section is reinforced by Virgil's use of simile, metaphor, and allegory. Imagery often works to point up structure: Bernard Knox's still classic article on the imagery of book 2 showed how the structural pattern of destruction followed by the hope of rebirth is accompanied by recurrences of the images of serpent and flame: for example the (literal) serpents that kill the sons of Laocoon near the beginning of the book are echoed and inverted in the serpent-like flame that licks the head of Aeneas' son at 2.681–4, but which turns out to be an omen of salvation.¹⁵³

The imagery of the *Aeneid* operates at the levels both of small-scale detail and of whole books and of the poem as a totality; allegory and symbolism work further to project the meanings of the poem beyond the narrow confines of the narrative of Aeneas' career on to the larger historical canvas. At the microscopic level Virgil takes infinite pains with the traditional epic simile to establish 'multiple correspondences'¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Otis (1964), 217. Little support has been found for the numerological analysis of G. E. Duckworth, *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid: A Study in Mathematical Composition* (Ann Arbor, 1962), according to whom the whole poem is structured on the Golden Section, and Virgil is a Pythagorean.

¹⁵³ B. M. W. Knox, 'The serpent and the flame: the imagery of the second book of the *Aeneid*', *AJP* 71 (1950), 379–400 = Commager (1966), 124–42. Other explorations of the image structure of the *Aen.* that have worn well include F. L. Newton, 'Recurrent imagery in *Aeneid* 4', *TAPA* 88 (1957), 31–43; B. Fenik, 'Parallelism of theme and imagery in *Aeneid* 2 and 4', *AJP* 80 (1959), 1–24. For an example of imagistic structures operating over a larger span of the poem see J. W. Hunt, *Forms of Glory. Structure and Sense in Vergil's Aeneid* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1973), 84–95 on the parallel imagery linking Dido and Turnus, paired structurally as the chief obstacles to Aeneas in respectively the first four and last four books of the poem.

¹⁵⁴ The term is D. A. West's, in 'Multiple-correspondence similes in the *Aeneid*', in Harrison

between simile and surrounding narrative. So far from being merely ornamental pauses in the narrative, Virgilian similes serve to provide interpretative glosses on the action (whether focalized through the narrator or one of the characters),¹⁵⁵ and even to continue the narrative by other means, as for example the wounded deer simile at 4.69–74.¹⁵⁶

The wounded deer simile also fits into a much more extensive pattern of imagery that serves both to unify book 4 and to link it with other books. The 'wound of love' has already appeared in the form of a metaphor in the first two lines of book 4; by a typical Virgilian move the figurative wound turns into the literal death-wound inflicted on herself by Dido at the end of the book.¹⁵⁷ The movement between literal and figurative also characterizes the text's dealings with hunting: it is during the literal hunt at 4.129–72 that Dido, whose regal autonomy was illustrated at 1.498–502 in the simile comparing her to the virgin huntress Diana, fully realizes her victimhood in succumbing physically to the consequences of the psychological state of being a 'wounded deer'. The image of the hunt reaches out beyond the Dido story to embrace the scope of the whole poem, from Aeneas' first demonstration of his leadership ability after the catastrophic storm in literally hunting stags to provide food for his men (1.180–94) to the final 'hunting down' of his enemy Turnus in the simile at 12.749–55.¹⁵⁸

These densely woven imagistic patterns are one of the hallmarks of the Virgilian text, and a full understanding of their importance informs the seminal books by Pöschl (1962) and Putnam (1988).¹⁵⁹ Important precursors in the technique include the intricate image structures of Greek tragedy¹⁶⁰ and the scientific poem of Lucretius, which fuses the resources of literary imagery with a tradition of scientific analogy to

(1990), 429–44; id., 'Virgilian multiple-correspondence similes and their antecedents', *Philologus* 114 (1970), 262–75. On similes see also R. A. Hornsby, *Patterns of Action in the Aeneid: An Interpretation of Vergil's Epic Similes* (Iowa City, 1970); R. Riexs, 'Die Gleichnisse Vergils', *ANRW* II 31.2 (1981), 1011–1110; M. Coffey, 'The subject matter of Virgil's similes', *BICS* 8 (1961), 63–75; Lyne (1989), 63–99.

¹⁵⁵ See n. 107.

¹⁵⁶ See Lyne (1989), 77–9; see also index s.vv. 'narrative through imagery'.

¹⁵⁷ J. Ferguson, 'Fire and wound. The imagery of *Aeneid* 4.1 ff.', *PVS* 10 (1970/71), 57–63.

¹⁵⁸ Hunting: J. R. Dunkle, 'The hunter and hunting in the *Aeneid*', *Ramus* 2 (1973), 127–42. Other central images worked out in literal and figurative forms throughout the poem include Knox's flame and serpent, the storm, the mountain (on which see J. H. W. Morwood, 'Aeneas and mount Atlas', *JRS* 75 (1985), 51–9); for other aspects of fire-imagery see P. A. Miller, 'The minotaur within: fire, the labyrinth, and strategies of containment in *Aeneid* 5 and 6', *CP* 90 (1995), 225–40.

¹⁵⁹ For an earlier study of Virgilian symbolism see R. W. Crutwell, *Virgil's Mind at Work: An Analysis of the Symbolism of the Aeneid* (Oxford, 1946).

¹⁶⁰ P. R. Hardie, 'The *Aeneid* and the *Oresteia*', *PVS* 20 (1991), 29–45, at 31–4.

produce a text that satisfyingly expresses the Epicurean grand unified theory of the universe.¹⁶¹

Virgil uses his powers of 'associative integration'¹⁶² not merely to create a sense that everything within the text of the *Aeneid* is part of a tightly unified literary cosmos, but also to forge allegorical or symbolic links between events in the story of Aeneas and the whole of Roman history, and, beyond that, events in the largest framework of mythological history (this way of joining past to present often works in tandem with the use of prophecy or aetiology, discussed above, pp. 63–71). These larger signifying procedures can be viewed as an extension of the smaller-scale figurative devices just discussed; the ancient grammarians defined allegory as a trope, as simply an extended sequence of metaphors.¹⁶³ The very first simile in the poem, comparing Neptune calming the storm to a Roman statesman calming a mob (1.148–53), suggests a way of reading the mythological and legendary narrative of the poem as historical allegory.¹⁶⁴ Virgil provides other object-lessons within the poem on how to extend the meanings of the legendary narrative into the wider contexts when he incorporates discrete passages of explicit prophecy into the imagistic pattern of the text. Book 8, with its vision of Augustan Rome during Aeneas' tour of the site of Rome and the potted history of Rome worked on to the Shield of Aeneas by Vulcan, provides good examples. As well as looking forward in time, the book also looks backwards, in the epyllion-like narration by Evander of the earlier struggle on the site of Rome between Hercules and the monster Cacus.¹⁶⁵ The episode is virtually generated out of a drive to construct correspondences with other parts of book 8 and of the rest of the poem: at the end of history as recorded on the Shield of Aeneas this

¹⁶¹ On Lucretian analogy see A. Schiesaro, *Simulacrum et imago: gli argomenti analogici nel De rerum natura* (Pisa, 1990); on the affinities between Virgilian and Lucretian imagistic practice see West (n. 154 [1970]); Hardie (1986), 232–3.

¹⁶² This is the imaginative process discussed in J. Livingston Lowes' study of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination* (London, 1927); the parallel between Virgil and Livingston Lowes' account of Coleridge has been drawn by several Virgilian critics, e.g. Jackson Knight (1966), 102–3.

¹⁶³ Cic. Or. 94 *cum fluxerunt continuo plures translationes, alia plane fit oratio; itaque genus hoc Graeci appellant ἀλληγορίαν*. In general on ancient allegory, and Virgilian allegory in particular, see J. Whitman, *Allegory: The Dynamics of an Ancient and Medieval Technique* (Oxford, 1987); F. Buffière, *Les Mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris, 1956); Thornton (1976); A. Wlosok, 'Gemina doctrina: on allegorical interpretation', *PLS* 5 (1986), 75–84; Hardie (1986), 29–32; Farrell (1991), 257–72. On personification allegory: C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love* (Oxford, 1936); Feeney (1991), s.v. 'personifications'. See also pp. 56–7 above.

¹⁶⁴ On the statesman simile see Pöschl (1962), 20–3; Otis (1964), 229–30; S. J. Harrison, 'Vergil on kingship: the first simile of the *Aeneid*', *PCPS* 34 (1988), 55–9.

¹⁶⁵ Hercules and Cacus: G. K. Galinsky, 'The Hercules-Cacus episode in *Aeneid* VIII', *AJP* 87 (1966), 18–51; Buchheit (1963), 116–33; Hardie (1986), 110–18.

primal struggle between Olympus and the semi-bestial forces of hell will be repeated in the confrontation between the Greco-Roman pantheon and the animal-headed gods of Egypt at Actium (8.698–703). The hymn in praise of Hercules (8.285–305) that follows Evander's narrative alludes to the honour paid to Augustus after Actium of the inclusion of his name, together with other gods, in the *carmen Saliare*.¹⁶⁶ But the Hercules and Cacus story also foreshadows the fight between Aeneas and Turnus, so suggesting yet another connection between the victories of Aeneas and of his descendant Augustus.

This is only to begin unravelling the associations between the Hercules and Cacus story and other legendary and historical events. The connections between the episode and other parts of the *Aeneid* are an invitation to look for connections with events that are not made explicit in the text, but which would be known to the Roman reader. For example, the festival of Hercules at the Ara Maxima that the Arcadians are celebrating took place in historical times on 12th August; Aeneas thus arrives in front of the city-to-be on the eve of the three days, 13–15th August, on which Octavian celebrated his triple triumph in 29 B.C., thus suggesting a further connection between the victories of Hercules over Cacus and of Octavian over Antony and Cleopatra.¹⁶⁷ The narrative that Aeneas hears from the lips of Evander may be regarded as the Ur-epic on a (proto-)Roman saviour hero, and as such as the distant model of the *Aeneid* itself. If we push the analogy, just as the Hercules and Cacus episode functions as a multifaceted reflector of events both within and outside the text, so the *Aeneid* itself might be viewed as a colossal multiple correspondence simile for the whole of Roman history.

That national history is set within the still larger frame of cosmic and mythological history. In the first scene of the poem Aeneas appears to us

¹⁶⁶ See Gransden on 8.285.

¹⁶⁷ Drew (1927), ch. 1; Camps (1969), ch. 10 'Echoes of history'; Binder (1971), a massively detailed study of the historical allusions in book 8. Drew argues for historical allegory in *Aen.* 5 also; for other examples of historical allegory cf. e.g. N. M. Horsfall, 'Turnus ad portas', *Latomus* 33 (1974), 80–6 (Turnus at 9.47–53 prefigures Hannibal at the gates of Rome); Austin on 2.486 ff. (the sack of Troy probably modelled on the Ennian sack of Alba Longa); A. Bowie (n. 73). On reflections of Cleopatra in that other African queen Dido see Pease (1935), 24–8; Camps (1969), 95–6; on Dido as prefiguring later Carthaginian perfidy see N. M. Horsfall, 'Dido in the light of history', in Harrison (1990), 127–44. The way in which the legendary narrative of the *Aeneid* prefigures later historical events has sometimes been compared to typology, the practice of Biblical interpreters of reading Old Testament events as 'types' of events in the New Testament (e.g. Jonah in the belly of the whale as a type of Christ's descent to Hell); see K. Gransden (1976), 14–20; id., 'Typology, symbolism and allegory in the *Aeneid*', *PVS* 13 (1973/4), 14–27; D. Thompson, 'Allegory and typology in the *Aeneid*', *Arethusa* 3 (1970), 147–53; note the qualifications of Griffin (1985), 184–93.

as a storm-tossed Odysseus, but Hesiodic allusions in the description of the winds of Aeolus and of the storm itself suggest that the Odyssean Aeneas is also re-experiencing the far more catastrophic upheavals in the natural order caused by the primeval struggles between the gods and the Titans or Giants. The recurrent use of Gigantomachic allusion throughout the poem aligns the history of Rome and her ancestors with a cosmic conflict between the forces of chaos and Olympian order.¹⁶⁸ These and other myths had been subjected by later commentators to a natural-philosophical allegorization, and as we have already seen (pp. 56–7 above) the *Aeneid* sometimes uses allegory to equivocate between a mythological and a more scientific view of cosmic processes.¹⁶⁹

Meaning. Two (and More) Voices. Sources of Authority: Gods and Fate, Rhetoric and Philosophy

Do I contradict myself?
Very well then I contradict myself,
(I am large, I contain multitudes.)
Walt Whitman *Song of Myself*

The *Aeneid* spreads out its allusive and symbolic tentacles to embrace the whole of history and the natural universe itself, taking to a logical conclusion epic's generic drive to be, like its heroes, the greatest and the best.¹⁷⁰ Yet this totalizing text which seeks to define Rome and its place in the widest order of things does not, for many readers, succeed in defining its own meaning and so close off the circle of its own interpretation. The last fifty years of Virgil criticism have been a battlefield of competing interpretations of the poem, more often than not focusing on the reductionist opposition of 'optimist' and 'pessimist', or, in political terms, Augustan and anti-Augustan readings. These two kinds of interpretation are sometimes labelled the 'European' and 'Harvard' schools of Virgil criticism, after the places of origin of some of the leading exponents of each.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Gigantomachic allusion: Hardie (1986), chs. 3 and 4; 90–7 on the Storm.

¹⁶⁹ A strong sense of the cosmic aspect of the poem informs the books by Pöschl (1962), Thornton (1976) (for whom the plot of the poem concerns the 'coherence of the universe'), and Hardie (1986).

¹⁷⁰ Epic's inherent expansiveness: Hardie (1993), 3–10.

¹⁷¹ In general on 'European' and 'Harvard' schools of Virgilian criticism see the stimulating discussion in Johnson (1976), ch. 1; and S. J. Harrison's 'Introduction' to Harrison (1990). W. Clausen's own reflections on his part in the foundation of the 'Harvard' school (the seminal

The question of authoritative meaning in the *Aeneid* is acute not just because it is a poem that functions as an aetiology for the present-day power of Rome and of Augustus, but because epic was the preeminently authoritative genre in antiquity. Within the epic texts it seems reasonable to seek ultimate authority in the persons of the gods who preside over and participate in the action. The religious authority of epic is great: according to Herodotus 2.53 Homer and Hesiod gave the gods their names, spheres of action, and outward forms. In the Latin epic tradition divine authority and Roman power are already before Virgil inseparably linked, since the supreme god in the Homeric pantheon, Zeus/Jupiter, is also the national god of Rome.¹⁷² On the divine level the plot of the *Aeneid* is the ultimately unsuccessful struggle on the part of Juno to oppose Fate, the 'word' of Jupiter;¹⁷³ in contrast to the more generalized notion of fate in Homer as something that delimits the possible activity of the gods and determines the hour of an individual's death, in the *Aeneid* Fate is above all the destiny of the family of Aeneas and of the city of Rome. Jupiter's masterplot, a.k.a. Fate, is laid out in the impressive prophecies at 1.257–96 (Jupiter's speech to Venus), 6.756–86 (the Parade of Heroes in the Underworld), 8.626–728 (the Shield of Aeneas), and 12.830–40 (Jupiter's final speech to Juno).

Yet in recent years critics have questioned the apparently unambiguous certainties revealed in these prophetic passages. O'Hara points out that Jupiter's speech to Venus has the rhetorical goal of assuaging her anxiety, and that it is at best a selective account of the future history of Aeneas and Rome.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore Jupiter is caught in a contradiction when at the beginning of the Council of Gods in book 10 he declares (10.8–9) that he had forbidden the war between Italians and Trojans that had been the first item in his reading from the Book of Fate at 1.263–4.¹⁷⁵ Coming from the god who should represent unswerving

article is Clausen [1964a] are printed at Horsfall (1995), 313–14. Notable examples of the 'European' school include Klingner, Pöschl, Buchheit, Cairns, Galinsky; of the 'Harvard' school Clausen, Adam Parry, Putnam, R. F. Thomas, Boyle, Lyne.

¹⁷² Feeney (1991), 113–14, 140–1. Feeney's chapter 4 is a very stimulating account of the divine machinery of the *Aeneid* working as part of a poetic text. For general introductions to the gods and religion in the *Aeneid* see Camps (1969), ch. 5; Bailey (1935); P. Boyancé, *La Religion de Virgile* (Paris, 1963); Heinze (1993), 235–50; R. Coleman, 'The gods in the *Aeneid*', *G&R* 29 (1982), 143–68; W. Kühn, *Götterszenen bei Vergil* (Heidelberg, 1971). On Fate see Pötscher (n. 93). On the role of Jupiter see A. Wlosok, 'Vergil als Theologe: Iuppiter—pater omnipotens', *Gymn.* 90 (1983), 187–202 = *Res Humanae—Res Divinae: Kleine Schriften* (Heidelberg, 1990), 368–83.

¹⁷³ On the etymology of *fatum* from *fari* see O'Hara (1996), 121.

¹⁷⁴ O'Hara (1990), 132–63.

¹⁷⁵ For two very different ways of dealing with this contradiction see Heinze (1993), 278 n. 43 and Lyne (1987), 78–81.

Fate, this unsettling inconsistency raises the possibility that the impressive-sounding and apparently impartial speech with which Jupiter concludes the Council of Gods at 10.104–13 may in fact be as rhetorical in its way as the splendidly impassioned speeches which Venus and Juno have just hurled at each other.¹⁷⁶ In the final interview with Juno in book 12 Jupiter is concerned to soothe injured female pride even more obviously than is the case with his interview with Venus in book 1, at the same time as he provides for the conclusive ending of the poem. And even this apparently final reconciliation was not to be the last occasion on which Juno had to be brought on side, as any Roman reader of Ennius would have known.¹⁷⁷

The Parade of Heroes in book 6 and the Shield of Aeneas in book 8 come with the apparently impeccable authority of, respectively, Anchises and Vulcan. The triumphalism of the Parade of Heroes is famously tempered by the mournful coda on the younger Marcellus (6.860–86), but the main part of the Parade also contains details that suggest a less than totally positive forecast of the shape of Roman history.¹⁷⁸ The eschatological setting of the Elysian Fields lures us with the hope that, with Aeneas, we may be privileged to an overview of history under the aspect of the eternal verities; hints that Aeneas' Underworld journey is a kind of initiation into the mysteries reinforce the sense that here we are admitted to a specially authoritative form of knowledge.¹⁷⁹ But rather than attaining the certitude of a religious initiate, Aeneas perhaps has an experience that is merely mysterious. Was it all just a dream? The hero's passage into and out of the

¹⁷⁶ On speeches and rhetoric in the *Aeneid* see Heinze (1993), 314–32; Highet (1972); J. P. Lynch, 'Laocoön and Sinon: Virgil *Aeneid* 2.40–198', in McAuslan and Walcott (1990), 112–20. The most searching examination of the place of rhetoric in the *Aeneid* is in D. C. Feeney, 'The taciturnity of Aeneas', in Harrison (1990), 167–90; Feeney's conclusion that the *Aeneid* is able comfortably to separate words used rhetorically and words used as a transparent medium for truth is questioned by P. R. Hardie, 'Fame and defamation in the *Aeneid*: the Council of Latins (*Aen.* 11.225–467)', in Stahl (1998), 243–70.

¹⁷⁷ Feeney (n. 90). On the interview between Jupiter and Juno see also Buchheit (1963), 133–50; on the (typically Homeric) 'sublime frivolity' of the scene, with its overtones of domestic comedy see D. West, 'The end and the meaning (*Aen.* 12.791–842)', in Stahl (1998), 303–18.

¹⁷⁸ So D. C. Feeney, 'History and revelation in Vergil's Underworld', *PCPS* 32 (1986), 1–24; for the contrary view that the Parade of Heroes is 'whole-hearted and successful panegyric' see D. West, 'The pageant of the heroes as panegyric (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.760–886)', in H. D. Jocelyn (ed.), *Tria Lustra* (Liverpool, 1993), 283–96. On the Parade of Heroes see also R. D. Williams, 'The sixth book of the *Aeneid*', *G&R* 11 (1964), 48–63; M. von Albrecht, 'Vergils Geschichtsauffassung in der "Heldenschau"', *WS* 80 (1967), 156–82; N. M. Horsfall, 'The structure and purpose of Vergil's Parade of Heroes', *Ancient Society* (Macquarie), 12 (1982), 12–18.

¹⁷⁹ Mysteries (see also ch. III n. 87); G. Luck, 'Virgil and the mystery religions', *AJP* 94 (1973), 147–66. In general on Aeneas' journey to the Underworld see J. E. G. Zetzel, '*Romane memento*: justice and judgment in *Aeneid* 6', *TAPA* 119 (1989), 263–84; R. J. Clark, *Catabasis: Vergil and the Wisdom-Tradition* (Amsterdam, 1979).

Underworld is expedited by two symbolic objects, whose interpretation is notoriously uncertain, the Golden Bough (6.136–48, 183–211)¹⁸⁰ and the Ivory Gate of Sleep (6.893–8).¹⁸¹ The point may in part be that we delude ourselves if we think that an authoritative reading of the Underworld episode is easily, if at all, possible.

The survey of Roman history on the Shield of Aeneas, all leading to Octavian's victory at Actium and the triple triumph of 29 B.C., seems more straightforward than the complex personalities showcased in the Parade of Heroes, but some have discerned oppositional undertones even here, finding hints of Roman cruelty and failure in the scenes of the punishment of Fufetius Mettus and of the Gauls clambering on to the Capitol, and traces of a sympathy for the defeated in the picture of the defeated Cleopatra fleeing into the embrace of a grieving Nile.¹⁸² The Shield's divine maker Vulcan has an authority little short of that of Jupiter, and he is introduced at 8.627 as *haud uatum ignarus uenturique inscius aevi* 'not ignorant of the prophets or unaware of time to come'. There is a punning ambiguity in *uatum*, which may also be translated as 'poets'; the Shield of Aeneas presents itself as a visual summary of the Latin epic tradition, and of Ennius' *Annals* in particular.¹⁸³ Vulcan knows the future history of Rome—because he has read the poets who will chronicle that history. The authority of the Virgilian text is no more or less than that of the other texts on which it draws, and which it completes. Feeney has well shown how the gods in the *Aeneid* cannot be used as an external Archimedean point of reference by which to judge the truth claims of the poem: Jupiter himself cannot escape from the fictive quality of the text.¹⁸⁴ Another sign of the slippery nature of the Virgilian gods, and hence of their authority for the reader, is the debate as to whether, within the fiction of the *Aeneid*, the gods are to be taken as

¹⁸⁰ R. A. Brooks, 'Discolor aura. Reflections on the golden bough', *AJP* 74 (1953), 260–80 [= Commager (1966), 143–66] (an article often regarded as an important landmark in the 'Harvard' school of interpretation); C. P. Segal, '*Aeternum per saecula nomen*. The Golden Bough and the tragedy of history', *Arion* 4 (1965), 617–57; 5 (1966), 34–72 (using the Golden Bough as a key to the wider antitheses in the *Aeneid* that define the 'tragic fate' of the world); D. A. West, *The Bough and the Gate* (Exeter, 1987); C. Weber, 'The allegory of the Golden Bough', *Vergilius* 41 (1995), 3–34.

¹⁸¹ See recently R. J. Tarrant, 'Aeneas and the Gates of Sleep', *CP* 77 (1982), 51–5; U. Molyviati-Toptsis, '*Sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes* (*Aeneid* 6.896)', *AJP* 116 (1995), 639–52.

¹⁸² See Quint (1993), ch. 1; Gurval (1995), ch. 5. In general on the Shield see n. 101.

¹⁸³ Vulcan may represent the pretensions of the epic poet to a demiurgic status: P. R. Hardie, 'Cosmological patterns in the *Aeneid*', *PLLS* 5 (1986), 85–97.

¹⁸⁴ Feeney (1991), 151–5; in general on the issues of fictionality see D. C. Feeney, 'Towards an account of the ancient world's concepts of fictive belief' in C. Gill and T. P. Wiseman (eds.), *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World* (Exeter, 1993), 230–44.

fully real anthropomorphic agents, or as allegories for psychological or natural processes. Does the Fury Allecto really come up from the Underworld to inspire Turnus with battle-lust, or is this just a poetic way of talking about the emergence of dark passions in Turnus' mind?¹⁸⁵

If the Homeric divine machinery had become difficult to take seriously by Virgil's day, the reader might look for interpretative certainty in a philosophical underpinning of the narrative. The allegorizers had long seen Homer as a source of profound philosophical truths, and Ennius had launched the Latin hexameter epic tradition with a disquisition on Pythagorean philosophy put in the mouth of a phantom Homer.¹⁸⁶ Virgil's own philosophical interests are clear in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and the Life of Donatus reports that at the time of his death he was planning to spend a further three years revising the *Aeneid* and then to devote the rest of his life to philosophy.¹⁸⁷ In the light of all of this, and also of Virgil's continuing fascination with Lucretius' philosophical poem, it would be surprising if Virgil's epic was not strongly coloured by the Hellenistic schools of philosophy. There are certainly traces of Stoic psychology and ethics in the character of Aeneas (see p. 82 above), and the Virgilian conception of Jupiter as mouthpiece of Fate is readily harmonized with the Stoic notion of an all-pervasive providential deity identified with Zeus. At the banquet of Dido, immediately before Aeneas embarks on his own, Odysseus-style, narrative of his previous adventures, we are treated to a performance by the bard Iopas, an exemplary figure of epic's origins, and the song he sings is on astronomy and natural philosophy (1.740–7).¹⁸⁸ The most extended philosophical passage in the poem is the first part of the Speech of Anchises (6.724–5), reworking the speech of the Ennian Homer in an eclectic mixture of Pythagorean, Platonic, and Stoic teachings on the nature of the world and of the soul. But two reflections should warn us against any simple assumption that these are the final truths that the poem has to teach us. Firstly, as is the case with Vulcan's prophetic certitudes, Anchises' philosophical exposition is as much a

¹⁸⁵ Feeney (1991), 168–72. Approaches to the gods as psychological allegories: Quinn (1968), 316–20 'Parallel divine and psychological motivation'; Williams (1983), 20–35 'The gods as a trope for human motivation'; Lyne (1987), 66–71 'Working with'.

¹⁸⁶ Skutsch (1985), 147–67.

¹⁸⁷ *Vita Donati* 35.

¹⁸⁸ Hardie (1986), 52–66. On the Song of Iopas see also C. P. Segal, 'The song of Iopas in the *Aeneid*', *Hermes* 99 (1971), 336–49; R. D. Brown, 'The structural function of the Song of Iopas', *HSCP* 93 (1990), 315–34.

tissue of literary allusion as it is a declaration of philosophical allegiance. Secondly, this revelation of divine truths is not the first such vouchsafed to Aeneas by a parent. In book 2, at the climax of the Greek destruction of Troy, Aeneas' mother Venus appears to him in her full divine glory, removes the cloudy veil that normally clogs mortal vision (cf. Anchises' account of the soul enmired in the body at 6.730–4), and reveals to her son the true nature of what is going on (2.589–623). This revealed truth is no philosophical vision of the workings of the universe, but a terrifying apocalypse of the anthropomorphic Homeric gods at work on the destruction of Troy. The contrast with the philosophical revelation offered by Anchises is heightened by the fact that Virgil uses a Homeric model, Athene's removal of the mist from the eyes of Diomedes so that he can distinguish between god and man in the battle (*Iliad* 5.127–32), which had been used as an image of philosophical enlightenment in the Hellenistic period ([Plato] *Alcibiades* II. 150d); Virgil wrenches it back to a mythological world-view. Within the fiction of the *Aeneid* what criterion is available to adjudicate between the competing truth-values of Venus' and Anchises' revelations of a divine order (or disorder)?¹⁸⁹

Philosophical criteria have been adduced to try to resolve the endlessly contested significance of the last scene in the poem, the death of Turnus. Here the disagreement between the 'optimist' ('European') and the 'pessimist' ('Harvard') schools is at its most intense. The optimists read in the violent death of Turnus the final victory of Fate and *pietas* over the irrational forces that seek to oppose the plan of Jupiter, a foreshadowing of the legitimate vengeance of Octavian against the assassins of his adoptive father, according to an ideology of state revenge that would eventually find monumental expression in the Temple of Mars Ultor that dominated the Forum of Augustus. The pessimists see in Aeneas' enraged killing of a now defenceless Turnus the recrudescence in the hero of the same *furor* that had overmastered him on the night of the Sack of Troy (2.316–17), blinding him to the force of Turnus' appeal to remember his own father Anchises and to pity his, Turnus', aging father Daunus (12.932–6). Crucial to the reader's judgement is our evaluation of this last outburst of the epic emotion *par excellence*, anger, which is where the philosophy comes in. From a Stoic point of view, all violent emotion is undesirable, and Aeneas' act is therefore to be condemned,

¹⁸⁹ T. N. Habinek, 'Science and tradition in *Aeneid* 6', *HSCP* 92 (1989), 223–55 discusses the tensions within *Aen.* 6 between scientific cosmology and the traditional exhortations of funeral speeches, and argues that the two discourses are in fact compatible, in line with the Romans' self-defining belief that they were well qualified to unite science and tradition.

but from an Aristotelian or Epicurean point of view anger may be justified in certain circumstances, and a reasonable degree of anger is useful in motivating the warrior. Karl Galinsky has mounted a philosophical defence of the end of the *Aeneid*, particularly in response to the ever more subtle reexaminations of the scene by Michael Putnam, one of the founders of the 'Harvard school'.¹⁹⁰ But those who seek a philosophical solution run the risk of simply exporting the problem of interpreting the end of the *Aeneid* into an unresolved dispute between ancient philosophical schools.

Perhaps the only thing that is clear about the end of the *Aeneid* is that it is a passage of great complexity. Aeneas' last outburst of spontaneous anger is trapped in an intertextual web of literary allusions, legendary and mythological paradigms, and historical, political, and philosophical contexts. It is also a passage that reflects in a bewildering variety of ways on scenes and motifs earlier in the *Aeneid* itself: for example, Aeneas hurling his spear like a thunderbolt or a storm-wind (12.919–25) invites us to see in him a surrogate for the storm-god Jupiter, who uses the violence of the thunderbolt to impose the will of Fate on the world;¹⁹¹ but Aeneas' refusal to listen to Turnus' appeal to the thought of an aged father puts us in mind of the impious savagery of Neoptolemus, cutting down Polites in front of Priam, who reminds him of the mercy once shown by his father Achilles to himself in the case of another of his sons, Hector (2.526–43).¹⁹² The last scene provocatively blurs the conceptual frameworks by which we had thought to navigate our way through the poem: the opposition between *furor* and a rational *pietas* is confounded by a last infuriated killing, oblivious to Turnus' attempt to exploit *pietas* to a father, that is yet prompted by the reminder of the ties of *pietas* that bind Aeneas to the dead Pallas and his father Evander. The opposition between Jupiter's Olympian direction of events in accordance with Fate and Juno's attempts to disrupt Fate with the help of forces from the

¹⁹⁰ G. K. Galinsky, 'The anger of Aeneas', *AJP* 109 (1988), 321–48; id., 'How to be philosophical about the end of the *Aeneid*', *ICS* 19 (1994), 191–201. Putnam's meditations on the end of the poem go back to Putnam (1965), 151–201; his recent collection of essays, Putnam (1995), circles repeatedly around the issues: see esp. chs. 8 and 10. 'Optimist' readers of the end of the poem include Cairns (1989), 82–4; H.-P. Stahl, 'Aeneas—an unheroic hero?', *Arethusa* 14 (1981), 157–86; id., 'The death of Turnus: Augustan Vergil and the political rival', in K. A. Raafaub and M. Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1990), 174–211. The 'pessimists', these days in the majority, include R. Beare, 'Invidious success. Some thoughts on the end of the *Aeneid*', *PVS* 4 (1964/5), 18–30; J. P. Poe, 'Success and failure in the mission of Aeneas', *TAPhA* 96 (1965), 321–36; Johnson (1976), 114–34; Lyne (1987), 85–99, 186–8.

¹⁹¹ Hardie (1986), 147–54, 177–80.

¹⁹² Barchiesi (1984), 111–18.

Underworld (the giant-like winds in book 1, and the hellish Fury Allecto in book 7) has already been muddled by Jupiter's own use of a *Dira* at 12.843–68 to frighten Turnus and warn off Juturna, and, in completing the plan of Jupiter, Aeneas acts *furiis accensus* (12.946); Virgil's text would not distinguish between a capital and a lower-case *f*: is Aeneas 'ablaze with fury' or 'fired by the Furies'? A mindful and vengeful anger was where the poem started, but there it had fired Juno (1.4, 23–32).¹⁹³

In one respect the final scene provides a satisfying ending to the poem, since it presents in heightened form the competition within the text between different points of view and perspectives. Turnus' dying groan in the last line sounds for many readers as the poem's last protest by the suffering individual against the juggernaut of Roman destiny, as private desires are sacrificed to public mission. Over the last three decades the 'two voices' (public and private) of the *Aeneid*, in Adam Parry's phrase,¹⁹⁴ have proliferated into Oliver Lyne's 'further voices'; the text has become polyphonic or polycentric.¹⁹⁵ Older approaches to the ambiguity of the text,¹⁹⁶ have been supplemented by new approaches to narrative point of view and focalization, to generic play, intertextuality,¹⁹⁷ and to the ideology of texts, all of which have found fertile ground in the *Aeneid*.

¹⁹³ On Virgil's theological dualism and its confusion see Johnson (1976), 114–34; Hardie (1993), ch. 3; on the parallel between Juno's and Aeneas' anger see Putnam (1995), 4. Attempts to make a sharp distinction between *Dirae* and *Furiae*, or between *furor* and Aeneas' final *furia* (Cairns [1989], 82–4, criticized by R. F. Thomas, *AJP* 112 [1991], 261) are unpersuasive.

¹⁹⁴ Parry (1963).

¹⁹⁵ Conte (1986), 153.

¹⁹⁶ For a brilliant study of the critical history of ambiguity in Virgil interpretation see C. Martindale, 'Descent into Hell: reading ambiguity, or Virgil and the critics', *PVS* 21 (1993), 111–50; see also C. Perkell, 'Ambiguity and irony: the last resort?', *Helios* 21 (1994), 63–74.

¹⁹⁷ On the effects of allusion in complicating interpretation see R. O. A. M. Lyne, 'Virgil's *Aeneid*: subversion by intertextuality. Catullus 66.39–40 and other examples', *G&R* 41 (1994), 187–204.