

PART I: PEACE

I. Transition

Aeneid VI. and the poem's first half, ended with Aeneas's ascent from the underworld and his departure from Cumae, whence the Trojans sailed round the gulf of Caieta to the modern Gaeta:

Then he sailed straight to the harbour of Caieta,
And dropped anchor; the ships were beached.

The reader will pause here, not merely because he has reached the end of a book, although this is itself a significant landmark in a long narrative, whence the use of spatial metaphors (from racing, voyaging, etc.) at the ends of books.

Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor
et iam tempus equum fumantia soluere colla.

(*Georg.* 2. 541-2)

This figure is not found in the *Aeneid*: Virgil no longer needs to be so self-conscious, he does not need to dramatise his poetic progress in this way. But Spenser in the *Faerie Queene* ends book III with 'wilest here I do respire' and book IV canto V with a direct echo of Virgil:

But here my weary team nigh over spent
Shall breathe itself awhile, after so long a went.

The end of a book of an epic or chapter of a novel has always been significant. The space, the turning of the page, the break in transmission, articulate an interval in which the reader will have the sense both of an ending and of a fresh start. He has a choice: to go on, or to pause. The end of *Aeneid* VI marks a particularly significant moment in the narrative. Aeneas must move from the underworld to Latium. Fraenkel was surely

right to argue that this transition could not have been made at the end of VI (where it might at first sight have belonged) without 'doing violence to the moving and exalted ending of the nekota'.¹

But as the reader moves into book VII he finds that the mood of remoteness and alienation which had pervaded book VI has not yet been dissipated. The poet knows that the reader needs time to rub his eyes free of dreams and for those dreams to 'fade into the light of common day'. Neither the reader nor the Trojans and the action of the epic have quite left behind the experiences and insights of the world of shadows.

You also, nurse of Aeneas, Caieta gave this coast
of ours,

Dying there, eternal fame. If there's a thing called
glory,

This place is marked with your honour, and the
name

Commemorates your bones in the great country of
the west.

But now the good² Aeneas, all rites duly
performed,

The deep sea falling off, sailed from the harbour

...

Structurally, book VI is the pivot of the entire *Aeneid*. For Aeneas now, there is no going back, as there was at the end of book I, when in his narrative to Dido he returned to the burning ruins of Troy in search of the past. The way now is forward and clear, into the future inescapably revealed by his father.

The opening of VII, the aitiology of Caieta (death of the nurse) recalls and balances the end of VI, the aitiology of Palinuro (death of the pilot), completed in VI when Aeneas

¹ 'Some Aspects of the Structure of *Aeneid* VII', *IRS* 35 (1945) 1-14.

² The denotative *pious* is here associated with 'religious rite duly performed by Aeneas. His first appearance in the second half of the poem is appropriately marked. So in book I, after the storm, lamenting the loss of his comrades, he presents himself to his (disguised) mother: *sum pius Aeneas* . . . (1.378).

encountered Palinurus's shade wandering unburied, as the shade of Patroclus had wandered. This second brief piece of aetiology, in no way developed into a full narrative as the death of Palinurus was, acts as a bridge to the magical voyage to the mouth of the Tiber. There follows one of Virgil's most extraordinary paragraphs. We are still half in an Odyssean world of the marvellous, where nothing seems quite real, a world of fantastic impressionism. In an unearthly moonlight which recalls the descent into the underworld *sub luce maligna* Aeneas sails past Circe's island, here located off the coast of Latium. Groans and roars of beasts are heard, of beasts once men, transformed by witchcraft, a weirdly parodic refraction of the visit to the underworld. The phrase *hic exaudiri gemitus*, 'from this place came groans', links the beast-men with the cries of the damned in Tartarus heard but not visited by Aeneas. Nor is he here drawn into contact with evil. Neptune sends a favouring wind: a structural and thematic correspondence with the opening of book I, when Neptune rescued the Trojans from Juno's storm. This is Aeneas's last trial by water. The flickering moonlit scene recalls the colour-drained landscape of the underworld.

Night falls. Winds breathe. A white moon on their track,

Under a wavering light the sea shines . . .

But then, as the lurid but ineffectual terrors of the night give way to rosy dawn, the Odyssean world of fantasy disperses like a dream and with the dawn come calm seas and smooth landfall at the mouth of the Tiber. The atmosphere becomes Italian pastoral, geographically familiar. It is perhaps the most extraordinary transition in the poem. Father Tiber, with his yellow sand bursts abruptly into the sea and into the poem (*prorumpit*) as Aeneas gazes for the first time on a scene so familiar to the implied reader (Virgil exploits this contrast between what Aeneas sees for the first time, with wonder or incomprehension, and what the reader recognises as familiar at several crucial points in the poem, and particularly in book

viii.) Birds native to the estuary (*adsuetae ripis*) fly and sing, in contrast to the paranormal noises of the night, and Aeneas beaches his ships in a mood of joy which he sustains – although the reader does not – until the end of book viii, for Aeneas is spared the grim events which will shortly be narrated

It is only now that the poet is ready for his second invocation. The need to withhold it for 36 lines has been scrupulously judged. A transition was needed, and indeed the first paragraph of vii constitutes the first part of a much larger transition; the first arch of a bridge spanning the whole of books vii and viii which need to be taken together. The Odyssean world of marvels, travels, adventures, prophecies, miraculous insights, begins slowly to recede, as we enter the processes of history. The arrival in Latium takes us into a new order of time as well as place.

That opening of vii, with its nocturnal voyage and its pastoral daybreak on the still marvellous yet familiar Tiber, is repeated at the beginning of viii, the two books together constituting a prelude to the Virgilian Iliad as well as a postlude to the Virgilian Odyssey. The rumblings of coming war begin soon to be heard in an atmosphere of Italian peace, order and tradition. Book viii ends with Aeneas's shield, an 'Iliadic' object yet also the marvellous object and end of a quest: a golden fleece and the Trojans are like Argonauts sailing along uncharted waterways; yet for the implied reader they are not the sea roads of a mythical voyage but the home river; the allusion to Catullus 64 in the passage in book viii emphasises Virgil's use of an important motif, the familiar was once marvellous – as the *Argo* was to the sea gods:

*mirantur et undae,
miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe
scuta uirum fluuio pictasque innare carinas
. . . uiridisque secant placido aequore siluas*³

³ *Aen.* 8.91–6. The wonder caused by the *Argo*, the first ship, is recalled by Dante at the end of the *Paradiso* (33.96) in a striking simile which accompanies the poet's ultimate vision of the Eternal Light: 'che fe' Nettuno ammirar l'ombra d'Argo'. Cf. also Catullus 64.12–15.

*Wonderful and strange to waters and woods
Are the gleam of heroes' shields, the painted ships
. . . and they glide through easy water in a green shade.*

Book VII brings Aeneas to the mouth of the Tiber, near Ostia, book VIII brings him upstream to the site of Rome and brings the reader to his journey's end and the teleological end of the poem.

There is a difference between a reader's progress through a long narrative composition and the retrospective explanatory overview of the whole attempted by critics, who tend to overschematise the structure of the *Aeneid*. There is certainly a correspondence between books I and VII which the reader of VII, if he has read and remembers I, will accommodate to what for him is the more exciting dynamic aspect of the narrative of VII. The second invocation is the author's reminder of structure; it has no narrative function; the author is here in his role as antiquarian and historiographer.

Nunc age qui reges, Erato, quae tempora rerum,⁴
quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, aduena classem
cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris,
expediam . . .

*Come now, Muse, Erato: what kings, what times, what
circumstances
Prevailed in old Latium when first
That foreign army reached the Italian shore
Shall I unfold. . .*

The formula *nunc age . . . expediam* is that of doctrinal exposition and belongs to didactic epic; it is Lucretian, and occurs again in *Aeneid* VI at the beginning of the *Heldenschau*. It

⁴ The O.C.T. punctuates *quae tempora, rerum quis fuerit status*. But as Fordyce points out (ed.), *Aeneid VII-VIII* (Oxford 1977), n. ad loc., although *status rerum* is good Latin, the Lucretian echo (5.1276, *sic uoluenda aetas commutat tempora rerum*) surely guarantees the reading known to Servius, though he explained it curiously by reference to L.'s theory of time (see Conington on 7.37).

also belongs to cyclic epic, whereas the appeal to the Muse is Homeric. Virgil characteristically combines both modes.⁵

The correspondence between I and VII is also a reminder to the reader that book I (the beginning of the so-called 'Odyssean' *Aeneid*) is strongly Iliadic. Both books contain invocations; that in book I is modelled on the invocation of the Odysseus but with the significant inclusion, in the fifth line, of the word *bello*, 'war'. The role of Juno in the two books is also strikingly similar. First she summons Aeolus to try to destroy Aeneas. In VII she summons the fury Allecto. Her two great monologues in these books have their germ in some lines spoken in soliloquy by Poseidon in *Odyssey* v (from which book is also taken Aeneas's first oration, 'thrice and four times blessed are they who died at Troy'), but her implacable determination to oppose the Trojans takes its primary motivation from the *Iliad*. Her hatred becomes in the *Aeneid* positively Satanic; indeed her 'sense of injured merit' (Milton's phrase about Satan is a translation of Virgil's *spretae iniuria formae*) over the judgement of Paris (not mentioned in the *Iliad* until book xxiv) is mentioned by Virgil early in his first book. Satan's resentment in *Paradise Lost* over God's exaltation of the Messiah is a largely unnoticed parody of the judgement of Paris.

Venus's plea to Jupiter in book I after Aeneas's suffering in the storm, and Jupiter's great prophecy of reassurance are strongly Iliadic, for in the mother's plea on behalf of her son is recalled the plea of Thetis to Zeus on behalf of the dishonoured Achilles. In both episodes the father of gods and men must in order to satisfy the hero's mother oppose the will of Hera/Juno. Zeus's will (*boule*) is mentioned by Homer in the opening invocation of the *Iliad*: 'and the will of Zeus was accomplished'. The will of Jupiter is accomplished in the *Aeneid*. That will is co-ordinate with history, and is set out in the great 30-line prophecy in *Aeneid* I. Upon this speech the whole structure of the poem rests: *manent immota tuorum fata*

⁵ Thus Erato is from the second invocation of the *Argonautica* (3.1, εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, 'Ερατώ . . .)

tibi, 'your family's destiny remains, as you wish, fixed'. This allusion both to the Roman nation and the *gens Iulia* (Augustus's family) introduces the poem's first great prophetic guarantee.

Not only does VII echo I, but I anticipates and is completed in XII exactly as *Iliad* XXIV completes and is prepared for in *Iliad* I. The smile with which Jupiter reassures Venus in I is the smile with which he reassures Juno in XIV and reconciles her to a future in which the poem's implied reader already lives, in which Juno is honoured in Rome and the Troy she hated exists only in the past: *Troia fuit*.

olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum

olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor

Virgil's sense of the end being in the beginning and the beginning in the end is clearly stated in book I, with its repetition of a key word, *finis*. This word, occurring in the first book (where it seems least appropriate) looks forward to the 'end' of book XII, the poem's end, to Jupiter's last question to the defeated Juno *quae iam finis erit, coniunx?* (12.793), and beyond that to ends which lie outside the limits of the poem as narrative, beyond even the apocalypses of the 'implied author'.⁶

In both *Iliad* I and *Aeneid* I the death of the hero is prophesied. Thetis sadly foresees that Achilles' life will be brief and tragic; in contrast, Jupiter reaffirms to Aeneas's mother that she shall bear her son to heaven. His triumphant 'end' seems wholly unprecatory in the fresh toils and trials imposed by Juno in book I, and this opposition between the

⁶ For the 'implied author' see Wayne Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago 1961) 70-7 *et passim*. It is used to refer to the author's 'second self'. This is not to be identified with the narrator, but is created by the author as he writes the work. Booth observes that 'it is a curious fact that we have no terms either for this created "second self" or for our relationship with him (i.e. as readers)'. The implied author of the *Aeneid* is not the narrating 'I' (*maius opus moueo*, etc.), 'who is only one of the elements created by the implied author and who may be separated from him by large ironies', but is that which persists in the reader's mind after he has finished reading the work quite independently of the story.

'end' of apotheosis and the seemingly unending sufferings must be felt and understood by the reader as it cannot be by the hero. Aeneas's famous words 'In his first speech, *deus dabit his quoque finem*, 'to these things also god will bring an end' are Odyssean but they are transposed into an Iliadic context when they are re-echoed in the Venus-Jupiter scene a few lines later. But before this, Virgil uses *finis* again in a curious connective formula; after the storm is over and the Trojans make landfall he writes *et iam finis erat*, 'and that was the end of that'.

But that end was a beginning, the beginning of a new episode in the story. The end which Aeneas assures his men the god will bring can be read as a proclamation of faith, but only because the reader himself can bring the end, knows indeed that it already exists even if he never reads the rest of the poem. 'Narrative presumes that events precede the discourse which reports them.'⁷

In Venus's prayer to Jupiter, *quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?*, 'What end do you give, great king, to his labours?', the answer, again, will not surprise the reader, and is not meant to, though a naive reader who does not know the story of Aeneas's deification might be able to reproduce the proclaimed fears and subsequent comfort supposed to be felt by Venus. Rhetoric is precisely a way of drawing the reader into emotions he did not feel at the beginning. But the key word *labores* ought to signal a link in the reader's mind between Aeneas and Hercules, even though the latter's role as a paradigm in the poem does not emerge until later. Thus, any second and subsequent reading of the poem will enable the reader to understand that Aeneas will be deified, like Hercules. In 6.801-5 Virgil refers to the labours of another hero, Augustus, who is there said to have excelled Hercules in the extent of his civilising mission. Only a few lines further on Venus's question, 'What end?', is directly answered. Jupiter says *imperium sine fine dedi*, 'I have given them empire without end'. The labours of Aeneas, of which Venus complains, will

⁷ Culler, *Pursuit* 172; F. Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending* (Oxford 1967) 67-89.

end in the hero's death and transfiguration, an event which existed before the poem but which the poem does not reach; yet in another sense, for his descendants, the Aeneidae, they had not ended when Virgil wrote the poem, a thousand years after the events supposedly narrated. And a thousand years after that, Beatrice said to Dante: 'You shall be with me, without end (*senza fine*) a citizen of that Rome of which Christ is a Roman.'⁸

In the last book Jupiter asks Juno, returning to the rhetorical question he had been asked in book I, *quae iam finis erit, coniunx?*, 'What now shall be the end, wife?' The whole speech echoes that first speech to Venus.

You know, and you admit you know, that Aeneas
is
Destined for divinity.

The reader knows this by now, even if he did not in book I. The poem's end is in its beginning and its beginning in its end. The Iliadic conflict finally resolved in XII is announced in Jupiter's first speech in book I: *bellum ingens geret Italia*, 'he will wage a great war in Italy'. Throughout the 'Odyssean' opening book of the *Aeneid* we never forget the poem's overriding Iliadic theme and structure. By placing his *Iliad* after his *Odyssey*, reversing the Homeric sequence, Virgil holds back the known and proclaimed end until the narrative itself is ready to reach it.

2. Invocation

Come now, Muse, Erato: what kings, what times,
what circumstances
Prevailed in old Latium when first
That foreign army reached the Italian shore

⁸ *Purgatorio* 32.101-2.

Shall I unfold, recall how the battle first began.
Goddess, instruct your poet. I shall tell of dreadful
war;

Of the front line and kings high courage led to
death

Etruria's forces, all Italy compelled to arms.
For me there arises a greater order of things.
I start the greater work.

'All Italy compelled to arms': these words from the second invocation of the *Aeneid* would have stirred in the heart of the Augustan reader an uneasy sense of *déjà vu*, memories of the civil war so newly ended: a meaning which would be encouraged by *reuocabo*, I shall recall, a conventional narrative signal (the poet makes things happen again when he narrates them) here taking on the dark colour of actual experience. Against this stirring of the grim memories of civil war Virgil sets words from a quite different semantic field: lofty, philosophical, the apocalyptic diction of the cosmic cycles. The 'greater order of things' echoes words from the poet's fourth *Eclogue* in which is announced the cyclic return of the golden age, the *Saturnia regna* in terms of the Platonic great year and the Sibylline prophecies.

magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo

the great order of the ages starts afresh

This allusion is relevant to *Aeneid* VII because the poet is about to describe the point in the historical cycle (*tempora rerum*) reached in Latium, where a direct descendant of Saturn (the god who was exiled by his usurping son Jupiter to take refuge in Latium and there inaugurate a new order of things, a golden age) presides over a peaceful (if precariously peaceful) régime which is now to be disrupted by the coming of the Trojans. The 'time' which the poet will tell of is not just chronicle-time but significant time.⁹ With the Iliadic epic now begun Virgil

⁹ On 'temporality' and 'chronicity', and the difference between successive time (*χρόνος*) and meaningful time (*καιρός*) see F. Kermodé, *The Sense* chs. ii, iii.

himself invokes and inaugurates the new order of history which starts with Aeneas and culminates in Augustus. *maius opus moueo*, 'I start the greater work', echoes Jupiter's own prophecy in book I: *uolvens fatorum arcana mouebo*, 'I will unroll the book of destiny and reveal its secrets.' Virgil, guided by the advising Muse, will unroll the secret cause and dire results of war, will chronicle in epic narrative the origins and course of Roman *imperium*: just as, in VI, guided by the spirits of the underworld, he had revealed the chthonic mysteries, 'things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme',¹⁰ *res alta terra et caligine mersas*. The greater order of things which the poet now sets himself to unfold is, for the implied reader, the story of how modern civilisation began and reached its zenith under Augustus. The random shooting of a pet animal, the *furor* of a discarded suitor, the need of immigrant exiles to settle and build, lead to the triple triumph on the Shield of Aeneas in book VIII. 'Actions performed at a certain moment in time become irrevocable and belong to history, in which they have not a free but a predestined significance.'¹¹

The word *ordo* occurs in another prophetic passage, in III, when Helenus reveals to the Trojans the extent of their further wanderings before they reach the promised land in accordance with destiny as revealed by Jupiter:

sic fata deum rex
sortitur uoluitque uices, is uertitur ordo

*So the king of the gods apportions
Destiny, turning the wheel. This is the order of things*

uates is used by Virgil of himself in the second invocation, but nowhere else thus in the poem. He and Horace deliberately revived the word to replace the fashionable Grecism *poeta* and to restore to the role of the poet something of the bardic and prophetic dignity of the Italian past.¹² Throughout the *Aeneid*,

¹⁰ Milton, *Paradise Lost* I. 16.

¹¹ Tolstoi, *War and Peace* IX. i.

¹² On *uates* see J. K. Newman, *Augustus and the New Poetry* (1967) 109ff., K. W. Gransden, *Aeneid VIII* (Cambridge 1976) on *Aen.* 8. 340-1.

uates is frequently used in its meaning of 'prophet': thus in VIII, on the Shield of Aeneas Vulcan

res Italas Romanorumque triumphos
 haud uatum ignarus uenturique inscius aevi
 fecerat ignipotens, illic genus omne futurae
 stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella.

*There had the master of fire
 Not ignorant of the prophets or of the future unaware
 Set forth the state of Italy and the triumphs of the
 Romans,
 There the whole nation that will be
 Descended from Ascānius and all its wars in order.*

Now in book VII Virgil, about to embark on the expatiation of all these prophecies becomes himself vatic, like Jupiter, Helenus, the Sibyl, Vulcan. He is about to describe how Latinus king of Latium was prophetically warned by the indigenous Italian god Faunus that his daughter Lavinia was not destined to marry the local chief, Turnus, to whom she was then betrothed but a stranger, an immigrant who would exact the Latin name to the stars. Thus in the second invocation Virgil is not only the servant of the Muses, invoking their aid in the traditional Greek style but the instructed bard himself gifted like Vulcan with insight into the 'future'. The Shield of Aeneas, on which Vulcan has portrayed the history of Rome from Romulus to Augustus is a visual metaphor for epic narrative. The wars are set forth on the shield *in ordine*, in order, in the manner of annalistic chronicle but the description of them in the *Aeneid* is in the grandest epic style.

The vatic function became an obsession with Milton, long before *Paradise Lost*. In *Lycidas* he had already meditated on the relation between art and the fame of the artist. In lamenting Edward King's death, he had shown himself aware that the sacred task and burden of writing poetry might cut short the poet's career before he had crowned his achievement and ensured immortality, by making his due progress through the

genres, as Virgil had done, from pastoral (the poem he was actually writing) up to the highest genre, epic. In *Lycidas* Milton invokes the figure of Orpheus, the type of the supreme bard, Homer's equal, but destroyed untimely:

What could the Muse herself, that Orpheus bore,
The Muse herself, for her enchanting son . . .

Milton brings back the figure of Orpheus in his epic, in the second invocation, placed, just like Virgil's, early in his seventh book; he too asks the Muse to instruct him in the task still remaining: 'still govern thou my song' (cf. 'Goddess, instruct your poet'). But he then prays, with a *frisson* of fear, and perhaps recollecting the fate of King which had inspired his own greatest pastoral, to be spared the doom of Orpheus:

nor could the Muse defend
Her son. So fail not thou who thee implores . . .

After the ecphrasis of the shield at the end of VIII, the 'prophetic' future virtually vanishes from the *Aeneid*. There remain only 9.641-4, 10.11-15, 10.241-5, 12.832-40. But several times in the last books of the poem Virgil claims that the tragic and heroic story he is narrating will triumph over time: *prisca fides, sed fama perennis*, old legend perpetually renewed. The poet guarantees, as it were, both the validity of his narrative and its exemplary value as the first evidence of Roman greatness, born out of the wicked discord of Trojans and Latins. The *aristeia* of the Greek Pallas and the Italian Lausus alike contribute to a new meaning of *uirtus*. Virgil's intense involvement in his Iliad is not a poet's detached yet willed involvement in a story of battles long ago, but a personal involvement in the recent past, of which, in a cyclic view of history, the war between Trojans and Rutuli is a paradigm.

3. Homecoming

Immediately after the second invocation Virgil embarks on a new order of narrative. The structure of the opening words is striking. They occur after the caesura in a verse whose first part is the declaration of the 'greater work'.

maius opus moueo. Rex arua Latinus et urbes

Thus, the structure of this line signifies the importance and immediacy of the greater work, and identifies it, somewhat unexpectedly, in the introduction of a new character, a historical presentation of the pastoral and local world of the eponymous king of the Latins, with his 'totemistic' woodpecker' grandfather, his nymph-mother, and his descent from Saturn himself, who (we shall learn in book VIII from another local king with a nymph mother and pastoral associations) came to Italy as an exile after the usurpation of his throne by Jupiter, named the people Latins, brought in laws, tradition and civilisation, and ruled in peace.

This immediate and emphatic presentation of Latinus is achieved by juxtaposition with the *maius opus* assertion inside the same hexameter, and by the further use of the figures of 'enclosing word order', making him king of the land (*rex arua Latinus*), and epexegetis (*et urbes*), which extends his power to cities for his is no backwoods settlement. Indeed, we are told in XI that he is *praediues*, a king of the old bronze age in Italian Agamemnon.

Saturn's peace has on the whole been maintained under Latinus although, as we shall learn, not without local disturbances. Latinus has no male heir but his daughter is betrothed to a local chieftain, Turnus, king of the Rutuli. The fairy-tale motif of the rival suitors assimilates allusions to both the Homeric epics Lavinia as Penelope, Aeneas as the homecoming Odysseus, a Trojan Ulysses redeemed of all the treason of the wooden horse, Lavinia as Helen, with a more

complex variation of the Paris–Menelaus story, in which Turnus must be seen as the wrongly betrothed Aeneas as the lawful partner coming from over the sea to claim his own.

Nevertheless, the first mention of Turnus in the poem carries no hint of the disgraceful. On the contrary, he is *ante alios pulcherrimus omnis*, and Latinus's queen Amata is on his side. So far the environment seems placid. But

sed uariis portenta deum terroribus obstant.

As we read of these portents, this divine opposition to the alliance with Turnus, the adjective *pulcherrimus* rings a faint knell of trouble in our memory. In book I (and here is another correspondence between the opening books of the poem's two halves) Dido was introduced to the reader with that same superlative adjective: *forma pulcherrima Dido*. Dido was the chief of the *impedimenti* which beset Aeneas's *Odyssey*. Turnus is to be the chief of the *impedimenti* which will beset his *Iliad*. The reader must respond to, and emphasise, the parallels between the two daemonic heroes as the epic unfolds.

The portents which stand in the way of the betrothal are common features of Roman divination: the swarm of bees which settled on the top of the laurel sacred to Apollo (the god who guided the destiny of the Trojans and who was the tutelary deity of Augustus himself) are declared by an unnamed *uates* (the seer is also the figure of the poet-narrator) to signify that a hero will come and settle on the citadel of Latinus: the verses

aduentare uirum et partis petere agmen eadem
partibus ex isdem et summa dominarier arce

place their emphasis on the opening and concluding words: *aduentare uirum*, a hero is coming (cf. 8.201. *aduentum dei*, when Hercules saved the settlers on the site of Rome from the monster Cacus, and thereby became a forerunner of Aeneas), and *summa dominarier arce*, in which the word *arce* would carry for the implied reader all the majesty of the Roman Capitol, symbol of Rome's eternal dominion.

The crown of fire round Lavinia's head is also a traditional sign of greatness (the phenomenon is variously associated by Virgil with Iulus Ascanius, Aeneas himself, and Romulus), but one which will end the nation's peace. The paragraph's last word is an emphatic and menacing *one*, *bellum*:

The prophets sang that Lavinia would be illustrious
in fame and fate,
Yes, but for the nation it meant a great war.

The next paragraph tells of the confirmation of these prophetic warnings. Latinus, sleeping in a grove sacred to a local and ancestral deity, receives the oracle (the ritual of *incubatio*¹³):

Seek not to join your daughter in wedlock to a
Latin,
Child of my blood, heed not that arranged
marriage.
Sons-in-law you shall have... who coming from
abroad shall with their blood our
Name glorify to the stars, and from that stock shall
spring
Those who shall see the whole world wherever the
sun
On his daily journey from ocean to ocean looks
down,
Under their feet in perpetual obedience move.

From this prophecy, and from Latinus, Virgil now effects a transition to Aeneas, who in a brief interlude presides over the Trojans' first meal on Latin soil and himself receives a portent of settlement and colonisation. This is Aeneas's only appearance in book VII.

The art of epic narrative depends to a considerable degree on the linking and juxtaposition of episodes and on the way the reader effects transitions, building as he does so a larger and

¹³ On *incubatio* see P. T. Eden (ed.), *Aeneid VII* (Leiden 1975) on 7.81ff. and Fordyce, *Aen. VII-VIII* on 7.81, 87.

unbroken (for epic is a *carmen perpetuum*) sense of movement. Virgil's mastery of the art of transition in epic narrative is underrated, if not ignored, by most commentators. I want here to digress briefly to book IV, one of the most often read and most widely admired parts of the poem, to try to show how Virgil's narrative technique actually works for the reader. I shall look at lines 120–278. The action of this short passage is swift and dramatic, the set pieces cosmic in their grandeur. We start with the celebrated 'royal hunt and storm' when the heroes ride forth in the early morning. The scene is one of colour, movement and excitement. But the reader's excitement and anticipation is different from that of the actors – they are living for the moment, for the thrills of the chase, and the only anticipation is that of young Ascanius hoping for a wild boar or, perhaps, a mountain lion. But the reader has just moved from the scene between Venus and Juno in Olympus. He knows that the glorious dawn is at once and unexpectedly to be interrupted by the engineered hailstorm. Our excitement and anticipation as readers is directed towards that dramatic new paragraph beginning with onomatopoeic insistence

*Interea magno misceri murmure caelum
incipit, insequitur commixta grandine nimbus*

In the very centre of this crucial paragraph Virgil has embedded the strange episode of the 'rigged wedding' with its heavy, menacing spondees and its sense of impending doom

*speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
deueniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno
dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether
conubiis . . .*

*To the same cave Dido and the Trojan chief
Came. And primal Earth and bride-attending Juno
Gave the signal. Lightning flashed, the sky itself
Witnessed their union.*

This brilliant and highly charged descriptive passage is followed by four lines of authorial moral discourse

The day was the start of death and woe, the start
 And cause careless of what men saw or said
 Dido no longer kept her love a secret
 She hid behind the pretence of being married

Immediately after this comment, the narrative of action is rapidly resumed with the account of Rumour, personified as a monster out of fantasy or science-fiction, getting bigger and stronger as it moves faster, beginning as a wisp of fear, feeding on itself till its head touches the sky while its feet touch the ground, feathered with eyes, tongues, mouths, and ears. It flies through the twilight and broods all day on roof-tops like the ill-omened bird which appears as a portent to Dido before she dies, a little further on in book IV.¹⁴ Again, Virgil inserts some authorial moral comment into a highly pictorial piece of allegorical description, and, as so often with his authorial moral comment, he uses the figure of epiphonema, reducing and abstracting the grandly baroque and extravagant description to an epigrammatic and generalising summary:

tam ficti prauique tenax quam nuntia ueri

Messenger alike of wicked lies and truth.

Virgil here uses a different kind of diction from that in which his great descriptive set pieces are written: they are all colour and movement, highly visual even when most fantastic, the moral summaries are pointed *sententiae*, abstract digests.

Now the narrative of action is swiftly resumed: Rumour appears to Iarbas, rather as Allecto appears to Turnus in VII, and his response is psychologically presented: he behaves as any man would on hearing a rumour that his former lover has rejected him for another man.

Jupiter hears Iarbas's prayer, and turning his eyes sees Dido and Aeneas *oblitos famae melioris amantes*: 'forgetting in their

¹⁴ *Aen.* 4.184-7, 460-3.

love their nobler fame'. Virgil effects this transition entirely through syntax:

Talibus orantem dictis . . .
 audiit omnipotens, oculosque . . . torsit
 . . . oblitos famae melioris amantes.
 tum sic Mercurium adloquitur . . .

The sequence of transitions is handled with a sweep and confidence in the grand design of the narrative (the successive episodes spotlighted and 'held', yet articulating the larger structure) which is both particularly notable and wholly characteristic of the poem: if I dwell on it here a little, it is in the hope of encouraging the reader to gain a technique of reading the *Aeneid* through, and particularly its last six books, which are relatively unfamiliar, by first considering one of the most accessible passages in the earlier books.

The transitional sequence runs as follows: Dido wanders distraught through her city; she is observed by Juno, whose dialogue with Venus follows. Then comes the working out of that plot in the hunt, storm and marriage in the cave. Now Rumour stalks fantastically through the north African cities, alighting on Iarbas's house; he prays to Jupiter, who, regarding the lovers sends Mercury down to earth to remind Aeneas of his neglected mission

The flight of Mercury, coming as it does so soon after the weird march of Rumour offers an obvious parallel; the good messenger is contrasted with the bad; Rumour's journey is motiveless and indiscriminate, without regard for truth or lies, Mercury's is purposeful, its function is that of Jupiter's will itself *nostri nuntius*, historical necessity, which can be delayed but never changed¹⁵

The key lines contrasting the functions of the bad and good messengers take the form of epigrammatic 'epiphonemata

¹⁵ For Jupiter as the 'understander' of history, 'the ultimate rationality of the processes of history', see further part II ch. 4 below and cf. C. H. Wilson, 'Jupiter and the Fates in the *Aeneid*', *CQ* 29 (1979) 361-71.

tam ficti prauique tenax quam nuntia ueri.

Messenger alike of wicked lies and truth.

dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat.

Bringer of sleep and awakening, unsealing the eyes at death.

The flight of Mercury is one of the greatest passages in the *Aeneid* (R. D. Williams rightly calls it baroque,¹⁶ and sensitively points out the ambiguities of diction by which Virgil maintains a description of the mythological cosmic giant Atlas in terms of a vast landscape). The god passes through the firmament, past the mighty shape of Atlas, astronomical, geographical and anthropomorphic turning the world on his shoulders, his head a forest of vine-trees in a cloud of wind and rain, snow on his shoulders, ice on his beard: an extraordinary passage unsurpassed by Milton in his description of Satan's flight to earth in *Paradise Lost* III¹⁷ it yet does not hinder the larger movement of the epic narrative, for Mercury lands like a bird (cf. Satan again) and sees Aeneas founding and building in Carthage. Since in Latin the accusative object can precede the verb, Virgil can compose his change of scene and character like a film director moving the camera:

Aenean fundantem acres et tecta nouantem
conspicit.

*Aeneas founding a citadel and building houses
He sees.*

We have moved from the seeing Mercury to the seen hero; the reader's 'mind's eye' moves with the narrative. In VII the transition from Latinus to that foreign, yet soon to be

¹⁶ R. D. Williams on 4.238ff. Cf. Viktor Pöschl, *The Art of Virgil* (Ann Arbor 1962) 144-5.

¹⁷ 2.910-67 (note the appearance of Rumour at 925), 1010-55.

naturalised, son-in-law who, unknown to the king, is already on Italian soil, is effected by a briefer bridge-passage which is also a camera-tracking flight: this time of Rumour, flying through the cities of Italy with news of the prophecy,

when the flower of Trojan manhood
Were making fast their ships by a grassy riverside.

(I have translated *Laomedontia pubes*,¹⁸ an archaic periphrasis, in a deliberately 'flowery' style: the poet clearly intends to emphasise the maleness and ripeness of the Trojans in the context of the prophecy, the coming intermarriage not, presumably, only of Aeneas to Lavinia but of his peers to other Italian girls, in a typical dynastic legend which parallels the 'rape of the Sabine women'.)

The transition is assisted further by associating Aeneas too with a divine portent, carrying the same kind of dynastic meaning. At their first ritual meal on landing in Italy, a kind of 'thanksgiving', the Trojans eat the wheat cakes (*chapatis*) which have served them as plates. Aeneas's son (in one of Virgil's most felicitous touches) greets the portent, but as a joke, not realising its significance:

'heus, etiam mensas consumimus?' inquit Iulus,
nec plura, adludens. ea uox audita laborum
prima tulit finem . . .

'Hey, are we eating the dinner plates too?' says Iulus,
Just joking, nothing more. But the words he spoke
brought
The first sign of an end of their labours . . .

Again the key word *finem* is associated with the equally significant *laborum*. An end of their labours – or 'the end'? On the archetype of the labouring hero fighting for civilisation, the figure of Hercules who will enter the narrative in VIII, Virgil constructs a typology in which Aeneas too becomes a

¹⁸ Fordyce, *Aen. VII–VIII* on 7.105.

labourer for civilisation. to whose sufferings an 'end' is to be granted, although in a larger sense. that of *imperium sine fine*, the nation (*nepotes*) descended from Aeneas will labour on unceasingly from generation to generation.

The portent of the plates, foretold as a foundation-myth in *Aeneid* III, here comes true. It is greeted by the hero's son in a clear parallelism with what we have just been reading: so Faunus's descendant Latinus (*o mea progenies*) greeted and accepted the message of the *incubatio*. The *uox audita* of Iulus's joke corresponds to the *subita ex alto uox reddita luco est* of the previous scene. The prophecies are drawn together in the reader's mind as the two sides in the coming conflict, indigenous Latins and immigrant Trojans, are drawn together in the war which must disturb, before renewing and strengthening, the ancient peace of Saturn in pastoral Italy.

The passage following this oracular *bon mot* offers the reader another structural correspondence with VIII. He will not at a first reading-through of the narrative be ready to assimilate it, but when he reaches VIII it will echo in his mind with reverberations from VII and bind the experience of reading the two books closer together in his mind. Aeneas speaks solemn ritual words linking the sacred land of Italy with the *penates* the faithful Trojans have brought from Troy.

'salve, fatis mihi debita tellus
uosque' ait 'o fidi Troiae saluete penates:
hic domus, haec patria est.'

Aeneas is already *indiges*, naturalised. The collation of *domus*, *penates*, *tellus*, *patria*, is powerful and evocative.

*All hail, land promised me by fate, and you,
My faithful Trojans, all hail your household gods.
This is our home, this is our native land.*

So in VIII, another *uates*, the river god Tiberinus, explains to Aeneas that another foundation legend like that of the miracle of the plates is to occur, the symbolic sow with her thirty piglets

O son of heaven, who now brings back to us
 Safe from its foes for ever the town of Troy,
 Long awaited in Latium, here is your abiding
 Home, here rest your household gods.

The 'invasion' is over, the process of assimilation is about to begin.

Ritual words are followed or accompanied by ritual action, libations, prayers, the drinking of wine. They resume the feasting with a new sense of its significance.¹⁹ What began in VII as a formal thanksgiving for safe landfall has become a celebration of true homecoming; what began in VIII as a ritual Aeneas did not understand becomes (after Aeneas and the reader have gone through the experience of the story of Hercules and Cacus) a celebration of salvation and deliverance typologically central to the entire *Aeneid*. As in VIII, Aeneas prays to local deities, for the omen of the plates has confirmed the hallowedness of the locality to the *genius loci*, to Earth, oldest of the gods, to Nymphs in rivers as yet unnamed.

So ends the Trojans' first full day in Latium. They had previously passed a day in Cumae, near Naples, whence Aeneas had made his descent into the underworld and the Sibyl had moved him through his timeless yet diurnal progress with the words *nox ruit, Aenea, nos flendo ducimus horas*, 'the night is fast coming, Aeneas, yet we spend the hours in weeping'. Now for the second time in less than 150 lines there is a daybreak formula. These formulas are important in the *Aeneid*. They are not, of course, formulaic in the technical Homeric sense, but they function in the same way: they bind the long, often digressive narrative together, so that the reader retains a sense of forward movement despite the many long passages in which narrative time is suspended and a different temporality, that of the implied reader's 'now', comes into effect.

The new day that dawns at 7.148 is a momentous one. The Trojans explore the coastline of Latium near the mouth of the

¹⁹ See Eden, *Aen. VII* on 7.158 and 601.

Tiber. Only a few lines after Aeneas has invoked in prayer the spirits of rivers yet unnamed the explorers are said to note 'the waters of Numicus and river Tiber'. The poet himself has named the rivers now. By their act of lustration the Trojans are taking possession of Virgil's Italy. There is no question of 'anachronism' in the use of Italian names in the supposed heroic age of the twelfth century B.C. For Virgil history is a series of cyclical paradigms, events and figures moving in and out of different time-scales. The structure of the *Aeneid* is synchronic, not diachronic. One attraction for the poet, and for his Augustan readers, of Greek (Homeric and post-Homeric) myth is that it made possible an apparently retrospective extension of the continuity of cultural awareness, stretching back behind Romulus and the traditional founding of the city into a glorified tribal prehistory. The rivers already have Italian names and the Trojans learn them. One of the promises which Juno proleptically exacts from Jupiter in the final scene of the *Aeneid* is that Troy and its language should vanish without trace and the Latins keep their ancient tongue.

ne uetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos
 neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque uocari
 ant uocem mutare uiros aut uertere uestem.

indigenas is related to *indiges* (*indigetem Aeneas*: Jupiter has so described Aeneas in his first words to Juno at the start of their final scene, 12.794, referring to his destined immortality): it is the local, the native, which will survive and, like Aeneas himself, be immortalised

*Do not make the Italians, the old inhabitants, change
 their old name.*

*Do not bid them call themselves Trojans or Teucri,
 Change their language, alter their dress.*

Having spied out the land Aeneas proceeds to another act wholly in accord with Roman practice the seeking of allies. In

a weightily spondaic Ennian line he sends a round hundred ambassadors to the sacred city of the king.

centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis

The epic diction – the round number, the archaic word for envoys – conveys a ritual act and removes the narrative from the world of chance. There is a strong sense in this book of all things being done in due order, the laws of cause and effect being both historical and narrative *données*. The *vates* is in control. There is an analogy between the planned order and end of the fiction and the ‘end’ of the cycle foreseen by Jupiter, so that the intervention of Juno will strike the reader with double force; both Jupiter and the vatic author himself permit it, guarantee, so to say, the effects which must issue from it and carry the narrative further towards its end. Thus when Turnus seems to unleash, through the instrumentation of Allecto, the fury sent by Juno, the madness of war, control and ritual order are actually made by the reader to slip away from the narrative, he begins to sense a speeding up of the story, he shares the characters’ experience of human helplessness. He is overwhelmed by the representations of chaos and war. But first, after Latinus’s careful and deliberate *incubatio*, Aeneas in his turn behaves with due deliberation as befits a Roman leader *pietate grauem ac meritis*: those words, ‘weighty with *pietas* and merit’, come from the poem’s celebrated first simile (I. 151ff.) in which the calming of the storm by father Neptune is compared to the calming of a mob by a leader with moral authority and power to act. The man in the simile is carefully generalised – *si forte uirum quem*, ‘if there should be some man possessed of these qualities’. That such a man exists, and is Aeneas, the poem shows: *pietas* indeed is a cliché for his character. All his actions in book VII are acts of *pietas*: the prayers, libations, *lustratio*, the despatching of envoys, and even that most Roman of acts, the building of a fortified camp, *in morem*, as Virgil says, ‘in the traditional way’. The tradition, once more, is Roman, not Trojan: the shallow trench, the walls, the staked rampart. Again, the military

traditions of the heroic age are assimilated to those of the Roman coloniser. A more famous instance of *mos* transposed from Roman into mythical times forms the conclusion of book VII.

Meanwhile, the correspondences between this book and VIII continue. The Trojans' envoys arrive at Latinus's citadel and are received by the king. In VIII, Aeneas himself arrives as a suppliant, also seeking military aid, at the settlement of the Arcadian king Evander thirty miles upstream on the site of Rome itself. Evander's settlement is described as modest and humble, a collection of huts on the Palatine: his own house is called *angustum*, confined, cramped. In contrast, Latinus's citadel, combined temple and *curia* ('senate-house') is grand, and grandly described: it ominously recalls the now fallen citadel of Priam.

Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime
 columnis
 urbe fuit summa . . .
 horrendum siluis et religione parentum.

*An august house, mighty, lofty with a hundred columns,
 Stood on the citadel . . .*

*A place of awe in the woods where the old faith
 survives.*

The word *augustum* echoes *angusta ad moenia* 17 lines earlier. It contrasts with the *angustum* of Evander's house. Roman writers were fond of word-play, and the implied reader would have registered a significant assonance. The indigenous Italian ruler lived in a grand, hallowed settlement, yet one, like Priam's at Troy, doomed to be conquered by an army from over the sea. Conquered, but not destroyed: assimilated, in the Roman manner. The word *augustus* is a religious word meaning 'having received divine blessing' – as indeed Latinus has, being the destined ancestor of a new race. Its possible etymology from *augere*, 'increase',²⁰ is specially apposite to the

²⁰ Ovid, *Fasti* I.609ff.

indigenous king whose local powers must at last be subsumed in Aeneas, nicknamed *indiges* precisely because this is not what he started off by being.

The poor immigrant Evander lived on the Palatine in an exiguous cottage, the prototype of Augustus's own house on the Palatine. Yet Augustus lived, as it were, next door to the famous and splendid temple of Apollo he himself had dedicated in honour of his victory at Actium over Antony and Cleopatra. Thus Latinus's citadel, standing in its numinous pastoral landscape, its hundred columns themselves images of the trees which surround it, reconciles the tension between city and land, grandeur and simplicity. Evander's house on the Palatine had been blessed by the presence of an earlier cult-figure also, like Aeneas, subsequently deified, for Evander had once entertained Hercules, the type of the labouring saviour-hero. Latinus's citadel contains figures of antique Italian rural deities – the cult of Hercules was a Greek import through Etruria, and many of the old Italian gods were themselves assimilated to various Greek counterparts. Latinus's citadel is a place of awe, supernaturally charged with the presence of divinities.²¹ As Virgil had written in an early pastoral poem, *habitarunt di quoque silvas*, 'the gods also lived in the woods'.²² Among the deities in Latinus's citadel is Saturn, who colonised Latium after being expelled from heaven, the first of a paradigmatic series of blessed outsiders who brought peace and culture to Italy, and whose descendants the Trojan envoys now face.

4. Dynastic

Exchanges of lineage are an epic convention. In *Iliad* vii Diomedes and Glaucus exchange details of their ancestry when they meet in battle. But the long scene between Aeneas's envoy Ilioneus and King Latinus has a larger structural and

²¹ On parallels between *Aen.* vii and viii see Gransden, *Aen.* VIII, Introd. 22–31.

²² *Eclogues* 2.60.

aitiological purpose. Following on Latinus's *incubatio*, and his dream-prophecy foretelling the arrival of a foreign son-in-law, it establishes the course of the rest of the poem: a pledge of peace which yet leads inevitably to war. Virgil's peaceful embassy leads us into his *Iliad*, but thematically it is different from anything in the *Iliad* for it expounds Aeneas's divine right of succession and incorporates it into the narrative. Latinus must be led to the conviction that Aeneas is indeed the oft-foretold stranger from over the sea, and this conviction must in turn provide Turnus with a plausible *casus belli* and for the poet (which is the same thing) the plot of his *Iliad*.

Thematically, Virgil's embassy, and the whole of the two opening books of his *Iliad* VII and VIII, have strong Odyssean affinities. First there is a *nostos*, a landfall by a returning hero (for we soon learn that an ancestor of the Trojan royal house actually originated from Italy, as in *Odyssey* XIII; this is followed by a theoxeny²³ in *Aeneid* VIII which is modelled on the scene between Odysseus and Eumaeus in *Odyssey* XIV. Thus two consecutive books of the *Aeneid* follow the pattern of two consecutive books of the *Odyssey*.

For the embassy of Ilioneus can have no counterpart in Homer's *Iliad*. The only embassy in that poem is the abortive one to Achilles in book IX. The plot of the *Iliad* requires such an embassy (the Achaians would naturally have tried to persuade their greatest champion to reconsider his refusal to fight) and also requires it to fail, for Achilles must return only to avenge the death of Patroclus, his wrath no longer directed against Agamemnon but now against the Trojans and Hector. The wrath theme, perhaps Homer's supreme psychological invention, could not be allowed merely to peter out with the return of Achilles. It had to run its full and terrible course. It had to lead naturally into the great *dristeia* culminating in Hector's death and the subsequent dishonouring of his corpse. Only if the wrath theme ran its full course could the subsidence of the wrath in book XXIV form the proper ending

²³ See Gransden, *Aen. VIII*, Introd. 26-9.

of the poem. Achilles started the wrath theme in book II only he can end it in book XXIV. We are made aware that the gods themselves wish this end, but they only assent to the end as they assented to the beginning; they do not engineer it. Homer had invented, for the purpose of his narrative, a debt owed by Zeus to Thetis which she can use to persuade Zeus to allow Trojan victories. Achilles himself does not assume that his absence will by itself ensure those victories; it needs the intervention of Zeus which thus becomes essential to the story. It is this which turns the hero's absence into a military disaster. At the end of *Iliad* I Zeus knows that his Trojan sympathies have already displeased Hera even before Thetis's plea. He turns angrily on Hera for complaining at his partisanship and silences her, as usual, by proclaiming his superior force. Hera is afraid, the other gods troubled; the strife on earth reverberates in Olympus.

Virgil's chief task in undertaking his *Iliad* was nothing less than the removal of the wrath theme from his story. This does not mean the removal of *furor*; but Virgil's *furor* is the madness of war itself; there is no quarrel over a *geras*.²⁴ Even if we see in Turnus's anger over 'Lavinia disespoused' an echo of Achilles' anger over the loss of Briseis, Lavinia remains the cause of war, not a prize of war: she is Helen, not Briseis. Virgil removes from his epic – for he does not need it – the one indispensable invention of Homer's *Iliad*. He wants to dissociate his Italy – Turnus's Italy too – from the barbarities of Homer's world when, in Pope's words,

a spirit of revenge and cruelty, joined with the practice of rapine and robbery, reigned throughout the world; when no mercy was shown but for the sake of lucre; when the greatest princes were put to the sword and their wives and daughters made slaves and concubines.²⁵

In the *Aeneid*, Turnus is not modelled on Paris; in terms of

²⁴ On the theme of the *Aeneid* compared to the theme of the *Iliad*, see (e.g.) Kirk, *Homer* 92–4. *geras*: a prize of war.

²⁵ From the preface to his translation of the *Iliad* (World's Classics edn, xvii).

*uirtus*²⁶ he is a second Achilles, beautiful and nobly born, no unworthy suitor of Lavinia, never sneered at as was Homer's Paris, dispossessed not by an act of adultery but by providence itself, historical necessity. Yet Aeneas, like Homer's Menelaus, must cross the sea to claim his lawful bride. Moreover it is not Turnus but Aeneas who must carry out the Homeric revenge-element in the story by killing Turnus for Pallas's sake, as Achilles had killed Hector for Patroclus's sake.

Virgil thus assimilated to an *Iliadic* plot from which the 'wrath theme' had been removed, an *Odyssean nostos*, casting Aeneas simultaneously as rescuer of Lavinia-Helen from an unlawful alliance and as homecomer to a land legitimately his. The prophets foretold his role not only as husband – a prophecy the hero himself first heard from his dead wife Creusa in Troy –

For you there awaits long exile, miles of sea to
cross,
And you'll come to Italy, where Etruscan Tiber
Through rich pastures of heroes slowly winds.
Happiness there attends you, and a kingdom
And a royal marriage.

but also as *dux*: acclaimed by both Latins and Etruscans (though this he and the reader do not yet know) as their heaven-sent leader against a tyranny which existed before he came and in which he had no part. He came, then, to Italy with unblemished *pietas*; even the affair with Dido had been engineered against him, as an impediment to his destiny by Juno and out of misguided pity by Venus.

Structurally, the address of Latinus to the Trojan envoy Ilioneus offers one of many important correspondences between *Aeneid* I and VII. In book I, Ilioneus is the first Trojan to address Dido, again in Aeneas's absence (he at this time thinks Aeneas may have been drowned, a strange foreshadowing of his actual death by drowning – a death also prefigured,

²⁶ *uirtus*: the word is connected with *uir*. 'Manliness' has now a rather Victorian ring to it.

even more strangely, in the haunting Palinurus episode). Dido greets him cordially, says that the fame of the Trojans is widely known, and offers help. In vii Latinus speaks first, a formal address of welcome, again adducing the widespread fame of the Trojans: cf. Dido's words

quis genus Aeneadam, quis Troiae nesciat urbem
and Latinus's

. . . neque enim nescimus et urbem
et genus, auditique aduertitis aequore cursum.

The fame of Troy (who has not heard of it?) is a *donnée* of the legend of Aeneas. Virgil introduced it, indeed, in his first book, when Aeneas gazes at the scenes from the Trojan war already depicted on the walls of Juno's temple at Carthage, a passage to which we shall return. 'Where in the world'. Aeneas asked Achates, deeply moved, 'is there a place which is not full of our labour?'

But in the Italian seventh book it is not the splendours and miseries of the Troy story which strike Latinus. Virgil's insight into human behaviour told him that what most matters to Latinus must be that this is the son-in-law from abroad prophesied by his ancestral oracle. It is one of the poet's finest and subtlest strokes. After Ilioneus's speech of greeting Latinus sits lost in thought.

But what most affected the king
Was not purple robes or the sceptre of Priam.
No. His mind dwelt far more on his daughter's
marriage,
And he thought again of old Faunus's prophecy
Here was that son-in-law from a foreign land, by
fate foretold,
Who'd share his kingdom and whose descendants,
for virtue renowned
Would take over the world.

The answer Ilioneus gives to Latinus's speech of welcome is

set out in conventional rhetoric. Each point is taken up, answered and developed. Latinus's points were, briefly: we know who you are, the Trojan fame is widespread, but what do you want and why are you here? Have you been driven on to our shores by bad weather, or some error of navigation? But however you got here, be assured of hospitality from the Latins, descendants of Saturn, from whose shores, they say, Dardanus himself, your own royal ancestor, long ago set out for Asia. Ilioneus's answer is: neither bad weather nor any error in navigation has brought us here; we planned to come here and we wanted to come here (*consilio . . . animisque uolentibus*), to this city of yours, driven out of a kingdom once the greatest under the sun. We could have gone elsewhere, many people wanted us to join them (a covert allusion to Carthage),

sed nos fata deum uestras exquirere terras
imperiiis egerē suis.

but our fate was, to seek out your land.
The gods so willed it

This formal diplomatic exchange emphasises both the greatness of the fallen civilisation, Troy, and the moral quality of the flourishing Italian culture established by Saturn; from the union of these two worthy partners the forthcoming new nation will be born. Latinus's speech proudly proclaims his people's origin:

know that the Latins
Are Saturn's people. No force or law compels us to
be just,
But our own will, and the tradition of the old
religion.

The age of Saturn, the mythological 'golden age', is described again in *Aeneid* VIII, in the parallel embassy undertaken by Aeneas in person to the Arcadian immigrant king Evander, who expounds to him the ancient traditions of

Latium, beginning with the coming of Saturn. Before his time the indigenous population lived without tradition (*mos*) or civilisation (*cultus*). They had no knowledge of agriculture or of the harvesting and storing of food, but lived on berries or by hunting. Virgil, in his characteristically syncretistic and assimilative style, conflated two accounts of primitive man: an evolutionary one, found in Lucretius, in which early man was nomadic, living off the land, ignorant of fire, in conflict with the wild beasts, without laws; later man developed into a social being, able to make fire and shelter and a Hesiodic account, in which a 'golden' race lived in peace under Saturn: for them 'the fruitful earth brought forth in abundance of its own accord'. In Hesiod's anti-evolutionary myth, the races which followed this first one showed a steady deterioration. For Virgil the fruitful abundance of nature provided a figure for the old rural Italy, which he celebrated in his second *Georgic* with a picture of the blessed life of the farmer, for whom trees fruited *sponte sua*. Hesiod's golden race were free from toil, as were Adam and Eve in Milton's Eden, yet it was far from Virgil's moral purpose (and conflicted uneasily with Milton's work-ethic) to say in the *Georgics*, a poem about farming, that men did not have to work the Italian land, for all its natural fruitfulness. The earth indeed is *iustissima*, a significant adjective since in Virgil's myth Astraea, goddess of Justice, left Italy last of all the lands of the earth when she finally quitted the human scene; there is enough to sustain all, but only if men cultivate a return to the old simple ways and eschew high office and metropolitan splendours. But to the cycle of work there is for the farmer no end, and this is in clear antithesis to Hesiod's golden race whose life of endless feasting without toil clearly derives from Homer's account of the Olympian deities.²⁷

The relation between agricultural and political order is clearly stated in the description of Latinus's kingdom. The statues of the old rural deities in his citadel denote an agrarian

²⁷ On the relation between the Hesiodic and 'agricultural' golden ages see P. A. Johnston, *Virgil's Agricultural Golden Age* (Leiden 1980).

economy appropriate to the early settlements, for which the sophisticated Augustan poets had such nostalgic hankerings. Virgil refers in the second *Georgic* to *res Romanae perituraeque regna*, 'the power of Rome, transitory régimes', as things to which the countryman is indifferent.

Only thin smoke without flame
 From the heaps of couch grass;
 Yet this will go onward the same
 Though Dynasties pass.²⁸

It is sometimes suggested that Virgil did not really have his heart in the concept of *imperium sine fine*, 'empire without end', so grandly proclaimed by Jupiter in the first book of the *Aeneid*. But we must distinguish the kinds of *decorum* proper to heroic and didactic epic and the kinds of statement which can be made in each genre. In the *Georgics* Virgil contrasts the transitory upheavals of power politics with the eternal rural cycle. Hesiod, the first poet of didactic epic, had written of the need to work hard and live a life pleasing to the gods. For the reader of the *Aeneid*, the legend of Saturn's reign in Italy may be said to provide an ambiguous and nostalgic element in the heroic story of how a band of war-weary Trojan exiles, with help from a poor Greek émigré colony huddled in hut-settlements on the Palatine, turned Italians into Romans.

The coming of Aeneas disrupts the static régime of Latinus. Things start happening. The machinery of heroic epic invades a simpler tribal world. If the war in Italy has a cause, it lies in the *fata deum*, the articulation in epic of historical necessity. The grand catalogue of the Italian chiefs which ends *Aeneid VII* does not, in any case, suggest a people ignorant of warfare.

Although they do not need laws to make them just, the Italians have laws. Evander in *Aeneid VIII* tells us how Saturn introduced simultaneously the laws of agriculture and political science. Saturn's rule in Italy was the creation of an exile in the first era of Olympian power politics, the world of things, as

²⁸ Hardy, 'In Time of "The Breaking of Nations"', in *Moments of Vision* (London 1917).

they are, presided over by Jupiter. But the just and fruitful earth which gave forth *sponte sua* (Hesiod's *automate*) did not mean that men lived only for the day. They worked, planned, husbanded, stored; laws and traditions bound them willingly to nature and to each other. In Milton's Eden, Eve answers Adam's proposal that she should stock the larder with the words

. . . small store will serve, where store,
All seasons, ripe for use, hangs on the stalk,
Save what, by frugal storing, firmness gains.

It is clear that Milton too responded to an ambiguity in the prelapsarian myth: could there really have been a time without the need to work, even before the curse of the fall ('by the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread')? Milton emphasised, as Virgil had done in the second *Georgic*, the moral value of labour

Man hath his daily work of body or mind
Appointed, which declares his dignity,

The nature of this 'work' in Milton's epic is pastoral not agricultural; epic heroes are not farmers. The labour of Adam and Eve before the fall is 'pleasant'; yet at nightfall, when Eve's thoughts turn to love, Adam is already planning the next day's pruning and lopping:

Tomorrow ere fresh morning streak the East
With first approach of light, we must be risen,
And at our pleasant labour, to reform
Yon flowery arbours, yonder alleys green,
Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown.²⁹

Milton here introduces into his prelapsarian world a familiar poetic topos: the need for man to rise at dawn and work, despite the pleasures of love.³⁰ Skilfully Milton removes from

²⁹ *Paradise Lost* 5.321-5, 4.618-19, 4.623-7.

³⁰ On this topos see further Gransden in West and Woodman, *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature* (Cambridge 1979) 159-62.

the topos the note of postlapsarian sadness which we associate with it:

Aurora interea miseris mortalibus almam
extulerat lucem referens opera atque labores

*Morning meanwhile to wretched mortals brought forth
Her blessed light, bringing back work and labours.*

This is the world of heroic conflict and endeavour; those lines from *Aeneid* XI refer to the desolation of a battlefield. Into this world of war the Latins are now to be dragged; elsewhere in Latium there are chiefs and heroes ready and matched for the Iliadic struggle with the battle-seasoned and defeated Trojans.

The modern reader will probably skip the dynastic details of the embassy. Latinus refers to a dim memory of old men saying that Dardanus, founder of the royal house of Troy, had been born in Etruria, in Corythus (perhaps the modern Cortona). What value, then, did Virgil's own implied reader, his Augustan contemporary, place on all this legendary material? Was the story of Aeneas more significant, say, to the Augustans than the story in Geoffrey of Monmouth of Brutus the Trojan as the eponymous founder of the British people was to the Tudors? Or what of the farrago of pseudo-chronicle with which Spenser in *The Faerie Queene* tried, or seemed to be trying, to guarantee the dynastic legitimacy of the ruling house?³¹ Both these writers were imitating Virgil, and clearly supposed that such material was appropriate to national epic.

But in terms of narrative, and this is the only aspect of the material relevant to the modern reader of the *Aeneid*, the dynastic argument is important since it enabled the poet to assimilate his Iliadic story to an Odyssean one and thus to combine both the Homeric epics into a single narrative. The argument established that the *dux externus* came not as an invader but as a hero returning to the land of his fathers. With this Odyssean *nostos* a vast cycle came round and completed

³¹ See book II canto x.

itself: the going forth of Dardanus, a son of Jupiter, from Etruria to Troy, the eventual fall of Troy to the Greeks, the return to lead the Etruscans to victory of the Trojan hero marked out by Homer himself for survival 'that the race of Dardanus should not perish', the leader most renowned for *pietas*, son of Venus and thus himself a descendant of Jupiter. The dynastic exercise legitimises the war in Italy, and while retaining the Iliadic motif of a quarrel over a woman, subordinates this to a larger concept of world-history; a concept which itself transforms the narrower patriotism of Homer's *Iliad*. The Greeks could take a pride in the tale of how their ancestors sacked the greatest city of Asia, as later they defeated the Persians. But the theme of the *Aeneid* is the actual disappearance of the Trojans from the world-stage altogether. In the words of Juno in her last prayer to Jupiter, in *Aeneid* XII,

sit Romana potens Itala uirtute propago

Let the might of Rome be the child of Italian virtue

But before Juno can make that plea to Jupiter, she has still a spectacular role to play as the traditional enemy of the Trojans.

5. Juno

The Trojan embassy to Latinus in book VII like its counterpart in the next book, the embassy of Aeneas himself to Evander, is successful. Latinus's second speech to Ilioneus, a cry of joyful welcome, bursts upon the reader in mid-line:

tandem laetus ait 'di nostra incepta secudent

*At last in joy he speaks: 'May the gods prosper
What we have here begun . . .*

He offers gifts, alliance and peace. The whole exchange follows a series of traditional verbal gestures, but the reader will recall the last time the Trojans were so received: by Dido,

who also offered gifts and alliance. That offer history could not fulfil; the new alliance, in contrast, will constitute the foundation of the Roman nation. Latinus quotes the words of Faunus's prophecy about Lavinia's future husband, referring again to the people who 'coming from over the sea shall with their blood our name glorify to the stars'. Our name: for the prophecies are to be exactly fulfilled in the *fait accompli* of history which will be confirmed in book XII. The Trojans disappear into legend, the Italians and the Romans live. So the envoys return to camp with good news. *pacemque reportant*: 'they bring back peace'. The words end a paragraph and conclude the first section of the book. The transition from that apparently secured peace to the eruption of Juno and the fury of war into the epic, and into the reader's shaping of the narrative, is one of the most effective 'leaps' in the *Aeneid*. With a dramatic *ecce autem* the next paragraph shatters the mood of joy and peace.

But look, now, there came from her haunt in
Argos

Jupiter's cruel consort riding the air,
And there was Aeneas, joyful, and the Trojan fleet,
and from a far

Promontory in Sicily she looked out and saw them
Making camp, high and dry,

No more sailing for them, and her heart was bitter.

Critics are now beginning to pay more attention to the importance, in reading any long fictional narrative, of such features as gaps, transitions, juxtaposition of sections, variations of pace, parallels, correspondences, chiasmic arrangements. All these 'complement the verbal by a wider structural approach',³² and help to explain the effect on the reader of such phenomena as the triadic division of so many books of the *Aeneid*. It may be helpful here to illustrate what I mean with an example drawn not from epic but from a novel:

³² See Ruthrof, *Reader's Construction* 40.

the transition from the end of part II to the beginning of part III of Forster's *A Passage to India*. Fielding has sailed home from India through the Mediterranean to Venice, and the implied reader follows him home and constructs a significance in this stage of the narrative out of his own (probably European-based) experience. Part II ends as follows:

The Mediterranean is the human norm. When men leave that exquisite lake, whether through the Bosphorus or the Pillars of Hercules, they approach the monstrous and extraordinary; and the southern exit leads to the strangest experience of all. Turning his back on it yet again, he took the train northward, and tender romantic fancies he thought were dead for ever, flowered when he saw the buttercups and daisies of June.

'Extraordinary' is a key word of the novel, occurring in the very first chapter ('the extraordinary caves'). It is Forster's word, and here we identify with the narrator, yet perhaps, after more than fifty years, the Mediterranean is no longer quite the cosily assumed norm it was in the days of the classical enlightenment. To many people today, one suspects, Indian strangeness seems less strange and Mediterranean normality less central than once it was. The last sentence, with its echo of Browning, perhaps deliberately sentimentalises. Let us assume that the reader chooses not to stop, though he has reached a major articulation of the narrative. He sees next:

PART III: TEMPLE

Chapter XXXIII

Some hundreds of miles westward of the Marabar hills, and two years later in time, Professor Narayan Godbole stands in the presence of God. God is not born yet – that will occur at midnight – but he has also been born centuries ago, nor can he ever be born, because He is Lord of the Universe, who transcends human processes. He is, was not, is not, was.

The reader's construction of the novel's significance as a narrative depends on his apprehension of this abrupt, crucial and dramatic transition, from the romantic fantasies of an Englishman on his way home from India (apparently confirmed by the narrator in his role as moral commentator, a

role Forster continually slips into) to the celebration by a Brahmin of a Hindu festival. The exalted diction here is itself in marked contrast to the more familiar tone of the paragraph which ended part II, and although the passage begins as narrative it too slips into moral comment, but now the comment is expressed not in the form of opinion, to which the implied reader is presumed to subscribe (how strange India is, what a relief to get back to Europe) but in the form of religious paradoxes, stated as grammatical facts. The juxtaposition of opposites is itself part of our apperception, and the meaning of the novel does not merely reside in the verbal changes between the two passages but in the space between them, where the articulation of the novel's tripartite structure turns upon a change of time, place, scene, character, and the disappearance of the 'voice' of European rationality; and even though that voice will return, it can never, after this transition, sound the same. The modifications which the reader will find himself making will be dependent on his recollections of such transitions.

In *Aeneid* VII, the joy and peace established for the reader in the key words *laetum* and *pacem* in the first section of the book must at once be modified as he proceeds to encounter the dark, brooding figure of Juno, watching, hating. Her monologue is just thirty lines long, the same length as Jupiter's prophecy of the destiny of Rome unfolded to Venus and the reader in book I. For this is the anti-prophecy, standing in structural and thematic antithesis to Jupiter's vision of peace: *claudentur belli portae*, Jupiter had said, 'the gates of war shall be shut', words the reader will recall when at the end of the long central section of book VII Juno breaks those gates open.

Juno's entry into the second half of the *Aeneid* takes the reader back to her entry into book I. That first appearance had been menacingly signalled by the poet, for he gives her (I.36) the epic's first spondaic line: throughout the poem spondaic lines carry special weight and emphasis:

cum Iuno aeternum seruens sub pectore uulnus

The contrast in that first book between the joy of the Trojans, hoisting full sail for the open sea, and Juno, 'nursing in her heart eternal pain', her brooding hatred about to shatter their new-found optimism, is precisely paralleled in VII when the joy and peace which followed the embassy to Latinus are shattered by the epiphany of Juno. In book I, the motif of her pain (*uulnus*, 'wound') is again established immediately; later, only two other characters, both Junonian in their *furor*, are associated with that same figure of the *uulnus*, and they are Dido, Aeneas's chief impediment to success in his Odyssey, and Turnus, his chief impediment to success in his Iliad.³³

Juno's monologue in *Aeneid* I also corresponds thematically to Poseidon's monologue in *Odyssey* v, in which he determines to send a storm to delay Odysseus's fated return to Ithaca. Juno's monologue, however, is much more intense and full of anger than Poseidon's; she expresses bitterly her frustration at not being able to stop the Trojans from reaching their destined goal, and her determination nevertheless not to admit defeat: in these respects she is the model for Milton's Satan, with his 'sense of injured merit' and his determination to hinder, though he cannot ultimately alter, God's plan for the salvation of mankind. The two processes of Virgil's epic with which Juno can interfere are, precisely, its two 'halves', the two movements of Aeneas's mission, his Odyssey and his Iliad.

But Juno's first monologue and her scene with Aeolus, god of the winds, have also important affinities with the *Iliad*. In *Iliad* XIV Hera/Juno has watched Poseidon helping the Greeks and determines to beguile Zeus into sleeping with her so that the Greeks may continue to win victories. (She knows that Zeus is in his heart pro-Trojan and that he made his promise to Thetis in defiance of her:

Even now she [Hera] forever among the immortal
gods
Upbraids me and says I help the Trojans in battle.)

³³ See Pöschl, *The Art* 109-12.

In *Iliad* xiv Hera bribes and cajoles other deities, including the pro Trojan Aphrodite, into helping her plot against Zeus. Sleep himself she persuades to visit Zeus by promising him marriage to one of the Graces, Pasithea. In *Aeneid* 1 Juno similarly promises Aeolus Deiopeia, the fairest of the fourteen nymphs who attend her, if he will unloose the winds against the Trojan fleet. This is to be done without the knowledge of Neptune/Poseidon, whose prerogative storms are: a variant of the plot of Homer's Hera to allow Poseidon to help the Greeks while Zeus sleeps with her. When in *Iliad* xv Zeus wakes up there is an interesting glimpse of a power-struggle among the gods. Poseidon objects to being ordered to stop helping the Greeks: he claims that when the universe was divided Zeus won the sky, he himself the sea, Hades the underworld, 'but earth and high Olympus are common to all'. Zeus also refers angrily to another occasion when Hera tried to exercise her influence in his despite, against his own son Heracles, after his legendary attack on Troy:

You with the north wind's help winning over the
storm blasts drove him
with evil intent across the desolate sea.

I think Virgil recalls this allusion too in *Aeneid* 1. Juno drives Aeneas across the desolate sea with evil intent, just as, long before, after a previous sack of Troy, she had driven Zeus's own son, himself the type of the labouring and suffering hero.

Thus in the opening of *Aeneid* 1 Virgil assimilates elements from both the Homeric epics. Zeus in *Iliad* xv, awakening in anger, orders the reluctant Poseidon out of the battle, allowing Hector to rally the Trojans and counter-attack. In *Aeneid* 1 Neptune emerges from the waves, *grauiter commotus*, 'greatly disturbed'; rebukes the winds, reaffirms, as in the *Iliad*, his hegemony over the sea (but here his adversary is not the king of the gods, merely the subordinate Aeolus); and allows Aeneas to rally the Trojans. In *Odyssey* v Athena checks the course of the conflicting winds sent, this time, by Poseidon himself, and allows Odysseus safe landfall in Scheria.

Odyssean and Iliadic patterns of check and countercheck are thus blended into the narrative sequence storm – survival – landfall. Moreover, the storm Juno wheedles out of Aeolus corresponds structurally to the plague of arrows which breaks against the Achaians at the start of the *Iliad*, leading to the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles and to Hera's complaint that Zeus appears to be helping the Trojans, even though not now out of general sympathy and partisanship but in fulfilment of his promise to Thetis on behalf of her son Achilles. This last motif reappears in *Aeneid* I when Venus reproaches Jupiter for his apparent hostility to the Trojans, a reproach which elicits the prophecy of the future greatness of the Trojans as founders of Rome.

Juno's insatiable anger against the Trojans is first mentioned in the fourth line of the *Aeneid*, *saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram*. In Venus's sad and reproachful speech to Jupiter after the storm, the speech which elicits in reply Jupiter's revelation of the future, Venus mentions Juno only once, almost at the end of her complaint, and then not by name: *unius ob iram*, she says, 'on account of the anger of one being', a clear verbal signal to the reader.

Again in book v Venus complains to Neptune of Juno's

...
 . . . grauis ira neque exsaturabile pectus
 quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla,
 nec Iouis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit.

...
 . . . heavy anger and insatiable heart:
 Time does not soften it, nor any pity at all,
 Even Jupiter and fate cannot break nor calm it.

Venus proceeds bitterly to complain that, not content with destroying Troy *nefandis odiis*, 'with an accursed hate', Juno pursues its very ashes beyond the grave, *causas sciat illa furoris*, 'I suppose she knows why she is so angry.' Venus's words echo the poet's own thought, from the opening of the poem;

do divine spirits really feel such wrath? The wrath of Achilles, Homer's wrath-motif, becomes in the *Aeneid* cosmically transformed into something dark, perpetual and inhuman, no psychologically motivated flare-up of Ate by a soldier under the stress of an extreme situation but a superhuman force of resistance to the historical process itself. Philosophically, Virgil's rhetorical question at the beginning of his poem is deeply felt and ambiguous: the words echo through the whole subsequent narrative, expressing a sense of doubt in the sensitive mind of the implied author: can the divine motivation of this story of suffering and death be accepted? But above this speculative and unanswered question, the great narrative of Juno, sweeping like the angel of death over the fields of Latium, continues to unroll with something of her own daemonic force.

There is no 'villain' in the *Iliad*. Poseidon's opposition to Odysseus in the *Odyssey* is nothing like so full of bitterness and hatred as Juno's for Aeneas. It may at first seem strange that Virgil, a sophisticated writer of (in the misleading phrase of Brooks Otis) 'civilised poetry' with access to nearly seven centuries of post-Homeric Greek culture including minds as psychologically and morally subtle as Plato's and Euripides', should have constructed a narrative in which evil is embodied in one of the most revered of Roman deities, a member of the 'Capitoline triad', the goddess of wedlock. The point is central to the *Aeneid*, and the sending of Allecto in book VII forces it on us with astonishing and dramatic violence.

We may now return to Juno's second monologue in *Aeneid* VII. She is angry, now, that the Trojans have survived all her opposition. Why couldn't they have stayed captive or dead? Or been consumed in the city's ashes? And then, in words which grandly confirm and recall for the reader Venus's complaint to Neptune in book V,

medias acies mediosque per ignis
 inuenere uiam. at credo, mea numina tandem
 fessa iacent, odiis aut exsaturata quieui;

quin etiam patria excussos infesta per undas
 ausa sequi . . .

. . .
 ast ego, magna Iouis coniunx, nil linquere inausum
 quae potui infelix, quae memet in omnia uerti,
 uincor ab Aenea. quod si mea numina non sunt
 magna satis, dubitem haud equidem implorare
 quod usquam est.

flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta mouebo.
 non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis,
 atque inmota manet fatis Lauinia coniunx:
 at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus:
 at licet amborum populos excindere regum.
 hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum.
 sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, uirgo,
 et Bellona manet te pronuba.

*Through steel and through fire
 They have found a way. Then my godhead
 Must have lost its power, or, my hatred exhausted, I
 slept.*

No . . . I have pursued them across the sea,

*. . .
 I, Jupiter's great consort, have tried all I could, have
 gone here and there,*

*And I'm being beaten – by Aeneas. So if my great
 powers*

*Are not enough, shall I hesitate to invoke others,
 wherever, whatever they be?*

If I can't move heaven then I'll move hell.

*I can't stop them – so be it – from settling in Latium,
 The marriage to Lavinia is fixed by fate,*

*But I can drag it out, I can tear these royal nations apart,
 Let the son-in-law meet the father-in-law, it shall cost
 them dear,*

*Virgin, the blood of Troy and Italy shall be your dowry,
 Bellona lead you to the altar.*

Bellona is shown on Aeneas's shield in book VIII as companion to Discordia, civil strife. The Latin word I have translated by the phrase 'lead you to the altar' is *pronuba*. This has already occurred in book IV, where Juno herself acts as *pronuba* in the doomed mock-marriage of Dido and Aeneas. Juno is the bringer-together of opposing forces, not in order to produce harmony out of discord but to engender further bloodshed. Aeneas's disastrous liaison with Dido in the first half of the poem is in structural and thematic antithesis to his divinely ordained liaison with Lavinia in the second half. Dido's love-sick restlessness, her Bacchic frenzy of passion, is recalled in VII in the Bacchic frenzy of Lavinia's mother, Latinus's queen Amata, who abducts her daughter to the woods and hills, followed by other matrons, for the madness which the Fury Allecto, sent by Juno, spreads through the land is contagious. Amata enacts a kind of spontaneous Bacchic rite. Virgil had used the language of Bacchic orgy (associated for the implied Augustan reader with Asiatic rites) in book IV; now, in a more extended description, the domestic peace and harmony of Latinus's city are disrupted and destroyed. *noua quaerere tecta . . . deseruere domos* ('seeking new homes, they left their dwellings') suggests women leaving a doomed city, and recalls for the reader how the Trojans in *Aeneid* II fled to the woods of Mount Ida from the ruins of Troy.

The speed and sweep of Virgil's narrative of the sending of the fury Allecto are dramatically heightened by the use of the Latin historical present, a tense often metrically convenient in hexameter verse, found in English narrative but not used in the epic narratives of Spenser and Milton and perhaps retaining in the vernacular a popular anecdotal flavour. But in the high style of Latin epic poetry it is very common. Virgil switches from past tenses to present and back again indifferently, often in the same paragraph.³⁴

In a few hundred lines we see Latinus's plans and his

³⁴ Very little interest has been shown in the standard commentaries in this usage. The tense often has a 'detemporalising' effect on the reader. 'When' things happened becomes less important than 'that' they happened and 'how' they happened.

domestic life overturned. Allecto is the symbol of how wars start. Amata's first words, before Allecto's *furor* begins to work in her blood, are wild and sad. She has set her heart on her daughter marrying Turnus and she expostulates with her husband in a very touching and reasonable manner, even suggesting that the prophecy about the foreign son-in-law might apply to Turnus if one regarded the Rutuli, as 'outside' the rule of Latinus, and if one remembered that Turnus had Greek blood. Here the narrator has indicated a strong objection to Turnus's eligibility, for the blood of Greece is as accursed and tainted as that of Troy is pure and blessed. But soon the madness begins to work and the Bacchic passage follows. With things now already out of control Allecto passes on to Turnus.

Her visitation of Turnus while he sleeps in his citadel at Ardea is told in the same rapid powerful narrative technique, with repeated use of the historic present. The Fury insinuates itself into the hero's unconscious mind in the form of an elderly priestess of Juno, bidding him declare war on the Latins and Trojans and so avenge his honour. Knauer has pointed out that the passage corresponds to that in *Iliad* II in which Agamemnon is visited by a delusive dream offering him immediate but unachievable victory.³⁵ Turnus's first reaction, like Amata's, is a controlled one – he speaks from the world of sleep and dreams – but he cannot resist a sneer at the old woman: 'you look after your temple, mother, and leave war and peace to men'. Those last words form a resoundingly epigrammatic epiphonema deriving from Homer: *bella uiri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda*.

Allecto's response is one of the most startling passages in the *Aeneid*. Stung by Turnus's sneer, she becomes what she really is – no elderly priestess but the Fury herself, a vision of horror insinuating itself into the very soul of the sleeping hero. She hurls back the sneer –

So I'm too old . . .

³⁵ See Knauer, *Die Aeneis* 234–7. Both dreams are followed by a catalogue of troops/

Look! I am one of the sisters of hell,
I make war and death.

Her last words, *bella manu letumque gero*, echo Turnus's epiphonema and form one of the most powerful unfinished lines in the *Aeneid*.

Turnus wakes up, literally war-crazy, sweating with terror, crying for arms:

arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit,
saeuit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli,
ira super.

*Crazy he cries war, gets up for war, dresses for war,
Maddened by love of battle and the wicked madness of
war,
And wrath too.*

The word-play *arma amens* is echoed from Aeneas's own words when he speaks to Dido about his last vain fight to save Troy, *nec sat rationis in armis*: nor could there be any rational purpose in fighting, said Aeneas, recalling a lost cause. This time it is Turnus who calls for arms without enough justification, but as in Troy, *furor iraque mentem praecipitat* (2.316–17); wrath and madness are a constant element in war.

In accordance with Virgil's normal triadic structure, the episode of Allecto, the central section of the seventh book (flanked by the embassy of Ilioneus and the Catalogue of the Italian leaders), is itself divided into three sections. Having visited Amata and Turnus, having destroyed the domestic harmony of Latinus's city by turning respectable women into maenads, deserters of the home and hence in moral antithesis to the Augustan ideal of the wife and mother as portrayed by Virgil in the second *Georgic* – *casta pudicitiam seruat domus* (and cf. 8.408–9) – Allecto now visits the Trojans and turns a hunting party into *acasus belli*. The shooting by Ascanius of a pet deer belonging to the daughter of Latinus's chief herdsman, was says the poet,

prima laborum
causa . . . belloque animos accendit agrestis.

Thus a rural tribe long at peace are suddenly clamouring for war and vengeance. The injured Amata, the supplanted Turnus, the local farmers, unite against the newcomers. Virgil understands so well how the immigrant can always be made a scapegoat.

Here is another correspondence with the story of Dido. Just as her Bacchic ranging finds a dramatic counterpart in the scene with Amata, so too a hunt plays a significant part in both books IV and VII. In IV, Ascanius enjoys himself hunting and hopes for a kill – then, abruptly, the storm drives the lovers into the cave, the hunt is forgotten, Juno's engineered mock-marriage draws Dido into the counterplot in which her role is that of sacrificial victim. Now in VII, again newly arrived on land, the Trojans enjoy a hunt, and again it ends in disaster. Ascanius gets his kill this time: but as in IV Dido is likened to a deer slain by accident, so now the actual slaying of a pet deer takes on a symbolic force. The description of the creature, wild yet tame, wandering freely by day in the forest yet at night returning to take food from its mistress's hand, is in Virgil's most delicate pastoral vein. The key word *errare* is used twice of the animal, once of the bowman's arm (*nec dextrae erranti deus afruit* underlines the sense, so strong through the poem, that what may seem pure randomness or coincidence can also be seen as divinely planned): Virgil carefully builds up a picture of apparently digressive and decorative pastoral, the animal roaming at random, Ascanius's hounds picking up the unexpected scent, the cooling stream in the midday heat, the young hero's excitement, and the arrow going home, like the huntsman's arrow in that famous simile in book IV, without the bowman realising the significance of the hit. Nor did Aeneas know how he had struck home to Dido's heart. The finality expressed by the enclosing word order in the account of the deer's slaying

actaque multo
perque uterum sonitu perque ilia uenit harundo

*shot with a rushing
Sound through womb and loins came the arrow.*

is reinforced by the rhyme with *secundo* five lines earlier. It is the prelude to the many deaths of heroes which will occupy the last four books of the poem.

These deaths begin at once. A disorganised preliminary skirmish takes place, the herdsman's eldest son is slain, together with one of the Latin elders. Events move quickly, the narrative quickens with them. Allecto reports to Juno,

en perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi

See, I have done it for you, discord, war's desolation.

Juno banishes the fury to hell and herself puts the final touch to war's masterpiece. The narrator brings the threads together. The farmers hurry to Latinus with the tale of the hunt that turned to bloodshed. Turnus emphasises his rejection and the Trojan usurpation. Amata and her women return from the wooded hillside. Against all this the aged and pacifist king is powerless.

So it was. Everyone was for accursed war, against
The omens and oracles of the gods, against divine
will . . .

And cruel Juno had her way with things.

Helpless, Latinus cried in vain to heaven,

'We are shipwrecked by destiny,' he said, 'borne
away on the storm blast.

You'll pay for this sacrilege in blood,

Oh my poor people, and as for you, Turnus, you'll
pay too,

Grim punishment for sin, and you'll pay to heaven,
when it's too late.'

6. Catalogue

Book VII ends in grandly formal style with the ceremony of the opening of the gates of war by Juno and the procession of the Italian chieftains. The ceremony, which Virgil calls by that 'great Roman word' *mos* ('tradition'),³⁶ is supposed to have grown up in Rome under the kings, but is here 'telescoped' back in time, behind Rome, behind Alba Longa, to the legendary heroic age. By proposing an imaginative continuity of culture and tradition in Italy stretching back to the remotest past, Virgil emphasises the native contribution to Rome's dual descent. The civilisation of Troy, its wealth and *pietas* (to which Zeus himself had paid tribute in the *Iliad*) had been attested by Homer;³⁷ it is more important, therefore, for Virgil to include in his poem that element of Roman culture which is independent of Greek tradition and had throughout the republic been preserved alongside the process of assimilating the Greek heritage.

In the first book of his *Iliad*, Virgil has constructed a *casus belli* out of the Homeric theme (almost a trademark) of quarrels over a woman. But his real interest is in analysing the way a war starts: the shooting of a pet animal is as important as the slighting of a hero. There is no confrontation between Turnus and Aeneas corresponding to that between Agamemnon and Achilles in *Iliad* I, and the abortive duel between Paris and Menelaus over Helen in *Iliad* III becomes the effective climax and conclusion of *Aeneid* XII. In the *Iliad*, those fruitless and frustrated confrontations take their place in the general story of the war and also in the wrath theme which was Homer's special contribution to the Troy-cycle. From the Homeric *Iliad* Virgil has removed not only the wrath theme, in its Homeric form at least, but the general pervading sense in Homer of war being a proper occupation for a hero. It is not

³⁶ See Conway on I.264.

³⁷ *Iliad* 4.31-49.

just that the Greeks have already besieged Troy for nearly ten years. Before that they were engaged in besieging and sacking Eteion. Raids for plunder were imagined by Homer as a way of life for the magnificent chieftains of the bronze age. Throughout the *Aeneid* Virgil, in contrast, harps on the insanity of war: phrases like *amor ferri et scelerata insania belli*, *insani Martis amore*, condemn war as the worst manifestation of *furor* and civil war, *discordia*, as the worst form of war.

In this larger sense only does the Roman poet retain and indeed intensify the wrath theme; it is no longer the anger of one impetuous and arguably paranoid hero but a psychological thesis on mass hysteria (the Bacchic behaviour of the Latin matrons in VII might be thus classified).³⁸ Only very recently in Virgil's own lifetime had the horror of *discordia* yielded to the peace of the Augustan settlement. Augustus recorded the fact that under his administration the gates of war were shut three times, after having been open for two centuries. In their ceremonial opening by Juno, Virgil offers a paradigm of pre-Augustan *discordia*. The *mos* of the opening of the gates can have no Homeric counterpart; but with great skill Virgil has assimilated it to a Homeric 'Catalogue'.

The opening of the gates is recorded in a grandly spondaic line appropriately echoing Ennius, father of Roman epic poetry:

Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis

Juno breaks open the iron gates of war

and this is the signal for general mobilisation:

ardet inexcita Ausonia atque immobilis ante;
 pars pedes ire parat campis, pars arduus altis
 puluerulentus equis furit; omnes arma requirunt.

These lines defy translation, with their rapid movement (the first of the three is virtually without any caesura) and their

³⁸ Cf. the Messenger's speech in Euripides, *Bacchae* 689ff., Catullus 64.255-64.

astonishing use of alliteration ('a' and 'p'). The sense is that Latium, till now static and uneventful, is suddenly swept by war-fever: infantry, cavalry, all rush to answer the call to arms. These are the heroes who, though on the side doomed to defeat, will none the less, in Dante's words, die for Italy, with no lesser patriotism than the Trojans Nisus and Euryalus or the Arcadian Pallas.³⁹

The Catalogue is one of a sequence of episodes from Homer's *Iliad* which are distributed through the second half of the *Aeneid*, in an order quite different from Homer's. The funeral games in *Aeneid* v are wholly transposed from their Iliadic context as games in honour of the fallen Patroclus and put into the story of Aeneas's Odyssean wanderings. Then follow:

Aeneid VII: Catalogue (*Iliad* II)

Aeneid VIII: Shield (*Iliad* XVIII)

Aeneid IX: Doloneia with embassy (*Iliad* IX, X)

Aeneid X: council of gods and 'Patrocleia' (*Iliad* XX, XVI)

Aeneid XI: truce, funeral, council of war (*Iliad* VII, II, XVIII, XXIII)

Aeneid XII: death of Turnus (*Iliad* XXII)

A close study of the 'intertextuality' of the *Aeneid* and its Homeric paradigms can throw much light on structure and narrative technique. The placing of the funeral games, for instance, in *Aeneid* v serves the same structural and narrative purpose as the placing of the original games in *Iliad* XXIII: both passages act as transitions leading down from one climactic episode and up towards the next. In Homer, the games separate two acts by Achilles: his killing of Hector, the conclusion of his *aristeia*, and his ransoming of the body of his dead foe. In between, we see Achilles more relaxed, perhaps, than anywhere else in the poem, his *furor* appeased by the grim pyre and its attendant sacrifices in honour of his fallen

³⁹ Dante, *Inferno* I. I. 107-8.

comrade. Virgil too uses games to lead away from one climactic episode, Dido's death, and towards another, the descent into the underworld; both episodes 'star' Aeneas, as the episodes in *Iliad* xxii and xxiii had 'starred' Achilles, and in Virgil's games, too, we see Aeneas in more relaxed mood. Virgil transposes the games from their Homeric association with the battlefield and with the hero's friend and places them in the Greek world of Aeneas's *Odyssey*, associating them with the death of Aeneas's father. He thus retains their Greek flavour, despite the very Roman exercise of the *lusus Troiae*, and makes a further point by their excision from his Italian *Iliad*. Their absence from book xi (say) gives to the last two books of the *Aeneid* an unrelieved tragic grandeur.

It is worth remarking that Virgil's games in *Aeneid* v are followed by the episode of the burning of the ships, an Iliadic incident which nearly recurs, as we shall see, in book ix, when Turnus's attempt to fire the Trojan fleet is foiled by their miraculous, 'Odyssean', metamorphosis. In book v, the disaster is partially averted by Jupiter Pluvius. In both v and ix, the firing is initiated by Juno through the agency of Iris, the same grand spondaic line

Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno

Iris heaven-sent by Juno Saturn's daughter

being repeated from v. 606 at ix. 2. Thus an Odyssean book of the *Aeneid*, containing an Iliadic funeral games, in a non-Iliadic context, is thematically linked forward to the Iliadic ninth book.

Nor indeed could it have been appropriate for Aeneas to stage games for Pallas, whom he had known for so short a time and whose death while under his *contubernium* was a source of grief only to be assuaged by ending as quickly as possible the campaign which had claimed him as its victim.

The Catalogue in *Aeneid* vii is perhaps more than anything else in the *Aeneid* a total transformation of its Homeric

model⁴⁰ The Catalogue in *Iliad* II consists of a long parade of the Achaian contingents, which is generally agreed to have existed as a separate piece prior to the composition of the monumental *Iliad*, to which it has been in part assimilated, followed by a shorter catalogue of the Trojan leaders, which may have been composed specifically for the *Iliad* and added to round off the book. In any case, the Catalogue obviously belongs to an earlier phase of the war than that being chronicled by Homer, though the contents have been adapted somewhat to fit the Iliadic situation. There is also the much more moving (because seen through the eyes of Helen herself) 'Teichoskopia' in *Iliad* III.⁴¹ Helen is portrayed as deeply divided between love for her native land and an acceptance, albeit sometimes a self-reproachful one, of the trouble caused by her own sexuality. The poignancy of the passage reaches its climax in the reference to Helen's two brothers, whom she cannot point out for they are not in the army, she does not know why: perhaps they never enlisted, or perhaps they are ashamed to show themselves because of their sister; but Homer tells us that they are dead.

Virgil makes little use of the Teichoskopia in his Catalogue. If he borrows from its technique anywhere in the *Aeneid* it is in the *Heldenschau* in book VI, where two people gaze on a procession of heroes, one identifying them for the other; Virgil even adds an analogous 'pendant' figure of pathos to correspond to the dead brothers of Helen, the young Marcellus, unborn yet also dead before he could assume his rightful role. The catalogue in VII shows affinities with the Shield in VIII as well as the *Heldenschau*: three successive books of the poem, VI, VII, VIII, end with patriotic parades of characters from Italy's past.

The Catalogue in book VII also transforms its Iliadic model in that it occupies the proper chronological place of a muster of troops, that is, before the war, not near its end: perhaps such a

⁴⁰ On the Homeric catalogues see M. M. Willcock, *Companion 22-38*, and (ed.) *The Iliad of Homer: Books I-XII* (London 1978) 204-15.

⁴¹ See above, Prologue.

catalogue would have figured also in one of the earlier Greek primary epics, at the point where the Greek fleet is becalmed on the way to Troy and Agamemnon is directed to sacrifice Iphigeneia. No such difficulty beset Virgil, who is chronicling a whole brief campaign from its origins in resentment, hysteria and xenophobia down to its destined end.

Virgil's literary technique in the Catalogue owes something to Hellenistic aitiological poetry, especially in his treatment of Virbius. But more important from the narrative point of view is the close linking of the Catalogue to the second half of the poem. Virgil concentrates on the key figures of the coming campaign: Mezentius, despiser of the gods, and his beautiful young son Lausus, who lead the procession, are central figures in the war. Mezentius is an Etruscan king expelled by his own people for tyranny and allied now to Turnus, a partnership of which Aeneas and the reader will learn in book VIII. Aeneas himself kills them both in book X. Camilla, who ends the procession and whose portrait closes book VII, dies in book XI; along with Turnus and Mezentius she is one of Aeneas's three greatest foes. She is an attractive, half magical figure, whose name would suggest to the Romans the ideal warrior of the republic, Camillus, servant of the gods.⁴² The touchingly beautiful lines in which the poet tells us how she looked 'as if she could glide over wheatfields without crushing the ripe ears and over the sea itself without wetting the soles of her feet', do indeed seem to idealise this warrior maid, prototype of Spenser's Britomart,⁴³ the Penthesilea of the continuation of the *Iliad*. But the reader, with a sense of hindsight from a point beyond that which the narrative has so far attained, the product perhaps of a memory of an earlier reading or some assimilated awareness of tragic irony, knows that this exotic and idealised creature will die. What is more, it will be her love of finery and gorgeous apparel which will undo her. Here in VII, after the 'magical' passage just quoted, Virgil ends by telling us (in perhaps the only passage in the Catalogue which

⁴² On Camillus see Fordyce, *Aen. VII-VIII* on 7.803ff.

⁴³ See *Faerie Queene* III.2.6.

recalls the Teichoskopia) how she seemed to the matrons who accompanied Amata. They saw no miracle-girl gliding through the air; what fascinated them were her royal costume and accessories. So our last glimpse of her until book XI, her *aristeia* and death, is not through the eyes of the author but through the eyes of the matrons, as they gape at her hubristic splendours of purple and gold and – the final touch – at her pastoral myrtle-staff converted into an iron-pointed lance. She is a very Italian figure (myrtle is a common seaside plant in Italy) and takes us back to the cedar-wood statues of the old Italian deities in Latinus's palace. She provides a strange, ambiguous link between the pastoral and the heroic world. The matrons gaze at her just as, towards the end of book VIII, the women of Pallanteum gaze in wonder upon Aeneas as he rides out to Caere. Here, perhaps, in the close of the Catalogue in VII, we catch something of the impression the heroes of Greece made on Helen and Priam as they looked down from the walls of Troy in *Iliad* III. But those heroes were ultimately victorious. Around Camilla there clings proleptically the sadness of defeat, for all her finery and show – indeed, perhaps because of them.

7. Diplomatic

At the end of the first section of *Aeneid* VII (line 285), before the irruption of Juno and Allecto into Latium, the Trojan embassy led by Ilioneus returned to Aeneas's camp with good news: *pacemque reportant*. Aeneas himself disappears from the narrative of book VII at line 159, when the embassy sets out, leaving him busy constructing the first Trojan camp on Italian soil. When we meet him again, at the beginning of VIII, he is deeply troubled. The war preparations at the end of VII have undermined Latinus's authority and his pledge of peace seems already weak. Meanwhile, another embassy has set out from the other side: the Latins are seeking help against Aeneas from his old enemy at Troy, Diomedes, now also settled in Italy.

Aeneas himself must now seek further allies: with Latinus powerless and Turnus assuming the hegemony over the chiefs of Latium, he must try for aid elsewhere, so he strikes north, first up the Tiber to Evander's settlement and then, further afield, to the Etruscan king Tarchon. The visit to Evander follows a night vision in which the river god Tiberinus appears and reassures him.

Child of the gods, who hast taken Troy from its
 enemies
 And brought it here and saved it for ever and ever,
 You are the long awaited one. Here in the fields of
 Latium
 Is your sure home . . .

The reader recalls the words of Aeneas at the omen of the eating of the 'dinner-plates' in vii. The key words *domus*, *penates*, recur. But despite this grandly reassuring night vision (itself in conspicuous antithesis to the vision of horror which has insinuated itself into the sleeping Turnus in vii) Aeneas makes his visit to Evander as a suppliant, *in rebus egenis*, and the prophecy of the Sibyl in book vi now comes true. As she had foretold, Aeneas must seek salvation where he would least expect to find it. in a Greek city, for Evander had come from Arcadia before the Trojan war and had known Anchises. His settlement of Pallanteum stands on the site of the future Rome, especially the Palatine hill, home of Augustus himself, and Aeneas's visit allows Virgil a detailed and highly original excursus on the monuments of that first city. We see it all through the wondering eyes of the hero. So much of the poem's action is seen through mediating eyes. Aeneas looks at sites familiar to the implied reader but strange to him. When he looks at the Shield given him by Venus at the end of viii he sees pictures but does not know the people and events which they depict: again, these are known to the implied reader. It is part of the loneliness of Aeneas's destiny that he must inaugurate the history of a people whose symbols he cannot interpret. He is almost like Wells's time-traveller, 'wandering

between two worlds'. He must trust the future. This is a very hard thing for any of us to do, and to my mind amply accounts for the doubts and anxieties to which he is prone. The fact that the future is frequently and reassuringly revealed to Aeneas by accredited divinities and oracles does not wholly remove his anxieties. Again, Virgil speaks psychological truth. The destruction of Troy and the abrupt end of his past give Aeneas a massive sense of insecurity. Dido is the first person since his wife died who shows him any love. No wonder he wants to stay with her, and his necessary departure and her death merely add to his doubts. It is true of modern men and women as well as of heroes that, despite continual reassurances they continue to doubt themselves and their future.

Moreover, the modern reader, unlike Virgil's implied Augustan reader, may well be nearly as ignorant as Aeneas of the historical significance of events, people and places displayed in book VIII. The modern reader, then, must make that implied Augustan reader's response a part of his own reading experience. To some extent, I suppose, this process forms part of the reading of any ancient text, but I think it belongs to readings of the *Aeneid* in a special way. The poet's manipulation of disparate temporalities (those of Aeneas and the implied reader) becomes for the modern reader a paradigm of his own temporal dislocation. In Aeneas Virgil has created a hero who is only partially able to relate to the things he sees and learns. He is thus a figure of every reader.

Aeneas's journey to Pallanteum and his first reception by Evander are modelled on passages in the *Odyssey*; *Aeneid* VIII becomes fully Iliadic only in its last triad, the great ephrasis of the Shield. Again, the Homeric episode acquires a new meaning. Achilles had lost his own shield when Hector took it from the corpse of Patroclus. Aeneas has not yet fought in Italy, and the shield brought by his mother Venus (as Thetis had brought Achilles' shield) is a symbol carrying the history of that Rome which has not yet come into existence for Aeneas in the narrative time of the story; but which for the implied reader is already the eternal city of the Augustan writers. Livy

says that the city's eternity depended on the perpetual renewal of its forms of government (*noua imperia*).⁴⁴ When Aeneas gazes on the cluster of legendary prehistoric ruins and 'contemporary' hut-settlements which make up bronze-age Pallanteum, the implied reader sees the splendid temples of Jupiter Capitolinus and Apollo Palatinus, images of both of which are projected on the Shield, while the modern reader sees beyond these, beyond the ironic vision of Gibbon, when he described the fallen ruins of the imperial city as observed by two Renaissance courtiers,⁴⁵ down to the archaeological preservations visible in our own time. The reader's perspective lengthens and draws out continually, the poem's temporalities are in his control, its narrative time unfolding as a constant 'present' within an unstable 'past'. The historic present allows the reader to control and stabilise these syntactical instabilities within a single 'interpreting' now, which is nothing else than his own act of reading. What emerges is a kind of vertically stacked structure of temporalities.

Aeneas's embassy to Evander closely parallels in form and structure the embassy of Ilioneus to Latinus: the common technique of 'doubling' (thus Evander's offer of his son Pallas parallels and doubles Latinus's offer of Lavinia). Both embassies start with the same question from hosts to envoys: *quae causa* (7.197, 8.111), 'What reason brought you here?': both offer dynastic arguments to support their case. Latinus says Dardanus came from Italy; Aeneas reminds Evander that Trojans and Arcadians also share a blood-relationship. But the second embassy is more urgent. When Ilioneus was despatched it was a kind of courtesy visit: there was no reason to fear aggression; now, says Aeneas, his Trojans alone stand between the Rutuli and the subjection of all Italy: *omnem Hesperiam* recalls *totam Hesperiam* in the prelude to VII, 'all Italy compelled to arms'.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Livy 4.4.

⁴⁵ This passage is reprinted in Gransden, *Aen. VIII*, Introd. 34-5.

⁴⁶ 7.434, 8.148.

The day on which Aeneas came to Pallanteum was itself a significant one. *forte die*, says the narrator: it so happened that on this very day the rites in honour of Hercules were being celebrated at the deified hero's Great Altar to mark the anniversary of his killing of the fire-breathing monster Cacus who had once haunted the Aventine hill. This annual rite at the Great Altar took place in historical times on 12 August, and this, therefore, is the day on which Virgil supposes Aeneas to have arrived. In the year 29 B.C., on 13 August, Augustus began his triple triumph in celebration of his victory at Actium over Antony and Cleopatra, as depicted at the end of VIII on the Shield. Thus Aeneas's arrival at Pallanteum on 12 August and his overnight sojourn both follow the arrival of Hercules and his victory over Cacus and prefigure the arrival of Augustus from his triumphs overseas: Hercules, too, had come from a previous victory elsewhere over another monster – another instance of epic doubling', but here the parallel between the three heroes is carefully worked out. The *furor* with which Hercules hunts down and kills Cacus perhaps underwrites the *furor* with which Aeneas finally kills Turnus. The story of Hercules, narrated to Aeneas and the reader by Evander, is thus an aitiological allegory: it pretends that the rite of the Great Altar was traditional and not a late Greco-Etruscan import; it presents a cyclic view of history and links two deified heroes in the cults of Rome, both in fact of Greek origin: Hercules, naturalised in Etruria and Aeneas, naturalised in Latium. The story also has a topographical function appropriate in a book centring on the sites of Rome: Cacus was a cattle-rustler, and the theft of a god's vattle is a mythical motif of common occurrence, e.g. the oxen of the Sun in *Odyssey* XII. It is here localised and appropriated to Roman legend, as were other stories depicted on the Shield, some probably assimilated from Greek counterparts, others, like the story of the geese which were said to have given warning of the imminent threat to the Capitol by the Gauls, perhaps native. All are stories of salvation from danger, of rescue, of heroism in extreme peril: all emphasise the *facta* of

heroes. We *keep* this day holy, says Evander, because on it we were *saved* from great danger: the Latin word for keep and save is the same, *seruare*.

The pastoral invitation of Evander to Aeneas to stay the night in his simple hut constitutes an Odyssean theoxeny following an Odyssean *nostos* modelled on *Odyssey* XIV. Virgil's problem at this stage of his narrative is not to lose sight of the Iliadic theme inaugurated in VII, and to relate the Odyssean theme of homecoming to the 'greater matter' of the *Iliad*. It is at this point that he introduces a new character, Pallas, Evander's son. He greets the Trojans on their arrival at the Forum Boarium (where the Great Altar stood). It is one of Virgil's most imaginative strokes of dramatic irony. In stunned amazement and fear the celebrants at the altar rise from the communion table as the tall ships glide silently under the trees. It is Pallas who, with 'ill-starred gallantry',⁴⁷ orders the celebrants not to break their ritual but himself picks up a weapon, *audax . . . obuius ipse*: daringly confronting the Trojans (who bear the olive branch of peace) he offers in his gesture a prefiguration of his doomed courage in book X when he chides the Arcadians for their fear and launches himself into the *aristeia* which ends with his death at the hand of Turnus. He is the Patroclus of Virgil's *Iliad*. He is entrusted to Aeneas by his father, and this relationship with its specific range of obligation, though deeply and characteristically Roman, also finds its Homeric counterpart in the *Iliad*, where, we are told, Patroclus, though older than Achilles was taken in by Achilles' father when still a child (he had killed another child in a temper over a game of dice).⁴⁸ The relationship of the two friends is sketched in typical Homeric gossip detail: we learn something about the characters' past which is fresh and surprising. The sense of human reality is one of Homer's greatest qualities. Virgil transforms this relationship into the embodiment of an abstraction, deeply felt, morally serious, and with no touch of Homer's sense of familiarity and

⁴⁷ See Fordyce, *Aen. VII–VIII* on Servius *ad loc.*

⁴⁸ *Iliad* 23.85–92.

background. Compared with the characters in the *Iliad*, Aeneas and Pallas have no past, they share nothing, their lives together begin in book VIII and end in book XI.

Thus Aeneas–Achilles meets his Patroclus, and, it may be said, by meeting him, dooms him. Pallas is drawn in to the fatal recension of the *Iliad*; he is predestined by the author and by the model of which he is a fixed part. The Odyssean parallel to the sending of Pallas cannot be regarded as crucial. Nestor hands over Peisistratus to be Telemachus's companion on his search for his father; but although, as we have seen, Aeneas's sojourn with Evander does have Odyssean parallels, especially from book XIV (the theoxeny of Eumaeus) the parallel from the Telemachia, though structurally plausible, has no relevance to the tragic irony already implicit in the entry of Pallas into the narrative and his departure with Aeneas to Caere in search of the military alliance with Tarchon in preparation for the war which starts in earnest in book IX and claims Pallas as its victim in book X.

It seems clear from the narrative that Latinus and his people would not have been drawn into the power-struggle between Tarchon and the exiled Etruscan chieftain Mezentius, were it not that Mezentius had been taken in by Turnus the *soi-disant* son-in-law of Latinus. Evander tells Latinus that there is a prophecy that no local chieftain will be able to defeat Mezentius, the Etruscans must choose a foreign leader, *externos optate duces*. Thus Virgil, by the use of the device of 'doubling', reinforces the marital prophecy with a military one and sets in motion an Iliadic conflict with a difference (but retaining the revenge pattern of the Homeric Patrocleia) centring on the overthrow of a tyrant and a marriage of momentous national significance in which patriotic motifs from Rome's actual history (the defeat of the Etruscans) are interwoven.

All this Evander tells Aeneas in the speech which he makes after their night's rest in his simple house on the Palatine (the Odyssean theoxeny). The story of how Mezentius was received by Turnus is itself 'doubled' from one of the scenes

from Rome's early history depicted on Aeneas's Shield at the end of VIII, in which the exiled last king of Rome, Tarquinius, is taken in by Lars Porsenna. The reader may also recall a further parallel from Livy⁴⁹ (and Shakespeare), the story of the exiled Coriolanus who was received by the Volscian leader Aufidius. Mezentius's story explains his pre-eminence in the Catalogue in VII; his defection increases the military threat to the Trojans; the need for allies becomes greater; the Etruscans await the *dux externus* who shall rescue Italy from tyranny.

In the Catalogue, Mezentius's son Lausus is described as leading a large contingent from Caere (Agylla), the Etruscan city to which Aeneas goes in VIII to receive the Shield from Venus, the city which had expelled Mezentius. It seems feasible that some Etruscans remained loyal to Mezentius and followed him and Lausus over to the Rutuli; but in any case Virgil has modified the received Italian version of the story to suit his own narrative,⁵⁰ which primarily requires that wherever he goes Aeneas must be welcomed as ally and saviour – by Latinus, Evander, Tarchon. His progress as he reluctantly accepts supreme *imperium* is a figure of Augustus's own triple triumph depicted on the Shield. Aeneas's *imperium* is defined and confirmed *after* the threat of war in VII makes it impossible that the Trojan assimilation in Italy can be a peaceful process.

Just as the Catalogue has ended with the figure of Camilla, watched with awed admiration by the women of Italy.

turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,

so, now, in a further parallel between the endings of VII and VIII, the matrons of Pallanteum watch from within the walls the riding forth of Aeneas, Achates, Pallas and the other Trojans in a cloud of dust and a gleam of Homeric bronze.

⁴⁹ Livy 2.33–40.

⁵⁰ See Fordyce, *Aen. VII–VIII* on 7.653: the reference to a large Etruscan contingent on the Italian side may be a survival of the standard version of the story in which Mezentius and the Etruscans are called in by the Rutuli. But we must remember that VII and VIII doubtless contain some unrevised matter.

stant pauidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur
pulueream nubem et fulgentis aere cateruas.

That same gleam of heroic bronze had first glanced across the waters of the Tiber when Aeneas's ships arrived at Pallanteum earlier in VIII. Thus the end of VIII provides both an inner symmetry for the book itself and a larger chiasmic symmetry for the two books VII and VIII, so that there is a complex movement within the pair: each begins with a parallel embassy, each ends with a riding forth and a long ecphrasis depicting heroes. Aeneas moves through the books in a triumphal progress, despite an anxious period of need, from the fields of Latium up Tiber to the site of Rome and across country to Etruria; from there he will make one more triumphal re-entry into the narrative, in book X.

The ecphrasis of the Shield which concludes book VIII holds up the narrative and sums up the meaning of the poem. The narrative time of the epic, the time of the Trojan landfall and the coming war, is suspended while the reader enters a new time-scale, which is that of Virgil's annalistic record of the Roman past from earliest times down to his own yesterday. That time-scale itself immediately changes when the contemporary reader starts reading the poem. Now, the climactic 'yesterday' of the triumph of Augustus, planned by Vulcan the artificer of the Shield and surrogate figure of the artificer-*uates* to be the centrepiece in plastic terms and the culmination in linear ones of the entire ecphrasis, becomes itself merely one more historical memory, as remote and glittering to us as the gleam of Homeric bronze. The narrative climax, which the poem's implied reader would have endowed with all the splendour of yesterday, has vanished into the most distant perspective of time. For the modern reader, gazing on the Shield with Aeneas's eyes, the scenes depicted indeed proclaim no political significance.

The last scene on the Shield (or rather, the scene at its centre, the last to be chronicled, the last in time), depicts the *princeps* receiving offerings and reviewing the triumphal parade from

the temple of Apollo Palatinus. The crowd (among them, again, the matrons of the city) watch with delight, as the long procession of victors and vanquished winds its way through the streets. Once more, Virgil has interposed a seeing eye, or many eyes (for Aeneas looks at scenes which are shown as themselves being looked at): as though the reader would need those other eyes. For the implied Augustan reader, Aeneas's naive and ignorant view is balanced by the eye of understanding, of recent memory. of delight in recognition. But if the modern reader cannot reconstruct the historical life of the poem, then he cannot assent to the rhetorical stratagems by which Virgil sought to influence the implied reader. They remain now only as technical hypotheses, experiments in temporality, pleasures of narrative.