

The focus of tonight's paper is the narrative departures in Vergil's *Aeneid* 4 and 5, and the importance of the latter half of Book 5 as a turning point in the characterisation of Aeneas. In the following, I will present a close reading of *Aen.* 5.604-778, but a few initial broad sweeps and a brief return to Homer are necessary before then:

The folk tale pattern identified as the one dominating the *Odyssey* is that of the returning king/husband who wins his queen and kingdom back from beleaguering rivals.¹ It is intrinsic to my argument in this paper that the story line of Odysseus regaining the kingship in Ithaca is mirrored in the second half of the *Aeneid*, although I will not explore in further detail the connections of the second halves of the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid*.² There is no explicit resolution to this struggle within the text of the *Aeneid* itself, but the audience knows that the course of events in the latter books serves the winning (back) of Lavinia by Aeneas. With regard to the *Odyssey*, we know that the main story line of regaining the kingdom of Ithaca and Penelope's hand only truly takes off after Odysseus finished retelling his adventures to the Phaeacians, after he has arrived in Ithaca. In the most immediate terms, this is achieved by the aid of the Phaeacians following the games at Alkinoos' court. *Aen.* 5 with its funerary games in honour of Anchises and Aeneas' subsequent departure from Sicily for Italy is known as a similar turning point, and re-starts the main storyline of the *Aeneid* in the same fashion as we see in the *Odyssey*.³

Admittedly, Book 5 has been recognised as an important point of departure both for Aeneas as a protagonist and for the main narrative since Heinze's days, but there are still very few extensive close readings of this book.⁴ I hope to show in detail that this book prepares the audience (and the characters) for this the most important part of the Aeneas's story, the winning of Italy and of Lavinia, and to bring in details from the latter half of Book 5, lines 604-778, which have often been neglected by previous scholarship. What I am particularly interested in is how this final half of Book 5 re-writes, or, *to use a computer term, over-writes*, events from earlier books. The episode of the Trojan women burning the ships and the founding of Acesta breaks up the happy interlude created by the games celebrated in honour of Anchises, and Vergil acknowledges from a number of perspectives the difficulties faced by the Trojans, but also defuses them by the process of re-narration. By reviewing and re-writing key episodes from the earlier four books – particularly from Book Four which shows Aeneas liable to being sidetracked both by nostalgia and by comfort and companionship – Book 5 asserts the steadfastness of Aeneas as a leader and extends to characters and audience alike the definite hope and expectation that the venture of founding Rome will indeed be a successful one.

Following descriptions of the funerary games, the section I am interested in here is introduced by an abrupt and marked break in the narrative; the description of the mythical invention of the *ludus Troiae* in the preceding lines is interrupted by *Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata nouavit* in 604 (handout A), and Iris' descent from the heavens on Juno's command. I would argue that with *nouavit*, the line gives explicit directions to the

¹ Ref needed!

² Knauer, 1964, is particularly helpful here.

³ Farrell, 1999, 97.

⁴ Notable exceptions are Putnam 1965; Galinsky 1968; Nugent 1992.

reader: much as Fortuna is now changing the luck of the Trojans, the reader too should be prepared for a new part and pace of the narrative. We might think at this point of the similarities of Anchises' games not only with the games in Phaeacia but with the funerary games in honour of Patroclus as well – indeed this is the more common reading of the connections between Homer and Vergil.⁵ Again, it is unnecessary to scrutiny that argument closely at this point; suffice to say that the similarities between the Patroclus' games and those of Anchises is one of the key features of the *Aeneid* on which this argument hinges. The two-half structure of the *Aeneid* suggests that Vergil thought of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as a two-part work, one whose style and methods is reworked entirely following the end of the Patroclus games in *Iliad* 24 and with the beginning of the *Odyssey*. Again we see that at 5.604, the audience of Vergil's *Aeneis* should prepare themselves for a similar change in content and emphasis of the narrative.⁶

Williams in his Book 5 commentary understands the phrase *Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata nouavit* (At this moment Fortune first changed and turned against them) to mean 'for the first time in Sicily', presumably thinking of the many earlier misfortunes of the Trojans.⁷ Servius explains the line by saying '*sequitur enim Palinuri mors uel Misen?*' – that is, he relates this change of fortune not to the immediately following tragedy of the burning of the ships incited by Juno as Williams does, but to the main events at the end of Book 5.⁸ To my mind, Servius is on the right track but does not take wide enough a view. Indeed, I think the phrase allows for an even more wide-reaching interpretation: after the misfortunes of Book 1-4, the events of Book 5 take Aeneas on to his main task, that of reaching the realm promised to him by prophecy. As we shall see, there are numerous intratextual references back to this crucial line later on in the book.

Taken in conjunction with the following lines on Juno and Iris, the *hinc primum* in 604 jolts the audience out of the comfortable interlude of the funerary games, and reminds them that the Trojans still have a long way to go before they reach the promised land of Italy and Aeneas can found his city. In order to do that, he needs to remain the strong and wise leader that the games episode suggested him to be.⁹

As Juno determines to cause the Trojans further delay and Iris descends to Sicily, the Trojan women are already gathered on the beach, weeping both for Anchises and for their own plight. It is worth noting that Iris descends in the *middle* of the women gathered on the beach, and we have both *inter medias* (5.618) and *Dardanidum mediam matribus infert* (5.622), both under handout B. This repetition may well be a reminder that the narrative reaches a point of watershed here, a middle. The imperfective aspect of the

⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 5.1; e.g. Putnam, 1965, 64f; Heinze, 1993, 121.

⁶ The turning point supported by Helen's theory that divine gazing/divine focalisation structurises the narrative of the *Iliad*. Juno here causes Iris' descent, cf. Helen's paper. Incidentally mentions of viewing and seeing 5.611f.

⁷ Williams, 1960, 157f.

⁸ The centrality of the first words, *hinc primum*, of this section can be seen even by the fact that editors have felt the need to signal clearly the presence of minor textual variation. Manuscript readings include both *hinc* and *hic*.

⁹ Cf. Heinze, 1993, 129f; Pavlovskis, 1976, 204 (highlighting Aeneas' role as a family member, crucial to leadership success.)

flebant and *aspectabant* in 614f can be taken both in the most obvious sense as background for Iris' appearance but also be read in a wider sense to indicate that the women (and perhaps the readers as well) are in a holding pattern, ready in position for the main storyline to start. The metre, heavy with spondees in 614f,¹⁰ underlines the sense of slow waiting: Their episode is the one piece of gravel that will set off the landslide. The Trojan women are described as isolated – the harbour Iris passes is empty (*desertos portus*, 612), the fleet is deserted (*relictam*, 612), and the women are weeping for loss, again handout B:

Conspicit ingentem concusum et litora lustrat
Desertosque uidet portus classemque relictam.
At procul in sola secretae Troades acta
Amisum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque profundum
Pontum aspectabant flentes. Heu tot uada fessis
Et tantum superesse maris, uox omnibus una;
Urbem orant, taedet pelagi perferre laborem.

(She then passed along the shore and saw the empty harbour and the unattended ships. But there, far apart on the deserted beach, were the women of Troy, weeping for loss of Anchises and weeping, all of them, as they looked out over the unfathomable sea. How weary they were, how numberless the breakers and how vast the sea that still remained for them to cross! These were the words on all their lips. What they were praying for was a city – they were heart sick of toiling with the sea.)

At this point, the Trojan women have lost not only Anchises, but emotionally, they have also lost sight of the ancestral and familial ties that give purpose to their suffering.¹¹ It is, however, only the goddess, in the guise of the old wife Beroe, whom we first hear voice real complaints and offer a drastic solution in lines 624-630, handout C:

[...] o gens
infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reseruat?
Septima post Troiae excidium iam uertitur aetas,
Cum freta, cum terras omnis, tot inhospita saxa
Sideraeque emensae ferimus, dum per mare magnum
Italiam sequimur fugientem et uoluimur undis.
Hic Erycis fines fraterni atque hospes Acestes:
Quis prohibet muros iacere et dare ciuibus urbem?

(O my unhappy people, for what manner of destruction is Fortune preserving you? This is the seventh summer since the fall of Troy that we have been driven by the winds and have measured every sea and land, every inhospitable rock and every angry star, rolling forever on the waves as we search the mighty ocean for an Italy that ever recedes. Who is to prevent us from laying down the foundations of walls and giving a city to our people?)

In this passage, Iris as the fake Beroe describes their journey to Italy as a random and hopeless venture. With a phrase which hints at a perceived lack of leadership – *quis prohibet?* in 631 – she suggests building another city instead and she speaks with longing

¹⁰ Cf. Williams, 1960, 160.

¹¹ Cf. *amisum Anchisen* in 5.614. Cf. also Nugent, 1992, 267f.

of the rivers of Troy (note that she connects them specifically with the lost leader of her people, with Hector; *Hectoreos amnis* in 634, under D on your handout) and with grief of their lost home. Finally she suggests they use fire to ensure that they do not have to sail further: *quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppis* (Come with me now and set fire to these accursed ships and burn them, handout D, in 5.635). When she concludes, her audience is both roused and bewildered: *arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda / Iliadum* (The minds of the women of Troy were roused and their hearts bewildered, in 5.643f).

Iris has chosen to disguise herself as a woman likely to be discontent but while Beroe and her family have certainly suffered, there are hints even within the description of her that Iris' plan will fail, as we see in E on the handout: *ergo inter medias sese haud ignara nocendi / conicit et faciemque deae uestemque reponit / fit Beroe, Tmarii coniunx longaeva Dorycli, / cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent* (She rushed into the middle of them, laying aside her divine form and dress and appearing as Beroe, the aged wife of Doryclus of Tmaros, a woman of good birth, who had borne sons and been held in high regard, in 5.618-621). Firstly, I wonder whether there is a suggestion that as Iris divests herself of her own appearance (*faciem* and *uestem*), her influence will temporarily become less keenly felt too. Furthermore, even here, when all the women appear collectively isolated from their families and their purpose, Beroe's name and characteristics are intertwined over a whole line with the name of her husband, and the following line emphasises her role as a family matriarch through its cluster of family related words: *genus, nomen, and nati*.¹²

Step by step the fake Beroe's reasoning recalls events of earlier books, and tests to which the Trojans, and above all Aeneas, have already been put. Aeneas was famously accused by Mercury of having forgotten his own kingdom and his own destiny in Book Four, while instead devoting himself to building Dido's city of Carthage, handout F: *tu nunc Karthaginis altae / fundamenta locas pulchramque uxoris urbem / extruis?* (So now you are laying foundations for the high towers of Carthage and building a splendid city to please your wife? in 4.265-267).¹³ The women are now being tested in the same way by the temptation of erecting another city of their own, and as they make their wishes known to Aeneas later on in Book 5, his commitment to Rome will be tried once more.

The pull of the past explored in Book Three (3.294-505) is also alluded to here, by way of the fake Beroe's mention of the rivers of Troy. In the corresponding passage in Book 3 (349-351; 497-499), we saw how Andromache had shaped her new home into a mini-Troy, for instance naming a small (but already dried-out) stream after the Xanthus of Troy. That episode illustrated, to us as readers and implicitly also to Aeneas himself, the dangers of allowing oneself to go on living in the past.¹⁴ Equally, the nostalgia Iris incites in her audience is potentially dangerous.

This danger is brought to the fore through the ordering of Iris' speech. It traces an unending loop of events and places; she begins by mentioning the battle in front of the

¹² Cf. the cluster of family related words: *gens, nomen, nati*.

¹³ Cf. Galinsky, 1968, 168, arguing that after the excursus of the final section of *Aen.* 4, Juno now returns to her agenda of opposing the Trojans.

¹⁴ Grimm, 1967; Starry West, 1993.

walls of Troy (5.623f), then refers to their misfortunes at sea and the ever-distant Italy that they seek (5.626-629, C and D on the handout). So far we have a movement from A to B, or at least the implied wish for one.¹⁵ However, this movement is reversed in 5.631-638, starting with the allusions to Andromache's fake Troy in Epirus to finally arrive either in Troy (the place of Cassandra's most famous predictions and where we most commonly see her as the *ardens vates*) or even in Mycenae, the place of her death – and, of course, the place for the abduction of Helen, the starting point of the Trojan war. The use of *uoluimur* (629) to describe the ships being tossed hither and thither by the waves hints at the cyclic nature of the passage as a whole.¹⁶ Contrary to character intention, Vergil allows the very form of Iris' speech to indicate the dangers of nostalgia.

Coming back to similarities with Book Four, the choice of fire as a weapon also recalls Dido and the threat Mercury foresees her posing to the Trojan fleet, handout G: *iam mare turbare trabibus aeneasque uidebis / conlucere faces, iam feruere litora flammis, / si te his attingerit terris Aurora morantem* (you will soon see her ships churning the sea and deadly torches blazing and the shore soon seething with flames, if the morning catches on you lingering on these shores) in 4.566-568.¹⁷ The bewilderment of Beroe's audience after the conclusion of her speech may also serve as a reminder of Dido's confusion as she is manipulated by the gods throughout Book 4, like the audience of the fake Beroe here.¹⁸

In or as a consequence of Book Four, some of these threats were realised. In our book, however, the fake Beroe does not get the last word, see handout H:

[...] hic una e multis, quae maxima natu,
 Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix:
 'Non Beroe uobis, non haec Rhoeteia, matres,
 est Dorycli coniunx [...]

(But one of the many, the oldest of them all, Pyrgo, who had been royal nurse to all the sons of Priam, called out: 'This is not Beroe speaking to you.')

The description of Pyrgo as *una e multis* in 644 recalls the voice of lamentation and prayer of the women in 616, the *uox omnibus una* (one voice for them all, to be slightly more literal that West's 'These were the words on all their lips'). It is possible that the similarity in phrasing suggests that rather than the lying speech by Iris/Beroe, Pyrgo's voice is the one truly representative of the Trojan women as a group. The *hic* in 644 also recalls the *hinc* (or indeed the *hic*) of 5.604, which further strengthens the sense that the narrative has the option of 'starting over' again, if Iris' appeal were to be rejected.

Looking closely at the description of Pyrgo and what she says about Beroe, it is striking that unlike the earlier description of the women on the beach, Pyrgo is far from isolated.

¹⁵ This is also supported by Williams' interpretation of *uertitur* in 5.626: 'probably simply 'is passing', 'is running its course' rather than 'is waning', cf. Williams, 1960, 162.

¹⁶ Cf. *OLD* s.v. *uoluo* 2 and 6b.

¹⁷ Cf. also *Aen.* 4.594 and the reference to Hannibal in *Aen.* 4.621-629.

¹⁸ Dido's madness: *Aen.* 4.300-304; 529-533. No immediate correspondences, but vacillation between hope and hate.

She is immediately placed in a nexus of human interaction. She is one of many women, and moreover, she has distinct family ties, specifically to the royal family of Troy. She has ties both backwards into the past, as well as, because she is a wet nurse and a nurturer, to children and to the future – in short, we might say she represents a female incarnation of the virtue of *pietas*.¹⁹ This is also how she describes the real Beroe, first in terms of her family home at Rhoeteum and husband (*Dorycli coniunx*), and later in terms of her distress at not being able to participate in a rite important to the Trojans as a people, handout H:²⁰

Ipsa egomet dudum Beroen digressa reliqui
Aegram, indinantem tali quod sola careret
Munere nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores.
Haec effata.

I have just left Beroe sick and fretting because she was the only one who could not come to this ceremony and would not be paying due honour to Anchises.’ These were the words of Pyrgo.

These, too, are the values to which the women eventually return in 5.678, handout i: *piget incepti lucisque, suosque mutatae agnoscunt excussaue pectore Iuno*, (they were ashamed of what they had done and ashamed to look upon the light of day. Their wits were restored now and they recognised their own people.) with the emphasis placed on the women recognising their own family members and fellow countrymen once more expressed by *agnoscunt suos*.²¹

For the time being, however, the women hesitate, torn between the fake Beroe’s appeal and that of Pyrgo, and intentional or not, the missing half-line in 653 contributes neatly to a similar effect on the reader. I would like to pick up an earlier strand of my argument here. I suggested previously that Iris (and Juno’s) influence is less keenly felt as she lays down her divine guise in 5.618f. Now we note that it is only here, after Pyrgo has revealed Iris’ true identity, that the goddess again poses a direct threat. Iris ascends into the skies but has already inspired the rage which causes the women to set fire to the Trojan fleet (5.654-663).

If Pyrgo is a more epically ‘correct’ re-write of the fake Beroe, Ascanius (who is shortly to appear as the first Trojan leader on site) in some ways functions as a more successful and less doubt-ridden Aeneas of Book 4. This link between Ascanius and Aeneas of Book 4 relies on verbal reminiscences in the description of how Iris and Mercury act following and before their appearances. Commentators note that, appropriately, Iris’ way of reaching the skies along the rainbow is unique to her, but also that the phrase *paribus alis* (5.657) echoes Mercury’s first descent to Carthage: *hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis / constitit*.²² (handout J) Aeneas’ response to Mercury’s orders to leave Carthage as soon

¹⁹ Cf. slightly differently, Miller, 1995, 223.

²⁰ Beroe (and the women) would not have attended the games, but would have communally lamented Anchises’ passing during the games, cf. Williams, 1960, 165f.

²¹ Cf. Nugent, 1992, 268.

²² Williams, 1960, 167.

as possible and to be mindful of his responsibility to his people and to Ascanius results in a seven lines of deliberation before the orders to make ready are given. In the case of Ascanius, things are rather different, handout K:

Primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris
Ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petiuit
Castra, nec exanimes possunt retinere magistri.

Ascanius was happily leading the cavalry manouvres, so he made off to the troubled camp at full gallop although the breathless trainers tried in vain to hold him back.

In one sentence, we move from the **mock** action of the equestrian games to the **real** action of stopping the burning of the ships, and it is a successful transition. We may compare with the young Ascanius' wish in Carthage to participate in a real hunt (4.156-159), a wish that is foiled in the course of the fateful thunderstorm. In Book 5, Ascanius reacts immediately, spurring his horse and refusing to be held back by his trainers, and when facing the women, throwing down his helmet as we see in 5.675: *qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat* (He had been wearing a helmet as he stirred the images of war). We have moved from the *simulacra* of war to an actual conflict. Miller points out that Ascanius is employing the horse given to him by Dido,²³ so we see that Ascanius has learned to use gifts connected to an interruption of the pursuit of Italy to actively reach for his destined home. By having Ascanius (as Aeneas' stand-in) use the horse of Dido, Vergil shows that the obstacles of Book 4 have finally been overcome.

Ascanius' short speech to the Trojan women may be seen as the third return to the starting point of the women's episode. Ascanius demands '*quis furor iste nouus?*', 'what new rage is this?', in handout M (5.670), and the use of *nouus* recalls the *nouanuit* of line 604 at the very outset of the episode. Others have suggested that Ascanius assumes the women are under a delusion that they are attacking enemy ships, not their own, and therefore addresses them as *miserae ciues* (5.671) and reveals himself to end their rage.²⁴ This ascribes good sense to Ascanius in addition to the determination he has shown earlier. It also provides the correct paradigm for what *ciues* should and should not do, the word being evocative of Roman procedures for administration of the *res publica*. It emphasises the rouge nature of Iris' usurpation of civic decision making in her suggestion *quis prohibet muros iacere et dare ciuibus urbem* in 631 (handout C). That female involvement in the rule of state is touched upon may also bring to the reader's mind the consequences of such female involvement, and the spectacular way Aeneas is sidetracked into serving Carthage for Dido, thus betraying his own and Rome's ideals of simplicity and duty in the previous book, handout N:

Aeneam fundantem arces ac tecta nouantem
Conspicit. Atque illi stellatus iaspide fulua
Ensis erat Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
Demissa ex umeris, diues quae munera Dido
Fecerat, et tenui telas discreuerat auro.

²³ Miller, 1995, 229-231.

²⁴ E.g. Williams, 1960, 169.

[he saw] Aeneas laying the foundations of the citadel and putting up buildings. His sword was studded with yellow stars of jasper, and glowing with Tyrian purple there hung from his shoulders a rich cloak given him by Dido into which she had woven a fine cross-thread of gold.

If we consider Ascanius' handling of this emergency a re-write of Aeneas' actions in Carthage, we may say that the threat of orientalised emasculation in the style of Anthony, to which we see Aeneas having given way in book 4, has now been countered and matters put right.

As if the ground has now been sufficiently prepared, Aeneas himself enters the stage in line 675, and in my final section I hope to show that the actions of the Trojan leader from here on in Book 5 may be seen as a highly effective re-write of his actions in the fateful fourth book. We have approached this re-write of the character most compromised by the events in Book 4 gradually through the proxies of Pyrgo and Ascanius. The conclusion to the women's episode will test the character of Aeneas directly. As the fire of the ships continues to rage after the women have dispersed, Aeneas beseeches Iuppiter for rain to fall and put out the flames. It is worth taking a closer look at the introduction of his prayer (handout O):

Tum pius Aeneas umeris abscindere uestem
Auxilioque uocare deos et tendere palmas:
'Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum
Troianos, si quid pietas antiqua labores
Respicit humanos, da flammam euadere classi
Nunc, pater, et tenuis Teucrum res eripe leto.'

This was when the devout Aeneas tore the cloak off his shoulders and called upon the gods for help, stretching out his hands and praying: 'All-powerful Jupiter, if you don not yet abhor the whole race of Trojans, if your loving-kindness still looks as of old on the labours of men, grant now, O Father, that our fleet escape the flames. Save from destruction what little remains to the Trojans [...]

It is the first line I am interested in here, particularly the fact that Aeneas takes off his coat. It should be seen in the context of preparation for prayer or even sacrifice but if Book 4 is already on the reader's mind, one might wonder whether Aeneas here also metaphorically speaking finally sheds the oriental gown of book 4, and fully returns to the role of *pius Aeneas* and the epic agenda. The epithet is then even more befitting in 5.685 than it was in the turning-point line of book 4, where it is used for the first time since Book 1, see handout P:

At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
Solando cupit et dictis auertere curas,
Multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore
Iussa tamen diuum exsequitur classemque reuisit.

But Aeneas was faithful to his duty. Much as he longed to soothe her and console her sorrow, to talk to her and take away her pain, with many a groan and with a heart shaken by his great love, he nevertheless carried out the commands of the gods and went back to his ships.

That Aeneas now successfully takes control of the events is shown also by the fact that the torrential rain that pours down in this book, in direct answer to his prayers, furthermore leads to rescue, not disaster. This should be compared to the fatal thunderstorm prompting the union of Aeneas and Dido in Book 4; where we should make note of the differences between Aeneas' conduct when faced with the crisis of Book 5, and the purely reactive fashion in which Aeneas and the Trojans, then a mere extension of their captain's character, act when the fatal thunderstorm strikes in 4.160-165, handout Q:

Interea magno misceri murmure caelum
Incipit, insequitur commixta grandine nimbus,
Et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuuentus
Dardaniusque nepos Ueneris diuersa per agros
Tecta metu petiere; runt de montibus amnes.
Speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
Deueniunt. [...]

While all this was happening a great rumble of thunder began to stir in the sky. Down came the rain and the hail, and Tyrian huntsmen, men of Troy and Ascanius of the line of Dardanus and grandson of Venus, scattered in fright all over the fields, making for shelter as rivers of water came rushing down the mountains. Dido and the leader of the Trojans took refuge together in the same cave.

In Book 4, confusion reigns and the hunting party is scattered. As the rain slackens in Book 5, however, the order of the narrative, moving from the first clap of thunder to relief that the main part of the fleet remains unscathed suggests a methodical survey of the scene, handout R: *semusta madescunt robora, restinctus donec uapor omnis et omnes quattuor amissis seruatae a peste carinae* (it poured down and filled the ships and soaked the charred timbers till all the fire was quenched and, except for four that were lost, all the ships were saved from destruction., in 5.697-699). Four ships have been lost, but the others are safe. The Book Five passage re-writes the thunderstorm episode of Book Four, and gives it a positive conclusion.

That Aeneas is still doubtful as to what course of action is better shows him to be a careful leader; here, he plays with the option of forgetting the fate of Italy, handout S: *pectore [...] uersans, Siculisne resideret aruis / oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras*, ([his heart was heavy] as he turned his thoughts this way and that, wondering whether he should forget about his destiny and settle in the fields of Sicily, or whether he ought to make for the shores of Italy). The line recalls Mercury's accusation in 4.267, handout T: *heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum!* ('Have you entirely forgotten your own kingdom and your own destiny?') At this point, the audience, remembering the hasty departure prompted by the threat of fire in Book 4, may wonder what kind of departure, whether actual or in terms

of the narrative, may be the result of Aeneas' eventual decision. In Book 4, the departure from Carthage, resulting from Mercury's reminder, offers the audience closure to the Dido plot, but little in the way of closure is provided or shown as having been reached by the character of Aeneas himself. I will return presently to Aeneas' hasty cutting of the mooring cables at Carthage and its implications for our interpretation, but for now, I would like to suggest that in Book 5, the threat of fire represents a narrative turning-point much larger than that of Book 4 – but the character development Aeneas undergoes (which in turn makes the departure of the narrative possible) is only a gradual and considered one.

Rather than needing prompts from the gods as he did in Book 4, Aeneas now seeks advice from his senior captain Nautes, who suggests that he seek permission from Acestes to leave in his care the weak and sick among the Trojans but that Aeneas himself, and most of his followers, should continue on their quest for Italy. The introduction of Nautes as a wise man along with his advice covers a full thirteen lines, at the end of which Aeneas is still in two minds. This has been seen as wavering determination on Aeneas' part, but it also shows us in very tangible terms that Aeneas' process for decision making has changed and become less rash. In Book 4, Aeneas reaches his decision to leave Carthage after only seven lines. These seven lines are characterised by rising desperation and conclude with a series of rhetorical questions (handout U). By contrast, in Book 5, Aeneas has learned, the reader may feel, to allow himself time to think, and though he is, as we see in handout V, *incensus dictis senioris amici* – *incensus* being a word suggestive of rashness – he considers overnight.

That this section of the *Aeneid* is a fundamental starting point for the seven final books is furthermore shown by the appearance of Anchises in Aeneas' dream in the following twenty lines – it is Anchises' advice that finally causes Aeneas to decide to sail for Italy while leaving some of his followers behind. Apart from advising Aeneas to follow Nautes' suggestion and leave part of his followers in Sicily, Anchises gives Aeneas precise instructions on what he must do once he lands on Italian ground: that a descent to the underworld will be necessary for the defeat of Turnus' forces. Perhaps with a humorous undertone, Vergil shows the reader just how much careful consideration has come to mean to Aeneas when the text lets the hero cry out in grief and disappointment at the instant disappearance of his father's ghost, handout W: *'quo deinde ruis? Quo proripis?'* 'Where are you going in such haste? Who are you escaping from?') This line, as commentators note, recalls Odysseus begging the ghost of his mother to linger in *Od.* 11.210: 'My mother, why do you not stay for me, who am eager to embrace you?', but the emphasis has been shifted to include the hastiness and the speed of Anchises' departure rather than merely the loneliness of an abandoned child. I wonder, too, whether there is a subtle allusion to the voice Dido hears from the altar of Sychaeus in Book 4 (4.460f) or indeed the appearance of his ghost in Book 1, which leads Dido to escape from Tyrrhus and found Carthage. It is tempting to see here a juxtaposition of Dido doomed to found a city set up for destruction and ultimately to die, and Aeneas, being set with the task of descending into the Underworld, yet fated to live and be the father of a prosperous city.

Let us, however, return once more to Book 5. Aeneas' reaction to Anchises' message is once more a tempered and reasonable one, and he performs sacrifices to the Trojan *penates* – a good sign that he is now committed to their safekeeping and the Italian venture. In the next section Aeneas so seeks the help of Acestes and agrees with him the founding of a new city for those who wish to stay behind. Then follow three lines on careful repairs of the remaining fleet, and finally Vergil tells us of the founding of Acesta, and here is the first of the two final curiosities of the ships episode, handout X:

Interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro
Sortiturque domos; hoc Ilium et haec loca Troiam
Esse iubet. Gaudet regno Troianus Acestes
Indicitque forum et patribus dat iura uocatis.

Meanwhile, Aeneas was ploughing the city bounds and allotting homes to his people. This was to be Ilium, and this was to be Troy. Trojan Acestes was delighting in his kingdom, choosing a site for his forum, summoning a senate and laying down a code of laws.

Others have pointed out the preponderance of typically Roman vocabulary to describe the foundation of Acesta. This foundation suggests the success of the foundation of Rome and her empire.²⁵ It stands in contrast with the last time we saw Aeneas involved in founding a city, sidetracked and orientalised in Carthage. As we have seen, the building works he leads there are clearly indicated to be detrimental to his destiny in Italy.

In Book 5, the works on the foundation of Acesta and the re-fitting of the damaged ships are seamlessly joined in one descriptive passage, emphasizing resolve, unity and optimism for the future. That a balance between the demands for rest on the one hand and the necessity to fight actively for the promised future in Rome has been struck is obvious also from the farewell scene in lines 762-778. Although the less strong are left behind, the passage still conveys the feeling that *bonus Aeneas* has now reached an understanding for and found an ability to handle those two conflicting needs – even in himself. This is highly significant in order for him to function as a reliable leader throughout the book, and puts him well on his way to being a good *pater* to his people, a role he confidently takes on at the close of the book, even after the loss of the earlier so much needed helmsman Palinurus.

Rather than setting out in adverse weather conditions and in haste, as they did when leaving Carthage, this departure is well prepared – the appropriate sacrifices have been made, good-byes have been said. The way Aeneas lets go of the moorings confirms this impression of deliberateness and of determination, handout Y:

Tris Eryci uitulos et Tempestatibus agnam
Caedere deinde iubet soluique ex ordine funem.
Ipse caput tonsae foliis euinctus oliuae
Stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos
Proicit in fluctus ac uina liquentia fundit.

²⁵ Williams, 1960, 185; Galinsky, 1968, 168f, who also links it intertextually to *Aen.* 8.541-544.

Certatim socii feriunt mare aequora uerrunt;
Prosequitur surgens a puppi uentus euntis.

At last came the command to sacrifice three calves to Eryx and a lamb to the Storms and to cast off their moorings in due order. There stood Aeneas alone on the prow, his head bound with a wreath of trimmed olive leaves and holding a goblet in his hand as he scattered the sacrificial entrails and poured the streaming wine into the salt sea. His men vied with one another to strike the waves, sweeping them with their oars as a freshening wind from astern helped them on their way.

To see how extensive Aeneas' development as a leader in Book 5 has been, we need to compare this passage with the two passages from Book 4 which it re-writes:

Firstly, Aeneas' immediate response to Mercury's initial appearance, handout Z:

Mnesthea Sergestumque uocat fortemque Serestum,
Classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,
Arma parent et quae rebus sit causa nouandis
Dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
Nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
Temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi
Tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocus omnes
imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt.

He called Mnestheus, Sergestus and brave Seretus and ordered them to fit out the fleet and tell no one, to muster the men on the shore with their equipment at the ready, and keep secret the reason for the change of plan. In the meantime, since the good queen knew nothing and the last thing she expected was the shattering of such a great love, he himself would try to make approaches to her and find the kindest time to speak and the best way to handle the matter. They were delighted to receive their orders and carried them out immediately.

Aeneas' behaviour here betrays no direct doubt – although as we saw earlier, he has only just calmed down from his fright at Mercury's appearance – but by his decision to see Dido, he does make himself a target for Dido's potentially successful rhetoric. The crew, on the other hand, moves swiftly and effectively. Their work is expanded on in 4.401-407 by means of a simile: a description of industrious and carefully executed work in which Aeneas plays no part. This slight unevenness between the so far balanced and considered actions of the crew and Aeneas is more prominent following the second appearance of Mercury. At this point, Aeneas has already resolved to go (he is *certus eundi* in 4.554) and everything is ready (*rebus iam rite paratis* in 4.555). Mercury's dream apparition warns him, however, to make haste, handout 1: *Non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?* Why do you not go with all speed while speed you may? (4.565), whereupon follows the previously discussed warning that Dido may set fire to the Trojan ships, should he delay. Now, however, it is Aeneas' reactions that interest me, the last point on your handouts:

Tum uero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris

Corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat
Praecipitis: 'uigilate, uiri, et considite transtris;
Soluite uela citi. Deus aethere missus ab alto
Festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis
Ecce iterum instimulat. [...]

[...] dixit et uaginaque eripit ensem
fulmineum stritoque ferit retinacula ferro.
Idem omnis simul ardor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque;
Litora deseruere, latet sub classibus aequor,
Adnixi torquent spumas et caerula uerrunt.

[...] into the blackness of the night and Aeneas was immediately awake, terrified by the sudden apparition. There was no more rest for his men, as he roused them to instant action: 'Wake up and sit to your benches,' he shouted. 'Let out the sails and quick about it. A god has been sent down again from the heights of heaven – I have just seen him – spurring us on to cut our plaited ropes and run from here. [...] As he spoke he drew his sword from its scabbard like a flash of lightning and struck the mooring cables with the naked steel. In that instant they were all seized by the same ardour and set to, hauling and hustling. The shore was emptied. The sea could not be seen for ships. Bending to the oars they whipped up the foam and swept the blue surface of the ocean.

At first glance, Aeneas' actions seem well suited to a hero, effectively rousing the crew and pulling his sword from the scabbard, cutting the cables with one fell stroke and making the sea churn with his ships. We must note, though, the prominence of vocabulary with negative associations in the passage: Firstly, Aeneas is *exterritus*, that is, utterly terrified. It is a state of mind that does not make for considered decisions. Reacting, moreover, to Mercury's demands and responding to the worrying undertones of *praecipitare* (to hurry forwards in a rush), Aeneas does exactly what Mercury has requested, and acts ahead of time. That the word *fatigat*, which of course can also mean 'exhaust' and 'make tired', has been chosen to describe him rousing his crews from sleep also hints that while Aeneas now does take action, it is not as well-considered as it could be. Metre and syntactical structure underline the impression of haste throughout the passage. Aeneas' explanation to his men that a god spurs him on (*instimulat*) in line 576 furthermore suggests that whatever decisiveness Aeneas is now displaying relies on an external source rather than on his own resolution.

The most extravagant display of heroics in this section is the Aeneas cutting the cables of the ships. The mention of letting out the sails in the previous lines invites us to imagine the ships with billowing sails now straining at taut mooring cables. From earlier passages in Books 1 and 3, we also know that the *retinacula* that Aeneas attacks here lead down to anchors of this type (point to powerpoint), commonly used in Vergil's day. They are described as two-teethed, *bidentes*, and anyone who has used an anchor of this type will know that they really do tend to bite into the bottom of the anchorage. If you'll allow me to be anachronistic for a moment, we might imagine a scene like this: (show straining ship)

Therefore, what we get when Aeneas cuts the cables in Book 4 is, of course, high action, but we also need to bear in mind that cutting off strained mooring lines with swords is a rather risky manoeuvre, both for oneself and for the ship. Whoever attempts it might be severely lashed by the cable springing back, and the ship might pitch dangerously. Thus, the Book 4 passage stands in marked contrast with the quiet but decisive command came [...] to cast off their moorings in due order, looking back at handout Y. By the end of Book Five, Aeneas knows better, and acts more responsibly.

At this narrative starting point, I will end. Other scholars have focussed on Aeneas' relationship to Anchises and on the Palinurus episode, noting a similar crucial development in Aeneas as the leader of the Trojans, and highlighting the centrality of Book 5 as a narrative turning point. My contribution has focussed on the re-writing of particularly Book 4 which I see taking place in Book 5. I hope that I have shown that much like the *Odyssey* surveys the events that lead up to Odysseus' final return to Ithaca in the stories told to the Phaeacians and Athena prepares Odysseus for the role as an old beggar after his arrival in Ithaca, so Vergil has the reader survey and reconsider Aeneas' first travels in Book 5, and thus prepares him for the events that are to unfold in Books 6-12.