

The Muses' Playground: The End of the *Aeneid*: Reconciliation?

A) Reconciliation on human level

- Turnus' death: a necessary deed? piety (Evander/Pallas); dispatching Turnus, rival and threat (boundary stone: threat to order; gigantomachic associations; contrast divine backing of Aeneas): securing unity and right foundations for Roman state

1) "it [Aeneas' spear] went whistling through the middle of the thigh. When the blow struck, down went great Turnus." (Verg. *Aen.* 12.926-7)

2) "flesh showed where the collar-bones hold the join of neck and shoulders, at the gullet, where a man's life is most quickly destroyed. Godlike Achilles drove in there with his spear as Hektor charged him" (Hom. *Il.* 22.324-6; tr. Hammond)

3) "You have defeated me, and the men of Ausonia have seen me defeated and stretching out my hands to you. Lavinia is yours. Do not carry your hatred any further." (Turnus to Aeneas, Verg. *Aen.* 12.936-8)

4) "If I drag out my hated life now that Pallas is killed, the reason, Aeneas, lies in your right arm. You know it owes the life of Turnus to the son and to the father." (Evander, Verg. *Aen.* 11.177-9)

5) "ferrum ... condit" ("he plunges the steel") (Verg. *Aen.* 12.950)

6) "dum conderet urbem" ("before he could found his city") (Verg. *Aen.* 1.5)

7) "He [Turnus] said no more but looked around and saw a huge rock, a huge and ancient rock which happened to be lying on the plain, a boundary stone put there to settle a dispute about land. Twelve picked men like those the earth now produces could scarcely lift it up on to their shoulders, but he caught it up in his trembling hands and ... hurled it at his enemy." (Verg. *Aen.* 12.896-902)

8) "Athene stepped back and picked up in her massive hand a stone that was lying on the plain, a black stone, huge and jagged, which men of an earlier time had set there to mark the boundary of a field." (Hom. *Il.* 21.403-5; tr. Hammond)

9) "The crash of the bursting thunderbolt is not so loud." (Verg. *Aen.* 12.922-3; of Aeneas' spear)

10) "as Achilleus rushed to attack, Aeneias would have struck him with the stone on his helmet or shield, which would have saved him from grim death, and the son of Peleus would have closed and taken the life from Aeneias with his sword, if Poseidon the earth-shaker had not quickly seen it" (Hom. *Il.* 20.288-91; tr. Hammond)

11) "Wherever his courage sought a way, the dread goddess barred his progress." (Verg. *Aen.* 12.913-4)

- disquieting description/end: abrupt; return of corpse left in future; echoes in last line (Camilla; cf. Patroclus and Hector); umbra as end

12) “give me back to my people, or if you prefer it, give them back my dead body.” (Verg. Aen. 12.935-6, Turnus to Aeneas)

13) “The *limbs* (**membra**) of Turnus were *dissolved in cold* (**solvuntur frigore**) and *his life left him with a groan, fleeing in anger down to the shades* (*vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras*).” (Verg. Aen. 12.951-2; cf. 11.381, of Camilla)

14) “A sudden chill went through Aeneas and his limbs grew weak (*extemplo solvuntur frigore membra*). Groaning, he lifted his palms (**tendens ... palmas**) upward to the stars” (Verg. Aen. 1.92-3, Aeneas facing death)

15) “stretching out my hands to you (**tendere palmas**)” (Verg. Aen. 12.936)

16) “weeping for its fate, and the youth and manhood it must leave” (Hom. *Il.* 16.856=22.362; tr. Hammond)

▪ Aeneas’ motives and behaviour: vengeance rather than clemency; Danaid scene= precedent for clemency; furor of Aeneas; developed from Homeric hero of Book 2?

17) “Are you to escape me now, wearing the spoils stripped from the body of those I loved? By this wound which I now give, it is Pallas... who exacts the penalty in your guilty blood.” (Verg. Aen. 12.947-9, Aeneas to Turnus)

18) “On this great belt an abominable crime was embossed, how in one dark night, the night of their marriage, a band of young men were foully slain, and their marriage chambers bathed in blood” (Verg. Aen. 10.496-8, Pallas’ belt which was taken by Turnus)

19) “burning with mad passion (*furiis accensus*) and terrible in his wrath” (Verg. Aen. 12.946)

▪ Aeneas’ behaviour in Book 12: cf. Ajax; irrational forces (storm simile 12.451ff.); blurred with Turnus (despite boulder v mountain) e.g. verbal links; bull simile

20) “the Trojan leader from Rhoeteum” (Verg. Aen. 12.456): site of Ajax’ tomb

21) “From me, my son, you can learn courage and hard toil. Others will teach you about fortune.” (Verg. Aen. 12.435-6, Aeneas to son); cf. Hector *Il.* 6.474ff.; Sophocles *Ajax*

22) “he abandoned the walls and the lofty citadel, *sweeping aside* (*praecipitat*) all delay and breaking off all his works of war. He *leapt* (*exsultans*) for joy” (Verg. Aen. 12.697-700)

23) “Just as a boulder comes *crashing down* (*praeceps*) from the top of a mountain ... it comes ... an evil mountain of rock, and *bounds over* (*exsultat*) the plain...” (Verg. Aen. 12.684-8, of Turnus)

24) “Just as two enemy bulls on the great mountain of Sila or on top of Taburnus bring their horns to bear and charge into battle.” (Verg. Aen. 12.716-17, of Turnus and Aeneas)

▪ sympathy for Turnus in Book 12: likened to other victims (Camilla; Dido); Pallas-like?: 12.936 *victum* (“conquered”) cf. *victum* 12.943; seems adolescent; unequal fight (cf. Troilus;

gladiatorial image)

25) “she took in an instant the shape of the little bird which perches on tombs and the gables of empty houses and sings late its ill-omened song among the shades of night.” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.862-4, Dira changes to bird just before Turnus' death)

26) “the lonely owl kept up its long dirge upon the roof, drawing out its doleful song of death” (Verg. *Aen.* 4.462-3, portent of Dido's death)

27) “His cheeks were like a boy's and there was a pallor over all his youthful body.” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.221)

28) “it had long seemed to the Rutulians that this was *not an even contest* (*impar ... pugna*) and their hearts were still ... dismayed when ... they saw at close range the difference in their strength.” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.216-18, Turnus about to fight duel)

29) “In another part of the picture poor Troilus, a mere boy and *no match for Achilles* (*impar congressus Achilli*), had lost his armour and was in full flight.” (Verg. *Aen.* 1.474-5)

30) “when it met the divine armour made by Vulcan, the mortal blade ... shattered on impact, leaving its fragments glittering on the golden sand. At this Turnus fled in despair and tried to escape to another part of the plain ... the Trojans formed a dense barrier round him, hemming him in between a huge marsh and the high walls.” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.739-45, fight between Aeneas and Turnus)

B) Reconciliation on the divine level

- extent and timing of Juno's reconciliation: Book 12? Acceptance later in other authors (second Punic war or deification of Romulus, as Horace *Odes* 3.3); support of Carthage in the future; Jupiter misleading Juno?

31) “Juno nodded in assent. She rejoiced and forced her mind to change” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.841)

32) “he says this; but it is agreed that it was in the Second Punic War that Juno was won over, and in the Third she was brought across to Rome with certain sacred objects by Scipio” (Servius, on Verg. *Aen.* 12.841)

33) “...Juno is said to have loved [Carthage] more than any other place, more even than Samos ... this was the city she had long favoured, intending to give it sovereignty over the peoples of the earth, if only the Fates would allow it. But she had heard that there was arising from the blood of Troy a race of men who in days to come would overthrow this Tyrian citadel” (Verg. *Aen.* 1.15-22: line 18 literally “even then”)

34) “The time will come for war- there is no need to hasten it- when barbarous Carthage will let destruction loose upon the citadels of Rome, opening up the Alps and sending them against Italy.” (Verg. *Aen.* 10.10-11, Jupiter to gods)

details of Jupiter's and Juno's reconciliation (mixing: compromise?); Jupiter packaging his material for Juno and Venus; Trojans will bring some customs (mores)

35) “I grant what you wish. I yield. I relent of my own free will. The people of Ausonia will keep the tongue of their fathers and their *ancient ways (mores)*. As their name is, so shall it remain. The Trojans will join them in body only and will then be submerged.” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.833-6)

36) “[Aeneas] will build walls for his people and establish their *way of life (mores)*” (Verg. *Aen.* 1.264)

37) “I shall not order Italians to obey Trojans, nor do I seek royal power for myself. Both nations shall move forward into an everlasting treaty I shall give the sacraments and the gods. Latinus, the father of my bride, will have the armies and solemn authority in the state. For me the Trojans will build the walls of a city and Lavinia will give it her name.” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.189-94)

38) “Rituals I will give and the modes of worship” (“*morem ritusque sacrorum / adiciam*”) (Verg. *Aen.* 12.836-7, Jupiter to Juno: what *mos*, “custom”, will Trojans offer?)

wheeling of Juno: outwardly submissive, asking for strong demands. Why does Jupiter smile? Reconciliation a version of Priam and Achilles’ but no suffering (immortal)

39) “And now, I, Juno, yield and quit these battles which I so detest.” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.818, to Juno)

40) “He who devised mankind and all the world smiled and replied: ‘You are the true sister of Jupiter and the second child of Saturn, such waves of anger do you set rolling from deep in your heart.’” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.829-31: why smile?)

▪ dark atmosphere: use of Dirae; Homeric echoes (but more menace, less justice); Dirae link with Furies (Jupiter and Juno using similar deities)

41) “There are two monsters named Dirae borne to the goddess of the dead of night in one and the same litter with Megaera of Tartarus. The heads of all three she bound with coiling snakes These attend the throne of savage Jupiter ... and sharpen the fears of suffering mortals whenever the King of the Gods sets plagues or hideous deaths in motion or terrifies guilty cities by the visitation of war.” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.845-52)

42) “As all the dark earth is buried under a storm ..., when Zeus pours down the most violent rain, in anger at men who have raised his fury by forcing corrupt judgements in the assembly and driving out justice, with no regard for punishment from the gods ...” (Hom. *Il.* 16.384-388 ; tr. Hammond)

43) “As when Zeus spreads a lurid rainbow in the sky for mortals to see, as a sign of war, or of a chilling storm which stops men’s work on the earth and troubles their sheep” (Hom. *Il.* 17.547-550; tr. Hammond)

C) Reconciliation on a plot and textual level: closural techniques

▪ Juno’s honour; forbidden to harry Trojans; Jupiter-Juno meeting picks up Jupiter-Venus meeting (smile; what end; prophecy of deification). Anxieties of goddesses calmed; echo

44) “Is there no one left who worships the godhead of Juno? Will there be no one in the future to pray to me and lay an offering on my altars?” (Verg. *Aen.* 1.49-50, Juno)

45) “The Father of Gods and Men, looking at his daughter with the smile that clears the sky and dispels the storms” (Verg. *Aen.* 1.254-5)

45) “The end has come” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.803, Jupiter to Juno)

46) Jupiter sends the Dira: “from the height of heaven” (Verg. *Aen.* 12.853): cf. 1.223

47) “The very first and the very last words in the first and last Jupiter-scenes are identical, so that we enter and leave Jupiter’s realm with the same phrase, moving from a god tossing care in his chest for humans to a god paralysing his lover’s brother, laying him open for the kill.” (Feeney, *The Gods in Epic*, p. 151)

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