

carissimis coniugi, filio, parentibus

Studies in Vergil, Aeneid Eleven

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an attempt to study and comment upon the text of Aeneid 11. In so doing it has been necessary to trace the literary origins of the characters concerned in the hope that this would give some consistent direction to their characterization.

Since the world's first historians had been Greeks who had associated history with epic poetry, considering that "history owed its technique and its very existence to Homer and other Greek poets" and that "Athenian tragic drama in the fifth century B.C...also influenced Greek historical writing" (M. Grant. The Annals of Imperial Rome, 10), history and poetry were inextricably woven together as Virgil's Shield of Aeneas clearly indicates (Aeneid 8.626 ff.). That this rapport would have some bearing upon Vergil's work is an aspect noted by a number of scholars who see the Aeneid in terms of allegory, a point of view which I have attempted to explore in treating Aeneid 11.

In assessing Vergil's major heroes and his heroine Camilla, it was necessary to evaluate both descriptions and behaviour patterns of other major characters throughout Vergil's epic. As a result of this, my awareness

of Vergil's knowledge of ambiguous writing techniques grew and it seemed to me that a subtle manipulation of mythology and Roman history would provide an excellent vehicle for both characterization and narrative of outstanding personages of Vergil's own era.

Vergil's deliberate yet sensitive treatment of his major characters, his variatio in the use of typology, his highlighting of motivation and interests, of the horrors of war in which the young and frequently the innocent suffer on both sides, his recording of public debates between prominent politicians and pen portraits of regal furiosae, all find their counterparts in the period of civil strife which ensued after the assassination of Julius Caesar. The sympathy and humanitas of Vergil for all concerned, mirrored in his generally successful attempt to write aequo animo, might be summed up in Aeneas' desperate groan as he views the battle-scenes and carnage depicted on the walls of Juno's temple at Carthage: sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt (Aen. 1.462).

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Fig. 82. Agate intaglio.
Octavian in a chariot
drawn by hippocamps. In
the waves, the head of an
enemy, either Sextus Pom-
pey or Antony.



Paul Zanker. The Power of Images in the
Age of Augustus. University of Michigan
Press, Ann Arbor, 1988. Fig. 82

capital (225-467), once more modelled upon Greek epic and tragedy, yet with a very marked connection with contemporary society at the end of the Republic; 3) the Camilliad(498-915), in which the exploits of Camilla, Amazonian bellatrix are described, this third section having formed the nucleus of my M.A. thesis, which I have now attempted to expand and revise. To these seemingly natural divisions of the text I have added a fourth chapter in which I have endeavoured to show ambiguous writing techniques, which can be traced as far back as the Homeric era.¹

Many scholars throughout the ages have been conscious of certain nuances inexplicables when reading Vergil's epic. Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533) thoroughly acquainted with the Augustan celebrantes, Vergil and Horace, tells us that Vergil (one may presume under another name in view of lack of information) was actually proscribed, and attributes his restoration to his poetic abilities. He also seems to have doubts about Augustus:

Non fu si' santo ne' benigno Augusto
 come la tuba di Virgilio suona.
 L'aver avuto in poesia buon gusto
 la proscrizione iniqua gli perdona.
 (L.Ariosto, Orl.Fur.36.26).

Turnebus (Book 23, chapter 13), and Schrevel detected a reference to Cicero in the persona of Drances (ad Aen. 11.122),² whereas among modern scholars Anderson similarly would appear to agree with the Drances-Cicero identification.³ Camps, in posing the question of

Octavius' influence upon the character of Aeneas notes, for example, the connection of the oak-crown and shield dedicated to Octavian in 27 B.C. and Aeneas' divinely-constructed armour set down by Venus under an oak (Aen.8.616).⁴ The crown of golden oak-leaves was also a consistent find in the Macedonian royal tombs of the third and fourth centuries B.C.,⁵ as were other Vergilian references, such as swords with decorative hilts⁶ (cf illi stellatus iaspide fulva/ensis erat Tyrioque ardebat murice laena/demissa ex umeris, given by Dido to Aeneas. 4.262-4, 507.579.663; fatiferum...ensem 8.621, ensem...non hos quaesitum munus in usus 4.646-7), sphinxes (cf the sphragis of Augustus, a symbol of silence: Suet.Div. Aug. 50; Pliny 36,12,17),⁷ carved golden armour, such as greaves (cf Aeneas avidus pugnae suras and incluserat auro 12.430), thoraces (cf the lorica of Aeneas 8.621 and statues of Octavian in elaborately-carved cuirass).⁸ Heavily-embroidered purple and gold robes were also revealed in the royal tomb-finds,⁹ such as Vergil frequently describes in great detail (cf the laena of Aeneas 4.263, the chlamydes of Ascanius 3.484; of Dido 4.137; of Camilla 7.814; of Pallas 8.588;11.72; of Arcentis filius 9.582; of Chloerus (Camilla's opponent) 11.775). In view of the fact that burial practises between the Romans, Greeks, Etruscans and Macedonians (including the Ptolemies who claimed descent from Alexander of Macedon) were so similar — as this dissertation will endeavour to point out — one wonders whether Octavian and the Julian family were as far removed from the Ptolemies and

Cleopatra as history leads one to believe. Geography too might lead us to a similar query: Aeneas who so resembles Octavius veers from Roman (6.851) to Trojan, the impressively prosperous migrants to Macedonia (7.385),¹⁰ just as Turnus the Rutulian dux (10-445) has Mycenaean origins(7.372) and Etruscan connections(11.835). Moreover Vergil deliberately equates the Lydians and Etruscans (8.479) so that the reader feels that there is a connection between these seemingly disparate races, a possible evolution from Indo-European origins, typified perhaps in their similar burial customs. In Vergil's epic the gap between the East and West seems to be less marked, due no doubt also to the fact that the Romans by this time controlled a great part of the East. The connection with the East is further emphasized by Yves Nadeau who regards the Aristaeus' episode (Geo. 4.281-558) as an allegory for the civil war between Rome and Egypt with Octavian (Aristaeus), Antony (Orpheus) and Cleopatra (Eurydice) playing the major roles.¹¹

Vergil as a Hellenistic poet, as one of the Novi Poetae who appeared to thrive on obscurity and veiled allusion, has been treated in detail by Clausen who tells us that Parthenius, Cinna's mentor, instructed Vergil in Greek (Macrobius Sat. 5.17.18). As testimony to the success of his teaching, Clausen writes: "Cinna laboured for nine years to be as obscure as Euphorion and succeeded brilliantly: his Zmyrna required a commentary".¹²

In keeping with the precept of Boas who reminds the reader that he should never forget to contemplate "Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit",¹³ one must examine the major exponents of allegory, Drew, Coleiro and Tanner who view Octavian, Antony and Cleopatra in terms of multi-pseudonyms.¹⁴ The poet Martial (c.A.D. 40-104) writing just after the Augustan era, like Vergil, uses the word ludere (to play, compose, imitate) of his poetry (7.12. cf Ecl. 1.10;6.1-8), and admits quite frankly to having concealed personalities in his works (2.23), the purpose being to denounce the peccata but to spare the peccator (10.33.10). He maintains that far from being mere nugae his poems reflect contemporary society as accurately as a mirror (10.4.8), a view held by Hermann with regard to Vergil's Eclogues: "Les Bucoliques sont essentiellement des poésies à clef présentant sous les masques...des poètes et des mondaines de l'époque de Virgile". As a precedent for allegory in the Eclogues Hermann notes that Theocritus had hidden a poet under the mask of Lycidas in the Thalysia and had himself assumed the mask of Simichidas.¹⁵

Starobinski, with reference to the notes of Ferdinand de Saussure, continues the allegorical theory claiming that a Latin audience was skilled in identifying parole sotto parole, in spite of a plurality of levels. We are thus confronted with symbolism, typology, codes and pseudonyms. Saussure claimed that he had merely to open a page of Pliny or Cicero to realize a multiplicity of hypograms or coded messages, but was unable to discover

any definite set of rules. Starobinski accordingly formulated various opinions: was the hypogram an occult tradition or a secret which had been ingenuously hidden, or was the method so banal, so self-assertive and obvious that it could be taken for granted? He questions whether Vergil in his poetry was compelled to follow an established set of rules or whether he made up his own with a definite purpose in view. "Confesso che e' questo che mi sfugge assolutamente. Non vedo altra scelta che presentare l'enigma cosi'come ci si offre".¹⁶

In recent years Frederick Ahl has added greatly to this play on words in his work on metaformations, and in addition dwells at great length on various theories of time, arguing that the modern reader must put aside all notions of chronological sequence.¹⁷

Augustan themes abound in Vergil's poetry and in the work of his contemporaries. Cleopatra, femme fatale, had clearly captured the imagination of the ancient world (Horace Odes 1.37; Vergil Aen.8.685 ff; Propertius 3.11), so much so that Griffin sees Cleopatra (Propertius 3,11) as "a magnified version of Cynthia", the poet's elegiac mistress.¹⁸ Other Augustan themes, critical to his particular period, which would appear to be mirrored in Vergil's Aeneid, might include:-

- 1) Andromache's attention to Hector's cenotaph (Aen.3.303 ff) reflected in Plutarch's description of Cleopatra's attention to Antony's grave (Antony 84).
- 2) Pygmalion's deception about the death of Dido's coniunx Sychaeus (Aen.1.347 ff) might have its counterpart in

Octavian's attempts to deceive a frenzied Cleopatra (Plutarch Antony 83.5).

- 3) The accompaniment of one's beloved in death, portrayed by the identical death-lines of Camilla and Turnus (11.830-1;12.951-2) would seem to parallel Plutarch's description of the pact made by Antony and Cleopatra to die together (Antony 71.3).
- 4) The unexpected death of Aeolides Misenus in litore sicco in Campania (Aen.6.162) is interestingly matched by Propertius' description of the death of Claudius Marcellus in his twentieth year in 23 B.C. on the beach at Baiiae (3.18.9).

Vergil (Georgics 3.12.16) refers to the writing of a projected Augusteid, a difficult feat, but one in keeping with Naevius, Ennius and Livy, who combined mythology with folk-lore and tradition. The Shield of Aeneas (Aen. 8.630 ff) with its combination of literature, history and religion, illustrates that these elements were intrinsically intertwined for the ancients, so that one should not perhaps think lightly in terms of this natural combination: Aeneas could thus easily become an Augustus, pontifex maximus, Turnus and Camilla, the ill-starred enemy. By an artistic law of poetry — as Servius, a possible Donatus himself, has noted (ad Aen.1.382) — Vergil cannot openly state historical intent, yet the later poet Lucan, by his very disobedience to this artistic law, ended up with a history and not a poem at all. As Volkmann writes: "Our eye for allegory is less keen now. Ingenious types and legends were often carefully planned instruments of propaganda programmes as it were, announcing beforehand the intentions and aims of the government".¹⁹ Camps also confesses to

finding himself "intrigued to remark one or other of those correspondences between facts or events in history and particulars in Vergil's poem which were collected by Professor Drew in support of his interpretation of the Aeneid as an allegory, and which, whether they support the interpretation or not are certainly worthy to receive attention".²⁰

With these scholars' ideas in mind I have ventured upon this dissertation, remembering Eduard Frankel's valid observations on Vergil's contemporary, Horace: namely that the poetry of the Augustan era catered to the tastes of a literary élite "who would be awake to the careful structure of a poem and to its minute detail, subtle hints, sometimes elusive transitions", and furthermore the fact that the work of these poets was so universally known, since they had been used as school-books throughout ensuing centuries, served to make difficult the separation of the text itself from the comments of "learned patrons".²¹ At this point an attempt to "enlever les masques"²² seems to be apposite.

Chapter I

BURIAL OF THE DEAD (1-224).

The first part of Aeneid 11 treats of burial rites (1-212), especially those of Mezentius and Pallas.

Aeneas, after the battle with Mezentius, piously gives thanks to the gods for allowing him to triumph over his enemy, the king of Caere (11.1-11), mourns the slaughter of Pallas (11.12-99), and arranges a twelve day truce with Drances and the Latin embassy to enable each side to bury their dead (11.100-38); meanwhile general mourning ensues at Pallanteum for the dead prince, Pallas (11.139-81), and among the Trojans, Arcadians and Latins for their countless dead (11.182-212). The episode concludes amid scenes of mourning.

An examination of the major characters of the action would now seem to be indicated.

MEZENTIUS

The eleventh book of the Aeneid opens with interea (11.1), a vague formulaic particle of transition¹ — as in 12.182 — a formulaic line repeated

from 4.129, implying that night had passed since the happening of the previous day — i.e. since the death of Mezentius, king of Caere, at the hands of Aeneas, as described in 10.896-908. Virgil infers that the Rutuli had subsequently fled and that night had put an end to all hostile proceedings. Aeneid 11 is the only book to open with the dawn formula, thus conjuring up for the reader a Homeric picture.

There is an atmosphere of depressing calm and intense sadness after the events of the previous tragic day on the battlefield. Aeneas, generally disciplined and controlled though capable of savagery, is now brought to an abrupt halt. He is forced to dwell upon the atrocities of war, (praecipitant curae 11.3), and in particular the deaths occasioned by Funera (11.3) could apply either to Pallas or to the deaths caused by fighting in general — a constant happening throughout the previous book. Aeneas now has two duties to perform: 1) to discharge the vows he owed to the gods (vota deum 11.4) and 2) to bury his comrades. As Page points out, Roman ritual in such a conflicting dilemma demanded that the offering to the gods be made first (Servius ad loc),² the burial or ritual cleansing of the pollution due to death taking second place. Accordingly, at day break, in fulfillment of his religious duties and in thanksgiving for his success against Mezentius (vota deum primo victor solvebat Eoo 11.4), Aeneas virtually dedicates a trophy to Mars, the god of war (bellipotens 11.8)³ in spite of his natural inclinations as indicated by the reverse order in the text.

The trophy (tropaeum 11.7), generally an oak, is intended to represent the body of the defeated foe: it was decorated with the slain warrior's armour and spoils (exuvias 11.7) and dedicated to a god — in this case to Mars, the god of war (11.5.8). The trophy was originally set up at the spot where the enemy had first turned in flight. The oak-tree was considered to be sacred to Jupiter, prima spolia opima being usually dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, whereas secunda and tertia were offered to Mars and Quirinus respectively.⁴ The dedication of spolia (11.15) or exuviae (11.7), a suit of armour set up on a stake or tree-trunk, was formerly intended, in ancient Greek practice, to be a miraculous image of the $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}s$ $\tau\rho\omicron\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}o\varsigma$ who had brought about the defeat of the enemy. Trophies first appear in art at the end of the 6th century B.C. Livy (1.10) describes Romulus' dedication of the spoils of the enemy leader:- spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit ibique...Juppiter Feretri",inquit,haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque...dedico sedem opimis spoliis...

Since spolia opima were the arms taken by a Roman general from the commander of the enemy forces, after having defeated him in single combat,⁵ Mezentius would seem to be Aeneas' counterpart on the opposite side. Spolia opima were also won by Cossus (quis...tacitum...te, Cosse, relinquat? 6.841), slayer of the Etruscan king, Lars Tolumnius in 437 B.C. and by M. Claudius Marcellus, who in his first consulship in 222 B.C. slew

Britomartus, king of the Insubrian Gauls, (insignis spoliis...opimis ingreditur 6.855). This practice of dedicating a trophy (tropaeum 11.7; exuviae 11.7; spolia 11.15; primitiae 11.16) of the slain warrior is also mentioned again in the description of the pompa of Pallas (indutosque... nomina figi 11.83-4), and later described by Tacitus in his reference to a Roman victory over German tribes.⁶

Pallas in accordance with heroic convention, had clearly intended to dedicate the spoils of Halaesus (not spolia opima however):-

da nunc, Thybri pater, ferro, quod missile libro
 fortunam atque viam duri per pectus Halaesi.
 haec arma exuviasque viri tua quercus habebit
 (10.421-23),

a practice referred to a second time also by Pallas:-

aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis
 aut leto insigni... (10.449-450).

Mezentius, Aeneas' counterpart would thus seem to be an alter ego for Turnus in the last 2 books. He first appears leading the catalogue of Latin allies (7.647-54) accompanied by Lausus his son (...dignus patriis qui laetior esset/imperiis et cui pater haud Mezentius esset 7.654-55): so the ferocious leader of Italian nobility counterbalances Camilla at the end of the catalogue (7.803-17), and stands in sharp contrast with the youthful, innocent Lausus.

Ogilvie writes that "the detailed history of Mezentius' fate was evidently modelled on the Fall of Veii, where the king, like Mezentius, was impious and detested and met his match at the hands of a fatalis dux

(Aeneas, Camillus)".⁷ The name Mezentius is a modernised spelling of the Etruscan Medientius or Messentius.⁸ The oldest version of this Etruscan saga was to be found in the first book of Cato's Origines, a reconstruction of which was made by P. T. Eden from Servius' notes:⁹ — Latinus grants the Trojans some land but Trojan encroachments result in war with the Latins and their Rutulian allies, under the leadership of Turnus, and Latinus is killed in the first engagement. As a result, Turnus flees to Mezentius of Caere for aid; in the second encounter the Rutulian leader falls and Aeneas "disappears" (Servius Aen. 9.745 non comparuit). Ascanius eventually slays Mezentius in single combat. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.57 ff) and Livy (1.1-3) give practically identical accounts, stressing an initial peace between Trojans and Latins, the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia, the founding of the city of Lavinium, and a settlement between Ascanius and Mezentius.

Thus, in all these accounts, Mezentius survives Latinus and Aeneas, the Rutulians are defeated and Turnus seeks Mezentius' help (Servius. Aen. 1.267; Livy 1.2-3). Yet Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.64) differs slightly, asserting that Turnus, "the Etruscan" or, as Ogilvie states,¹⁰ "the name derived from the Etruscan turan, has been interpreted to mean 'tyrant's son' or 'leader,'" was killed before the alliance of Mezentius and the Rutulian. Vergil, however, reverses the traditional account, causing Mezentius (like Turnus) to be slain in combat by Aeneas. The significance of these changes has some obvious results as Burke shows:-¹¹

1. Etruscan subservience to Aeneas portrays the divine necessity of the subjugation of Etruria to Rome.
2. Vergil increases credulity in the plot by furnishing Aeneas with Italian allies.
3. Vergil has taken the opportunity to enrich the narrative with new motifs such as the catalogue of Etruscan ships, the voyage by water of Aeneas, the figure of Tarchon, and Mezentius' conflict with some of his own people.
4. Vergil has compressed the number of wars and years into the events of a few days, thereby attaining a unity of plot and time.
5. By the many similarities between Mezentius and Lausus and Turnus and Camilla, which I shall endeavour to show, Vergil highlights the final encounter with Turnus, with whose death all opposition to Aeneas is eliminated.

Other possible historical influences concerning Mezentius include:-

1. The old Italian title Medix (or meddiss in Oscan inscriptions) the equivalent of praetor, used by Sabellian peoples and by the related Volsci. The chief meddix (head of State) was entitled meddix tuticus (meddiss toutiks).¹²

Ennius and Livy defined the title as summus -confirmed by Oscan inscriptions.¹³ The meddix tuticus had full authority

but was expected to consult a council (Livy 8.39.12): he supervised the workings of the law, was military leader of the state and played a role in its religion, rather like the Roman consul yet without a colleague, although pairs of meddices undoubtedly existed, as at Volscian Velitrae.¹⁴

2. Mezentius may be an allusion to the deranged Perugine princeps, Cestius Macedonicus, who after the capture of Perugia, when the town was to have been plundered by the victorious Octavian's troops, set fire to his house and plunged into the flames whilst a strong wind caused the conflagration to spread over the whole of Perusia. As a result only the temple of Vulcan survived.¹⁵ (cf Vergil who states cives infanda furentem/ armati circumstant ipsumque domumque/ obtruncant socios, ignem ad fastigia iactant (8.489-91), whereas the idea of a suicide attempt is contained in the wounded Mezentius, dazed by his son's death, deliberately entering into single combat with Aeneas, knowing that survival was impossible (10.873-908).

Mezentius — first in the catalogue of Latin forces- is asper, contemptor divum — as he enters from the Etruscan borders (7.647-8), at first glance the very opposite to the pious Aeneas (10.783-826). He — like Turnus and Camilla who form a coda bringing up the rear — is one of the

primi ductores and is accompanied by his son Lausus; they lead one thousand men from Agylla (Caere or modern Cerveteri). Mezentius' correspondence with the Volscian Camilla (7.804 ff) and the position of his son right next to him (filius huic iuxta Lausus 7.649) may cause the reader at the outset to suspect some ambiguity in the king of Caere's character.

Mezentius (8.7) is again described as contemptor deum, a description possibly containing a reference to the Etruscan tyrant's having commanded the Rutulians to give him the first fruits, usually reserved for the gods. The Latins, fearful of a similar demand, prayed to Jupiter declaring that they would prefer to offer them to him rather than to Mezentius if only he would make them victorious. Burke notes a subtle irony in the fact that Mezentius, far from receiving the first fruits, in Aeneid 11. has become the primitiae offered to Mars. Eden develops the theory of Etruscan sacral kingship: hence Mezentius would be regarded not merely as an earthly ruler but as a god,¹⁶ Moreover the functions of the Etruscan lucumo originally identified with Jupiter (Tinia), involved both the performing and receiving of sacrifices and a general transmission of the will of the gods. E. T. Salmon discusses the ver sacrum, where the Sabellians — in order to win a battle, avert a peril or end a natural disaster such as famine or plague — would promise to sacrifice to Mars or Mamers everything born in the following spring. Children born then were not actually immolated, but grew up as sacrati i.e. consecrated to the gods¹⁷ (cf

Camilla who was acolyte to the goddess Diana, the female counterpart of Mars). A further parallel is provided by Sir J. G. Frazer in one of the Tonga islands, where once a year the first fruits of the ground were offered to the great divine chief to placate the gods and avert disaster from the tribe.¹⁸

The third reference to Mezentius is made by Evander (8.470-519). Knauer's list compares Odyssey 3.254-328 and 418-428 to this situation.¹⁹ Both references are speeches by Nestor, king of Pylos but the parallels seem to be only very general.

Evander, a Homeric Nestor, describes Mezentius to Aeneas as a cruel despot who practised hideous perversions, such as the binding together in grisly embrace of the living and dead, an inhuman practice attributed to Etruscan pirates by Aristotle²⁰ and Cicero.²¹ Vergil (8.485-88) has given us a highly descriptive account of this Etruscan topos:

mortua quin etiam iungebat corpora vivis
componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora,
tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentis
complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.

Burke here notes the addition of "nightmarish" sexual overtones to Roman amatory behaviour,²² for the τροπή of the Etruscans, associated with their Lydian origins with regard to sexual freedom and perversions (Lydia...gens 8.479; O Maeoniae delecta iuventus 8.499), was also a frequent topos in Alcimus, in a work entitled Τυρρηγῶν Νόμιμα (attributed to Aristotle), in the Ἱστορίαι of Theopompus, in the work of Heraclides of Pontus on πολιτεῖαι, and in the Histories of Timaeus.²³ It is also

somewhat strange that Evander, whose close relationship to his son Pallas is stressed (spes et solacia nostri 8.514; care puer mea sola et sera voluptas 8.581), seems incapable of appreciating the ruler of Caere's equally strong attachment to Lausus.

The tree-motif is conspicuous in Vergil's treatment of Mezentius. In Aeneid 11.5-9, the spoils of Mezentius are hung on the bare trunk of an oak as trophies — normal Roman procedure, as Reckford notes,²⁴ practised by Aeneas when he hung Greek trophies on the tree at Actium (3.286-88), and so anticipating Octavian's victory over Antony. Although the tree-trunk traditionally represented the body of the conquered foe, Vergil — throughout the Aeneid — in a less positive vein, associates the tree-trunk with the mutilation of human bodies in war, as, for example, the laurel which over hung the altar where Priam was butchered (2.513), and Evander's words to a slain Pallas and an absent Turnus:-

Magna tropaea ferunt quos dat tua dextera leto
tu quoque nunc stares immanis truncus in arvis,
esset par aetas et idem si robur ab annis,
Turne (11.172-5).

In their different ways, the lopping off of branches, the chopping down of trees for funeral pyres (11.133-39), the blood oozing from the sapling's roots (3.22.29), the trophy of Mezentius passage (11.1-11), and the Thracian episode (3.286-88), all emphasize the horror of death in battle where no-one is really victor. The theme of triumph is played down: Vergil is writing of tragic victory. Reckford develops this argument with reference

(1) to Homeric antecedents, for Homer twice uses tree similes when describing the fall of men in battle: in Iliad (4.482-87) Simoeisios falls at Ajax's hands like a poplar tree which a carpenter cut down to make a rim for a chariot wheel, and in Iliad (13.389-91) Asios, felled by Idomeneus, falls like an oak or a poplar or pine chopped down by carpenters for ship-building, and (2) to a passage in the Georgics (2.207-11),

aut unde iratus silvam devexit arator
 et nemora evertit multos ignava per annos,
 antiquasque domos avium cum stirpibus imis
 eruit; illae altum nidis petiere relictis;
 at rudis enituit impulso vomere campus.²⁵

Here likewise, despite the ploughman's creative purpose — the making of rich farmland — the birds lose their homes, and there is an atmosphere of pain and loss suggested by the lopping off of branches from a living tree and the hanging of arms in their place. Earlier in Aeneid 10.833 ff. Mezentius wounded yet living, rested against a tree (arboris acclinis trunco 10.835), from the branches of which hung his helmet (...procul aerea ramis/dependet galea...10.835-6): now he is no more. The tree is a death-tree, as were the death shrubs at which Aeneas pulled in Aeneid 3.22-9.

The tree-motif also provides a link between Mezentius and other archaic heroes and a premonition of his end. In 9.521-2, the tyrant brandishes an Etruscum pinum, a lethal weapon comparable with Camilla's abies (11.667). The tree would also be in keeping with the religious aspect of the meddix, one of whose duties was the concern with state shrines,

which in early times were groves; the numen of the grove or cave required no temple. Similarly at Rome, open-air sanctuaries existed before temples: e.g. an ara Dianae preceded the temple of Diana on the Aventine: Pliny too highlights trees: haec fuere numinum templa (N.H. 12.3).²⁶

Burke favours the Conington-Nettleship interpretation (ad Aen. 9-522) of a pine-torch, providing parallels of a similar usage in the Aeneid. Amata(7.397-8) and Turnus (9.72) both brandish torches. Mezentius is, moreover, associated with fire, for Evander informs Aeneas that his expulsion from Etruscan Caere was connected with fire (ignem ad fastigia iactant 8.491). He is also associated with burning wrath (merita accendit Mezentius ira 8.501, Mezentius ardens/ succedit pugnae 10.689-90). Camilla too is igneae (11.718), as is Turnus cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis (7.785-86).

Evander, after Aeneas' participation in the feast in honour of Hercules, informs the Trojan that he and his subjects had been rescued from saevis...periculis (8.188), recounting to his guest the story of the monstrous Cacus, living in the darkness of his cave, a creature of the Underworld, murderous, criminal, tricky, comparable to the Fury Allecto (Cf. 7.324-26 and 8.193 ff). Cacus, like grievously-wounded Mezentius and Turnus, was also destroyed in a final encounter — a clear indication that fatum was not on his side.²⁸ Here Evander's words suggest a connection between Cacus and Mezentius and consequently between Hercules and Aeneas, where he

instances superbia (foribusque adfixa superbis/ ora virum 8.196-97; spolia et de rege superbo 11.15, 8 481) and saevitia (saevis periculis 8.188; saevis tenuit Mezentius armis 8.482) as characteristics of Cacus and Mezentius.

Mezentius, horrendus visu (9.521) plays an active part in the attack on the Trojan camp; so too negative and disturbing overtones are implied in Turnus' fascination for Camilla (Turnus...oculos horrenda in virgine fixus 11.507), and in the description of Polyphemus (monstrum horrendum 3.658). J.Glenn finds a marked relationship between Homer's Polyphemus and Vergil's tyrant of Agylla, based (1) on the position of each as a notorious contemptor deorum. Mezentius would seem to be the most perverse and impious character in Vergil's epic (contemptor divum 7.648:8.7), and Polyphemus too seems to care nothing for the gods since he is stronger than they (Od.9.273-8); (2) Both practise fiendish atrocities, such as Mezentius' torture of his enemies (8.485-88) and Polyphemus' cannibalism (3.623-27); (3) Both address animals with affection, Polyphemus his ram (Od.9.447-60), Mezentius, his horse Rhaebus (10.856-66); (4) Vergil compares Mezentius with Orion (10.763-8) in imagery highly reminiscent of Polyphemus, a giant, carrying a tree for a staff and wading out to sea (3.659,662-5). Less distinctive similarities exist in their both wielding pines (3.655 ff; 9.521-22), and throwing mountainous rocks (Od.9.481; Aen.10.698-99); both share descriptions, horrendus (as already noted) and moles, as indications of their vast and monstrous bulk (3.656-8; 10.771).²⁹

Further Homeric overtones are implicit in Mezentius's barbarity; for example, Mezentius although attached to his son Lausus, seems able to wound someone else's son such as Arcentis filius (9.581-2). There appears to be no vestige of patria pietas here.

However all is not negative in Vergil's portrait of the Etruscan king, for in Mezentius' aristeia (Aeneid 10.689-768) Vergil attempts to rehabilitate Mezentius as a typical Homeric warrior. Jupiter's stimulating him to fight (Iovis...monitis 10.689) recalls the Homeric Zeus who inspired the Trojans to attack the Greeks (Iliad 15.592-604), an aspect quite different from the Jupiter of the concilium deorum who vowed his impartiality in ensuing encounters (nullo discrimine habebo 10.107-13). The poet continues to build up the epic hero image by three Iliadic type similes: (1) the cliff simile (10.693-5) adapted from Iliad (15.618-21) where the resisting Greeks are compared to a rock standing firm when buffeted, (2) that of the boar (10.707-18) defiant and standing at bay, modelled on Iliad 17.61-7, 11.414-20, 13.471-7, describing respectively the heroes Menelaus, Odysseus and Idomeneus, and (3) the simile of the hungry lion (10-721-31) based on Iliad 3.23-26, 12.299-308, 17.61-69. Mezentius is turbidus (10.763), an adjective reserved also for Turnus (12.10), and his weapons are huge (vastis ...armis 10.768) vastus being an epithet frequently employed by Vergil to depict monsters or objects of tremendous size.³⁰

By a curious irony, Mezentius — noted for behaviour generally associated with Etruscan pirates — describes his enemy Aeneas as praedo (10.774) — a description also used by Amata (7.362). Yet P. T. Eden notes that "in Roman law (Digest 49.15-24) the word designates not only a person with whom there exists a formally declared state of war, but also an enemy brigand".³¹ Community raiding among the Etruscans was an accepted way of life, ensuring prestige for the successful. Eden considers that the probable explanation for the binding of living persons to dead by Etruscan praedones might be the result of an anxiety to appease the spirit of the dead man should it be malevolent, and that the Etruscan practice of slaying prisoners of war as part of the funeral rites of the aristocratic dead (Servius ad Aen. 10.519) probably developed into gladiatorial combat, later to become a popular Etruscan import to Rome.³² This synonymous use of praedo (or latro) and gladiator is reflected in Cicero's reference to Mark Antony: tum me...invito et repugnante legati missi tres consulares ad latronum et gladiatorum ducem (Phil.13.20).

Mezentius, magnificently barbaric, addresses his spear as his god (dextra mihi deus et telum 10.773) conforming to his character as an impious contemptor divum, and aligning himself immediately with other notorious blasphemers, such as Parthenopaeus (Aeschylus. Septem contra Thebas 529 ff) who swears to revere his spear more than any god, with Idas (Apollonius Argonautica 1.467 ff) who claims that his spear is more useful

than Zeus, and with Ajax (Sophocles Ajax 762 ff) who boasts that because of his outstanding strength he needs the help of no divinity.³³

Eden, however, justifies Mezentius, with reference to a note by Servius (ad Aen. 8.3) stating that it was ritual practice to shake the ancilia and spear of Mars in the sacrarium once war had been declared and the god's help required, on the grounds that the spear in primitive societies was a taboo object in which the spirit of the god dwelt. This interpretation would support the meddix and sacral kinship theory and is further supported by Turnus' address to his spear (12.94-6) formally the property of Actor the Auruncan, which he took from its shrine-like position (...quae mediis ingenti adnixa columnae/aedibus astabat...12.93-4), when he too — like Mezentius — ended by challenging the Phrygian semivir (4.215; 12.99). As Burke notes, all three Greek heroes — Parthenopaeus, Idas and Ajax-after speeches resembling that of Mezentius — die soon after the passages cited. The suicide of Ajax should be particularly noted, as Mezentius by his challenge to Aeneas in view of a crippling wound was in effect killing himself also.³⁴ The same might also be said of Turnus who goes to his death, knowing that the fates are against him:-

hanc versa in faciem Turni se pestis ab ora
fertque refertque sonans clipeumque everberat alis.
illi membra novus solvit formidine torpor
arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus
haesit.(12.865-65)

Further undertones presaging Mezentius' end occur in the response of the dying Orodes to the haughty king of Caere:-

non me, quicumque es inulto,
victor, nec longum laetabere; te quoque fata
prospectant paria atque eadem nox arva tenebis
(10.739-41).

By far the most obvious indication of Mezentius' approaching doom rests in Mezentius' promises to dress Lausus in Aeneas' armour should his spear bring down Aeneas, as a trophy for his son of his success (10.773-76). To don the armour of a dead enemy would seem to be the one certain way of being slain oneself e.g. Patroclus (τύνη δ' ὤμοιεν μὲν ἐμὰ κλυτὰ τεύχεα δῶθι Iliad 16.64) lost his crested helmet to Hector, and Zeus let him wear it for a time since Hector's end also was very near (Iliad 16.799-800).

Vergil having developed the contemptor divum and archaic warrior aspects of the Etruscan tyrant, now subtly ennoble him by acquainting the reader with the finer aspects of the tyrant's character — his patria pietas for Lausus, his heroic acceptance of death. Vergil, to counterbalance the saevitia of Mezentius describes the furor displayed by Aeneas seemingly as a result of Turnus' impious treatment of Pallas (10.510 ff). One is thus reminded of Hercules' statement that all men love their sons:

φιλοῦσι παῖδας οἳ τ' ἀρεῖνονες βρότων
οἳ τ' οὐδ' ἐν ὄντες χρήμασιν δὲ διάφορα
ἔχουσιν, οἳ δ' οὐ. παν δὲ φιλότεκνον γένος.

(Eurip.H.F.634-36).

Likewise Euripides shows the inadvisability of flouting the gods, as the fate of Lycus, usurper of the throne of Thebes, is foreseen by the chorus:-

τίς ὁ Θεοῦ ἀνογία χραίνων, θνητὸς ὢν
ἀφρόνα λόγον οὐρανίωσ γακάρωσ κατεβῶλ,
ὥσ ἀρ' οὐ σθένουσιν Θεοί;

(Eurip.H.F.757-9).

At this point the pious Aeneas and the contemptor divum are aligned, for just as there are positive aspects to Mezentius' character, so there are negative ones to Aeneas, for in spite of his possibly good intentions he seems to leave a trail of heroic dead behind him, in the persons of Dido, Pallas, Mezentius, Camilla and Turnus.

Mezentius' speech of lamentation at the death of his son (10.846-856) stirs the reader's pity and admiration and further lowers the reader's opinion of Aeneas with his magic armour and unfair advantage, for not only does this enable him to gravely wound Mezentius, he also mercilessly kills the young, inexperienced Lausus who, acting through pietas, attempts to

check Aeneas, thereby allowing his father to escape. Aeneas, viso Tyrrheni sanguine laetus (10.787) now turns his attention to the youth.

At this point scholars' opinions on Aeneas' treatment of Lausus vary. Anderson, in spite of blaming Aeneas for losing control of his emotions at Pallas's death,³⁵ — as Burke notes³⁶ — follows Otis and Klingner, in claiming that Aeneas recognizes pietas "and so tries to warn Lausus to retire".³⁷ (quo moriture ruis maioraque viribus audes?/fallit te incautum pietas tua (10.811.12). However Lausum increpitat Lausoque minatur (10.810) as Burke too notes, especially in view of a subtle aligning of Mezentius with Aeneas, is open to another interpretation,³⁸ for although Vergil uses increpito in Aeneid 1.738 as meaning "chide" or "rebuke", it also means "challenge" which changes the sense of the line drastically, especially as minor means "threaten" and not "warn".

The fact that the same two verbs are used of Aeneas' exultation over his vanquished foe Mezentius (hostis amare,quid increpitas mortemque minaris?10.900) a little later in a vaunting and hostile sense might contribute to establishing the point that Aeneas was treating the pious Lausus in the same way. Hence, although Aeneas (pious 10.826) has recognized pietas³⁹ in his foe's son, he seems only able to appreciate it as a justification and excuse for his own freedom of action. The total helplessness of the young Lausus before an experienced warrior such as Aeneas — as in the case of Pallas versus Turnus (11.173-75) — is stressed by the contrast

between Aeneas' validum...ensem (10.815) and the youth's light parma, a frail defence against Aeneas' threats to say the least (levia arma minacis 10.817). The pathos created by the description of Lausus'tunic, so lovingly woven by his mother (10.818), is reflected also in the brutal treatment accorded to Arcentis filius at the hands of Mezentius (pictus acu chlamydem et ferrugine clarus Hibera 9.582); both youths are mere playthings in the hands of giants (Aeneas is compared to Aegeon, 10.565, Mezentius to Orion 10.763). Here one feels that the poet is emphasising the tragedy of youth especially of sons in civil war, for, when the deed is completed, Vergil cleverly converts Aeneas into Anchisiades as he gazes upon the dead youth's face (10.822).

at vero ut vultum videt morientis et ora,
ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,
ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit,
et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago (10.8212-24)

The poet seems to be subtly censuring Aeneas' behaviour here for Anchises had specifically instructed Aeneas to show clemency towards the weak (parcere subiectis 6.953). Aeneas, on the other hand, having returned to a more normal state of mind (pius 10.526) recognizes the bitter implication of pietas and — unlike Turnus — refuses to despoil the corpse, granting Lausus a "hollow" honour at least (si qua est ea cura 10.828).⁴⁰

The reader, anticipating Mezentius' reaction, experiences a deeper horror occasioned by the pathos in the skilfully-drawn picture of the tyrant's end. News of his son's death reaches the crippled king as he is bathing his

wounds propped up against a tree (arboris acclinis trunco 10.835); the fact that his arms are motionless (quiescunt 10.836) and that his helmet hangs from a branch (ramis/dependet galea 10.836) underlines the utter lifelessness of the scene, prefiguring the trophy to be constructed at the beginning of Aeneid 11. Isolated (stant lecti circum iuvenes 10.837), aged (canitiem multo deformat pulvere 10.844) and totally devoid of hope he recalls to the reader Nisus, horrified by Euryalus' death:

conclamat Nisus nec se celare tenebris
 amplius aut tantum potuit perferre dolorem:
 'me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum,
 o Rutuli! mea fraus omnis, nihil iste nec ausus
 nec potuit; caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor;
 tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum' (9.425-430)

Ashamed at his son' sacrifice for so evil and underserving a father Mezentius nobly resolves to die (nunc vivo neque adhuc homines lucemque relinquo/sed linquam...10.855-56) and having affectionately addressed his loyal war-horse Rhaebus, his decus, and solamen (10.858-9), the old warrior, proudly defiant to the last, faces his sworn enemy, with a seething mixture of emotions experienced likewise by Turnus in his final encounter with Aeneas (12.666-67)

...aestuat ingens
 uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu (10.870-71).

Mezentius expects no quarter but merely requests burial next to his son, and exemption from bodily mutilation.

unum hoc per si qua est victis venia hostibus oro:
 corpus humo patiare tegi. scio acerba meorum
 circumstare odia: hunc, oro, defende furorem

et me consortem nati concede sepulcro (10.900-6).

Thereupon Mezentius deliberately offers his gladiator-like throat to his enemy's sword and thus perishes as defiantly as he had lived.

The last words of Mezentius' beseeching burial are evocative of those of Hector to Achilles, begging that his body be returned to the Trojans for burial (Iliad 22.338-43), although Mezentius merely requests that Aeneas keep his former enemies from his corpse.

In the death of Lausus as recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Ant.Rom.1.65) "there is room for the heroic deed of filial devotion we find in Vergil";⁴¹ according to Dionysius, Lausus met his death when defending a Tyrrhenian outpost, whereas the news of his death reached Mezentius later. Here Vergil has introduced the motif of the son meeting his death through coming to the rescue of his father, behaviour found in the Aethiopis and in Pindar's Pythian 6, probably Vergil's sources. In Pindar one of Nestor's horses is struck by Paris' arrow and rendered immobile. In Vergil the weapon pierces Mezentius' abdomen and similarly renders him immobile.⁴² In Pindar, Antilochus comes to the rescue of his father Nestor as Memnon is about to strike; in Vergil, Lausus performs a similar action. Vergil, however, has taken pains to ennoble Mezentius, changing the emphasis in the Aethiopis, by not having Mezentius call for help to his son, even though he is seriously wounded. Conington and Nettleship (ad 10.789)

consider it more likely that Vergil had in mind the story of the young Scipio defending his father in the battle at the river Ticinus (Livy 21.47).

Mezentius has already been clearly linked with Turnus and his weapons (8.493 ff). The furor, violentia and audacia present in both characters are effectively emphasized by Vergil in chthonic references (galea...chimaeram/ sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis, 7.875-6; quam magnus Orion...talis se vastis infert Mezentius armis, 10.763-8). Aeneas too has occasional lapses of furor and has been compared to Aegaeon (10.565-70). Turnus in wild animal similes is twice depicted as a wolf (lupus insidiatus ovili/...asper et improbus ira/ saevit in absentis, 9.59-64; quaesitum aut matri multis balatibus agnum/Martius a stabulis rapuit lupus 9.565-6); he figures three times in lion similes (ceu saevum turba leonem/cum telis premit infensis 9.792-93; utque leo,specula cum vidit ab alta/stare procul campis meditantem in proelia taurum 10.454-56; Poenorum qualis in arvis/ saucius...leo/impavidus...fremet ore cruento 12.4.8), Mezentius once (impastus...leo ceu.../conspexit capream aut...cervum/gaudet hians immane...et haeret visceribus super incumbens; lavit improba taeter ora cruor 10.723-28). Turnus is further compared to Jove's eagle soaring aloft with a hare or white swan in its talons, in his treatment of Lycus (9.563-4 cf Tarchon's treatment of Venulus 11.75 ff), and to a tiger among helpless cattle (9.730) whereas Mezentius resembles a boar harassed by nets, javelins and shouting (10.707-18).

Although in Evander's story Aeneas has much in common with Octavian and is clearly associated with the Roman myth of Hercules (a point to be discussed when treating Evander), Antony too claimed to be one of the Heraclidae, a nobleman of a famous but impoverished family. He "associated himself with Heracles in lineage and with Dionysus in the mode of life which he adopted...and he was called the New Dionysus" (Plut. Ant. 60.2). As the gens Julia traced its origins to Venus and Troy, so did many other Roman families delight in tracing their descent from similar mythical ancestors.⁴³ As Mezentius and Turnus were both compared to lions (impastus...leo 10.723-29 Poenorum qualis...gliscit violentia Turni 12.4-9), so the Nemean lion had already appeared on Antony's coins.⁴⁴

Recognition of a ruler as a god at that time had not openly happened at Rome, although Julius Caesar and Pompey had not objected to this in the East: Pompey, in fact, had even allowed Dionysus to appear in the victory procession when celebrating his triumph over the Eastern provinces.⁴⁵ It was not, therefore, unprecedented for Antony to receive divine honours.

Plutarch (Ant. 26.1-3) describes Cleopatra's historic meeting with Antony at Tarsus: "She so despised and laughed the man to scorn as to sail up the river Cydnus in a barge with a gilded poop, its purple sails blowing in the wind, while her rowers urged it on with silver oars which dipped to the sound of the flute, accompanied by pipes and lutes. Cleopatra herself

reclined beneath a canopy of cloth of gold, dressed like Aphrodite...And a rumour spread on every side that Aphrodite had come to revel with Dionysus". The tableau was a reflection of the Eastern idea of the union of Dionysus (Egyptian Osiris) and Aphrodite (the goddess Isis). After Julius Caesar's assassination, Cleopatra (the New Isis) found a new partner in Antony, who became Osiris. Although the cult of Isis had been forbidden in Rome, as recently as 50 B.C. when the consul L. Aemilius Paulus had driven an axe through the doors of the temple of Isis, with the assassination of Caesar, matters had once more been changed, for Antony was reputed to have favoured a new shrine for the goddess Isis.

The concept of a monster for political opponents is frequently found in Roman propaganda. Cicero wrote: nulla iam perniciēs a monstro illo atque prodigio comparabitur (Cat. 2.1.1). Further accounts of perverse and monstrous images occur in Horace Epode 9.10-16 where he decries Antony and Cleopatra:

Romanus, eheu-posteri negabitis-
emancipatus feminae
fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus
servire rugosis potest
interque signa turpe militaria
sol aspicit canopium

and in Odes 1.37 where Cleopatra intoxicated (ebria) both by her good fortune and Mareotic wine, is accompanied by her eunuchs (cum grege turpium/morbo virorum 9-10): she is indeed in Octavian's eyes, a fatale monstrum 21). Vergil refers in similar descriptions to the monstrous

practices of both Cacus (ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo 8.197) and Mezentius (tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentis 8.487) and Cicero similarly maligns Antony's barbaric behaviour (quis tam barbarus unquam, tam immanis, tam ferus? Phil.13.21).

Like Mezentius and Turnus, Antony was not averse to acts of brutality as seen in the savage proscriptions of the Triumvirs and Antony's brutal treatment of the inhabitants of Parma. Antony also had piratical connotations for, in 74 B.C. he was given the command of the Roman fleet against pirates infecting the Mediterranean, a task he failed to accomplish and to which Cicero was ever ready to refer. Not only did the orator refer to M. Antony as causa pestis (Phil.2.55), furens (Phil.3.5), latro (Phil.2.6), as a perpetrator of flagitia (Phil.2.24), a belua (Phil.13.22), but Antony's crimes according to Cicero were so abominable as to make even Catiline look like an angel! (cuius propter nefanda scelera tolerabilis videtur fuisse Catilina. Phil. 13.22).

By his strong emphasis on father and son (e.g. Mezentius and Lausus, Evander and Pallas), Vergil would appear to be appalled by the tragedy and wastage of youth — particularly in a civil war situation — where pietas (or an excuse of pietas) was responsible for both the destruction of the state and the family (for they were intertwined in Roman eyes): at the same time Vergil would seem to be pleading for caution, for it was the young as well as the old who paid the penalty.

It is also of interest to note that Octavian was a strategist rather than a fighter. He chose his moment when his opponent was at his weakest (cf. Vergil's description of Aeneas as a semivir 4.215) Antony — according to Plutarch (Ant. 62.3; 75.1) — issued a challenge of single combat to Octavian both before and after Actium, "but Caesar answered that Antony had many ways of dying". Suetonius (Div.Aug. 10.4) also mentions that Octavian fled from the battle of Forum Gallorum. Intrigue it would seem was his very nature, for just as Mezentius' death and Turnus' death at Aeneas' hands was virtual suicide, so Antony tried to commit suicide when Octavian refused to make terms after the capture of Alexandria (Suet.Div.Aug.17.4). Antony's eldest son by Fulvia — much in the manner of Lausus — was also slain by the victor: "The young Antony, the elder of Fulvia's two sons, he dragged from the image of the deified Julius, to which he had fled after many vain entreaties and slew him". (Suet.Div.Aug.17,5).

Why were there twelve stab wounds in Mezentius' breast-plate? (aptat.../bis sex thoraca petitum/perfossumque locis 11.8-10)? The natural impression gained from the text is that Mezentius died a heroic death, quickly dispatched by a stab in the neck (10.907) by Aeneas. Gilbert Highet who states that Vergil normally expurgated Homeric cruelty at this point connects Aeneas' behaviour with that of Achilles who after slaying Hector, stripped the body while the triumphing Achaeans stabbed it (Iliad 22.367-75).⁴⁶

Could this then be the explanation implied by this enigmatic line? Was Vergil implying that Aeneas was a second Achilles, an Achilles at his worst? Did Aeneas ignore the dying wish, as Achilles had done, of his opponent?

If one considers that Vergil has carefully pointed out pious and impious aspects of both Mezentius and Aeneas, and if this is not compositional style, for Vergil has a tendency to balance descriptions of seeming opposites (e.g. Aeneas radiates light and divine power 10.260 ff: a lux shines from Turnus' eyes 9.731) the breastplate perforated in twelve places might equally allude to a symbolic participation in the hated ruler of Caere's death, as Servius (ad loc) suggests, by the twelve Etruscan cities (10.202), an eventuality which Mezentius hinted at in his dying speech (10.904-5), and would therefore align Aeneas with Achilles in his treatment of Hector. Camilla is also associated with the number twelve, for in her aristeia (11.664-724) she fells twelve victims, possibly in symbolic retribution for the treatment of Mezentius for there are very definite links between Mezentius, Camilla and Turnus.

Gordon Williams in discussing Mezentius and how war constantly subverts men's values, brings to the reader's attention the fact that the theme of the tyrant's grave had a further contemporary echo, as illustrated by the case of Nicias, tyrant of Cos (who was probably deposed and died

immediately after the battle of Actium), an incident which served as the subject of an epigram by Crinagoras (Anth.Pal 9.81).⁴⁷

It would seem, however, that the reader might indeed be pardoned for having reservations regarding Aeneas' execution of the tyrant of Caere's dying wish to be buried near his son, for in the description of the Shield of Augustus, where Vergil shows no hesitation in referring openly to Antony (8.685) and his Aegyptia coniunx (8.688), as well as to Augustus Caesar himself (8,714), Mettus Fufetius' barbaric death by being torn apart fastened to two chariots being driven in opposite directions, of which Livy was so ashamed (avertere omnes ab tanta foeditate...1.28.11), is grimly represented, his remains (viscera) being dragged by his victor through a wood, bedewing the brambles with sprinkled blood (...et sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres Aen.8.645), a description vividly evoked once more at the opening of Book 11 by the helmet of Mezentius (aptat rorantis sanguine cristas 11.8).

At this point Aeneas (11.11) would seem to undergo another metamorphosis from brutal "Eastern" tyrant (Phrygius...tyrannus 12.75), evidenced in his temporary fall from grace in Book 10.519 ff., to a man ridden with guilt feelings at the slaying of so many comrades, in particular that of Pallas, son of Evander of Pallanteum. Not only were the two leaders tied by kinship (8.134-39) — Aeneas taking his origin from Electra, Evander from Maia, both of whom were daughters of Atlas — but also by ties of

hospitality, two concepts of the utmost importance in the ancient world:⁴⁸ in addition to this Evander had placed Aeneas in loco parentis with regard to his beloved son Pallas (spes et solacia nostri) 8.514; sola et sera voluptas 8.581).

Religious obligations completed, Aeneas turns to the next tasks in hand (11.14.28). Crisply addressing his troops (sociis.11.12-13), on this occasion comprising Etruscan allies also, he delivers an abrupt and controlled speech of command (11.14-28) dismissing Mezentius as a rex superbus (11,15), a description also evocative of Turnus (iussa superba 10.445). The jubilant note in spolia et primitiae (11.15-16) may also have caused Vergil to think of another barbaric slaughter which Clytemnestra extolled in her address to the Chorus:

οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων ἔπος
 πόσις, νεκρὸς δὲ τῆσδε δεξιᾶς χερὸς,
 ἔργον δίκαιας τέκτονος. τὰδ' ὦδ' ἔχει.

(Aesch, Agam.1404-6)

Exhorting his men flushed with victory to be ready to attack the city of Latinus, Aeneas reminds them that they must first bury their dead comrades (socios inhumataque corpora 11.22) to ensure their entry into the Underworld (Acheronte sub imo 11.23), for burial was of the outmost importance to Greeks, Romans and Etruscans. Resignation and complete submission to divine will was also a fundamental Etruscan belief. Hence the

Trojans and their Etruscan allies would only march against Latinus when the gods signified their assent (adnuerint superi 11.20).

Aeneas, in an attempt to stifle his emotions, merely refers to Pallas as one non virtutis egentem (11.27), an example of litotes, according to Servius, taken from Ennius (Ann.599),⁴⁹ and found also in Homer (οὐδέ τί φημι ἀλλκῆς δευήσεσθαυ Iliad 13.785-86). Vergil concludes Aeneas' brief discourse with a line taken from the description of the souls of dead children (6.429):

abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo (11.28).

Pallas who died so young and before the expiry of a normal life-span is thus especially connected with other royal heroes, who died in similar circumstances, such as the vulnerable Arcentis filius (9.580-89), the young Orodes (10.732-46) brutally treated by a contemptuous Mezentius, and Camilla whose early death (fatis urgetur acerbis 11.585) and projected burial (inspoliata 11.594) Diana fortells in her discourse to Opis (11.535-594).

PALLAS

Pathos is effectively achieved by the reference to Aeneas' state of mind as a result of the previous day's fighting (11.2-3), as well as by the long build-up in the description of his arrival at the royal pavilion after the

tearful speech to his men (inlacrimans 11.29). Here the lifeless body of Pallas was laid out (corpus...positum 11.30) watched over by his ancient armour-bearer Acoetes (11.30-31), a Bacchic votary of Etruscan origin whose country of birth was Lydia in Ovid's Metamorphoses 3.583. Since Aeneas is only at the threshold of the pavilion (recipitque ad limina gressum 11.29) Pallas' corpse would seem to have been laid out in the normal Homeric and Italian manner with feet pointing towards the entrance. In this way the body of Patroclus, slain by Hector, had been prepared for burial (ἀνὰ πρόθυρον τετραγγέυος Iliad 19.212), a custom preserved by the Italians (in portam rigido calces extendit. Pers. 3.105) who, like the Greeks, were fearful of the Manes or spirits of the dead, and concerned lest these spirits might return to the house which they had once inhabited and become bothersome to its present tenants. To counteract this notion the dead person was removed feet first from the house and purificatory rites were performed.⁵⁰ The pollution associated with an unburied corpse is referred to by the Sibyl who instructs Aeneas to bury the body of Misenus (totam...incestat funere classem 6.150), and was referred to in Euripides (Alcestis 22-24) where Apollo is anxious to avoid the πίναρα of death.

At Rome various festivals were held to placate the spirits: (1) the Lemuria (spirits of the dead regarded as hostile), which took place on May 9th, 11th and 13th and (2) the Parentalia celebrated from February 13th-21st. The Parentalia was a later practice which arose in Italy when rather

than having all the dead placed in a common cemetery (whether buried or cremated), family or individual tombs were favoured, especially among the aristocratic. In the more primitive festival of the Lemuria, the Lemures or Larvae were exorcised by the pater familias who used magic charms at midnight and drove them once and for all from the home with the formula Manes exite paterni (Ovid. Fasti. 5.443). As Ogilvie notes, the Romans took these rituals very seriously for one of the few surviving quotations by "the easy-going Maecenas" concerns the Lemures — "the irremediable faction on the look-out for food and drink haunts our dwellings and passes its death in hoping"; here the reference would seem to apply to the continual need of the spirits for sustenance.⁵¹

The Parentalia, on the other hand was devoted to conciliating the spirits of parents or immediate relatives (di parentes), for as their Manes were thought to require constant nourishment, a substantial meal (silicernium) was enclosed in the tomb. On the Feralia (February 21st) after laying wreaths and offerings of food (epulae) which included salt, wine and garlands of flowers (Ovid Fasti 2.539; Varro L. L. 6.13; Macrobius 1.14.4. cf Vergil Aen.5-49 ff. where libations of wine, milk and blood were given to Anchises' shade together with brightly-coloured flowers and solemn greeting), the family would return home to celebrate a kind of love feast, the Caristia or Cara Cognatio, in which the dead were believed to have their part.⁵²

The Greeks from earliest times — for important persons at any rate — used the individual tomb. At Mycenae, for instance, the tholos and chamber-tombs, were the burial — places of individuals or of a family. This practice was based upon the notion that the dead person still resided in the tomb and accordingly required donations of food and drink, which were even poured down a hole (βόθρος) in the ground to reach the dead below. Already by Homer's time, however, an alternative idea existed (probably connected with the practice of cremations) whereby with the destruction of the body, the spirit, now liberated, passed into a land in the far West, where the dead could lead a faint, feeble existence. In a later stage — emerging in Odyssey 11 — the idea of reward and punishment had clearly been established, an idea which recurs throughout Aeneid 6, with Hades divided into various regions, to which phantoms, depending on the kind of lives they had lived in the Upper World, were consigned. With the later influence of Orphism (promising a life of future happiness) and other philosophical teachings such as Pythagoreanism (which taught metempsychosis) and Stoicism (which believed the soul to be a fiery particle of the divine anima mundi and emphasised an after-life), Vergil had abundant resources for "the eclectic conservation of all in thought and tradition" which appealed to him most, both as a poet and as a philosopher.⁵³

To the ancient world — to Romans, Greeks, Etruscans, Macedonians, Egyptians — burial was of supreme importance, for without

proper funeral rites (cf Aen. 6.326), passage over Acheron (a river of the underworld used to refer to the lower world as a whole, cf $\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\alpha$

Ἀχέρωντις Eurip. Alcestis 443; Acheronte sub imo Aen.11.23; Acheronta movebo Aen.7.13) would be forbidden and the dead would be denied their permanent resting-place. For the Etruscans the Libri Acherontici, part of the Libri Rituales provided a guide to the after-life.⁵⁴ For this reason Achilles agreed to a twelve day truce (Iliad 24.781) much like that guaranteed by Aeneas (Aen.11.120,133-8) to enable Priam to perform Hector's burial rights (Iliad 24.788 ff.). Homer also refers to Sarpedon's death and subsequent burial in his own territory of Lycia, where Thanatos and Hypnos will transport him (Iliad 16.456-7), in much the same way that Camilla's body will be returned to her city of origin (Aen. 11.594).

Early Etruscan burial habits seemed to follow upon similar lines. In the tomb excavated by Regolini and Galassi in 1836 precious furnishings and ornamental objects to provide comfort and luxury in the after-life were everywhere to be seen, whereas on the stone floor of the steeply-gabled room lay the skeleton of a woman covered with rich jewellery. This, as well as the quantity of valuable gifts buried with her, suggested that she must have been a person of royal status in seventh century B.C. Cerveteri (Caere). "Princess" Larthia's heavily-embroidered gold robes, her breast-plate covered with repoussé ornamentation, the golden fibula, a triumph of the ancient goldsmiths' art with five golden lions as a centre-piece,⁵⁵ all

bring to mind Vergil's picture of royal Camilla (...ut regius ostro/ velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem/ auro internectat...Aen.7.814-16), daughter of an Etruscan tyrant, whose burial will be suitable to her royal status (non tamen indecorem tua te regina reliquit.Aen.11.845).

The Egyptians had equally elaborate funeral rites with a complex embalming ritual designed to preserve mortal remains for eternity as well as graves built to withstand the inroad of time.⁵⁶ In the case of King Tutankhamen, priests, determined that when the dead king re-awakened he would find about him all the lavish accoutrements of palace life, supplied the tomb with over one hundred baskets of fruit, feathered fans, statues of servants to wait upon him, vases, ceremonial knives, even chariots for military expeditions,⁵⁷ a paradigm for young Pallas'processional phalanx, with live captives, trophies captured in war, and a war-horse (Aen. 11.78 ff).

Two major funerals which took place in the Roman world which must have had a considerable impact on Vergil, were those of Julius Caesar and the young Marcellus; the former died from twenty-three stab wounds (Suet. Div.Jul. 82.2) in 44 B.C., the latter, nephew of the princeps, prematurely at the age of twenty. Propertius (3.18) writes of the death of the young Marcellus⁵⁸, recalling the trumpeter Misenus, whose body is also discovered on the sand (iacet...harena. Prop.3.18.3) at Baiae in 23 B.C.,an incident referred to by Vergil:

...atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,
ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum (6.162-3).

Like Pallas, Misenus too had died tragically before the expiry of his normal time-span. Both the divus Iulius and the young Marcellus who died within twenty-one years of each other had much in common at their elaborate funerals: a public cremation amid moaning and lamentation, funeral offerings and robes piled high upon the bier (Suet.Div.Jul.84; Vergil, Aen. 6,215, 221-2, 224-5). Vergil seems to have a special affection for Pallas and for the young Marcellus for he dwells upon their obsequies in somewhat greater detail. One senses a deep sadness in Vergil's funeral terminology for both youngsters: vano honore (11.52), supremum honorem (11.61), fungar inani munere (Anchises' reference to the young Marcellus 6.886), cineri ingrato suprema ferebant (6.213).

Pallas' corpse is positum (11.30), meaning "to be laid out in death", a term employed by Vergil on two other occasions in the Aeneid: 1) Anchises wishing to be left to die after the fall of Troy cries out: sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus (2.644); 2) Anna upon seeing Dido who had just attempted suicide calls out: sic te ut posita, crudelis, abessem? (4.680-1) The pavilion in which Pallas is laid out (foribus altis 11.36) seems grandiose in the context of a military encampment, possibly because Vergil is anxious to emphasize the young man's royal status. Pallas is watched over by Acoetes, an older man given by Evander to his young son as comes (sub te...magistro II.30-33), recalling Pallas' being entrusted to Aeneas by Evander (8.514-15), and thereby forming a strange coincidence. Yet again

the youthful Misenus, who dared to rival Triton, comes to mind, formerly comes of the mighty Hector, and at the time of his death socius of Aeneas (6.166-70). This relationship would seem to parallel that of Achilles and Patroclus (Iliad 11. 785-7), for, like Patroclus, Pallas was rash in the first flush of battle and overconfident in viribus imparibus in his encounter with Turnus (10.459), a taurus attacking a lion (10.454-5), an act of hybris exhibited similarly by Misenus demens in his challenge to Triton (6.172 ff).

The funereal atmosphere that prevails at Pallas' death, with such phrases as non felicibus aequae...auspiciis (11.32-3), maestum...crinem de more solutae (11.35), ingentem gemitum (11.37), lacrimis...abortis (11.41), maesto luctu (11.38), is evocative also of the mourning which took place for Misenus (cf omnes magno...clamore fremebant 6.175; festinant flentes 6.177; Teucri flebant 6.215).

Public grief and woman mourners (Iliades 11.35; matres 11.147; 2.766-7; 3.62-5; 4.667; 11.215-17,876-8) also played a prominent part in Greek literature: Andromache and her women wept for Hector (Iliad 22.515); Alcestis' forthcoming death was likewise mourned (Eurip. Alcestis 93); so too Julius Caesar's death was also publicly lamented: In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circulatim suo quaeque more lamentata est...(Suet.Div.Jul. 84-5).

Vergil's description of Pallas in death: caput fultum niveus (11.39), vulnus patens contrasting with levi pectore (11.40), in his youthful

brilliance furnishes a further parallel of the young Marcellus (egregium forma iuvenem 6.861, indigna morte peremptum 6.163), of Lausus, who as Pallas' counterpart on the other side, was also described as egregius forma (10.435), of Euryalus, the Adonis-type youth also cut down in his prime (candida pectora 9.432). A contemporary audience might also be expected to recall Hellenistic sculptures, such as the "Dying Gaul" (Capitoline Museum).

The pallor of the marmoreal youth (caput nivei fultum Pallantis et ora 11.39), recalling a similar description of spirits in Acheron by Lucretius (simulacra modis pallentia miris R.N.1.123), provides an example of Vergil's frequent emphasis on this pale transparency of death elsewhere, in phrases such as umbrae Erebi (4.26), animas...pallentis (4.242), pallens morte futura (Cleopatra) in 8.709, and purpureus color ora reliquit (Camilla) in 11.819. Pallas' appearance also has its Homeric counterpart in Iliad 22.370 ff., where the Achaeans gaze in awe and wonder at the handsome appearance of the Achilles' victim, Hector.

Fighting back his tears, Aeneas addresses an apostrophe to the dead body of Pallas (11.42-58), his grief recalling that of Alexander of Macedon at the death of his favourite Hephaestion whom contemporaries compared with Patroclus (Plut.Alex.72.3).⁵⁹ Alexander was supposed to have cut his hair in memory of Hephaestion and even clipped off tails and manes of horses (Plut.Alex.72.2), held funeral games and treated his friend as a hero in the Achillean manner (Iliad 23,135,141-2, 249ff),⁶⁰ a practice

adopted by Aeneas at the death of Anchises (Aen.5.104 ff). To Aeneas' grief are added feelings of guilt in having failed Evander who gave his son into the Trojan leader's charge (11.45). He addresses the dead youth as miserande puer (11.42), a phrase uttered also by Anchises in tribute to the spirit of the young Marcellus (6.882). Miserandus was similarly applied by Aeneas to the unfortunate Lausus, after having run him through (10.825), to the infelix Cydon, almost cut down in his prime (10.327), and to the body of Camilla (11-593-4) in Diana's speech to Opis. Aeneas' realization that he had broken his promise to Evander (non haec Evandro de te promessi parenti/discedens dederam 11.45-6, 55) vividly recalls that of Achilles who had promised Menoetius, father of Patroclus, the same protection (Iliad 18.324-27). The theme of broken promises would immediately bring to mind Ariadne's desertion by Theseus to a Roman audience:

at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti
voce mihi, non haec miserae sperare iubebas
(Catullus 64.140-1).

Grief is further underlined by Vergil's use of alliteration: victor vehere (11.44), promissa parenti (11.45), discedens dederam (11.46), mitteret, magnum, metuens, moneret (11.47).

The phrase in magnum imperium (11.47) referring to the city of Aeneas which still had to be brought to completion, was also used by Anchises (6.812) to describe the little city of Numa, and would have had a solemn Ennian ring (cf magnis animis Ann.515; templum magnum Ann.

541). The difficulty of doing battle — up to this point unsuccessfully (hi nostri reditus expectatique triumphique 11.54) — against acris...viros, cum dura gente (11.48) justifies Anchises' description to Aeneas of the Latin race: gens dura atque aspera cultu (5.730) and recalls Numanus Remulus' doubts about Aeneas' being able to cope with them: non hic Atridae nec fandi fictor Ulixes:/durum a stirpe genus (9.602-3). Aeneas' sudden vision of an unsuspecting Evander still offering prayers for his son's safety (11.49-51) has a Sophoclean ring, recalling Creon, another ruler who had unwittingly brought about his son's death (Antigone 1072-3).

Aeneas' intense shame and sympathy for Evander's disappointed hopes is expressed by the tragic epithet infelix ("unfruitful" 11.53) which effectively links him with other parents, relatives and close friends in Vergil's poetry: Tereus (Ecl. 6.81), Priam (Aen.3.50), the mother of Euryalus (9.477), Mezentius (10.850), Acoetes (11.85), and Juturna (12.870). In its other meaning of "ill-starred", infelix is applied to young persons who have suffered untimely death, as, for instance, Troilus (1.475), Coroebus (2.345), Dido (5.3), Euryalus (9.390,430), Antores (10.781), Lausus (10.829) and Camilla (11.563), as well as to "frustrated" lovers, such as Amata (7.376,401; 12,598) and Dido (1.712, 749; 4.68,450,529.596).

Aeneas' guilt and frustration would seem to undergo a fleeting change, a change from guilt to justifiable pride, introduced by the conjunction at (11.55), when he recalls that Pallas had performed heroically

in battle. No skulking coward, he had behaved in a manner for which any father could be justly proud. Finally Aeneas concludes his apostrophe by stressing Pallas' courage as a defender and by addressing the corpse as Iulus

...hei mihi, quantum
praesidium, Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule!
(11.57-8).

R. D. Williams explains this reference as "linking Pallas with Aeneas' own son Iulus, a further indication of his feelings of guilt for having failed to protect Pallas".⁶¹

Although Aeneas' apostrophe over the corpse of Pallas has Homeric echoes, comparable in a general way with that of Achilles over the slain Patroclus (Iliad 18.324-42), inasmuch as both recall promises made to the dead heroes' fathers and reflect upon the sudden dashing of men's hopes, Aeneas, unlike Achilles, makes no spontaneous vow to avenge Pallas' death. It was Evander (11.178-80) who referred to the question of retribution, as Vergil seems to indicate. Aeneas' principal concern throughout the whole speech has been that of concern for destroying a parent's expectations, a consciousness of ties of kinship and hospitality (11.45.52) and regret at the extinction of so young and promising a youth.

The Pompa Funeris of Pallas (11.59-99) is based largely on the funeral of Patroclus (Iliad 18.110 ff); lines 59-67 correspond to Iliad 23. 128-34, where Achilles, after the wood-cutting party had returned with logs for

Patroclus' pyre, orders his troops to put on their bronze and his charioteers to yoke their horses to pay the last honours to a slain hero (mille viros qui supremum comitentur honorem 11.61). Lines 59-64 contain a build-up of funeral vocabulary, such as (1) deflevit, a technical term for lamentation for the dead, meaning "to weep one's fill", a term repeated at the funeral of Misenus (fit gemitus, tum membra toto defleta reponunt 6.220). Final funeral rites for Pallas were to be carried out by an elite corps of one thousand men, whose function it would be to accompany the body and to take part in Evander's grief (11.61-2).

Unlike the funerals of Misenus and the war dead (6.177-82; 11.133-38), and unlike Homer (Iliad 23.110 ff) Vergil sets aside the woodcutting activities and proceeds immediately to the construction of the bier, a fragile, beautiful creation of wicker-work (cratis et molle feretrum 11.64), a couch, woven with strawberry shoots and oak-twigs (11.65) and covered with a canopy of leaves (11.66), a bier open for all to see. In Homer the body of Patroclus was laid $\tau\rho\eta\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \ \acute{\epsilon}\nu \ \lambda\epsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\sigma\iota$ (Iliad 24.720), whereas in the funeral of Misenus Vergil emphasises the construction of the pyre (6.215-17) but not the feretrum itself. Another ritual, present in the funerals of both Misenus (6.2128-19) and Patroclus (Iliad 18.343 ff), namely the washing of the body, is omitted by Vergil: Pallas is placed on a rustic bed (iuvenem agresti subliminem stramine ponunt 11.67), on a bier appropriate to a pastor-hero.

The simile of the lifeless yet beautiful Pallas as an exquisite flower, freshly-plucked by a maiden's fingers, its brightness and beauty, like that of the gentle violet and the languishing hyacinth, still intact although no longer nourished by mother Earth (11.68-71), is strongly reminiscent of Catullus (62.42-8):

ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,
ignotus pecori, nullo centusus aratro,
quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber
multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:
idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae.

These Catullian echoes are extended to another youthful hero of warlike spirit, to Euryalus, who, cut down by Volcens, experiences a similar death:

purpurens, velitu cum flos succisus aratro
languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur (Aen.9.435-7).

The limp, wilting flower motif, where the stalk is no longer capable of supporting the blossom, is touched upon briefly with regard to Camilla (lentaque colla/et captum leto caput...11.829-30). Like Euryalus she too labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto/lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit (11.819-20). The languentis hyacinthi reference may recall also the story of Hyacinthus, the beautiful youth loved by Apollo from whose blood, after he had been killed, a flower sprang up, the petals of which were marked with two Greek letters — A I — signifying "alas!" (cf Ecl.3.106-7).

Brenk notes that sepulchral inscriptions abounded with botanical vocabulary, and that the lament for Daphnis (pro molli viola, pro purpureo

narcisso Ecl.5.38) and the eulogy for Marcellus (purpureos spargam flores 6.884), had their counterpart in Theocritus (Idyll I, 132-3).⁶²

The simile of a dead youth as a plant occurs also in Homer, where the poet compares Euphorbus, slain by Menelaus, to an olive-shoot, planted so as to suck up plenty of moisture, but one day — after maturing into a fine young tree — it is uprooted by a gusty wind and stretched full length upon the earth (Iliad 17.53-8).

The delicate, rustic colours of nature reflecting Vergil's obvious appreciation for the beauty of youth (Aen.11.65), are now intensified as Aeneas covers Pallas with two cloaks, elaborately embroidered in gold and purple (vestis auroque ostroque rigentis 11.72) by Dido in happier days (11.73-4), reminiscent of the purpurea...vestes (6.221) with which Misenus was covered at his cremation. One explanation for these two cloaks might be that Hector's body was wrapped in two φάρισα (Iliad. 24.580) but purple and gold were also indicative of elaborate state funeral ritual, among Romans, Etruscans (as the "Princess" Larthia tomb finds suggest) and Macedonians (as suggested by the Vergina tomb furnishings of Philip II).

The description of Dido's work of happier times (laeta laborum 11.73), is repeated from Aeneid 4.264 (fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro 11.75) with reference to an exotic and oriental cloak given to Aeneas by Dido. It brings to mind the meeting of Antony and Cleopatra in Cilicia (Athenaeus 4.147 ff)⁶³ where rich tapestries of silver and gold thread were

displayed on every wall. This eastern combination of brilliant purple (cf Tyroque ardebat murice laena 4.262) — a dye manufactured from the blood of the sea snail nigricans aspectu idemque suspectu refulgens (Pliny N.H.135) — and gold (Plut.Ant.26.1-2) also recalls Camilla's entry in the catalogue of heroes (7.814-15), an "epiphany" so dazzling that the onlookers gaped open-mouthed in admiration.

As the Romans came into contact with the East, purple became a part of their state trappings and was prominent at state funerals (cf epic echoes in purpureas...vestes which covered the corpse of Misenus Aen. 6,221, and purpureos flores which Anchises scatters upon Marcellus in the Underworld. Aen. 6.683-4). At Julius Caesar's funeral, his robe marred by the dagger-thrusts, was also exhibited on a couch of ivory, covered with purple and gold (Suetonius Div.Jul. 84.1).

In Vergil, however, rich cloaks seem to be associated with heroes: with Aeneas (4.262), with the exotically dressed Chloereus (11.775), with royal Evander, to whom Anchises had presented a cloak (chlamydemque auri dedit intertextam 8.167), with Pallas who departs from his father's city chlamide conspectus (8.588) and with the son of Arcens (of royal stature also since Arcens means "protector"), victim of Mezentius (pictus acu chlamydem et ferrugine clarus hibera 9.582). To the winner of the boat-race, Cloanthus, a cloak was also presented, edged in Meliboean purple

(5,251), recalling pastor Meliboeus who goes to war (Ecl.1,6,19,73; 3.1; 5,87; 7.9), a shepherd of his flock, like Tyrrhus (Aen.7.485).

The funeral cortège to accompany the young prince to his final resting-place (11.78--99), is in keeping with Pallas' royal status. It consists of the prizes which Pallas had gained in his aristeia (10.380-425), to which Aeneas added horses and weapons (11.79-80) required by the ancient belief that a person's identity survived beyond the grave. Next in procession were the captives, the four sons of Sulmo and four reared by Ufens (10.517-18), destined for sacrifice (11.81-2) and so recalling Achilles' sacrifice of twelve young Trojans at Patroclus' funeral (Iliad 21.27 ff.). This barbaric act of immolation, which could have easily been omitted by Vergil who generally expurgates brutality, like the horrific reference to the treatment accorded Mezentius' cuirass, has been included for some reason — possibly to underline his aversion to such perverted practices. As Kraggerud remarks, the very fact that the captives to be sacrificed are mentioned on two occasions leaves the reader with "no doubt that the sacrifice is to be carried out".⁶⁴

Greek tragedy had many instances of human sacrifice which was generally regarded as abhorrent. Pausanias praises Homer's good taste in not referring to the sacrifice of Polyxena (1.22-6) but mentions that it was a common subject in painting and poetry (10.25.10). Euripides (Hecuba, 59-65), complained of its cruelty and of the misery it caused. The sacrifice of

Iphigeneia, however, was the most commonly described mythological sacrifice; the longest description of it is in Aeschylus' Agamemnon (199-249) where it also features as utterly inhuman and unnatural; Roman history too had its examples of human sacrifice; Livy characterised the sacrifice of three hundred and seven Roman captives as a foeditas (7,15.10), thereby aligning it with that of Mettus Fufetius (avertere omnes ab tanta foeditate 1.28.11): in 22.57.6 Livy describes such a sacrifice as minime Romanum sacrum, Lucretius as tantum...malorum (D.R.N. 1.101), and Vergil as a crudele ... scelus (Aen. 2.124-5). Farron states that human sacrifice was regarded as impium or contrary to pietas,⁶⁵ and so passes a damning sentence on Aeneas' behaviour in Books 10 and 11. In Vergil's own time Dio Cassius (43.24.3-4) states that Julius Caesar had the pontifices sacrifice three men in the Campus Martius and that their heads were exhibited near the Regia; both Suetonius (Div.Aug.15) and Dio Cassius (48.14.3-4) record that Augustus, on the capture of Etruscan Perugia, sacrificed three hundred citizens at the altar of the Divus Iulus on the Ides of March.

The doomed captives are followed in the procession by a grotesque parade of tree-trunks, trophies arrayed in enemy armour (11.83-4) won by Pallas with their owners' names affixed (cf in modum tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nominibus imposuit. Tac.Ann. 2.18). The procession, headed by Pallas' corpse richly shrouded with an escort of one thousand men, prizes, trophies and live captives is more reminiscent of a

triumph than a funeral procession. The impressive cortège is, however, slowed down by the appearance of Acoetes (infelix) 11.85) who stumbles along like a hired ritual mourner, beating his breast and tearing his face, recalling the Iliades (11.35-38), Juturna, incapable of averting Turnus' fate (12.871), and Achilles who at the news of Patroclus' death when "in the depths of dark despair, poured dust upon his head and cast himself upon the earth, fouling his hair and tearing it out with his hands" (Iliad 18.22 ff.).

The chariots stained with Rutulian blood (11.88) appear next, including that of Rhoeteus, despatched by Pallas (curruque volutus/ caedit semianimis Rutulorum calcibus arva 10.403-4), possibly recalling that of Homeric Cebriones, sprayed with blood from riding over corpses and shields (Iliad 11.534 ff). Aethon, Pallas' war-steed, follows next, with trappings discarded (positis insignibus 11.89) and weeping great tears. Once more Vergil was indebted to Homer for Achilles' horses mourned for Patroclus (Iliad 17.426-8, 437-9), whereas Aethon ("Blaze") was the name of one of Hector's horses (Iliad 8.185) as well as of one of the horses of the Sun (Ovid Met. 2.153). Of more contemporary relevance is the detail recorded by Suetonius (Div.Jul. 81.2) that Julius Caesar's horses wept at the prospect of his death: Proximis diebus equorum greges...comperit pertinacissime pabulo abstinere ubertimque flere. One is reminded also of the strong rapport between Mezentius and his war-horse, Rhaebus (10.863), an affectionate

and not uncommon bond between master and horse according to Pliny: amissos lugent dominos, lacrimasque interdum desiderio fundent (N.H. 8,157). Vergil has elsewhere endowed a pet animal with human characteristics, Silvia's stag, heedlessly pierced by Ascanius (7.500-2):

Saucius et quadripes nota intra tecta refugit
sucessitque gemens stabulis, questuque cruentus
atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat.

Next to pass in the cortège are men bearing Pallas' spear and helmet, for Turnus had already taken his balteus with its impressum nefas (10.497), an engraving of the marriage of the fifty sons of Aegyptus to the fifty daughters of his brother Danaus, all of whom were killed by their brides except Lynceus, whom Hypermnestra spared, a "tale of violence suitable for Pallas on the battle-field and even more suitable for Turnus, its new owner".⁶⁶ Once again, an Egyptian reference intrudes into Vergil's text.

A phalanx of grieving troops (appropriate to the deaths of Hellenistic kings), comprising Trojans, Etruscans and Arcadians, follows, with arms reversed (versis armis 11.93). The term phalanx was applied originally to the Macedonian military formation based on that of Epaminondas (the Theban commander killed at Mantinea in 326 B.C.), and developed by Philip II of Macedon. The same military formation was also used by Julius Caesar referring to the battle order of the Gauls and Germans (B.G. 1.24; 1.25). The term also conjures up a procession fit for a Macedonian king.

Suggestions of Macedonian and Hellenistic elements can hardly be overlooked, for Caesar had contacts with both the East and the West. He celebrated a triumph in Rome for the Alexandrine war and as a sequel opened the Forum Julium, the central feature of which was a temple of Venus Genetrix; a gilt-bronze statue of Cleopatra was placed alongside the cult statue. If one considers the implications of the Caesar's Trojan origins, and the fact that Julius Caesar's enemies showed concern lest he make himself a tyrannus and rule as a Hellenistic king, with Alexandria, rather than Rome, his capital, one might justifiably assume that the connections between the Caesars and the East were of deeper consequence than appear at first glance.

To march with weapons reversed (versis armis) was the usual sign of mourning for a ruler (cf versi fasces at the funeral of Germanicus. Tacitus Ann. 3.2). The subject matter of reliefs on the bronze Certosa Situla of the Etruscan era and on the Providence Situla would seem to have much in common with the cortège depicted by Vergil; both reliefs appear to refer to funeral ceremonies conducted with full military honours in which spearmen carry their weapons point downwards.⁶⁷ A marble relief from Amiternum also depicts a funeral procession. Like Pallas, the deceased, lying on his funerary couch, is carried on a bier preceded by hired mourners and musicians and followed by relations.⁶⁸

After Aeneas has escorted Pallas' body for a good part of the way (longe 11.94), instead of taking part in the final rites, he halts intending to return to camp. He is depicted as a Roman general paying his last respects to a dead man who sets out on his final journey. Poignantly he salutes his former comrade and charge, and though submissive to the horrida belli fata (11.96-7), he recalls that other difficulties (alias ad lacrimas 11.96) have still to be encountered. The formulaic lines salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla, /aeternemque vale (11.97-8) recall Catullus' famous lament at his brother's tomb in the Troad:

atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale (101.10),

as well as Achilles' final address to Patroclus (Iliad 23.19).

Dramatically breaking off, Aeneas retreats once more within his own defences. Otis considers Aeneas' farewell to Pallas and the subsequent departure of the cortège as "one of the great scenes of the poem",⁶⁹ comparing it with the Trojan leader's farewell to Helenus, when he contrasts the peace which is now Helenus' lot with the perils which Aeneas will still have to endure (Aen.333,493-5)

Vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta
iam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur.

Equally and perhaps more moving in its utter selflessness and simplicity, is the speech of the stricken Camilla. Her thoughts are those of a true warrior and commander; her concern is for Turnus rather than herself (11.823-7):

hactenus, Acca soror, potui; nunc vulnus acerbum

conficit et haec Turno mandata novissima perfer:
succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe
iamque vale.

THE TWELVE DAY TRUCE (11.100-38)

This passage provides a break in the tension caused by the departure of Pallas' funeral cortège and its arrival at Pallanteum, the city of Evander (11.139-81) yet, in view of the fact that Vergil has already referred to the burial of the dead after the erection of the trophy of Mezentius (interea socios inhumataque corpora terrae/ mandemus...ite...egregias animas, decorate supremis/ muneribus 11.22-26), and that Drances' major appearance is in the ensuing scene with Turnus and Latinus (11.225-444) this passage seems somewhat misplaced.

Aeneas receives an embassy, sent by the Latins and their king Latinus (rex 11.113), to sue for a truce to bury their dead. This embassy reflects that in Iliad 7.381-420, but in Homer the requests are more complex, for Idaeus offers the Greeks unfavourable terms (rejected by Agamemnon), as well as asking for a truce which the Greek leader accepts, although his response lacks the magnanimity of Aeneas' (bonus Aeneas 11.106). Aeneas' speech recalls the magnanimous exordium of Diomedes to a Latin embassy also (11.225-95), sent to find out Aeneas' intentions (8.15-17). In this speech too, disinclination to fight is expressed (cf 11.114;

11.278), fate and the gods are responsible for the situation (cf 11.112; 11.269), and a self-righteous note is struck (cf 11.113; 11.292). Aeneas' emphasis on hospitibus and soceris (11.105) would seem to contain a hint of reproach at Latinus' lack of hospitality and Turnus' open hostility (rex nostra reliquit/hospitia et Turni potius se credit armis 11.113-14) in contrast to Aeneas who claims to hate war (11.110-13) but was given no alternative (Latini/implicuit bello, qui nos fugiatis amicos? 11.108-9): justice would have been better served if Turnus had challenged him personally (11.115-17), a theme taken up further in Drances' speech before Latinus and Turnus in the council of Latinus (11.370-75). Meanwhile, Aeneas graciously accedes to the Latins' request to bury their dead (nunc ite et miseris supponite civibus ignem 11.119; cf 6.223-4...et subiectam more parentum/aversi tenere facem).

Gransden points out that despite the apparent pietas of Aeneas' response the reader may also be left with a feeling of unease, that this magnanimity may be an example of propagandist rhetoric, inserted "to ensure that the founder of the gens Julia has clean hands", that the hero's self-righteous protestations and frequent references to fate (fortuna 11.109; fata 11.112), may be "mere self-justification no more convincing than his words to Dido" (cf 4.340).⁷⁰

Drances (senior semperque odiis et crimine...infensus iuveni Turno 11.122-3), Turnus' inveterate enemy and clearly the older man, delighted by

Aeneas' suggestion of a duel, makes a highly rhetorical reply to Aeneas (11.121-31), a reply — comparable with his experienced handling of Turnus (11.343-375) — in which he flatters and praises Aeneas, in terms too deferential to ring true (o fama ingens, ingentior armis 11.124; quibus caelo te laudibus aequem? 11.125; nos...grati...11.127); he gratefully accepts the truce putting forward, as Quinn states, the right proposals for the wrong reasons.⁷¹ Drances is thus strikingly characterized as a most cunning and adroit politician, and also as an expert in oratory. Servius (ad 11,125) states: est oratorum non invenire paria verba virtutibus. Elsewhere Macrobius (Sat.6.2) discussing a now lost treatise by Cicero on Cato the Elder, remarks: nec Tullio compilando, dummodo undique ornamenta sibi conferret, abstinuit. Drances, an envoy able to switch from one party to another conjures up for the reader a portrait of Cicero, a politician who was able to "compose" a palinode, to mark his changing from Pompey's to Caesar's side: this Ciceronian picture is further suggested by his exaggerated promise of support to Turnus's enemy (11.130-18) and by his vehement denunciation of Turnus (11.129) who with the Queen's support strongly resembles Antony (11.369), object of Cicero's invective especially in the Philippics, a connection sensed by various scholars⁷² and one which will be examined in greater detail in the ensuing analysis of the debate of the Council of Latins (11.225 ff.).

A twelve-day truce is thus agreed upon, during which wood-cutting activities prevail (11.133-38) in order to construct funeral pyres, a procedure described too in Homer Iliad 23.114 ff. where the Achaeans prepare logs for Patroclus' pyre, and in Iliad 24.778 ff, where a truce had been arranged between Achilles and Priam in order to complete Hector's funeral preparations. In Vergilian terms, these Homeric activities are reflected in the Misenus episode (6.177-82) which also recalls a description in Ennius (Ann. 187-91).

Incedunt arbusta per alta, securibus caedunt
 percellunt magnas quercus, exciditur ilex,
 fraxinus frangitur atque abies consternitur alta,
 pinus proceras pervortunt; omne sonabat
 arbustum fremitu silvae frondosai.

EVANDER'S LAMENT OVER THE BODY OF PALLAS

The narrative reverts once more to the scene at Pallanteum, as the funeral procession of Pallas approaches (11.139-47). The scene opens with the arrival of Fama, harbinger of ill-tidings (cf Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum 4.124), who reports Pallas' untimely death to Evander. Snatching up torches de more vetusto (11.142), the Arcadian inhabitants rush to escort the body into the city of Evander, forming a torch-light procession powerfully etched by Vergil (11.143-4):

...lucet via longo
 ordine flammarum et late discriminat agros.

The matres fill the city with their usual lamentations, recalling the mourning of the Iliades (11.35), while their king Evander lacrimansque gemensque (11.150) throws himself upon the body of his son, the pathos of his speechlessness emphasized by the alliteration and heavy spondaic movement (11.151):

et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est.

Evander (lit. "the good man" in Greek) in Greek mythology was a minor deity associated with Pan or Faunus and worshipped principally in Arcadia, especially at Palantion where he had a temple — a city name pointing to a pre-Indo-European word meaning "rock" or "hill".⁷³ According to Roman tradition he was the son of Hermes and the prophetic nymph Carmenta (8.336) A later manipulation of the myth connected the goddess with the Germalus region of the Palatine (Clement, Strom. 1.21) where her magical powers were invoked in child birth,⁷⁴ but Greek tradition associated Carmenta with Nicostrate or Themis (Pausanias 8.43.2; Strabo 5.230), a nymph with prophetic powers who had controlled Delphi before the arrival of Apollo.⁷⁵ Evander's ties with the Trojans were partly familial for he was related to Dardanus, through Atlas, grandfather of Hermes (Aen. 8.134-7) and thus a kinsman to Aeneas. As a boy he is said to have welcomed Priam and Anchises to the city of Pheneos (Aen. 8.165) when the former was visiting his sister Hesione and so became especially attached to Anchises (sed cunctis altior ibat/ Anchises mihi meus iuvenali ardebat amore/

compellare virum et dextrae coniungere dextram 8.164-5). Anchises presented the boy with a quiver and arrows, a chlamys embroidered in gold and a pair of golden bits (frenaque bina), which Evander later gave to Pallas (8.166-8). Evander left Arcadia, founded a settlement on a hill overlooking the Tiber, and called it after his native-city Pallanteum (Aen. 8.54), later the collis Palatinus. There he instituted the worship of Faunus (Pan Lycaeus) and established the Lupercalia (Ovid Fasti 2.279 ff.).⁷⁶ According to Vergil, Hercules visited him there and slew the monster Cacus who had stolen his cattle, and Evander in memory of the event established the cult of the Ara Maxima (Aen 8.185-275; Livy 1.7). Aeneas, at the beginning of the war against the Latins, appealed to Evander for aid. He welcomed Aeneas as a kinsman, conducted him over the site of the future Rome — a markedly Augustan Rome since the elegant quarter of the Carinae, west of the Esquiline is mentioned (8.360-1; cf Hor. Epist. 1.7.48; Propertius 4.1.1 ff.) — and after entertaining him in his regia (8.363), a small, unpretentious dwelling (angusti subter fastigia tecti 8.366), admonished Aeneas to model himself upon Hercules (finde deo 8.365). Aeneas' taking part in the ceremonies of the Ara Maxima, a dapes (8.175 ff) administered by Evander — who must therefore have been a precursor to the preferred family, the Potiti (8.270; cf Livy 1.7.12) — and celebrated in honour of Hercules' visit and ridding the people of a monster, signals that Aeneas should play a similar Heraclean role of Saviour (8.185 ff). Since

scholars have seen Heracles as a prototype for Octavian⁷⁷ it logically follows that Heracles' adversary Cacus would be associated with Antony (cf Cicero Phil. 13.21, written in March 43 B.C.).

Quis tam barbarus umquam, tam immanis, tam ferus?
...hostis taeterrimus omnibus bonis cruces ac tormenta
minitatur.

At the end of Aeneas' brief stay, Evander advised him to join up with Tarchon — who evidently entertained kindly feelings also towards Evander (ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam/ cum sceptro misit mandatque insignia Tarchon. 8.505-6)-and gave Aeneas custody of his son Pallas (8.575 ff),his sola et sera voluptas (8.581). In contemporary terms this would seem to refer to the Roman practice of contubernium whereby aristocratic fathers put their sons into the care of an army commander on active service, to live in the commander's tent and to learn the business of war at first hand: the commander, in this case, Aeneas, would then be a father figure in loco parentis to Pallas (cf Cicero Planc.11.27; Sallust.Jug.64.4; Livy 42.11.7; Tac.Agricola 5).

Evander has links with many literary heroes: with the goat-herd Eumaeus who hospitably welcomed his guest Odysseus into his hut (Od. 14. 45 ff); with Nestor, Homer's garrulous peace-maker (cf Iliad 247 ff), the Homeric king who entertained Telemachos at Pylos, insisted upon his staying at his house and partaking of a feast there (Homer Od 3. 36-40, 346 ff) and later sent his own son Peisistratus to accompany his guest on his

search (Od. 3.482). Nestor is made more sympathetic in his grief for his youthful son Antilochus (Cf.11.150 ff), a theme developed by Propertius (non ille Antilochi vidisset corpus humari/diceret aut 'O mors,cur mihi sera venis? 2.13.49-50), and Horace (Odes 2.9.13-15). Horace also hints at the reversal of the order of nature theme (cf Contra ego vivendo vici mea fata, superstes/ restarem ut genitor. Aen. 11.160-1), a theme which apart from the Pallas episode, had a pathetic appeal for Vergil (cf Geo.4.475-7, and Aen. 6.308-10):-

matres atque viri defunctaque corpora vita
magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,
impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum.⁷⁸

These lines take their source from the Nekyia (Od.11.554 ff) where Odysseus has dug a deep pit and the souls come flocking around, although Homer does not dwell on the grief of the bereft parent: this is something which Vergil has added.

Another close analogy to Evander's festive welcome to the Trojans (8.152-83), his entertainment of Aeneas (8.184-369) his speech entrusting his beloved Pallas to Aeneas' care (8.470-519) and his emotional farewell to his son (8.572-84) may be found in the welcome accorded the Argonauts by king Lycus (Ap.Rhod.2.799-805), who likewise concludes his hospitality to the strangers by sending his son Dascylus to accompany them. Thus, whereas Evander is generally Nestorean in character, Aeneas who had many Achillean characteristics in the first part of Book 11, would seem to

have assumed characteristics associated with Hercules, Jason and particularly with Odysseus.

Evander's formal apostrophe over the dead Pallas (11.152-81) like that of Aeneas, is highly rhetorical and ambiguous. He begins with a gentle reproach (non haec, O Palla, dederas promissa petenti 11.152), picking up the promissa of Aeneas' apostrophe (11.45), and reflecting Catullus' Ariadne, also abandoned by a loved one:-

at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti
voce mihi (Cat. 64. 139-40).

He next upbraids Pallas for rashly indulging in the heady first-fruits of victory (primitiae iuvenis miserae 11.156), a fault which leads to recklessness and destruction, evoking for an audience the primitiae which were Mezentius' lot (11.15-16). Like the mother of Euryalus (9.481-497), Evander goes on to dwell upon his own misery, associating with himself his sanctissima coniunx (11.158), Pallas' mater Sabella (8.510), a dia like Camilla (11.657), judging from his mode of address, and clearly younger than Evander (contra ego vivendo vici mea fata, superstes/ restarem ut genitor 11.161). She appears to be either mortally ill or actually dead, for the absence of a verb makes for ambiguity (felix morte tua neque in hunc servata dolorem! 11.159). Evander appears anxious to spare Pallas' mother this final blow although R. D. Williams interprets sanctissima (11.158) as "of blessed memory", and comments that "Vergil does not elsewhere mention Evander's dead wife".⁷⁹ The fact that Dido in happier moments had woven

the royal chlamydes with which to wrap the body of Pallas (11.74-5) strongly suggests that she might well be the paradigm for the mater Sabella in executing a mother's prerogative (cf Euryalus' mother: nec te tua funere mater/produxi...veste tegens...9.486-88). In referring to his own advanced age, Evander gives the reader a glimpse of the Homeric Nestor, reputed to have out-lived two generations of men (Iliad 1.250), whereas the inversion of the natural order of a child dying before the parents was a common theme in grave inscriptions.⁸⁰

Evander's lamentation would seem to be based on no extant model in Greek epic, but rather to recall the ἄρῆνοι of Greek tragedy, such as Peleus' mourning over the dead Neoptolemus (Euripides Andromache 1173-1183). Here Peleus, like Evander, regrets not being able to accompany his grandson in death and refers to the familiar Greek epitaph theme that there was no survivor to carry on his line. Unlike Evander, however, Peleus could take no comfort in a glorious death in arms, such as that of Pallas (11.172), since his grandson had been murdered by Orestes and the citizens of Delphi. Like Euryalus' mother (conicite, O Rutuli, me primum absumite ferro) 9.494), Evander too would have chosen death:

...Troum socia arma secutum
obruerent Rutuli telis! animam ipse dedissem
atque haec pompa domum me, non Pallanta, referret!
(11.161-63)

Evander nobly appears to absolve Aeneas from all blame in connection with Pallas' untimely death (11.164-65), because of their treaties

and guest-friendship, the ξενίς motif (iunximus hospitio dextras 11.165) reminiscent of the well-known story of king Croesus and the Phrygian Adrastus, a guest and dependent of Croesus (as was the Phrygian Aeneas of Evander) who through no wish on his part was instrumental in the death of Atys, the son of Croesus, who had similarly been placed under his protection (Herodotus 1.35-46).

At this point the analogy changes, however, because Evander dramatically denounces Turnus' brutal treatment of his younger and inexperienced opponent (11.173-75) and in somewhat ambiguous language, either delegates the task of vengeance to Aeneas (dextera causa tua est 11.178) — thereby casting him in the role of Achilles, although Achilles had required no such prompting to avenge Patroclus' death (Iliad 18.90-93) — or else tells Aeneas that it is his right hand (dextera) which is responsible for the present circumstances. As for Evander himself, his concluding wish is to join his son in the Underworld (manis...sub imos 11.181), thus re-echoing Antigone's pronouncement that death was a re-union with lost relatives (Eurip.Antig.862-8,891-96).

Pietas is therefore shown to be reciprocal, applicable to the strong bonds between parents and children, between brother and sister. So difficult was the old king's parting from Pallas in the first place when his son departed in company with Aeneas (spes et solacia nostra 8.514; mea sola et sera voluptas 8.581) that he collapsed from grief and anxiety (conlapsus

8.584) as did the mother of Euryalus at hearing of her son's tragic end (9.500-2).

On a divine level, Venus too was concerned for Aeneas' well-being so much so that she persuaded Vulcan to forge him a shield and protective armour (8.370-453) citing other concerned parents in mythology such as Thetis (Iliad 18.426-67), and Aurora (8.384), the latter treated by Arctinus of Miletus in his now lost epic Aethiopsis of the eighth century B.C.

TROJAN AND LATIN BURIAL RITES (11.182-202; 203-224).

At dawn pater Aeneas — clearly in control of his emotions in the scene with Drances and the Latin embassy — and Tarchon, the Etruscan leader, prepare funeral pyres, each according to his own tradition, after battle losses which clearly took their toll on all sides. The phrase miseris mortalibus (11.182), a Lucretian phrase (cf D.R.N. 5.944), recalls the pity for mortal suffering felt by the gods after a battle where the death-toll was high:

di Iovis in tectis viam miserantur inanem
amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores (10.758-59).

It may also be compared with mortalibus aegris (10.274), employed by

Vergil in a simile where Aeneas, like the Dog-Star Sirius, brings suffering and destruction upon his enemies, just as Achilles did (καί τε φέρει πᾶλλον

πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν Iliad 22.31 ff), a phrase repeated in Book

12.850 — again in a context of death and war — where the Dirae appear and acuunt metum mortalibus aegris.

Bodies are placed on lighted pyres (11.185. cf Iliad 7.428), the heavens are wreathed in murk. The cavalry in shining armour rides three times around the kindled pyres, the ter (11.188) once more reflecting Patroclus' funeral in which mourners rode three times around the pyre (Iliad 23.13). These lines reflect the funus militare in which soldiers killed on the battle-field were collectively cremated (cf Livy 27.2.9): congestos in unum locum (Romans) cremavere suos.⁸¹ Ritual terms abound in lines 188-91: ter, decurrere, lustrare, spargere.

Ter would seem to have been a number particularly connected with death for both Romans and Greeks: in Homer, for instance, Odysseus' comrades who had fallen in battle with the Cicones were three times saluted (Od.9.65); in Greek tragedy Antigone poured offerings three times over her brother Polyneices' corpse (Soph. Antigone.430): in the Aeneid, Dido attempted to rise three times in her death agony (4.691); Hector's body was dragged three times around the walls of Troy (1.483); Corynaeus performed purificatory rites three times over his companions after the death of Misenus (6.229); Aeneas called three times upon the shade of Deiphobus when erecting a cenotaph to him (6.506), and attempted three times to embrace the shades of Creusa (2.792) and Anchises (6.700). Ovid (Fasti

3.563) also relates that the word vale was pronounced three times over the dead.

A decursio (decurrere 11.189) has various meanings: to go through military exercises as well as to ride or march in honour of a slain general around a pyre or cenotaph (Livy 25.17.5; Tac.Ann.2.7: 82 cf Homer Iliad. 23.13; Od.24.68; Ap.Rhod.1.1059).

The lustratio (lustravere 11.190) or purification after death (cf Aen. 6.728-34) probably blends Pythagorean belief with Stoicism and suggests that the body was a prison of the soul. The idea in Vergil of the purification of the soul by wind, water or fire (6.728 ff) seems to have no direct literary precedent, but may have come to Vergil through traditional theologies, such as the purification of the souls by airing them (Plato Gorgias.525 c; Diog. Laertes 8.21)⁸³ Purification by means of lustral water, however, occurs in Sophocles (Antigone 83) and in the purification rites of Misenus' funeral (Aen 6.150). The anointing and washing of the body, referred to in the preparations for Misenus' funeral (6,219) are omitted, however, in the funeral preparations for Pallas.

Sprinkling (spargitur...sparguntur 11.191) occurs also in Homer when at Patroclus' funeral, the Greeks circling his pyre sprinkled the sand with tears (Iliad 23.15). Spargere in the sense of a ritual sprinkling, however, may be found in Horace Odes 4.11.8 (aram immolato spargier agno), and in Vergil in the passage referring to the chthonic worship by

Dido (4.512,635), at the cremation of Misenus (6.230) and at Aeneas' entry into the realms of the blessed (6.639).

These ceremonies are now followed by the hurling of shields and enemy equipment into the flames (11.193-95) — a Roman custom which, according to Servius (ad 8.562), originated with the Etruscan king Tarquinius Superbus, and was adhered to by Dido who placed Aeneas' sword and exuviae on her funeral pyre (4.646).

Sacrificial animals are next slaughtered as offerings to Death (Mors 11.197), recalling a personalized Thanatos in Euripides' Alcestis 24 (ἤδη δὲ τόνδε θάνατον εἰσορῶ), and the sheep and oxen slain at Patroclus pyre (Iliad 23.166). This blood-letting in Vergil (11.197-99) has the three elements of the Suovetaurilia (oxen, sows and sheep). The pecudes (11.199) recall the ῥῆλα in Aeschylus' Agamemnon(1057), whereas in the Aeneid blood-offerings were made at the tomb of Polydorus (3.66.67), and at the parentatio of Anchises (5.78). After a long vigil over the burning bodies the episode is effectively brought to a close by an ornate description of nightfall (11.-201-2), where the smouldering corpses are strikingly compared with the glittering stars (ardentes...socios...stellis ardentibus 11.200,202).

The section dealing with the Latin funeral rites (11.203-24) is by contrast much starker than that describing Trojan and Etruscan rites. The Latins are miseri (11.203), their pyres innumerae (11.204), their slain many (corpora partim/multa virum 11.204-5). Their rites last for two days (tertia

lux 11.210). As in the Trojan burial passage, the heavens are wreathed in shadow (11.210).

Vergil is here describing the funeral practices of the early Latins, associating the pyre with the hearth (focis 11.212), thus correlating the cults of Vulcan and Vesta. These primitive people favoured both cremation (struxere pyras 11.204) and burial (corpora...terrae infodiunt 11.205), the majority, who came from a distance, being cremated on the battle-field, while those from the surrounding area were taken home or to the city of Latinus to receive the last respects (11.205-6). Finally, the piled-up bones were raked down (ruebant ossa 11.211-12). The simplicity of this passage is in contrast to the elaborate funeral of Pallas — clearly a prince of consequence- and to those granted by the State to benefactors, such as Sulla, whose public funeral was conducted with exceptional magnificence in 78 B.C. (Appian B.C. 1.105-6), to Julius Caesar, to Hirtius and Pansa, and to the young Marcellus. For the Latins, grief, detestation of war and anger are the dominant emotions (11.215-17), — emotions upon which Drances had been quick to capitalize (11.220), for he lost no time in putting about the story that Aeneas had challenged Turnus to a duel. Yet Turnus too had his supporters, chief of whom was Queen Amata (magnum nomen reginae obumbrat 11.223). The reflection at the conclusion of this section to the effect that Turnus' reputation rested upon trophies earned (tropaeis 11.224) forges a subtle link between Mezentius' earlier downfall and the eventual

downfall of Turnus who — by stripping Pallas of his balteus — signed his own death-warrant (12.944).

The mass funerals of the dead have totally different rituals (11.183,202) from those of Pallas and Misenus. When the two latter accounts are combined — although clearly relating to different youths — they yield a picture of funera publica accorded by the State to benefactors in full detail. The funera of the Trojans and Etruscans (11.185-90) were typical of the Roman military funeral, with distinctions between the pyra (11.185), the pyre before it was lighted, the rogus (11.189), the pyre actually burning, and the bustum (11.201), the burned-out heap of ashes. Typical of the Roman military funeral also was the ritual word lustravere (11.190) or the procession around the pyre, followed by the Suovetaurilia or "most complete sacrifice known to Roman ritual"⁸⁴ although Vergil does not specify whether the sacrifice was made to the di inferi (Dis, Proserpina, Hecate), to the undistinguished mass of spirits in general (Manes), or to the spirits of the individual dead. He merely states that the offering was made to Mors, a personification in Rome never even given the status of a deity unlike the Thanatos of Euripides (Alcestis 25). Misenus' funeral (unlike that of Pallas) is described in its entirety: the details are engrossing and relevant.

In Misenus' rites, trees for building the pyre were cut down (6.177 ff), the corpse was washed and anointed (6.218-19) — a process omitted in Pallas' rites (cf the mother of Euryalus: nec...pressive oculos aut vulnera

lavi 9.486-7), then lifted onto the bier covered with brightly hued garments (6.221). The bier was next carried to the pyre, which was set alight by applying torches beneath it (6.223-4), with eyes averted (aversi 6.224), probably to avoid seeing the spirit's exit from the body. On the pyre itself offerings of incense (tura dona 6.225), the sacred feast (dapes 6.225) and bowls of olive oil (fuso crateres olivo 6.225) were burned. Once the flames died down, the relics were drenched in wine (6.227), and the bones collected and placed in a brazen urn (cado...aino 6.228). Aeneas next purified his companions three times from the taint of association with the dead, by a lustration of water (pura unda 6.229) scattering it by means of an olive branch (6.230) before bidding Misenus the last farewell (dixitque novissima verba 6.231). He then heaped a barrow over the ashes and placed on it Misenus' arma, oar and trumpet (6.233) — the implements of his trade which was clearly of a military nature — at the foot of a lofty mountain (suggestive of a high tumulus or grave mound) which would forever be called by the name of its occupant (6.234-5). In this detailed description, although some of the ceremonies are distinctly Roman (e.g. gifts, lustration, the final farewell), others are Greek and are modelled largely on the burial of Patroclus in Homer, or on funeral practices in Greek tragedy, such as those in Antigone, Alcestis or Hippolytus. Bailey comments that the term aram sepulchri (6.177) in the better manuscript reading could mean the "altar of the tomb", in which case the nigras pecudes (6.154) of the Sibyl's

instructions may imply a sacrifice to Misenus himself rather than to the lower-world deities and so be suggestive of the Greek hero-cult. If, however, one accepts the reading aram sepulchro (the altar for the tomb), it would merely be a reference to that normally erected in front of the tomb, and the black sheep would refer to the normal practice of sacrificing to the underworld deities.⁸⁵

Vergil's description of the great cult festival of the Ara Maxima which took place annually on August 12th, has the characteristics of a hero-cult (worship of the dead as superhuman, performance of rites, offerings of food and drink).⁸⁶ Although at first administered by priestly families, the Potiti and the Pinarii (Aen 8.269-70), the latter family was later excluded (Livy 1.7.13). By Vergil's day the cult had become part of the state religion and chief centre of the cult of Heracles Invictus at Rome. The sanctuary near the Tiber bank at the East end of the Forum Boarium could be seen by anyone coming by water (Aen 8.104-125), just as Evander, Pallas and the Senate caught sight of Aeneas'boat. The site was also near the Circus Maximus (Schol.Iuv.8.13. iuxta circum: cf Schol.Veron: post ianuas circi Maximi. Servius ad Aen.8.104) and at one corner lay within the line of the Palatine pomerium (Tac.Ann.12.24).⁸⁷ Probably the tale of Cacus' stealing the cattle of Heracles recounted by Evander (Aen 8.185-279) after the dapes at the Ara Maxima was an aetiological myth to explain the cult of Heracles as a victory over tyranny in that particular area. It also contains a pointed

invitation to Aeneas to act as Saviour. Just as the Shield of Aeneas portrayed honours to be paid after Actium to Octavius (Aen 8.704 ff), so Octavian's inclusion in the Salian hymn in thanksgiving for redeeming the nation from grave peril is hinted at by the reference to Hercules.

On the festival day of the Ara Maxima in Vergil's time, as Bertha Tilly points out, a bull or heifer was sacrificed in the morning and the praetor made libation with a wooden cup (scyphus),⁸⁸ In the Aeneid this sacerdotal rite is carried out by Evander — possibly an antecedent of the priestly Potiti family (Aen. 8.275) — and was followed the next day by a banquet in typical Homeric style (Aen. 8.175 ff. cf Iliad 1.462 ff).

Other passages dealing with tomb-cult in Vergil include:-

1. Honours paid to Polydorus (Aen 3.62-8), recalling those paid to Misenus with foaming bowls of milk (cf Sophocles Electra 895 at Agamemnon's tomb), platters of blood (Aen.3.67), altars to the manes (Aen 3.63) and mourning by women with loosened hair (Aen 3.65), as in the lamentations for Pallas (Aen.11.35).
2. Honours paid to Hector by Andromache at her husband's grave resembling a private parentatio (manesque vocabat Hectoreum ad tumulum 3.303-4), with sollemnis dapes et tristia dona (3.301).
3. Rites paid at Anchises'tomb, resembling a parentatio yet with maestae arae (5.48). Later the altaria are piled with altar-gifts

(suis donis 5.54. cf dona,dapes,fuso crateres divo of Misenus 6.225). In lines 77-8, the gifts are specified — wine, milk, flowers in double amounts. Once more hero-cult is suggested by the inclusion of double amounts of sacrificial blood (duo sanguine sacro 5.78), as well as by the earlier reference to altars. Aeneas also pays his respects to his deceased father as sancto...patre (5.603).

In view of Servius' assertions that altaria (Aen. 5.54,93) were reserved only for the di superi⁸⁹ and the fact that a priest and a sacred grave — rather like the cult of Hercules — was assigned to Anchises' tomb (5.760), the honores paid to Anchises, although aspects of a hero-cult, would seem to border on the cult of the di superi. One feels that in the honores paid to Anchises, father to Aeneas, so frequently associated with Octavian (as referred to earlier), Vergil may allude to the cult services paid to the divus Julius, for after Octavian's triumph in 29 B.C. a temple was dedicated to Julius Caesar, and games were held in his honour, including an exhibition of the Lusus Troiae.⁹⁰ Bailey also states that if the parallel of Julius Caesar is hinted at in the cult of Anchises in the Aeneid, then Vergil, in the deification of Daphnis (Ecl. 5) must certainly be referring to the deification of Julius Caesar (candidus insuetum miratur Olympi Ecl. 5.56). His two arae are there aligned with the two altars of Apollo.

...en quattuor aras:
ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo (Ecl. 5.65-6)

In addition Daphnis is to have two foaming cups of fresh milk each year (Ecl.5.67), two bowls of rich olive oil (Ecl.5.68), his rites are to be associated with some unspecified festival to the Nymphs and with the Ambarvalia (Ecl.5.74-5): honos, nomen, laudes (Ecl.5.68) will be his forever: he will be on a level with Bacchus and Ceres (Ecl.5.79-80) and able to grant the farmers' prayers (Ecl.5.80). Daphnis' association with Julius Caesar is further illustrated in Eclogue 9.46 ff: as a mortal he was subject to limitations and death yet was capable of rising above the human condition.⁹¹

The exaltation of Daphnis to the ranks of the di superi is more exaggerated than anything found in the Aeneid and is explained by Bailey in terms of political significance. Not only is the analogy here to Greek hero cults, but it touches upon the Hellenistic deification of Kings and great men, illustrating at the same time the extent to which Rome, so open to Hellenistic influences, was able to assimilate Greek notions of paying divine honours to the dead.⁹²

Comparable to the case of Daphnis/Julius Caesar is (a) the reference to Hercules (Ecl.4.63):

nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est.

This reference reflects Homer (Od.11.601) where Hercules is described as feasting with the gods and enjoying the bed of Hebe, Hera's daughter, and (b) the Hellenistic description already hinted at in the funeral of Pallas (e.g. royal vestes [11.72] and the accompanying phalanx 11.92). Hence the fact

that Julius Caesar was accorded seemingly exaggerated honours (Suet.Div.Iul.84) may not be so strange if we keep in mind:- (a) the connection and analogy with Hercules, Pindar's heros theos;⁹³ (b) life in Rome during Vergil's own life-time, where Julius Caesar behaved as a Hellenistic king and as such divine honours would naturally follow his death. Moreover Cleopatra's statue had been placed by him in the temple of Venus Genetrix in accordance with the Ptolemaic custom of placing the statues of kings in shrines so that they became Divine Temple Companions (theoi Synnaioi) of the gods;⁹⁴ and (c) arae would appear to be a synonym for altaria (cf Ecl. 5.66) and of no special significance in this blending of ideas and cultures.

Whether Vergil in his account of Pallas' funeral is employing allegory or allusion is not at all clear, and for the present "his superb artistry in mixing Greek and Roman forms" in his treatment of the cult of the dead can only be commended.⁹⁵

Brenk makes two interesting observations in a recent article about the death of young Marcellus: (1) that in many famous Attic grave steles such as the Ilissos relief, the theme of the reversal of the natural order is present; the age and debility of the old man is overstated, whereas the youth is extraordinarily handsome, a paradigm for the young Marcellus and heroes killed in battle — and as I have tried to indicate — of audax Pallas (Aen 8.110), and (2) that in the Marcellus eulogy the presence of Anchises

and Aeneas suggests another characteristic of Greek sepulchral epigrams, namely "the allusion not only to immediate parents and grandparents, but to mythical ancestors and divine birth — something absent in Roman epitaphs".⁹⁶ This convention can be extended to explain the presence of Aeneas and of Evander in Pallas' funeral rites and seems intended to idealize the dead. Brenk sums up the Marcellus scene as follows:-

"In this scene, then, as throughout the Aeneid, the depth of Vergil's grasp of the literary and artistic complexity of the Roman and Hellenistic background is profound. Merging universal themes and expressions, he subtly plays with the distinction of human generations, with the transmission of values and traditions, with human suffering and loss—particularly to premature and unnatural death of the young, as well as the characteristically Vergilian sentiment of the cost of imperium".⁹⁷

Vergil's treatment of death and burial in Aeneid 11.1-225 is dramatic, colourful and ritualistic, filled with both Greek and Roman literary and antiquarian references. He stresses pietas deeply, in the feeling of father for son, yet is appalled and horrified at the toll taken by war on human life, particularly on the young and innocent, as witnessed by his account of the funeral of Pallas and by the mass burials of the unnumbered and unhonoured (nec numero nec honore cremant 11.208). The useless sacrifice of so many lives could not have failed to conjure up to Romans of Vergil's age, parallels in contemporary history — a point to be developed later in this thesis — and to underline what would seem to be a basic theme of the Aeneid, the need for national unity and for an end to civil war.

Chapter 2

DEBATE IN THE CAPITAL OF LATINUS (11.213-444).

Latinus, eponymous hero of the Latini, has had a very chequered literary history. In Hesiod (Theo.10 11-16) he was the son of Circe and Odysseus and king of the Tyrrhenians. Timaeus first connected him with Aeneas, whose daughter Rhome Latinus married and by whom he had sons Rhomus (in Roman tradition Romus) and Romulus, founder of Rome. In Cato's Origines, and possibly in Naevius and Ennius, Latinus betrothed his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas, thereby causing Turnus, to whom she had been formerly promised, to make war with Latinus on Aeneas. As a result Latinus was killed and Aeneas became king. In Livy's version, however, the Aborigines, i.e. the victorious Trojans and Latini, lost their leader Latinus (ducem Latinum amisere Livy 1.2.2), Turnus' Rutuli were beaten and Aeneas, the victor, was later honoured as Jupiter Indiges (Livy 1.2).¹

Vergil, in the main, would seem to be adhering to Cato's version but with slight variations: he makes Latinus the reported son of Faunus and the nymph Marica (hinc Fauno et nympha genitum Laurente Marica/ accipimus 7. 47-8), thus substituting a national genealogy for the Hesiodic one. He depicts Latinus as somewhat advanced in years, peace-loving (iam

senior...in pace regebat 7.46), descended from a long line of gods which included Faunus and Saturn (7.47-8), a man who consults the oracle of Faunus (7.81 ff.), a king whose functions — like those of Evander — are of a priestly nature (12.161 ff.), the inhabitant of a regia (7.172), and a man of immense wealth (7.274 ff.). Latinus is almost the ideal king, pious, just, sedate and generous, deficient it would seem in one royal quality only: constancy (quid tua sancta fides... 7.365). The combination of civic leader and pontifex maximus finds a precedent when as consul and pontifex maximus Julius Caesar offered sacrifice to Jupiter Optimus Maximus on January 1st 44 B.C. Moreover the Regia, traditional home of king Numa (Solin 1.21, Ovid Trist 3.1.30; Fast.6.263-4; quis enim ignorat regiam ubi Numa habitavit in radicibus Palati finibusque Romani fori esse? Serv.ad Aen.8.363; 7.153, with reference to the Regia of Evander and Latinus) was in republican times the official residence of the pontifex maximus (domus in qua pontifex habitat regia dicitur. Serv.ad Aen.8.363). It was situated northwest of the aedes Vestae and within view of the Tiber (vidimus flavum Tiberim...ire deiectum monumenta regis templaque Vestae. Hor.Odes 1.2.15. cf Pallas and Evander ut celsas videre rates Aen.8.107). In the Regia was a shrine to Mars, in which were kept the hastae and ancilia of that god (Servius ad Aen.7,188,603 with reference to the insignia of Latinus: Quirinali lituo, parva trabea, ancile), and a sacrarium Opis Consiviae (Varro L.L.6.21 cf Aen.11.532). Certain sacrifices were performed in the Regia

(Varro 6.12; Fest.329; Macrob.1.15-19, 16.30): Vergil refers to the sheep sacrificed to Janus on January 9th (cf hic ariete caeso...Aen.8.175). In 36 B.C. the Regia was restored by Cn. Domitius Calvinus as an elegant building in marble (Cass.Dio 48.42; cf Pliny N.H. 34.48).² Vergil's references to statues of the gods in Latinus' royal abode — which from Servius' references above would appear to be a regia, common to both Latinus and Evander (haec illum regia cepit 8.363, 7.171) — the performing of sacrifices in this curia templum (7.124 ff.), the presence of Picus (an Italian king with the gift of augury) clad in royal trabea (a robe of state worn by kings and augurs) and holding a lituus (augur's staff) and an ancile (a small shield associated with king Numa) would all seem to point to Latinus (and possibly to Evander, an alter ego) as a pontifex maximus with supreme authority. In historical terms after Caesar's death, the pontifex maximus was Marcus Aemilius Lepidus.

The tale of the house of Latinus supplies to the latter half of the Aeneid what the Dido story contributed to the first half. The earlier motif of hospitality and welcome gives way to a state of implacable warfare. The Latinus story upon close analysis is very deeply woven into the fabric of the Aeneid, for Creusa (2.780-784) foretells wanderings and eventually in Italy an unnamed royal bride for Aeneas (illic res laetae regnumque et regia coniunx/ parta tibi; 2.783-4). When the drama opens in Aeneid 7.35ff. with

its appeal to Erato, we realize that Aeneas and his men have finally reached terra Hesperia (2.781), the scene of events already foretold.

Latinus was married to Amata (cf Dido, semitic for "beloved")³, cult name of a Vestal Virgin in Rome, after her consecration by the Pontifex Maximus.⁴ Amata — as Burke notes — is an extremely difficult character to assess.⁵ According to Servius (8.51) Amata had two sons whom she either blinded or killed because they sided with their father Latinus in favouring the marriage alliance of Lavinia, their sister with Aeneas.⁶ In discussing the house of Latinus, Vergil refers only to one son who died at an early age (7.50-1):

"filius huic fato divum prolisque virilis
nulla fuit, primaque oriens erepta inventa est"

Burke attributes Vergil's manipulation of the earlier story to three causes:—

(1) the dramatic and historic necessity of the marriage of Aeneas to Lavinia is increased, if she appears to be the king of the Latins sole major heiress, and the prophecy of Anchises to Aeneas (6.764-65) is fulfilled:

"quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx
educet silvis regem regumque parentem"

(2) Lavinia, as an only daughter of Amata and Latinus, becomes a more attractive political prize for both Aeneas and Turnus.

(3) Since the apparent purpose of Vergil's epic was to show the establishment of a noble race of national leaders, any allusion to the killing or blinding of sons by their mother had to be eliminated.⁷

He likewise accounts for another departure from traditional stories. Fabius Pictor, he notes, recorded that Amata committed suicide by starving herself to death, arguing that one obvious reason for the change is that "there simply isn't time for Amata to die of starvation". The peculiar relationship of Amata and Turnus is clearly brought into focus when the reader sees the reaction of each of them at the reported news of the other's death.⁸

Knauer notes a similarity between Latinus' welcome to Ilioneus, Aeneas's spokesman, and Dido's scene with Ilioneus.⁹ Both gave royal welcomes to the Trojans, each seated on a throne (1.505-6): tum foribus divae, media testitudine templi/saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit 7.192-3 tali intus templo divum patriaque Latinus/sede sedens Teucros ad sese in tecta vocavit), Dido in the temple of Juno at Carthage, Latinus in his regia. The temple of Juno was decorated with a frieze, depicting scenes of the war between the Trojans and the Greeks; the regia of Latinus contained statues of divine ancestors (1.441 ff., 7.170 ff). Both welcome the Trojans and are well aware of their exploits and wanderings; and both offer them hospitality and a share in their kingdoms (1.561, 565, 572; 7.195-7, 202, 271-73). Presents were sent to the Trojans by Dido (1.633-6), and Ilioneus and Latinus also pledge friendship with an exchange of gifts (7.243 ff.).

Latinus' welcome of Ilioneus has much in common also with Evander's reception of Aeneas at Pallanteum, with the emphasis in both

cases on welcome and hospitality and acknowledgment of a common ancestor Dardanus (atque...memini...his ortus ut agris Dardanus Idaeas Phrygiae penetrarit ad urbes...7.205ff; nostris succede penatibus hospes 8.123.142), with Homeric echoes (cf welcome of Alcinous to Odysseus Od. 7, and the family connections of Glaucus and Diomedes Iliad 6, 119-231).

On a Homeric level, the regia of Latinus, with its statues of ancestors, weapons, chariots (7.170-191) reminds one of Alcinous' palace (Od. 7.86 ff.), where the Phaeacian leaders too — like the Laurentini — were accustomed to eat and drink.

...hoc illis curia templum
hae sacris sedes epulis; hic ariete caeso
perpetuis soliti patres considerare mensis
(Aen.7.174-76).

Amata similarly has a Homeric parallel, for she resembles Andromache in her deep concern for Hector before he goes into battle (12.55-60, 61-63 cf Homer, Iliad 6.407-39). Amata's relationship with Turnus is very complex; she is wife of Latinus, yet addresses her husband as "father" (o genitor, nec te miseret nataeque tuique? nec matris miseret...? 7.360-1), whereas Latinus is consanguineus to Turnus (quid cura antiqua tuorum et consanguineo totiens data dextera Turno? 7.365-6). This multifaceted relationship is further belied by the fact that the poet stresses her unusual love for the Rutulian prince (miro properabat amore 7.56) and the furor she experiences at the marriage planned for Turnus, her future son-in-law (7.344). At the same time, however, she seems to prefer that Lavinia

marry Turnus rather than Aeneas (perfidus alta petens abducta virgine praedo? 7.362), whom she regards as a Paris in pursuit of her daughter, a Helen of Troy:

an non sic Phrygius penetrat Lacedaemonia pastor
Ledaeamque Helenam Troianas vexit ad urbes? (7.363-4).

In an attempt to stop the marriage, Amata in a simulated Bacchic frenzy (simulato numine Bacchi) 7.385) actually hides her daughter Lavinia, declaring that Bacchus alone is worthy of her (7.389)- an identification Vergil's contemporary audience might associate with Mark Antony (Plutarch Ant. 24.3-4; 60.2) — and pronounces the marriage-song for Lavinia and Turnus (sustinet ac natae Turnique canit hymenaeos 7.398). Latinus, weary from the constant harassment, resists at first (velut pelagi rupes immota 7.398), but gradually worn down, — like Evander — longs for death (7.598-9) and shutting himself up within his home abjectly relinquishes the reins of government (saepsit se tectis rerumque reliquit habenas 7.600).

Catherine Saunders in her study of "The tragedy of Latinus" has shown Vergil's familiarity with the design of Greek tragedy.¹⁰ The setting of the drama is given in a Euripidean explanatory prologue (7.36-40, 45-84, 96-106, 148-155) in which all essential facts about the principal characters are contained (e.g. Latinus, portents, his origins, Amata's support of Turnus). Act I, Scene 1 consists of Latinus' summoning into his presence the gift-bearing Trojan orators (7.192-3), his questioning of them as to why they have come to Italy (7.195-8) and his bidding them accept his hospitality

(7.199-211). Ilioneus spokesman of the Trojans replies, touching upon their origin, wanderings, leader, the Trojan war and desire for a home in Latium, their fated resting-place (7.213-248). Latinus, after careful scrutiny, joyfully grants their request, declaring his belief that Aeneas is Lavinia's destined husband (7.249-258). In Act 1, Scene 2 Amata enters-under the influence of the Fury, Allecto, emissary of Juno-bent on sowing seeds of discord to cheat the Trojans of their fated inheritance. Amata, in a furor, protests to Latinus and hides Lavinia in the mountains amid Bacchic orgies (7.323-405).

In Act 2, Scene 1, Allecto-disguised as an old woman, Calybe-goads Turnus to arms against Latinus, and having simulated the furor implicit in his nature (7.789) causes him to rush forth declaring himself a match for both Trojans and Latinus (7.452-70). In Act 2, Scene 2, shepherds, carrying the bodies of the Latins, Almo and Galaesus, appear (7.573-75) calling upon Latinus to witness what has happened. All demand war (7.577-85) and Latinus ultimately yields (7.586-600).

In Act 3 the Council of the Latins takes place, Diomedes, approached by the Latin embassy, refuses aid, claiming that he has learned his lesson well. Compromise is suggested and supported by Latinus. Drances, however, always envious and full of hatred, attacks Turnus, maligning him as the cause of all their troubles and suggests that Turnus and Aeneas should fight it out. Latinus, blaming himself for not having

obeyed the oracle and accepted Aeneas as son-in-law, departs (11.469-72) while the enemy are at the gate.

In Act 4 Turnus, aware that the time for personal confrontation is at hand tells Latinus that a treaty must be made with Aeneas to that effect. Amata, weeping, clings to Turnus, trying to dissuade him. She is determined to die if Turnus is killed (12.1-60). Finally, in Act 5, after sacrifice and vows to abide by the truce, Juturna causes the truce to be broken. War is now the only way of resolving the conflict.

Saunders shows that the story of Latinus has all the ingredients of Greek tragedy, with a great affinity to Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus. For instance, Amata feeling that all is lost, is reported to have killed herself in desperation, as Jocasta does in Oedipus Tyrannus. Each queen is infelix (12.598, O.T.1236). out of her mind with furor (12.601, O.T.1241), entangled in multi-relationships. Offstage a similar tragedy occurs: Saces relates that Amata has hanged herself (nodum informis leti trabe nectit ab alta 12.603), whereas Sophocles' Oedipus sees Jocasta's death for himself. (O.T. 1263-64). Recognition and reversal of fortune, applauded by Aristotle (Poetics 11. 1452 a)¹¹ when coincident, as in Oedipus Tyrannus, are likewise present in Vergil's tragic situation, for Latinus hears of Amata's ignoble death (12.604 ff.) and simultaneously realizes his change of fortune (coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina 12.610).

Latinus conforms to a tragic hero by Aristotle's definition, "a man who is not eminently good and just, yet whose misfortune is brought about not by vice or depravity, but by some error or frailty. He must be one who is highly renowned and prosperous, a personage like Oedipus, Thyestes, or other illustrious men of such families".¹² Like Oedipus, Latinus' hamartia is hybris, an attempt to circumvent the will of the gods (11.471-72; 12.612-13).

"multa se incusat, qui non acceperit ante
Dardanium Aeneam generumque asciverit ultro"

If the plot is the first principle, and character holds second place (Aristotle, Poet.6,14), Vergil's characters — rather like Euripides' — appear to be somewhat vague and contradictory. Latinus, for example, veers from majestic to pitiable; Amata likewise changes from autocratic to suicidal. The poet's artistry, his curiosity as to why people act in certain ways, give the characters credibility. Ernest Hemingway once wrote: "If a writer...knows enough about what he is writing, he may omit things that he knows, and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as though the writer had stated them".¹³ Such I feel was the procedure to which both Euripides and Vergil adhered. They give a certain amount of basic information, then leave it to the reader to interpret within his or her own experience. Thus Amata, an Agave in her Bacchic frenzy and ultimate destruction of her family, a Jocasta in the intimation of an incestuous relationship with Turnus (miro...amore.8.57), to a Roman contemporary audience might well suggest Cleopatra VII, famous likewise

for her connection with snakes (Aen.7.350 ff. cf 8.697; Horace Odes 1.37.26; Propertius 3.11.53; Plutarch. Ant.86.3) and with Dionysiac worship (Aen.8.696; Hor.Odes 1.37.14), the regina who, together with Antony, was the object of a virulent anti-Egyptian propaganda campaign on the part of Octavian.

Mystery cults, such as those of Cybele (Aen.11.768 ff.), Isis (Tib.1.3.23-4) and Bacchus (Tib.11.2.3-4) flourished in Rome in the first century B.C. The cult of Bacchus or Dionysus, with whom Alexander the Great identified himself, was of paramount importance to his descendants. Certainly the Ptolemies were notable devotees. Auletes, Cleopatra's father, claimed to be the New Dionysus, an incarnation of the god, the Roman Bacchus or Liber, and such associations were of the highest significance to Cleopatra who emulated her father's policies.¹⁴ Dionysus had been assimilated with the great Egyptian god Osiris from the time of Herodotus onwards, a point emphasised by wall-paintings in a recently excavated house in Pompeii "where a room is devoted to the depiction of Dionysus-Osiris in both his Greek and Egyptian forms".¹⁵ In Italy, as early as 186 B.C., there had been a strong reaction to the Bacchic cult (Livy 39.8-18), for with its inverted values of escape from worldly ties and rewards in the after-life, "its rituals, terrors and mystical glories of Initiation" as seen in the enigmatic wall-paintings of the Villa of Mysteries at Pompeii,¹⁶ it posed a threat to order (nihil nefas ducere, hanc summam inter eos religionem

esse. Livy 39.13.11),¹⁷ and was banned. The cult was later resuscitated by Julius Caesar according to Servius (Ecl. 5.29 ff.), and Antony's subsequent identification with Dionysus is recorded by Plutarch (Ant.24.3).

Marriages between brother and sister were frowned upon in the Hellenistic world and considered to be un-Greek,¹⁸ although Attic law did permit marriages between children of the same father but not of the same mother. By keeping marriage within the family the Ptolemies followed Egyptian tradition rather than Macedonian. Not only was Cleopatra the goddess Isis to her half-brothers who in their turn were each Osiris, she was also joint ruler and consort with her father Auletes, thereby echoing the pattern implied by Amata's addressing her husband Latinus as "father" (O genitor.7.360). The practice was uncommon in the ancient world, although apparently practised within the aristocratic Clodian family (Plutarch, Lucullus 34; Cicero, Pro Milone 73), so hated by Cicero.

Drances, the opponent of Turnus in the debate, has been seen by many scholars as a reflection of Cicero. Highet, for instance, with reference to Olivier, discusses Vergil's treatment of Cicero, whom the poet never names directly. Olivier writes "Virgile détestait Cicéron" and goes on to compare Drances' parentage, so contemptuously referred to by Vergil (...genus huic materna superbum/ nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat Aen. 11.340-41), with Plutarch's account of Cicero, whose his mother Helvia was of noble birth, although nothing tolerable (μέτριον) was known of the

father (Plutarch, Cicero 1.1.). Some associated Cicero's father with a fuller's shop, others traced his ancestry back to a Volscian king. Cicero was certainly despised as a social-climbing novus homo. The invective of Q. Fufius Calenus in Dio Cassius (46.1.28), containing contemporary material, attacks his birth and upbringing as ignoble — although Cicero's similar allegations regarding Mark Antony, especially in Philippics 2.1. (cum omnes te recordarentur libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes Q. Fadi, libertini homines, fuisse) serves notice that detraction was normal procedure in the event of personal hostility. Olivier extracts the charge that Cicero committed incest with his daughter, Tullia, — of whom, one may add he was extraordinarily fond (e.g. Ad Att. 4.2.7; Ad Fam. 14.11; Plutarch, Cicero 41.2-5) and points to Cicero as the paradigmatic sinner punished in hell: thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos (Aen.6.623).¹⁹ Bizarre though this may sound, one must before dismissing it, consider that to his foes Cicero was a translation of the Ptolemaic title Lathyrus ("Chick Pea")²⁰ therefore indicating royal ties possibly with the Ptolemies, and that in addition — in Ptolemaic fashion — he regarded his daughter Tullia as "divine", to the point where he contemplated building a fanum to her after her death (Ad Att. 12.18.1, 23.3, 35, 36.1, 38a 2, 41.4).²¹

Anderson considers that the Romans would have found the Turnus-Drances situation so credible as to detect here "allusions to familiar Roman politicians",²² whereas Burke with reference to Schrevel (Drances imago est

Ciceronis) notices that Turnebus' Adversaria contains the earliest reference to a Cicero-Drances identification:²³ "Quod autem de Drance Maro scribit, Ciceronis personae mirifice convenit, ut non dubitem in eius imagine Drances personae a Marone institutam esse et inductam". The identification is also noted by Cooper, Conington-Nettleship and Quinn.²⁴ If one takes into account the opinions of these scholars and the fact that Vergil must have known Cicero in contemporary Roman life, one may be justified in viewing Drances' verbal assault on Turnus in the Aeneid as coloured by Cicero's vitriolic attack on Antony in the Philippics.

The Philippics, the title adopted by Cicero for the speeches attacking Mark Antony, named after the speeches of Demosthenes, the fourth century Athenian statesman, against Philip II of Macedon, were delivered at Rome between September 2nd 44 B.C. and April 21st 43 B.C., except for the second Philippic which was sent to Atticus (Ad Att. 15.13.1) to be withheld and published at his discretion. On November 5th 44 B.C. Cicero replied to certain amendments suggested by Atticus (Ad Att. 16.11.1) and that is all the information which the correspondence of Cicero to Atticus yields on the subject of the speeches. As Shackleton Bailey remarks, with reference to the second Philippic, "after Antony's departure for Cisalpine Gaul at the end of November, there would be no reason for further delay". The speech therefore is a pamphlet in oratorical form supposed to have been delivered in Antony's presence on September 19th 44 B.C.²⁵ In it Cicero

attacks Antony for his reputation with women (2.11.20, 48, 69 cf Aen. 11.369) and abuses Antony as a coward (cui bello...propter timiditatem defuisti 2.71; virum illa res quaerebat 2.34): Drances charges Turnus in similar fashion (fugae fidens Aen. 11.351). Antony is a man of violence (violentus et furens 2.68, amentissimus 2.42), a characteristic of Turnus (nec te ullius violentia vincat, Aen.11.354, exarsit ...violentia 11.376). Cicero is prepared to be a martyr for the commonwealth (quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim 2.118 ian etiam optanda mors est 2.119), a theme employed also by the cowardly Drances (dicam equidem, licet arma mihi mortemque minetur 11.348), and scornfully rejected by Turnus (11.409). Thus the second Philippic, seething with hatred and malice would seem to have a great deal in common with the invective of the epic politician (infensus, quem gloria Turni/ obliqua invidia stimulisque agitabat amaris consiliis habitus non futilis auctor/seditione potens...11.336-339).

Dates too would seem to cause no problem. We also know that Brutus (Cic. Ad M.Brutum 2.3.4) at Dyrrachium had already read the fifth and tenth Philippics by April 1st 43 B.C. (delivered by Cicero in January and February 43 B.C.), "hence it appears that the speeches were edited by Cicero and circulated soon after delivery. Quotations show that at least three more Philippics existed in antiquity".²⁶ Octavian, so intimate with Cicero (Ad Att. 14.12.2; 15-12.2; 16.9; 16.11.6; 16.15.3) upon whose help he

had depended, might have been expected to have taken steps to eliminate propaganda material which might directly detract from his own glory.

Scholars are agreed that Cicero's letters were in circulation at least by the middle of the first century A.D.,²⁷ but exactly when is still in dispute.²⁸ Clarke, however, notes that Livy, a contemporary of Cicero, in a letter addressed to his son, laid down that one should first read Cicero and Demosthenes, and then such writers as were closest to them (Quintilian 10.1.39),²⁹ thereby pointing to an earlier date for publication. Finally, if one takes into consideration the fact that Cicero's hexameters, with their coincidence of accent and ictus at the end of the line, made possible the perfection of Vergil's (cf Aratus 954-5, Georg.1.375-6; Aratus 62, Georg. 3.78),³⁰ that not only Plato's Myth of Er (Polit.10.12) but also Cicero's Dream of Scipio (De Rep. 6) influenced Vergil's treatment of the Underworld (Aen.6),³¹ and that Vergil, an intimate of Maecenas' literary circle, would certainly have had total access to all available material, one may, I think, with justification conclude that Vergil was in a better position than most to know Cicero the man and to make use of Cicero's writings and correspondence. That there was a hostility towards Cicero on Vergil's part may also be assumed, for Vergil makes Drances the aggressor of Turnus whereas in the second Philippic speech Cicero was answering Antony's charges. Vergil's vilification of Drances' character actually enhances

Turnus' and would imply that Vergil at any rate was unimpressed by the oratorical skills of the pater patriae.

Vergil's narrative accents four speeches at the council of Latins summoned by King Latinus (11.225-444): the first (11.243-296), the report of Venulus, envoy to Diomedes; the second (11.301-35) the peace-plan suggested by Lepidus; the third (11.343-75), the invective of Drances against Turnus; the fourth (11.378-444), the reply of Turnus. The mood of the first two speeches is quiet, compromising and factual; that of the latter two is violent and highly rhetorical.

Venulus, leader of the envoys to Diomedes, king of Argypira (8.9 ff; 11.246), later renamed Arpi (Pliny 3.11.16),³² is referred to earlier (mittitur...Diomedis ad urbem 8.9); his mission was to find out Aeneas' intentions once he had landed in Italy; the Latin here is somewhat ambiguous for, as R. D. Williams notes, ipsi (8.16) could apply equally to Diomedes or Aeneas.³³

mittitur et magni Venulus Diomedis ad urbem
qui petat auxilium, et Latio consistere Teucros,
advectum Aenean classi victosque penatis
inferre et fatis regem se dicere posci,
edoceat, multasque viro se adiungere gentis
Dardanio et late Latio increbescere nomen:
quid struat his coeptis, quem, si fortuna sequatur,
eventum pugnae cupiat, manifestius ipsi
quam Turno regi aut regi apparere Latino (8.9-17)

In view of Venus' urging her son's case against Turnus in the council of the gods with the threat that a second Diomedes would bring war

upon them (...iterum in Teneros Actolis surgit ab Arpis/Tydides...10.28-29), one wonders from the context whether perhaps Venus may be speaking metaphorically of the absent Aeneas (Aeneas ignarus abest.10.25). The gifts and pleas of the embassy clearly had no effect upon Diomedes: the Latins were to seek help elsewhere or come to terms with Aeneas (11.230). Latinus, ally of Turnus (8.17) dejectedly (haud laeta fronte 11.238) now asks the returning legates to give full reports to the assembly on their talks with Diomedes (responsa ordine cuncta sua 11.241).

1. THE REPORT OF VENULUS (11.243-96)

Diomedes in his Apulian kingdom (Gargani,,Iapygis agris 11.247), once the embassy had presented their gifts and given their reason for the interview, calmly (placido...ore 11.251) replied. Opening with a civil exordium (11.252 ff.), he addresses them as fortunatae and Saturnian (11.252), antiqui Ausonii (11.253) inhabitants of a realm which had recently experienced a golden age³⁴ and were thus totally inexperienced in waging war, a field in which he was an expert (11.252 ff.). Here, once again, one senses an ambiguity as to whether his courteous greeting concealed a threat. The reference to a quiet, idyllic life hidden away as an exile in Latium where Saturnus had trained his subjects (exsul 8.320; latuisset 8.323), recalls the words of another exiled king — Evander — who like

Saturn was driven pulsum (8.333) from his patria (8.333) and had settled in Rome, while in his peaceful reign (placida...in pace negebat 8.325), Saturn had much in common with Latinus (urbes...longa placidas in pace negebat 7.46). Diomedes follows up his opening remarks by a narratio (11.255-77) summing up the nostoi of the Greek heroes' returning from Troy. He begins with the storm and shipwreck of the returning Greeks off Euboea (11.260) — of which Caphereus is a promontory — caused by Minerva (triste Minervae sidus 11.259-60) because of the violation of her priestess Cassandra by Ajax, son of Oileus, an incident which would seem to find a parallel in Dido's curse to Aeneas after similar treatment (cf 11.259; 4.625-29). A catalogue of Greek disasters after the siege of Troy follows (11.262-68) — implying that Diomedes had learned the war-lesson well: Menelaus, son of Atreus was driven to Egypt where Proteus was king (Homer. Od. 4.351 ff.; Eurip. Helen. passim); Ulysses — after years of wandering — finally reached Sicily, the land of the Cyclops (Homer. Od. 9.105 ff.; Aen. 3.613 ff.); Neoptolemus (Pyrrhus) died after a brief rule in Epirus (Aen. 11.264; 3.333 ff.); Idomeneus of Crete was driven out of his kingdom (11.265: 3.121 ff.) and founded — in the manner of Diomedes — a state in Calabria;³⁵ the Locrians, followers of Ajax, son of Oileus, were exiles in North Africa after their leader's death. Finally the list of disasters following upon impious war is brought to an impressive conclusion with a reference to Agamemnon king of the Greeks (Od. 1.35 ff.; 4.512 ff.; 11.405 ff.; 24.96-7), betrayed and

slain on his return home by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus. The gods then grudged Diomedes a return home to his wife and the land of his childhood (coniugium optatum et pulchram Calydonia ...11. 270). The nostoi culminate in the transformation of Diomedes' socii into tearful-sounding river-birds (11.271-73), an incident treated by Lycophron (Alexandra 597) and by Ovid (Met. 14.497 ff.), who likewise tells the story of Venulus' embassy to Diomedes, saying that the birds were similar to swans and that they were metamorphised because of an injury to a goddess (cf. Veneris violavi vulnere dextram 11.277: quicumque sacrum violarit vulnere corpus (Camillae) 11.591. Thus this catalogue of disasters would seem to function very much in the manner of the frieze in the temple of Juno (1.453 ff.) the Shield of Aeneas (8.630 ff.), and the visit to the Underworld (6.268 ff.), mirroring past events and presaging future ones, containing as it does certain common themes encountered in the aforementioned places, such as city-founding (cf Aeneas' mandate to rule by Anchises 6.851-53; Octavian enthroned in the temple of Apollo 8.714 ff.); impious killing (cf Fufetius 8.642; Achilles' mutilation of Hector 1.483); insidious slaughter of an Amazon goddess (cf Penthesilea, daughter of Mars, loved and wounded by Achilles 1.491; dia Camilla, wounded by Arruns 11.591, an Hippolyte or a Penthesilea 11.661-2; Cleopatra, Isis to the Egyptians, brought down by gemini angues 8.697), and betrayal by a wife (cf the Apolline Sibyl 6.525).

Diomedes concludes his reply by suggesting that Aeneas receive the gift of the embassy to whose skill in battle he could bear witness (11.281-284), comparing Aeneas more than favourably to Hector, in an obvious exaggeration (hic pietate prior 11.292), since Aeneas had not distinguished himself particularly in the Iliad (5.200 ff.). Diomedes finishes his address with the proposal that the Latins make peace with Aeneas or expect a resolution by arms (11.292-93).

Thus, in composing Diomedes's reply, Vergil has drawn extensively upon Homer, recalling Odysseus' description to Alcinous king of the Phaeacians of his encounter with the Cyclopes (Od.9.105 ff.), Menelaus' wanderings after Troy (Od.3.300 ff.; 4.81-85), and Odysseus' talk with Agamemnon in the Underworld (Od.11.404 ff.), whereas from Greek tragedy, Diomedes' speech recalls the tribulations suffered beneath Troy's battlements (Aesch.Agam.563-4), and Agamemnon's failure to secure an end to his life in sweet tranquillity (Aesch.Agam.919-20), owing to his betrayal by a wife in the interests of her paramour (Aesch.Agam. 1403-5).

2. THE PROPOSAL OF LATINUS (11.301-35)

Hardly had the sound of conflicting opinion (varius ...fremor 11.296-97) passed along the ranks of Latinus' fellow-men (Ausonides 11.297)- fremor applicable to the simile of the sea (11.297-99) recalling

another simile in which the king of the Latins had withstood public clamour (7.586-590), as well as sounds of disagreement and discussion in the senate (patres...fremunt. Livy 6.6.17), as would appear to be the case here - than Latinus, a controlling figure, a princeps senatus, began to speak having first prayed to the gods (11.301). His speech covers four salient factors: a) their opponents are invincible (11.305-6); b) Diomedes is not amenable to suggestions of compromise, favouring as he does the cause of Aeneas: it is now a case of each man for himself (11.309); c) the kingdom is shattered (11.310); d) no particular person is to blame (11.312). A pair of alternative proposals follow, clearly marked by si (11.323) and sin (11.324), suggesting the making of a treaty with Aeneas and the Trojans and the allotment of land upon which to settle (11.322-24) or if they prefer to migrate to another land, an offer to build them the necessary ships (11.324-29). Meanwhile an embassy from the foremost of the Latins should with gifts assure Aeneas of his acceptance as a claimant to regal power (11.330-334). For the present they must discuss how best to recuperate their shattered fortunes (11.335).

In this speech within the context of contemporary Roman society, Latinus would have much in common with Q. Fufius Calenus - who assisted Clodius as tribune in 61 B.C., supported Caesar as praetor in 59 B.C., serving under him in Gaul and in Greece, transferred support to Antony against Cicero, and who, after the dictator's death, in 43 B.C. urged Antony to withdraw from Transalpine Gaul, the province of Brutus, not to advance

within two hundred miles of Rome and to submit to the authority of the Senate. Thereby Fufius was at loggerheads with Cicero who was against such an embassy of compromise in what he considered to be "a just and holy war"³⁶. In his continuous bombardment of the Senate on behalf of Octavius, Cicero's behaviour is highly evocative of Drances.

In describing Drances, Vergil uses direct characterization (11.336-41), a technique employed by Homer only for the obnoxious Thersites (Iliad 2.211 ff.), with whom Drances forms a strong parallel, possibly implying a desire for identification on Vergil's part.³⁷

Vergil's Drances is senior (11.122) in contrast with Turnus, the person to whom Drances' bitter hostility is directed, who is a iuuenis³⁸ (semper odiis et crimine/infensus iuveni Turno 11.122-23). Drances is anxious for an alliance with Aeneas whom he flatters excessively (o fama, ingentior armis 11.124). Since Drances' hatred is always directed against Turnus (11.123,220-1; 336,343-75), one suspects that his function in the epic is principally concerned with the Rutulian prince.³⁹ In his introduction to Drances (11.336-42), Vergil gives an elaborate description of the political opportunist: not only is he hostile to Turnus (infensus 11.123,236), he is also jealous of his gloria (Drances...quem gloria Turni/obliqua invidia stimulisque agitabat amaris 11.336-7); he is an even more expert orator than Turnus (lingua melior 11.338), an experienced strategist (consiliis habitus non futilis auctor 11.339) and skilful in revolutionary tactics (seditione potens

11.340). Unlike Turnus, a nobilis of Mycenaean origin (7.371-72), a descendant of the gods (10.76), Drances has a less distinguished background, being noble on his mother's side but of questionable origins on his father's side (genus huic materna superbum/nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat 11.340-41): thus Vergil implies that his hostility to Turnus was not merely motivated by jealousy and opportunism, but also by a bitter feeling of inferiority. At this point Drances sets upon adding fuel to the already existing fire (his onerat dictis atque aggerat iras 11.342), and on behalf of Aeneas now makes a skilful, complicated speech, whose complexity corresponds to the political situation; two rivals, Aeneas and Turnus, with totally different characters and policies, were competing with each other in an attempt to divide authority between themselves; Latinus was attempting to act as a counterpoise. Clever strategy would thus demand the rule of "divide and separate". Accordingly Drances makes a double speech, addressed to begin with to Latinus, then to Turnus, a speech of "scintillating and unscrupulous rhetoric",⁴⁰ for although he urges peace and what would appear to be the right course, his calculating malice succeeds only in directing sympathy towards Turnus. As Gordon Williams writes: "The contradiction between Drances' sensible proposals and his thoroughly unpleasant character (he pursues an unremitting vendetta against Turnus) serves to undercut the sympathy of his moderate views and compels some sympathy for the downright singlemindedness of Turnus".⁴¹

3. THE SPEECH OF DRANCES (11.343-75)

The exordium of Drances, after a typically rhetorical opening alleging that he alone has the courage to speak out (11.343-4), praises Latinus' wisdom directly (11.343-5), then effectively attacks Turnus, withholding his name until 11.362-3, at which point he refers to him with great dramatic effect. This use of dramatic suspension is frequent in Vergil: he employs it, for instance (a) in Aeneid 1.251, when Venus declares that the Trojan ships have been wrecked unius ab iram when the reader knows already to whom Venus refers, as Juno was earlier specified (Iunonis ab iram 1.4), and (b) when Dido, on her death-bed, instead of referring to Aeneas, uses a circumlocution (Laomedontae periuria gentis 4.542; Dardanus 4.662).

Drances next blames Turnus for intimidating the people (11.346) and for being responsible for the recent disaster (11.347-50); he then, twisting the truth (cf gloria Turni 11.336), accuses him of running away from the battle-field (dum Troia temptat/castra fugere fidens et caelum territat armis 11.350-1), allowing himself a limitless exercise in histrionics, heightened by alliteration of t, c, and f. The accusation is in fact unjust, for it was Juno who spirited away an unwilling Turnus (10.645) whereas his other escape was completed only after inflicting great losses in the Trojan camp (9.815 ff.).

A dual proposition follows next (11.352 ff.): the first part is addressed to Latinus in highly flattering terms (optime regum 11.353), accepting his suggestion yet with the smooth inclusion of one more, added in a manner calculated to put Latinus on the defensive against a possible charge of cowardice (nec te ullius violentia vincat 11.354) and to characterize the threatener by using the noun violentia, a word associated only with Turnus in the Aeneid (11.376; 12.9,45). By employing phrases such as egregio genero and dignis hymenaeis (11.355), Drances skilfully implies that Aeneas as son-in-law would be superior in rank and achievement to Turnus.

Next, by associating everyone as victim of a terrorizing process, Drances, with rhetorical exaggeration, directly challenges Turnus (obtestamur; veniam oremus 11..358) offering him a choice of two courses: either to waive his claim to a royal marriage thereby showing pity towards his countrymen and a desire for peace (11.357-67) or to fight Aeneas in single combat (11.365-75). The honestum proposition is subtly interwoven with emotive vocabulary, such as miseros cives (11.360), supplex venio (11.365), miserere tuorum (11.365), pone animos et pulsus abi (11.366), implying that it is only Turnus who is at fault. The absence of a peroration and the ending of Drances' speech in a broken line, would suggest that Turnus took the bait and interrupted in fury.

4. THE REPLY OF TURNUS (11.378-444)

Turnus' reply, although forceful and passionate, is anything but incoherent. Heinze points out its rhetorical structure, in the emphatic and contemptuous dismissal of Drances and the wish to concentrate on the task in hand (nunc ad te et tua magna, pater, consulta revertor 11.4100, and in the triple arrangement of the proposals (si 11.411; sin. 11.419; quod si 11.434),⁴² Highet, however, views it as an example of fine logic.⁴³

Highet shows that, like that of Drances, Turnus' speech is a combination of two speeches, with two purposes, two different addresses and two different structural plans. The intentions of Turnus are (a) to defend himself against a charge of cowardice and (b) to persuade the Council of Latins that war should be prosecuted with himself as a leader.

With characteristic violentia, Turnus begins with a rebuttal addressed to Drances: there is no exordium whatsoever. He spontaneously refutes the charge of cowardice, pointing out that Drances is ever free with words (larga quidem semper, Drance, tibi copia fandi 11.378 ff.) whereas he, Turnus, whenever the situation requires it, is a man of action, thus effectively putting Drances in his place:

...quid cessas? an tibi Mavors
ventosa in lingua pedibusque fugacibus istis
semper erit? (11.388-90).

Secondly Turnus refutes any suggestion of defeat (pulsus ego? 11.391. cf pulsus abi 11.366) or desire for the extinction of Evander's house

(11.394-5); he describes Drances as foedissime (11.392), an epithet reserved for mischief – making Fama (4.195) and for the Harpies (3.216,244), and briefly touches upon his victories over Bitias and Pandarus (9.70 ff.,722) and his escape in spite of the odds against him into the river (9.815 ff.).

Thirdly Turnus replies to Drances' assertion nulla salus bello (11.362) with a question (nulla salus bello? (11.399). Only a madman (demens 11.399) would speak so disparagingly of Latin potential. The hostile Trojans have already been conquered twice (once by Hercules and once by the Greeks. Aen.2.642-3; 8.290-91): they can therefore be conquered a third time. Turnus effectively ends this part of his speech with an adynaton about the river Aufidus flowing backwards, pursued by the Adriatic (11.403-5 cf Ecl.1.59-63), in order to illustrate the reversal of the natural order in Greeks, such as Achilles' and Diomedes, fearing hostile arms.

Lastly (11.406-9) Turnus refutes any charge of vengeful behaviour as suggested by Drances (11.346,348.354,357) with utter contempt:

numquam animam talem dextra hic (absiste moveri)
amittes: habitet tecum et sit pectore in isto (11.408-9).

Thus by his masterful way of handling the speeches of Drances and Turnus, by cleverly picking up and dealing in reply with points raised by the antagonists, Vergil has shown himself to be an expert at forensic oratory in the manner of the Greek tragedians of fifth century Athens (cf Soph.Antigone 639-80; 683-723; Eurip.Alcestis 280-325; 328-68).

In the second half of his speech, Turnus respectfully addresses Latinus as pater, a senatorial title (11.410) used similarly by Drances (11.356). With regard to his proposals — made after only one defeat — Turnus in an exaggerated manner scoffingly suggests they should either plead for peace (oremus pacem et dextras tendamus inertes 11.414), or else they should begin to think positively. Why should they think in terms of failure at the outset (in limine primo 11.423?). In a series of "impressively phrased commomplaces"⁴⁴ evoking Ennius on the fickleness of fortune,⁴⁵ Turnus reminds Latinus that in spite of Diomedes' refusal to co-operate (11.292 ff.), there are others who will such as Messapus, Tolumnius and Camilla (11.429-33).⁴⁶

In conclusion, Turnus (11.434-45) states a readiness to enter into single combat with Aeneas (ibo 11.438). With a simple, natural dignity he reflects the devotio of primitive Italian warriors, such as the Decii (Livy 10.28), who made their self-sacrifice part of a ritual act, and concludes by taking up Aeneas' challenge. For good or ill it is for Turnus to meet the challenge and it has nothing whatsoever to do with Drances (11.443-44).

With regard to the last two speeches, we may sum up as follows: Drances' speech is the more calculating and experienced, his purpose being to stir up passions (11.342), a purpose which he attained with regard to Turnus. Turnus' reply at this early stage in the war would seem to show that he is still master of the situation despite extreme provocation by

Drances. The debate, however, is brought to an abrupt end by the news of Aeneas' advance towards the city.

Various Homeric parallels may be noted in these speeches. As touched upon earlier the reader will immediately note the similarity between Thersites (Homer, Iliad.2.211 ff.) and Drances, although Thersites' attack on Agamemnon is that of a babbling clown (Iliad 2.225-42) rather than that of a shrewd politician. Thersites, for instance, attacks Agamemnon to his face; Drances is far more subtle, for he does not even address Turnus by name to begin with. Rather he counts upon his opponent's violent temper to do part of the work for him (exarsit...violentia Turni 11.376). Pro-Achilles (II.2.41), Thersites charges Agamemnon with greed and with allowing his men to do all the work (II.2.225 ff.). Drances similarly charges Turnus with poor leadership and cowardice (11.351.366 ff.). Both Thersites and Drances enhance their opponents by contrast, Thersites testifying to the dignity and majesty of Agamemnon, Drances' ignobility and envy arousing pity and support for Turnus. Thersites is less dangerous however: he is merely rash ($\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi$ Iliad.2.214) a laughing stock for the Argives ($\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{o}\iota\omicron\nu$ II.2.215), ugly ($\alpha\acute{\iota}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ II.2.216), bandy ($\phi\omicron\lambda\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$ II. 2.217), lame ($\chi\omega\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ II.2.217), with rounded shoulders and a sugar-loaf shaped head on which only a few hairs sprouted (II.2.219). Despite his support of Achilles, Thersites was hated by both Achilles and Odysseus (Iliad 2.220). Briseis, a royal bride (II.2.240) was the reason for

Achilles' wrath against Agamemnon. Drances, likewise, makes a royal maiden the cause of dissension between Aeneas and Turnus (11.371-3). Thersites calls upon the Achaeans to abandon the Trojan war (II.2.235-40): Drances makes a similar exaggerated request for peace at the expense of a leader's reputation (11.362-65).

Turnus resembles Agamemnon once more in claiming that there are others to help him, just as Agamemnon boasts that there are others who treat him with respect (Aen.11.428-31; cf.Iliad 1.173-5).

Knauer notes a correspondance with events preceding and following Antenor's speech in Iliad 7.⁴⁷ Here single combat is suggested for Hector (II.7.37 ff.) with Menelaus wishing to meet the challenge (II.7.96 ff.), whereas Paris rejects Antenor's sensible proposal for peace, refusing to give up Helen (II.7.348 ff.).

Conington-Nettleship on the other hand (ad 11,336), suggests that Drances is a compound of a more respectable Thersites with the eloquence of Polydamas (11.388 Cf.II. 18.252) and agrees that Hector, noted for his skill in battle (II.18.252) reflects Turnus.⁴⁸

Burke likewise notes the two speeches of Polydamus as models for the speech of Drances. In the first (II.12.211-29) the man of words tries to dissuade the man of action from attacking the Achaean ships; in the second (II.18.254-83), Polydamus advises a cautious retreat to Troy rather than risk an encounter with Achilles outside the city-gates,⁴⁹ although since wise

counsel was clearly not Drances' intention as much as goading Turnus into a dangerous situation and because it was Latinus who tried a reasoned approach, I feel unconvinced about a Drances-Polydamus identification. However, I do think it to be significant that Turnus, in the above-mentioned examples, should reflect Agamemnon and Hector, whereas Octavian is equated with the enemy Achilles, with Paris in his desire to keep Helen, and with Menelaus. This would seem to imply a skilful and subtle use of variatio on Vergil's part. Vergil's very deprecation of Drances (11.836-42) would seem in my opinion to argue against respectability and would cast him in the role of a Thersites.

In view of the fact that Vergil, like Euripides and Sophocles, employs characterisation by name (e.g. Alcestis the "strong one"; Deianira, the "man-slayer": cf Ucalegon "the uncaring" 2.312, Metabus "the one who crossed over" 11.540), it may be possible to argue that Drances is derived from $\delta\rho\alpha\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\{\epsilon\iota\nu$, one of the meanings of which in rhetoric is to argue so that the opponent is unwarily led to an adverse conclusion. Drances here would appear to be a strong proponent of both Aristotle's definition of rhetoric (the art of seeing elements in any situation which could be used for persuasive argument. Rhet. 1.14; 2-1) as well as Cicero's (oratoris officium est dicere ad persuadendum accommodare. de Or. 31,138), thereby evoking the expertise of fourth century Athens as well as that of Rome in the late Republic. Clarke writes: "Let us say then that rhetoric is the art of

persuasion...the art of speaking so as to cause a particular effect...something studied and taught systematically, as rhetoric undoubtedly was in the time of Vergil" ⁵⁰. Vergil's disavowal of Rome's supremacy in oratory (alii...orabant causas melius) 6.849), his satirical portrait of the orator Drances (11.335 ff.), as well as the fact that Epicureans, including Vergil in his earlier years, were unimpressed by rhetoric, might well imply that the poet though an expert in the art himself — as the speeches of Drances and Turnus (11.336 ff.) and of Venus and Juno (10.17 ff.) show — was averse to the sophistic use of rhetoric after Cicero. Whereas the aim of rhetoric under the Republic was utilitarian, from Cicero's time onwards it was concerned primarily with controversiae (debates on fictitious themes aimed at highlighting the rhetor's virtuosity) and with entertaining one's audience.⁵¹

Clarke illustrates Vergil's expertise by showing Aeneid 6.872-4 to contain examples of synecdoche, apostrophe, prosopopeia and ἐκφώνησις,⁵² by his use of quotable sententiae (e.g. varium et mutabile semper femina 4.569; 4.323-4) of insinuatio (the method whereby one's case is made acceptable to an unsympathetic audience (e.g. the speech of Sinon 2.77 ff. and the debate scene with its mixture of argument and misrepresentation, personal abuse and emotive appeals 11.336 ff.), concluding that the speeches in Aeneid 11," recall senatorial debates of the Ciceronian period... Indeed ...when Turnus says sed non implenda est curia verbis (11.380), we seem to

be present in the Senate House".⁵³ Clarke also notes Vergil's expert use of inventio in Dido's successive list of arguments and appeals on learning of Aeneas' intention to desert her (4.305 ff.) and finally concludes his list with examples of epideictic oratory (the oratory of panegyric and ceremonial occasions, such as the funeral oration for Marcellus 6.868 ff.), and epanaphora (repetition of a word near the beginning of a phrase, e.g. sic oculos,sic ille manus,sic ora ferebat 3.490).⁵⁴

Thus whereas Vergil had all the lumina dicendi at his finger-tips, he appears to have used them mainly for an emotional effect, Cicero, on the other hand, classifies fifteen ways of arousing indignation and sixteen of arousing pity (de Inventione 1.100 ff.)⁵⁵. Integrity would therefore seem to be the keynote with Vergil. Unlike Cicero, he avoids insincerity, and does not exploit the pathetic for ulterior motives in the manner of the professional rhetorician. Highet likewise comes to the conclusion that Vergil, like Plato, mistrusted oratory, for only once does he praise it in the Aeneid (1.148-54), and then only in a limited way. When Neptune, for instance, calms the tempest, Vergil compares the sudden change to the suppression of a riot by a single person, who noted for his rectitude and service to his country, controls the mob (ignobile vulgus) with his words (regit dictis animos) and calms their feelings (pectora mulcet)⁵⁶ Cicero, as Highet notes, passes quickly over τὸ ἠθικόν (moral character) in order to describe τὸ παιητικόν (de Or. 128-133),⁵⁷ two diametrically opposed

approaches. It may be of some significance that whereas Vergil pays tribute to Ennius, his predecessor in Roman national poetry,⁵⁸ he passes over Cicero, his contemporary, the Roman Demosthenes, leaving forensic oratory to the Greeks (alii... orabunt causas melius 6.849); in fact, nowhere, directly at least, does Vergil refer the most out-standing prose-writer and orator of the Roman world. His silence might, therefore, suggest hostility towards Cicero, a hostility possibly accounted for by Vergil's background and connection with Asinius Pollio, who hated Cicero (infestissimus fama Ciceronis Sen. Suas 6.24). Although an enthusiastic supporter of Octavian, the emperor's attitude towards Cicero was somewhat enigmatic, for when Augustus came upon one of the Imperial family guiltily reading Cicero, the child tried to hide the book, but was reassured by Augustus with the words: *λόγιος ἀνὴρ, ὦ παῖ, λόγιος καὶ φιλόπατρις* (Plut. Cicero 49.3). If one takes into consideration the fact that Horace too, never mentions Cicero's name, one has the impression that this was a sensitive subject. Whether through hostility or fear of upsetting the Emperor, Vergil may well have referred to the orator by innuendo, for the background of Drances — quite apart from his oratorical skills and character — coincides neatly with that of Cicero, who was born of a noble mother, Helvia, and had a father who practised a trade. (Plut. Cicero. 1. cf Aen. 11.341-2). In his hatred of Antony Cicero openly boasted of wanting to show up his misdeeds (quam facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur Phil. 2.43 cf det

libertatem fandi...Aen.11.346), and was extremely conscious of being able to exploit Antony's uncontrollable temper (violentus et furens Phil. 2.68, fax.Phil.2.48 cf violentia Aen.11.354). Cicero endeavoured to make Antony the cause of civil war tu,tu, inquam, M..Antoni,...causam belli contra patriam inferendi dedisti. Phil.2.53.54.55.70 passim cf quid miseros totiens in aperta pericula civis/proicis...? Aen. 11.360-61), yet rhetorically he claimed to favour peace (et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris Phil. 2.113. cf nulla salus bello Aen.11.362, supplex venio, miserere tuorum Aen.11.365), and blamed a woman (or women) as being at the core of the problem (e.g. Volumnia Cytheris — the Lycoris of Gallus — Phil. 2.20,58,62; Cytheris divorced 2.69; Hippias 2.62,63; Fulvia 2.11.48,77,93,95, 113,115 cf Aen.11.369,371).

To sum up: Cicero would seem to have a great deal in common with Drances. The content of Drances' speech corresponds largely to the second Philippic speech, supposed to have been delivered in Antony's presence on September 19th 44 B.C., but probably delayed till later. How much later, there is no way of knowing, but it is worth noting I feel, that a major battle had already been fought against no inconsiderable opponents in Bitias and Pandarus (11.396-7) from whom Turnus after wreaking havoc had escaped with difficulty (11.396-98 Cf.9.672 ff.). This recalls in contemporary terms the escape of Antony in similar circumstances after the battle of Mutina in April 43 B.C. Since we have no definite date for the

delivery of the second Philippic, and since Vergil is at pains to show that Drances was the aggressor rather than the victim of the verbal attack, in allegorical terms, we may well be dealing with a situation that led to the shadowy peace-plan favoured by Lepidus, pontifex maximus, governor of Transalpine Gaul and friend of Antony,⁵⁹ for the vilification of Drances at this point enhances the character of Turnus.

The never-to-be resolved debate of the Latins is abruptly brought to a halt by news that Aeneas and his allies are marching from the Tiber to the city. One immediately realizes that Drances must have been privy to this since he had earlier offered Aeneas his help (11.124-131). The poet compares the shock expressed by angry shouts, tears and whispers on the part of the Latins (11.451-54) in a double simile to the discordant cries of flocks of birds who have settled in a tall grove or to swans whose harsh notes fill the Padusa's⁶⁰ stream teeming with fish (11.456-59). The reference to birds recalls the portenta of Diomedes' erstwhile allies (socii amissi 11.272) with grim warning as well as the contingent of king Messapus, described in a double simile also as swans (7.699-701) and strong-voiced birds (7.705) rather than aeratae acies (11.703 Cf. florentis aere catervae of Camilla 7.804). Ahl has also noticed swan connections in the names of Turnus and his sister-helper Juturna (Varro L.L. 5.71), linked as they are to the Etruscan turan (swan);⁶¹ Dido too is an olor (Ovid. Her.7.2). This would suggest that Messapus and king Latinus, Turnus, Camilla and Dido are all

poetically connected, and the dire outcome of their narratives ominously predicted, since swans sing only before their deaths. Moreover Turnus' connection with Agamemnon is once more implicit since the king of Argos' contingents resemble birds and swans that wheel around the Cayster's streams (Iliad 2.459 ff.).

Meanwhile Turnus, with a stinging taunt to the council to extol the blessings of peace while the enemy takes control of the kingdom (11.460-61), in characteristic fashion is galvanised into action, instructing Volusus (11.463) to order the Volscian and Rutulian companies to arm, and Messapus (11.464 Cf. 11.429 where he is linked with Tolumnius) and Coras — with his brother i.e. Catillus (cum fratre 11.465 cf gemini fratres... Catillusque acerque Coras 7.672) — to deploy the cavalry across the plain (11.465): one detachment of cavalry will take over the city, the other will attack with Turnus according to his directions (11.466-67).

At this point it may be useful to look at the commanders' names. Messapus, a Greek, a descendant of Neptune (Neptunia proles) 7.671), ancestor of Ennius — according to Servius — of whose death nothing is known,⁶² eponymous hero of the Messapians, clearly, at this point at least, a supporter of Turnus (11.429) — is associated with felix Tolumnius the augur (11.429; 12.258,460), felix being a frequent epithet of successful fighters.⁶³ Tolumnius interpreted the omen of Jupiter's eagle who seized the swan in its ruthless grip (cyncum excellentem pedibus rapit improbus

12.250; cf description of Camilla, a columba seized by Apollo's sacer accipiter 11.721-24),⁶⁴ and decided to renew the battle in spite of arrangements being made for an encounter involving Aeneas and Turnus (12. 258,460). Tolumnius is seen to be in a highly authoritative position, in common with that of Mark Antony, who had been made augur by Julius Caesar in 50 B.C.

Of Turnus' supporters (11.463-67) little is known:

(1) Volusus, so R. D. Williams tells us,⁶⁵ "is not heard of elsewhere" in the Aeneid. Catullus refers to an historian of the same name (annales Volusi Cat.36.1). Simpson considers Volusius to be a pseudonym for Tanusius Geminus of Padua,⁶⁶ a contemporary of Julius Caesar, who knew about Caesar's most secret designs (Suet. Div.Jul. 9.2). In Poem 97, Catullus refers to Volusius again, as a "weighty" Paduan historian (97.7) as a friend and as an Antimachus⁶⁷ who deserves to be applauded (97.9-10). If we pursue the Antimachean analogy, we can conclude that he was a Greek, a writer of epic, a Centaur and a descendant of Aegyptus. Cicero gives us a little more information to the effect that a Volusius defended a Catilius (Ad.Fam. 5.10.2), while the biographer was the tutor of M. Antony (Ant.Pio 12). In view of Turnus' frequent association with Mark Antony, I feel that we are justified in considering Volusius (so well-known to Lesbia.Cat.36), a close associate of Catullus, as an historian from Padua (piscosove amne Padusae 11.457), a person of consequence with Antony, with a partly Greek

(i.e. hybrid) background. Moreover, the Cicero reference shows that Catilius was certainly no friend of his in 44 B.C. (Ad Fam. 5.10,1), for the great orator reveals Catilius to be crudelissimus, a man who murdered and rough-handled many Roman citizens, and devastated whole districts (Ad Fam. 5.10.1-2), i.e. someone who would appear to have much in common with Cicero's arch enemy Antony.

(2) Coras-whom Turnus instructs to deploy troops over the plains-is first mentioned in Vergil together with a brother Catillus in the catalogue of Italian forces(7.670).Here we are told that they are Centaurs, hybrid creatures, (enemies of Heracles who eventually defeated them, criticized by Horace for their love of wine in a poem with marked Catullian influences (Odes 1.18.8).⁶⁸ Nisbet and Hubbard note that the foundation of Tibur was attributed either to Catillus (Odes 1.18.2) or to three brothers, Tiburnus (Tiburtus in Aeneid 7.671), Coras, and Catillus, but that the legends were sometimes accommodated to each other by the assumption of two Catilli,the three brothers then becoming the son of Catillus I.⁶⁹

Vergil refers to Catillus and Coras as gemi (7.670) which can mean not only "twins" but "two" (Cic.Div.2.58,120) or "double-formed" (Ovid. Met. 2.630; 6,126). He refers to them on four occasions; in Aeneid 7.672, when Catillus and Coras are Argiva iuventus; in Aeneid 11.604 where they are directly connected with the virgo Camilla (et cum fratre Coras et virginis ala Camilla); in the aristeia of Camilla where Catillus throws down

Iollas (11.640); and in Aeneid 11.465 (et cum fratre Coras latis diffundite campis). In the last example it may be of interest to note that Turnus does not address Catillus directly: he merely issues orders for Coras to carry out with his brother's co-operation. It may well be that Catillus equates with Turnus himself, or Mark Antony, and Coras with his brother Lucius. Cicero gives us some information about the two Antonii: they are men of consequence, reeking of wine, lustful, monstrous beasts (Phil.13.4,10), i.e. they have all the characteristics of centaurs (gemini fratres...Catillusque acerque Coras...ceu duo...descendunt Centauri 7.670.76), hybrid monsters, hostile to Hercules and depicted on Roman funeral reliefs as having joined the Dionysiac thiasus (Cf.Nonnus. Dion.14.49, 149, 193). Lucius Antonius was of special importance, having shared magistracies with Julius Caesar (Phil. 7.16; Suet.Div.Jul.41) and worked closely with his brother (Phil.5.25). For Cicero there could never be peace with the Antonii (Phil. 13.2) although he does reluctantly admit that Lucius had a certain sanctitas (Phil. 13.4) and was loved by the Roman people (Phil.13.26). In support of this latter point, Appian idealizes Lucius Antonius as a man of peace, presenting him "as a champion of Libertas against military despotism, of the consular power against the Triumvirate" (B.C.5,19,74; 43,179 ff.; 54.226 ff.).⁷⁰

In the sudden panic that ensues as a result of Aeneas' unexpected arrival — an arrival which would remind a contemporary of Octavian's occupation of Rome on August 19th 43 B.C. — Latinus, forced to abandon

his plan for peace, and deeply disturbed at this sad eventuality, with characteristic dithering now blames himself for not having accepted Aeneas as a son-in-law (11.468-72). At this point the bride to be has not been specified.

Meanwhile the picture switches from the panic of the council to the Queen (the title by which Cleopatra was known Cic. Ad. Att.154.4.), who together with the beautiful blushing Lavinia (12.65 ff.;605-6), ambiguously designated by the poet as causa mali tanti (11.480) processes to the temple. Amata vividly recalls Theano, priestess of Antenor the counsellor, who likewise offers Athene a gift and prays that the goddess will destroy the spear of Diomedes (Iliad 6.297 ff.) It is of interest at this point to note that Amata prays for the destruction of the weapon of the Phrygii praedonis (11.484), a description already employed in reference to Aeneas (7.362; 10.774), thereby paralleling Aeneas and Diomedes in a bold example of variatio.

At this point one feels that some "editing" has been done since Turnus has made no definite commitment to single combat. He merely arms himself and in characteristic fashion rushes headlong into battle (furens 11.486), clearly not the indifferent hero who hands over the role of commander-in-chief to Camilla on a later occasion (11.502 ff.). The iamque (11.487) might well be transitional, signalling a change of subject consistent



38. The cista Pasinati, a bronze toilet box cover, from Praeneste.
Ca. 200–175 B.C. London, British Museum.

Latinus, at center, wears the garb of Jupiter; to the left, victorious Aeneas grasps his hand (cf. A. 12. 161 ff.), and the slain Turnus is carried away; to the right, Lavinia, gesturing towards Aeneas, with Amata and Allecto (?); in the foreground, Tiber and two water deities, Numicus and mourning Juturna.

Alexander G. McKay. Vergil's Italy.
New York Graphic Society Ltd. 1970.
Fig. 38

with the character of a challenger, especially as the Homeric passage on which this section is obviously based (Iliad 6.503 ff.) concentrates on the arming of Paris, who, as earlier noted, has much in common with Aeneas. Moreover, armour has throughout the Aeneid been primarily associated with Aeneas (8.620 ff.; 12.430-1) as well as with Chloerus, Camilla's assailant (11.768 ff.). Both Aeneas and Chloerus are Phrygian in their descriptions: telum Phrygiis...praedonis (cf Aeneas 11.485; 7.362; 10.774); Chloerus is Phrygiis...in armis (11.769). Both sets of armour shine with gold and bronze and with scaly-textured repoussé ornamentation (11.487-88 cf 11.769-71). The subject arming himself for battle here has golden greaves; so has Aeneas (11.488 cf 12.430-1). The fighter here is aureus (11.490): Camilla's assailant is Chloerus (11.768). Turnus, on the other hand, like Hector (Homer Iliad 6.342,359,369), is noted merely for his striking helmet and carries only a light shield (7.785,789). In fact he is very conscious of his disadvantage in armour (non armis mihi Volcani...9. 148). Vergil continues to press the Paris parallel even further in his simile of the stallion eagerly breaking free from all restraints (11.492-7), a description of Paris taken directly from Homer (Iliad 6.506-11).

The insertion of the arming passage rouses the feeling that editing has taken place in a deliberate attempt to confuse the reader, for not only is the continuity of the passage broken but there is also a consequent change in the characters of the two protagonists. Turnus, far from being the

oppressor, gains in his behaviour as the victim of calculating usurpers as a hero with everything to gain and nothing to lose, consistent with Drances' scenes (11.110-38; 336-375). Since Drances resembles Cicero in so many details, it is not surprising that Aeneas has much in common with the princeps, for in contemporary terms it was Octavian who was sculpted with an elaborately engraved thorax (cf 11.487) and bare head,⁷¹ an image evocative of the warrior in Aeneid II.489 (tempora nudus adhuc) and of Herminius, brought down by Catillus (Catillus ...deiecit Herminium nudo cui vertice fulva caesaries nudique umeri...11.640-43). Aeneas' caesaries, like that of Caesar Augustus, was his crowning glory:

...namque ipsa decoram
caesariem nato genitrix lumenque inventae
purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores (1.589-91)

Suetonius (Div. Aug 79) describes the emperor's handsome appearance and his outstanding features, which correspond completely with the Vergilian description of Aeneas: Oculos habuit claros ac nitidos quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris...capillum leviter inflexum et subflavium. Both descriptions reflect Odyssey 6.229 ff. where Athene beautifies the shipwrecked Odysseus in preparation for his meeting with Nausicaa.

Vergil would thus seem to be weaving a careful and consistent pattern of parallels, based on literature — especially Homer — and contemporary history. In Homeric terms, Aeneas is connected with

Diomedes, Achilles, Odysseus, Menelaus and Paris; Turnus has many of the characteristics associated with Agamemnon and Hector. Latinus would seem to be a cautious Polydamus and Antenor (also a founder of Patavium, implying, as in the Geminus identity and the Padusa reference (11.451), a possible connection with Livy's Padua (Livy 1.1). Drances recalls the arrogant upstart Thersites. In contemporary Vergilian society, Aeneas is highly suggestive of Octavian, Turnus, of Mark Antony, Latinus, of Lepidus, Scribonius Libo, and the historian Volusus, whereas Drances would appear to be Cicero. In this complex system of variatio it now remains to assess Camilla's role (11.498-835) and to decide whether this tortuous design is part of a deliberate pattern and therefore allegorical or mere coincidence.

Chapter 3

CAMILLA AND THE CAMILLIAD (498-867)

As Aeneas prepares to attack the city of the Latins, Camilla bellatrix comes to the aid of Turnus. She plans to engage the enemy cavalry in battle, while Turnus is to wait in ambush for Aeneas (11.498- 531).

Meanwhile Diana, foreseeing an assault upon Camilla's person, instructs the nymph Opis to take retributive vengeance upon the assailant whoever he may be (11.532-96). A cavalry engagement ensues, followed by Camilla's aristeia (11.597-724). As Tarchon rallies his Etruscans, Arruns skilfully shadows Camilla, waiting for an opportunity to strike (11.725-67), an opportunity which Camilla eventually provides by her fatal attraction for the golden trappings and finery of Chloereus, a priest of Cybele. Taken unawares, she becomes Arruns' victim while he is later attacked by Opis. The stricken Camilla's thoughts are for Turnus: her concern is for continued resistance to the Trojans (11.768-868).

The Camilla episode is variously described as an $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\phi\rho\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ or as an $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. Wendell Clausen classifies it as an ekphrasis, "a description for literary purposes of an imaginary work of art", aligning it with the frieze in the temple of Carthage (Iliacas exordine pugnas 1.456),

the Shield of Aeneas (pugnataque in ordine bella 8.629), the armour of Turnus, and the description of Camilla (7.783 ff.). The ekphrasis is based on literary antecedents in Homer, such as the Shield of Achilles (Iliad 18.478-608), the shepherd's carved drinking-cup in Theocritus 1.27-56), the mantle of Jason in Apollonius Rhodius, 1.721-67, the golden flower basket in Moschus, Europa 37-61, and the marriage-bed coverlet of Peleus and Thetis in Catullus 64.50-264.¹ C. J. Fordyce however claims that an epyllion has no ancient authority and that Athenaeus once applied the description to a poem of Homer. He states furthermore that Ausonius used the term merely as a synonym for a short poem.² R. D. Williams temporizes, describing the Camilla episode as 'of epyllion type', comparable with the story of Hercules and Cacus (8.184-279).³

An epyllion-if one grants its existence as an independent literary form-would appear to consist of the following characteristics:-

- 1) It is a short descriptive narrative poem, originally developed by the Alexandrians as a reaction to long involved epics, and eagerly adopted by the Neoterics; its smaller scale is obtained by careful selection of episodes.
- 2) The heroine rather than the hero is emphasized.
- 3) It is dramatic in form containing at least one long speech.
- 4) It treats of heroes who are human, or of deities behaving in a human way .

- 5) It normally contains a digression -a story within a story — the main subject often being the frame for this digression.
- 6) It employs learned language with Alexandrian devices, such as apostrophe, allusion and epic vocabulary.

Theocritus, Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius made important contributions to the development of the so-called epyllion. Theocritus contributed the picturesque scene, Callimachus — with his Hecale — contributed the plot and digression; Euphorion focussed attention on the heroine, whereas the Erotica Pathemata of Parthenius and the exquisite descriptions of Apollonius would have contributed to the romantic aspect.⁴

The Neoterics, however, introduced the miniature epic into Latin: Cinna with his Zmyrna, Calvus with Io and Cornificius with Glaucus. But the two most commonly accepted epyllia are the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis (Catullus 64), and the Aristaeus episode of Vergil (Geo.4.315-558); the story of Orpheus and Eurydice forms a further digression. In the latter epyllion, all requisite ingredients are present: elliptical narrative, language employing allusion and proper names, romance (involving magic tragedy, and death), and emphasis on the heroine, Eurydice, who also gives a short dramatic speech. If one recognizes the Aristaeus episode as an epyllion, the Camilla story might equally well qualify for this classification.

The frame is provided by the battle between Aeneas and Turnus. The heroine Camilla, emphasising the tragedy of war, is vividly and

sympathetically developed; the tragedy of human weakness is stressed (amor habendi in Camilla's case) as the cause of her downfall (11.78). Diana, who would appear to find her counterpart in Proteus in the Aristaeus episode, delivers a long narrative speech on her votary's upbringing culminating in a lament on Camilla's inevitable fate. Apart from this address to Opis (11.535-94) there is a dramatic address to Ornytus (11.686-89) in the digression provided by Camilla's aristeia, a prayer by Arruns to Apollo (11.785-793) and a short dramatic farewell to Acca (the iamque vale being common both to Georgics 4.497 and to Aeneid 11.827). Proper names too are frequently employed. Colourful and swift-moving, the Camilla episode is distinguished sharply from its framework of gloom and ambush, the vibrant Camilla forming a sharp contrast with the depersonalized Turnus.

Camilla makes her first appearance in Aeneid 7.803-17, as the thirteenth and final warrior in the catalogue of Italian Heroes (7.641-817). Vergil would seem to connect her to Turnus in her position at the rear of the cavalcade, forming a coda as it were, thereby anticipating in idealized terminology their individual aristeiai in books 11 and 12 respectively.

Although the catalogue was an established part of epic machinery from the time of Homer (Iliad 2.484 ff.), Vergil's catalogues seem to differ from Homer's. Vergil widely employs variatio, as noted by Macrobius, thereby avoiding repetition (Macr.5.15.14 ff).⁵ Horsfall points out that the

functional elements in Vergil's catalogues (descent, home-town, accoutrements of leader, character, arms and habitations of the contingent) are never all found in a single section, and the order of their arrangements is varied, unlike the catalogues of Homer where the elements (leader, followers, habitations, ships) are restricted⁶ but nevertheless stated with a divina simplicitas (Macrobius 5.15.6).

Camilla, who follows upon Turnus and his Rutulians bringing the cavalcade to a close (hos super 7.803), provides this striking pageant with "a glorious blaze of visual beauty", her position as last in the catalogue recalling that of Penthesilea in the last scene of the frieze in Juno's temple (1.490 ff.). Both maidens are closely related characters, Penthesilea symbolizing the end of the old war, and Camilla the beginning of the new.⁷ Servius (ad. 7.803) points out also that the Amazons were the last to come to the aid of the Trojans, as an explanation of Camilla's position.

Vergil effectively portrays Camilla in the catalogue as a queen-shepherdess. Ethereal and swift of foot she is nevertheless a bellatrix. So light and fleet is she that she is capable of skimming lightly over a field of grain without crushing it and over the waves of the sea without touching their crests (7.807-11). The reader is immediately conscious of her likeness to Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons depicted on the walls of Juno's temple at Carthage (Aen. 1. 490 ff.), and to Thracian Harpalyce- or Venus in disguise-seeking her "sister" who is clad in similar hunting attire:

...vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
 Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.
 (Aen.1.316 ff.).

There seems to be nothing in Camilla which supports the suggestion that Vergil was modelling her according to any local Volscian tradition.⁸ Vergil might well have created her from his own invention, adorned with stories from Greek mythology, such as those of Penthesilea, Harpalyce and perhaps Atalanta, and possibly modelled on some well-known heroine in contemporary history or folk-lore. In Aeneid 11.661-2, Vergil compares Camilla directly with Penthesilea and Harpalyce as bellatrices (1.493; 7.805). In the catalogue the poet also mentions her origins (Volsca de gente 7.803), and spectacular attire (7.814-17).

Born of the Volscian race, Camilla is a representative of one of Rome's most persistent enemies. The borders of the territory of the Volsci had changed from time to time, but Vergil, as Horsfall points out, in two respects is anachronistic, for the Volsci only descended into the coastal plain in the 6th century B.C. (Livy 2.33-4) and their Etruscan connection mentioned by Vergil (11.581 ff.) must be later than this descent.⁹ It was Camillus who in 389 B.C. finally brought the warlike tribe under Roman yoke and by the end of the Samnite wars the Volscians' identity as an Italic tribe had weakened. After almost 200 years of conflict the independent Volsci had become part of the Roman domain. Despite the fact that they were allowed self-administration under Rome as the head of the Italian

Confederation and were granted local autonomy, as a sovereign tribe they had long faded into history until Vergil's glorification of this tribe brought them back to life.¹⁰ Thus Vergil's choice of the Volsci as a context for his heroine Camilla is somewhat strange and difficult to understand, and brings to mind other enigmatical associations from a historical point of view such as Mezentius and Lausus,¹¹ the former being pre-Romulus, the latter implying the age of Amuleius, as well references to Tarchon, king of the Etruscans, since Tarquinia in the age of Aeneas had not yet been founded and is never mentioned in the poem.¹² Historical accuracy would therefore seem to be of secondary importance to Vergil with regard to Aeneas' story, and so supports a theory of variatio.

Camilla in her first appearance in the catalogue is the antithesis of the Augustan matrona, idealized as devoted to home and spinning (8.805-6). Camilla is a virgo accustomed to a man's world, accustomed to battle (sed proelia virgo/dura pati 7.806-7), a potential Penthesilea. As a runner par excellence (cursuque pedum praevertere ventos 7.807, she resembles Nisus when he leaps forward at the start of the foot-race (5.319, 9.386): she is a "super" Atalanta. Speed, a typical trait of huntresses, served not only against wild beasts, but also in escaping pursuing lovers.¹³ It was an asset which would help Camilla in battle (pernicibus ignea plantis 11.718; velocem Camilla 11.760).¹⁴ In depicting the swiftness of the Amazon bellatrix, Vergil exalts her to a magical, enchanted world, similar to that of

Umbro (7.750-60) who precedes her in the catalogue. Umbro, able to charm snakes and heal snake-bites evokes the supernatural, a theme also reinforced by the idea of witch-craft associated with the Marsi (7.758). The supernatural atmosphere emphasized even more in the Catalogue by the reference to Virbius-Hippolytus (7.762) — an identification claimed by the poet Ovid (Ille ego sum Met.15-500 ff.) — and associated with resurrection owing to the love of the goddess Diana of Nemi and herbs of Asclepius (Paeoniis revocatum herbis et amore Dianae 7.769), reaches a climax in the catalogue by the description of Turnus' arms, the Chimaera (a hybrid beast consisting of parts of a lion, a goat and a dragon) on his helmet and the emblem of Io (maiden turned into a heifer) on his shield (7.785-92).

Camilla's position bringing up the rear of the catalogue is one of importance,¹⁵ but so far Vergil stresses only her squadrons of cavalry (agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas 7.804; 11.433), her regal appearance (regius...honus 7.814-15),¹⁶ and her hair which is held in place by a golden clip (7.815-16), reminders of the dress of the huntress Diana and of Dido (4.136-9). Camilla's arms are simple: a Lycian quiver, betokening skill in the hunt (Herod.7.77.92 cf Diana I. 500-1; Opus 11.859) and a shepherd's myrtle staff — also part of Pharaonic ceremonial insignia¹⁷ — a pastoral crook except for the blade (prae fixa cuspis (7.817) set in its head. Here with one brief stroke Vergil has shattered his Arcadian paradise

and transferred it into a theatre for war. Camilla and her squadrons also recall Amata and her Bacchantes:

deseruere domos, ventis dant colla comasque;
ast aliae tremulis ululatibus aethere complent
pampineasque gerunt incinctae pellibus hastas
(7.394-6).

Thus Camilla at her first appearance in Aeneid 7 has been on the whole portrayed in a regal, delicate, romantic light. Yet negative and supernatural undertones have also been hinted at by her connections with Umbro, Virbius and Turnus in the catalogue, as well as by her unfortunate resemblance to the infelices reginae Dido and Amata. As Camilla is caught up in a web of mysterious associations, religious laws and strange taboos, the reader is attuned for a tragic end.

Camilla, warrior-queen of the Volsci, accentuates her Amazonian aspect by her courage in her first appearance in Book 11, an appearance marked by the alliteration of "c" (obvia cui Volscorum acie comitante Camilla/ occurrit...11.498-9). Stating that all depends on a trust in one's own strength (sui merito si qua est fiducia forti 11.502 cf haud tamen audaci Turno fiducia cesset 10.276), aligning her bravura and self-confidence with that of Turnus, she decisively takes control of the crisis by offering to meet the enemy in battle. At the same time she instructs Turnus, who is somewhat dejected at this point, to defend the city walls (11.506), a strategy employed by Caesar in Gaul, as Arrighoni points out.¹⁸ In her boldness in facing men in battle, Vergil's Penthesilea rendered in the temple paintings

at Carthage shines through (1.493), for Penthesilea like Camilla is a bellatrix. Aggressive, courageous, imperious Camilla nevertheless first seeks Turnus' approval. Although a queen she nevertheless dismounts before Turnus, and is disposed to subject herself to his evaluation of her warring capacity. Thereby Camilla exhibits a modesty — as Arrigoni states — but not a false modesty. Vergil's aim would therefore seem to spare Camilla a charge of *hybris*, an accusation which anti-Amazonian Attic propaganda levelled against Amazons and particularly against Penthesilea.¹⁹

Turnus, who has clearly met his match, gazes, impressed by this horrenda virgo (11.507), whose epithet evokes monstrous associations.²⁰ Admiringly he addresses her o decus Italiae virgo 11.508), and deputizes her to share in the leadership, revealing at the same time his plan to ambush Aeneas (11.515-16). Camilla would now seem to be the more active dux (cf Dido 1.364), beautiful, forceful, "Spencer's Britomart" (Faerie Queen 3.2.6),²¹ for Turnus' fiducia seemed to have deserted him completely after Juno had spirited him away from the battlefield earlier (10.633-60). Her subordinates are to be Messapus (7.791; 11.429,518) and the Tiburtine bands (7.671, 11.519), described earlier as having the Centaurs, Catillus and Coras, Argiva iuventus (7.672), as commanders. At this point Camilla and Turnus would seem to have reversed roles.

Sinister undertones occur once more in the poet's description of the glen where the ambush is intended to take place (11.522-29), a valley,

accomoda fraudi/armorumque dolis (11.522-23), hemmed in on both sides by slopes, dark with dense undergrowth, a description which would conjure up to the Roman mind a host of associations, such as the Forest of Avernus through which Aeneas had to pass (6.139), the dark entangling woods which became a prison for Nisus and Euryalus (silva fuit late dumis atque ilice nigra/horrída, quam densi complebant undique sentes 9.381-82), a treacherous spot which defied Euryalus' attempts to escape Volcens (fraude loci et noctis 9.397). The valley of Amsanctus, entrance to the underworld to which the fury Allecto returns (7.565 ff.), is represented in identical terms as densis frondibus atrum urget utrimque latus. The treacherous nature of the area might evoke also certain historical references, such as the engagement between Carsuleius, Pansa and the Martian legion with Antony's two legions, whom Antony placed in ambush at Mutina where the road was narrow (Appian 3.9.66) as well as Livy's description of the spot where the Romans were ambushed in 321 B.C. at the Caudine Forks: ...intrandae primae angustiae sunt, et aut eadem qua te insinuaveris retro via repetenda aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum actionem impeditioremque evadendum (Livy 9.2.6).

The reader is then transported from this treacherous setting of nature to Olympian brightness (11.532-96), where the goddess Diana in a narrative speech to the nymph Opis acquaints the reader with Camilla's far from normal upbringing and with her own amor for the maiden (cara mihi

ante alias 11.537). The importance of Diana's words²² is emphasised by ornamental and somewhat archaic usage compellabat et...voces ore dabat (11.534-35), verbal expressions used by Plautus and Ennius²³ and employed by Vergil to introduce speeches in a solemn and formulaic way (Cf.4.304; 6.499). Diana's speech makes Camilla the focal point of attention, providing at the same time a highly refreshing, if superficial, pastoral prelude to the savage battle-scenes which follow. Despite the peace and tranquillity of Camilla's rustic surroundings, there are suggestions of latent violence, exemplified by the deceptive shepherd's crook (7.817). The desire to hunt and kill is ever present, implicit in Camilla's upbringing in trackless glades(in dumis interque horrentia lustra 11.570), her nourishment consisting of the food of wild beasts (hic (Metabus) natam...armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino/nutribat teneris immulgens ubera labris 11.570-72). Weapons of war are her toys (iaculo palmas armavit acuto/spiculaque ex umero parvae suspendit et arcum 11.574-75), a tiger's skin her dress(tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent 11.577).

Metabus, furiously pursued by his former subjects, the Privernates (pulsus ab invidiam regno virisque superbas 11.539) elicits the reader's sympathy on account of his devotion to his young daughter and his isolation from his kingdom. Escaping from the Privernates by a spectacular plunge into the waters of the Amasenus, he saves the life of his infant daughter by wrapping her in a protective covering of bark which he tied to his spear

(11.552 ff.), and after praying to the goddess Diana and promising to make the child her acolyte (famula) in return for her favour, he hurled his spear with its cork-wrapped bundle attached across the swollen waters. (cf Camillus who used cork to cross the Tiber.Plut.Cam.25). Metabus'prayer (11. 557-60), promising a favour in return for a favour recalls the prayer of Nisus to Luna (9.404-9) who likewise prays for her intercession by recalling past favours performed by his father Hyrtacus to Diana (Artemis) as goddess of the hunt. Since immersion and river-crossings are symbolic of change, Camilla, bound to the spear was symbolically associated with Diana and warfare for life (correpta...militia 11.584-5).

At this point we should pause and examine in greater detail the principals in the action, Metabus, Diana, Opis, and Camilla.

METABUS

Although Vergil had many themes at his disposal it seems possible that his discovery of Metabus of Privernum in Cato's Origines triggered the idea of a savage, primitive father and daughter combination.²⁴ Vergil is totally aware in this section of the Aeneid of "the Etruscan control and exploitation of Latium and Campania",²⁵ implicit in his use of Metabus of Privernum, Mezentius of Caere and Tarchon. The name Metabus is elsewhere attested as that by which foreigners called Metapontus, the

Greek leader associated with the founding of Metapontum (Servius ad.11.540).²⁶ Williams connects Metabus with the hero Messapus (At Messapus, equum domitor, Neptunia proles/ quem neque fas igni cuiquam nec sternere ferro 7.691-2), referred to, along with Ufens and Mezentius, as one of the ductores primi (8.6), and conjectures that his importance is the result of Vergil's anxiety to pay tribute to his predecessor Ennius, who — so Servius states — was descended from the eponymous hero of Southern Italy.²⁷ The poet praises the quality of song among his followers in the catalogue — who are bronze-clad, chant marching songs, move rhythmically, and are compared to swans (7.698-705), an epic description based on that of the Greek army of Agamemnon in Homer (Iliad 2.459 ff.).

At the time of Metabus, the Volsci were descending from the spine of Italy towards the Western plain and swamps. Privernum, a city of Latium situated near the foot of the Volscian mountains in the valley of the Amasenus, some forty miles south east of Rome, probably belonged originally to the Volsci. History records three wars between Privernum and Rome—in 358/7, 342/1 and 330/29 B.C — caused by raids on Roman territory, culminating with their admission into Roman citizenship by the consul C. Plautius Decianus in 329. The name Privernum is an Etruscan-type name and may well have been originally a stronghold of the Etruscans to protect their communications with Capua and the South. The Privernates, who were Volscian, spoke a sort of Umbrian, and Metabus might well have been

an Etruscan or representative of Etruscan interests. This would explain his eventual expulsion (pulsus ab invidiam regno 11.539). Servius (ad. 11.567-8) considers Metabus to have been a native of Privernum, hated by the Volsci since they were resentful of Etruscan control. Duke, however, proffers the theory that Metabus was expelled because he may have been a supporter of Mezentius of Caere or of Turnus of Ardea.²⁸ Given the entanglement of local legend, it is not surprising that Vergil at times moulds it somewhat to suit the purposes of his story. Köves-Zulauf, in treating the Metabus-Camilla combination, suggests that Vergil may have had in mind a local saga dealing with a Melanippe — type female, the partner of the water-god, Metabus.²⁹ It may, therefore, be of some significance and lend some credence to William's theory — that Melanippe was the subject of a tragedy by Ennius.³⁰ Finally, Servius, suggests that Metabus may have come from the aorist participle $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ($\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\iota\upsilon\omega$) meaning "he who crossed over", a form of characterisation by name, possibly referring to an exile.

DIANA

Of all Italian deities, Diana³¹ would seem to be one of the most mysterious. As a woodland deity she had three principal shrines — all set in oak forests — at Mount Algidus in the Alban hills, at Mount Tifata, North of Capua and at Aricia in the Alban hills, where she was worshipped as

Diana Nemorensis, the shrine being located on Lake Nemi (7.516), a cult — centre popularly known as Dianae speculum.

Diana, the Italian spirit of woods and groves, was also identified at an early date with the Greek goddess Artemis ($\pi\acute{o}\tau\upsilon\iota\alpha$ $\Theta\eta\rho\omega\nu$ Ἄρτεμις Homer, Iliad 2.47)), the Mistress of Wild Animals, a huntress armed with bow and arrows. Diana also became identified with Luna, the Moon Goddess. She acquired chthonic associations with Hecate as well as the cult-title Trivia, from being worshipped — like Hecate — at cross-roads. Bailey in his discussion of the various aspects of Diana, deduces that she is the Greek Artemis at times, the Moon Goddess Luna or Selene, Trivia-as Apollo's sister-(6.69-70), and Trivia as Hecate.³²

Two lesser deities were also connected with Diana at Nemi, Egeria (7.763), the water-nymph associated with king Numa,³³ and Virbius,³⁴ son of Theseus and Hippolyte, "companion" of the goddess Diana, thrown from his chariot by Poseidon after being charged with having seduced his step-mother Phaedra (Euripides Hippolytus 310 passim). In the later Roman version, however, Diana hid her favourite in the grove of Egeria at Lake Nemi, and restored him to life by the skill of Asclepius and her own love (7.769). Thus in Roman legend he was known as Virbius (vir bis or "twice man" Servius ad 7.762). Horses were thereafter excluded from the grove as being the direct cause of Hippolytus' death. Virbius nevertheless, undaunted, drove his fiery steeds to help Turnus, Camilla and the Latins

(7.761-82). Camilla therefore, in her association with Diana, was entangled in a web of folklore, and mythological tradition.³⁵

OPIS

Throughout Greek and Latin literature nymphs and gods/goddesses were entrusted with divine messages and commands. Zeus, for example, sends Iris to Thetis (Homer Iliad 24.74 ff.), and instructs Mercury (Hermes) to accompany Priam to ransom Hector's body (Iliad 24.334 ff.); Vegaia instructed Arruns of Clusium in Jupiter's decisions; Iris carried Juno's instructions to Turnus (9.5 ff.). In the same way Opis, Triviae custos (11.836) obeys Diana. The description of Opis (ad aetherium pennis aufertur Olympum 11.867) has a marked resemblance to that of Allecto (illa autem attolit stridentis anguibus alas 7.561), as well as to the Etruscan Vanth, the female spirit (Mercury's counterpart) fair to look upon (cf Opis is pulcherrima 11.852), winged, dressed as a huntress depicted in tomb art while accompanying the dead to Proserpina.³⁶

Opis, like Diana, is enigmatic. She is referred to in Georgics 4.343 ff., as a nymph in the train of Diana. Duke considers the name Opis to be derived from εὐόπις ("fair-faced"), which became abbreviated to ὄπις (meaning "vengeance") and finally to ὄψις ("vision", or "sight").³⁷ He

concludes that Opis might possibly be a) one of the Hyperborean maidens, b) Artemis herself, or c) a nymph associated with her.³⁸

Other interpretations refer to Ops or Opis, a fertility goddess and wife of Saturn; Köves-Zulauf's "vision" theory stresses the fact that Opis, divine avenger of the virgin Camilla, differs from her fellow votary in as much as she sees without being seen.³⁹ Her concern to avenge Camilla's death might even suggest a very close relationship to the victim.

CAMILLA

Scholars are extremely puzzled about the name of Vergil's heroine, Camilla,

...(Metabus) matrisque vocavit
nomine Casmillae mutata parte Camillam
(11.542-43).

Does the name represent a tradition or was it an invention on the poet's part? Servius (11.543) considers it to have been the feminine form of Camillus and to be Etruscan. It is even possible that Diana's famula was connected with Camillus, national hero of ancient Roman history and conqueror of Veii (c. 396 B.C.). Page considers the name "to give a sense of etymological and antiquarian lore, but its meaning is not clear", and refers to a quotation from Varro (Casmilus nominatur deus quidam administer Dis Magnis L. L. 734), pointing to the possibility of equating Camilla with

famula (11.558).⁴⁰ Bailey suggests that there might have been an older form Casmilla which might have been derived from carmen and suggest a prophetic nymph associated with Diana of Nemi,⁴¹ a theory rejected by Duke.⁴² One must admit, however, that Camilla had many of the characteristics associated with nymphs:- she was connected with water (11.547,562) and trees (11.553,667) she was airy, young and beautiful (7.806 ff.) and mobile (7.803 ff.;11.498,718); yet she could be formidable (11.664 ff.), and dia though she was (11.657), she was not immortal (11.801 ff).⁴³

Consensus of opinion, however, suggests as most likely a derivation from camillus, camilla — a noble child who attended the flamines and flaminicae in the performance of certain sacrificial rites (Servius ad. 11. 543,558; Varro L.L.7.34).⁴⁴ Horsfall, Gransden and Woodrow state that the term Camillus/a probably reached Rome from Etruria, where Camillus was a title of Mercury, signifying praeminister deorum (Servius ad. 11.543-58; Macr. 3.8.6).⁴⁵ As Cadmilus or Casmilus, Mercury was numbered among the Kabeiroi of the Samothracian mysteries, which were of Pelasgian (i.e.Tyrrhenian) origin (Varro L.L. 7.34; Dion.Hal.2.22 ff.). Duke and Köves-Zulauf, however, specify that, if this were the case, camillus/a was improperly used, since in Roman religious ceremonies the camillus/a had to have both parents alive, not be of marriageable age and the natural child — as opposed to the adopted — of a priestly couple who took charge of the sacrifices (ad sacrificia praeministrabat). Both scholars also admit the

possibility of a Semitic origin to the name since in the Near East children were often called "servant of the gods" (Kadmi el). Recently discovered inscriptions at Pyrgi, the major Etruscan port frequented by Punic traders, provide some support for they demonstrate the presence of Canaanites in Etruscan Italy. Hadas, too, mentions that Jewish beliefs were a matter of common knowledge and claims, moreover, that the Aeneid possesses the character of hagiographa.⁴⁶

Vergil does, however, state three points clearly: Camilla's name — with a slight change — was that of her mother; Camilla was an acolyte of Diana; Camilla is an Amazon bellatrix. Vergil, antiquarian that he was, must certainly have been aware of Etruscan and near-Eastern influences in choosing his heroine's name. Yet although Camilla has the nuances of a votary of Diana, she is also very definitely a warrior-queen, equal to Hippolyte and Penthesilea (11.659-63).

In composing such a striking and impressionistic portrait of a warrior-queen, Vergil's sources were undoubtedly many and varied. As noted in his treatment of Evander, Vergil was familiar with the Aethiopsis⁴⁷ as well as with the Iliad, but as Amazon-type females were reputed to inhabit Thrace and Anatolia and were somewhat frowned upon by the ancients, Vergil clearly set out to develop a simpatia for her that would be amenable to the Italian mind.

Harpalyce (1.315-20) is a likely paradigm, daughter of the legendary Harpalycus, king of Thrace. Thracian Harpalyce, like Camilla (11.570-2), was nourished on mare's milk after the overthrow of her father and became a female version of a "robber wolf", trained in the art of hunting, emerging from the forest only to pillage the peasants who eventually caught her in a net and killed her. A mock fight took place annually at her grave to gratify her resentful spirit, which would seem to have had much in common with those of Camilla and Turnus (vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras 11.831; 12.952).

This ominous theme is heightened by the presence of Tulla, one of Camilla's lectae comites (11.655), a woman historically notorious for her impiety and incestuous relations with her brother-in-law (Livy I.46-7).

Another possible influence on Vergil was the story of Atalanta, daughter of Iasus; like Vergil's heroine she had an unusual upbringing. Exposed as a babe on Mount Parthenius in Arcadia, she had been suckled by a she-bear and exposed to hardship somewhat in the manner of Camilla (11.570-72). Atalanta was extremely swift of foot like Camilla (pernicibus ignea plantis/ transit...11.718 ff.)⁴⁸ as well as being a huntress (Cf. Camilla venatrix 11.577). Atalanta, moreover, was associated with the centaurs Hylaeus and Rhoeteus,⁴⁹ whereas Camilla is supported by Catillus and Coras, whose violent, hybrid associations are underlined (ceu duo nubigenae centauri 7.674). Both females were blindly attracted by gold:

Camilla at the sight of Chloereus' gold finery burned femineo praedae et spoliorum...amore (11.782), whereas Atalanta was distracted in her race with Milanion who utilized her feminine psychology in similar terms by dropping three golden apples to distract her during the footrace.

Vergil was also well acquainted with the story of Medea, treated in Pindar's fourth Pythian Ode, the subject of a major tragedy by Euripides, and a figure of great importance in Apollonius of Rhodes' Argonautica (Books 3 and 4). Medea was a priestess of Hecate (Ap. Rhod. Argo.3.842, 915), as were Dido (4.510-11) and Camilla 11.566). Like them (4.512 ff.;7.808 ff.) Medea too had superhuman powers and was well acquainted with magic (ἐξέλε μίτρης φαρμάκων Ap.Rhod.3.1013-14). Köves-Zulauf refers to a Pacuvius fragment and compares Camilla with its description of Medea: caelitum camilla expectata advenis: salve hospita (quae) exsul incerta vagat.⁵⁰ Both were camillae, both exsules (exsilio comes 11.542). In Medea's well-known story, as in Camilla's, the mother has no obvious part, but the father figures predominantly. Both have a romantic attraction that is at the same time unnatural (horrenda 11.507).

There were also various Italian heroines at Vergil's disposal, such as the virgo Cloelia, whose courage was extolled by Porsenna, the Etruscan king. Both Cloelia and Camilla are decora: Camilla is described by Turnus as decus Italiae virgo (11.508), Cloelia is numbered among the feminae quoque ad publica decora excitatae (Livy 2.13.6). Both escaped across

rivers, Camilla across the Amasenus tied to her father's spear (11.547 ff.), Cloelia, from Porsenna across the Tiber (Tiberim tranavit Livy 2.13.6). Camilla headed a troop of Amazonian cavalry (agmen agens equitum 7.804; 11.648 ff.), Cloelia led a band of Amazonian maidens (dux agminis virginum ...Livy 2.13.6).

Camilla also had affinities with the Valeriae ("strong ones"). One Valeria caused the surrender of the Volscian city of Pometia. Like Camilla she also inhabited the Pontine Marsh region and was a monstrous character, a girl who usurped the war-hardened role of men: like Camilla she too as an infans was cast out of a city only to return to a city (miserandae corpus et arma /inspoliata feram tumulo patriaeque reponam 11.593-4). The second Valeria was Valeria Luperca of Faliscan folk-lore, who belonged to the region from which Arruns originated, the territory of the Hirpini (11.787-8). Aggressive like Camilla, she appears on Roman coins armed with a spear, shield and helmet. Köves-Zulauf states that whereas virgins were regularly victimised in Falerii, according to the sagas, the gods interfered when Valeria Luperca was slaughtered and her name was honoured — an example of the special treatment accorded a "strong" maiden who was killed or wounded.⁵¹ Similarly Camilla's body is consecrated (sacrum corpus 11.591). The fact that the two Valeriae appear in the anecdotes of Valerius Maximus might cause their historicity to be doubted, yet Köves-Zulauf refers to Gagé's conclusions about the existence

of an ancient class of armed virgines in central Italy, thereby supporting the Valeria theory. In this category he includes Nerio (Martis), whose anagrammatic name means the "man-like one" (ἀν' ἡ' ρ. cf seu circum Hippolyten seu cum se Martia curru/ Penthesilea refert...11.661-62).⁵²

Vergil's bellatrix is unique. Although one may detect various sources in her composition from mythology, folk-lore and history, Vergil has nevertheless lavished upon his Volscian queen (as upon his Carthaginian queen), the most subtle and varied resources of his art, presenting Camilla's strengths and weaknesses with an admiration tempered by humanitas. His compassionate treatment of Camilla (and of Dido) recalls another queen — Cleopatra — tenderly received into the bosom of sorrowing Nile (maerentem... Nilum 8.711), a dignified queen who having determined to face death became even more fierce as even her enemies admitted:

deliberata morte ferocior,
saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens
privata deduci superbo
non humilis mulier triumpho (Hor.Odes 1.37.29-32)

Had Camilla's devotion to her goddess been of a more restrained nature, she might have continued to live on unmolested. As it was she joined Turnus' standards and went into battle, not only against an Italic protagonist but also — as Diana admitted to Opis — because she could not resist war (vellem haud correpta fuisset/ militia tali conata lacescere Teucros 11.584-5).

Meanwhile Diana (compared in a simile with Dido 1.491-2) charges Opis to kill the queen's assassin, whether he be Trojan or Italian:-

haec cape et ultricem pharetra deprome sagittam:
 hac quicumque sacrum violarit vulnere corpus,
 Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas
 (11.592-92).

Diana is anxious to eliminate the assassin for in her prescience she is highly aware of the fata acerba (11.587) awaiting the warrior-queen. The goddess, modelled upon Zeus who instructs Apollo to pay all proper tribute to Sarpedon son of a god (Iliad 16.667 ff.), nevertheless concludes her instructions to Opis by declaring her intentions to convey the pitiable body unspoiled and shrouded in a mist to the queen's own city for a tomb-burial (11.593-4). Diana's narrative concluded, her nympha — with a remarkable resemblance to the Fury Allecto (illa autem attollit stridentis anguibus alas 7.561) — prepares to do her will:-

dixit at illa levis caeli delapsa per auras
 insonuit nigro circumdata turbine corpus
 (11.595-96).

At this point the cavalry battle intensifies outside Latinus' city, acting as an interlude between the account of Camilla's sylvan upbringing and her aristeia (11.648 ff.). The whole scene is one of restive movement (fremit aequore toto 11.599); the war-horses, cavorting and prancing, are seething for action, yet are nevertheless restrained until the moment for attack is ripe (11.600-1). The imagery of the battle-field, a bristling crop of drawn steel ranging far and wide as far as the eye can see, recalls the

summons to arms in Aeneid 7.526. (horrescit strictis seges ensibus)⁵³ as well as Ennius Annales 393 (horrescit telis exercitus) where examples are modelled on Homer (ἔφριξεν δὲ γάλη φθισίμβροτος ἐρχεῖσσι μακρῆς Iliad 13.339).

Messapus, Catillus, Coras and Camilla head the cavalry squadrons of the Latins (7.65), 691 ff., 803 ff.; 11. 464-65, 517-19, 603-4). The urging of their beasts, the showers of weapons on all sides (11.610-11), all serve to intensify the atmosphere of battle-fever; the shower of weapons (nivis ritu 11.611) reminds the reader of a Homeric simile in Iliad 12.156. This chillingly effective natural image is quickly re-inforced by a second simile (11.624-28), in which the alternations of battle are compared to the ebb and flow of the ocean, also inspired by a Homeric simile (Iliad 11.305 ff.), where the waves roll on impelled by the wind, although the battle theme is not present. Twice the Etruscans prevail, twice the Rutuli. At their third encounter they engage in close combat (11.632), once more recalling Homer (ἐνθα δ' ἀνὴρ ἔλεν ἄνδρα Iliad 15.328).

Heroic opponents of Camilla in the first cavalry encounter include Tyrrhenus (11.686) and a Latin, acer Aconteus (11.612. cf Ovid Her.20,21), where he is the lover of Cydippe). At this point Asilas princeps (11.620), whom the reader has already met in the catalogue of ships, an interpres, skilled in augury (10.175 ff.) present also at the challenge to close combat between Turnus and Aeneas (12.127), is successful in turning the tide of

battle by rallying his squadrons. Other opponents include Orsilochus, a Trojan (11.636) who spun a javelin at Remulus' horse in a cowardly attempt to unseat the rider (quando ipsum horrebat adire 11.636); Catillus (11.640), Camilla's ally (11.465) who threw down Iollas (who recalls the butt of both Damoetas and Menalcas in Ecl. 3.76,79), and Herminius, noted for his golden hair (decoram caesariem nato genetrix...adflarat 1.590) and like Horatius Cocles extolled for his audacia in defending the bridge to prevent the enemy king Porsenna from entering Rome (ipso miraculo audaciae obstupecit hostis Livy 2.10.5).

As before, Camilla bursts dramatically upon the scene (7.803 ff.; 11.498, 648), dealing death all round with characteristic swiftness and energy. Her Amazonian traits are fully emphasised in this passage (11.648-63). Camilla's behaviour (exultat 11.648) suggests rashness, insolence and self-confidence.⁵⁴

For Arrigone, the verb exultat conjures up the vision of Murina, an Amazon in Homer (Il. 2.814), who was ever-moving (multo saltante, πολύς-καρθρος), who died in a mysterious war, and whose tomb (σῆμα) was discovered on the plain outside the walls of Troy. In discussing the epithet πολύσκαρθρος, Arrigone points out that it was somewhat incomprehensible to posterity and sometimes even interpreted as "fighting from a chariot".⁵⁵

One of Camilla's breasts is bared for battle (unum exserta latus pugnae 11.649), for, in Vergil's imagination Camilla corresponds closely to

the picture of Penthesilea in Dido's temple (cf hasta sub exsertam ... perlata papillam 11.803; aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae 1.492). Her mode of dress, which came to be particularly associated with the Amazons both in literature (Sil.2.78 ff.; Stat.Theb. 12.537 ff.) and in art (cf Pliny N.H.33.53), is encountered on the statues of Amazons, preserved in copies, which have been assigned to Polyclitus, Phidias and Cresilas, and were designed for dedication in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.⁵⁶ The breast exposed would seem to be the right, since it is here that Camilla receives her wound; the left was presumably protected by her shield. Woodrow notes however, that sculpture occasionally portrays Amazons with the left breast uncovered, on the grounds that Amazons cut off the right one so as not to interfere with the use of the bow (Strabo. 11.5; Diod.Sic.2.45). She concludes however that this was unlikely to have happened since the burning off of a breast is scarcely aesthetic and since there is no allusion to this practice in classical art or poetry where Amazons are always represented as possessing great beauty.⁵⁷ Arrigone believes that Camilla's right breast is exposed for pathos.⁵⁸

Camilla is pharetrata (11.649), a participial adjective denoting manner of dress, coined perhaps by Vergil on analogy with togatus, hastatus, galeatus, and belonging to military language. The quiver and bow (arcus 11.652; Amazoniam pharetram Aen.5.316) were an intrinsic part of the Amazonian traditional equipment (Pindar Nem.3.38). Camilla is also

armed with spears (hastilia 1.313; 5.557; 11.650; 12.489) and a double-headed battle axe (bipennis 11.651), which first appeared in the fifth century B.C. Amazonian art and later found its way into literature as a regular part of Amazonian equipment (Strabo 11.5.1; Hor.Odes 4.4.20). There was a tradition that Penthesilea herself discovered the weapon (Pliny N.H. 7.201).⁵⁹ Indeed the weapon is mentioned only twice in Homer (Iliad 13.612; 15.711), but in the East it was frequently employed by Carians, Phrygians, Hyrcanians and Persians.⁶⁰

Pharetrata Camilla (11.655) surrounded by chosen companions (circum lectae comites 11.655) strongly evokes the simile of Dido — as Diana (illa pharetram fert umero 1.501; magna iuvenum stipante caterva 1.497). Camilla is ever conspicuous; decus (11.508.657) is a keyword in her characterisation aligning her with deities and heroes.⁶¹ She is a glittering figure in royal scarlet and gold, attended by her Volscian virgines "aflower with bronze" (7.803), recalling the aeratae acies of Messapus (7.703). Yet decus as she is to her allies, she — like Turnus (10.681, 12.641) — is, nevertheless, dedecus (11.789), a dira pestis (11.792) to her assailant Arruns. This combination of opposites serves to underline her ambivalent nature, veering from an ethereal purity to raging blood-lust.

The Volscian queen's companions ululante tumultu (11.662), present a horrifying picture, recalling the deathlike, Hecate-aspect of Diana (nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbem 4.609). The virgo Larina,

Tulla and Tarpeia (11.655-56) — together with Acca (11.820,823,897), a motley crowd, seem to be connected with shadowy underworld powers and with treacherous unnatural characters in Roman history and folk-lore.

Larina may well derive from the town of Larinum near the Adriatic, a town chiefly celebrated for its notorious cases of murder, made famous by Aulus Cluentius who in 76 B.C. charged his step-father Oppianicus and others with attempting to poison him. They were convicted after shameless bribery on all sides, but the case was re-opened in 66 by Oppianicus' son, who charged Cluentius with the murder of the Elder Oppianicus (cf Cloanthus genus unde tibi Romane Cluenti 5.122). In the opinion of Köves-Zulauf, Larina might well be a cryptogram for Acca Larentina, a view which I think probable, for Acca fida ante alias (11.820) is omitted in 11.655-56, when the band is introduced, and it is possible that the diminutive Larina might imply a particular connection between her and Camilla⁶². Larentina (Laurentina) was a shadowy Italian earth goddess, worshipped at the Laurentalia on December 23rd. One of the Di Inferi, she was used as a bogey to frighten children. She was also reputed to have been the mistress of Hercules.⁶³ According to Livy, however, (1.4.6), Acca was a lupa who had been somewhat free with her favours. Here Acca is present at Camilla's wounding and announces it to Turnus.

Tulla brings to mind the daughter of king Servius Tullius. Livy (1.46.5 ff.) tells how Tullia ferox, having disposed of her sister Tullia mitis,

married her sister's husband — Lucius Tarquinius — whom she had seduced, ousted her father from the throne and impiously caused her coachman to drive over her father's prostrate body (Livy 1.48.6). In this way she and Tarquinius Superbus secured the throne. Tulla was therefore an example of violentia, audacia and cupido, rebelling against the natural law, against the role of uxor, soror and filia.

Tarpeia, last of the Italides (11.657) is also designated by Bailey as a shadowy, underground deity, one of the Di Inferi.⁶⁴ According to Varro, Tarpeia was a vestal virgin to placate whose spirit libations were offered annually.⁶⁵ Livy (1.11.6 ff.) tells how Tarpeia, daughter of the commander of the Roman citadel, undertook for gain to betray the citadel to the Sabines. All three comites with their backgrounds of greed, murder, violence and prostitution would appear to be replicas of each other.

Camilla's surrounding warriors, although resembling the Volscian queen in their self-confidence and daring, seem nevertheless strangely at odds with her, for whereas Vergil has been at pains to depict Camilla as beautiful, god-like (dia Camilla 11.657) aggressive yet pure, the warriors surrounding her appear as sinister beings, totally devoid of morals, as passionate, lustful revolutionaries. At first sight they appear to be quite the opposite to the Volscian queen, tortuously deceitful as opposed to Camilla's aggressive naïveté, a trait which the poet seems to emphasise in the Volscian queen's address to the shifty filius Auni:

vane Ligus, frustra que animis elate superbis
nequiquam patrias temptasti lubricus artis (11.715-16).

That Vergil should describe Camilla as dia (11.657) is unusual, for Woodrow shows that it is found only here in Vergil and stands for the Homeric dios (divine, noble), Servius explains the reading dia as "generosa, εὐγενής nam Graecum est", and in this way equates Camilla with epic heroes in the Iliad. There are Ennian overtones present too, for dios was naturally rendered dius in Latin poetry (cf Ann. 55 Ilia dia nepos, Ann. 111 O Romule, Romule die). Thus dius would seem to belong to the archaic language of Roman religion being derived from the same root as deus, divus, divinus, dies and the various forms of the name Jupiter (Diovis, Diespiter, Ζεὺς, Διός). It is of interest to note that dius was also associated with Casmilus for Varro writes: Casmilus nominatur dius quidam administer Dis Magnis (L.L.7.34) The meaning of dius here, Woodrow argues, would seem to be something like "associated with a god", and "from the antiquity of the word and its apparent redundancy in the present context (administer is clarified by Dis Magnis), one may conjecture that it was employed in such connections as a ritual term". Its use in connection with Camilla would therefore appear to be forceful and associated with brilliance, since it was used in antiquity to describe the divine light of the sky (cf Cato R.R. 95.2 sub dio caelo, Lucretius 1.22 dias in luminis oras) and well in keeping with the brilliance of Camilla's attire and accoutrements (cf 7.814 ff., aureus...arcus 11.652), just as decus (11.657), a translation of the Greek ἀγαλα

(cf ΤΈΚΝΟΝ ΔΌΡΩΝ ἰγΆλΰα Aesch.Agam.208) implies not only honour but also physical adornment.⁶⁶ Dia might also in Vergil's contemporary society suggest the Ptolemaic θεά , a designation applied to Macedonian queens.

Vergil's description of the Volscian queen in action (11.650 ff) is particularly reminiscent of the pictorial frieze in Juno's temple at Carthage, depicting Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons:-

ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet,
aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae,
bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo (1.490-93).

This passage also reflects Aeneid 1.498-502, a simile following closely upon the panel that features Penthesilea, in which Dido is compared to Diana: pharetrata Camilla (11.649) is balanced by illa (Diana) pharetram fert umero (1.501), and the Artemis-image of Camilla is further emphasised by the identical descriptions of the lunatae peltae (1.490; 11.663). Thus the painting in Aeneid I, depicting the exploits of famous heroes who had fought for Troy and suffered untimely deaths, heroes such as Hector and Penthesilea, together with the use of epithets such as infelix (11.563) and miseranda (11.593), apparently serve as a deliberate foreshadowing of Camilla and other principals in Books 7-12, the Iliadic section of the Aeneid.

The association of the Amazons with Thrace is generally assumed to have arisen from their supposed descent from Ares (Martia...Penthesilea 11.661-62), of Thracian origin himself (Bacch.Epin 8.42 (Jebb), Hyginus

Fab.112). Tradition most commonly places their homeland in Asia Minor in the region of the Thermodon river (Apoll.Rhod.Argo 2.373 ff.).⁶⁷ Vergil's reference to Hippolyte and Penthesilea (11.661-62) together might well reflect the fact that there was a tradition—later recorded by Quintus Smyrneus (1.23 ff.) — according to which both legendary Amazon queens were sisters. The acquisition of Hippolyte's belt forms the subject of the ninth labour of Heracles (cf the importance of Pallas' balteus so desired by Turnus 10.495 ff. a contributing reason for Aeneas' refusal to grant his rival clemency 12.944), while Penthesilea entered the war as an ally of Troy and was killed by Achilles who subsequently fell in love with her corpse (Quintus Smyrnaeus I). The reader is once again attuned for Camilla's tragic end.

THE ARISTEIA OF CAMILLA

Attention now switches to the Volscian queen's aristeia (quem telo...deicis? aut quot humi morientia corpora fundis? 1.664-65). The catalogue of victims is introduced with an Homeric apostrophe, modelled on the address to Patroclus (Iliad 16.692-93), introducing a description of furor and battle-lust (11.696 ff.,709.720.762), whereas its contradictory conjunction with virgo (11.664) implies a paradox in her personality fated to bring about her downfall. Asper, applied to "unnatural" divine females who adopt masculine pursuits (cf aspera Juno 1.279), is an epithet of the goddess

Venus (Tib.1.9.29), of Artemis (Sen.Med. 87, Statius Theb. 2.237) and of Minerva (Clau. Rapt.Prosp.2.20).⁶⁸

Exulting in warfare and with seemingly effortless ease, Camilla disposes of twelve victims, a "retributive?" number matched by the perforations in Mezentius' thorax (bis sex thoraca petitum/perfossimumque locis 11.9-10). Every weapon is equally effective when used by Camilla. Her aristeia is effectively enlivened by a series of character sketches of her unfortunate victims, listed in Homeric style. Camilla wielding a spear of pinewood (abiete 11.667 cf. (Mezentius) horrendus visu quassabat Etruscampinum 9.521-22), encounters Euneus son of Clytius (11.666 cf. Ἐὐνῆος , a son of Jason. Iliad 23.747), then Liris (apparently named after an Italian river which forms the boundary between Latium and Campania)⁶⁹ and Pagasus, who came to his friend's aid (11.670-72).⁷⁰ Her fourth victim Amastrus, son of Hippotes would seem to owe his name to Amastris, a coastal town in Paphlagonia founded about 300 B.C. by an Amazon of that name, a land traditionally figuring among the allies of Troy; his father's name Hippotas was a patronymic of the god Aeolus (Homer Od.10.236, Apoll.Rhod.Argo 4.819). Next to oppose her in quick succession (cf Ovid Her.2) are Tereus, Harpalycus, Demophon and Chromis (cf Chromis et Mnasyllus Ecl.6.13), Harpalycus indicating lycanthropy,⁷¹ an allusion further expanded by reference to Camilla's next opponent Ornytus dressed in a wolf's cap and a bullock's skin. Ornytus with his novel weapons (armis

ignotis 11.677-78) as Servius interprets them, and his unusual head-gear (ipse catervis vertitur in mediis et toto vertice supra est 11.682-83) was primarily a hunter (venator 11.78) rather than a warrior, a description used later of Aeneas who is compared to an Umbrian hound in his final pursuit of Turnus (venator cursu canis et latratibus instat 12.751) where — as with Ornytus (malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis 11.681) — Aeneas' primitive animal-like fangs are emphasised with horrific effect (increpuit malis morsuque elusus inani est 12.755). Venator is also used in a simile by Horace, with a similar overpowering effect, of Octavian in pursuit of his victim, Cleopatra, pictured as columba, and lepus (Hor. Odes 1.37.15-21).

The name Ornytus comes from Apollonius of Rhodes' Argonautica, and belonged to the grandfather of Iphitus (1.207) and to the Bebrycian who binds boxing-gloves on to the hands of king Amycus in preparation for his fight with Polydeuces (2.65). Ornytus (ὄρνυπι) is a most suitable name for a hunter since it means "one who rouses animals". It occurs in Homer (Iliad 22.190, Odes, 9.154) thereby adding to the epic tone of the passage. Camilla-undaunted-mocks her enemy in a true Homeric spirit (cf Iliad 16.830 ff. where Hector as conqueror taunts Patroclus), maligning him inimico pectore (11.685), an Ennian phrase (cf audaci cum pectore Ann. 381; effudit voces proprio cum pectore sancto Ann.540).

Camilla, addressing Ornytus in the singular (silvis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti? 11.686) as well as in the plural (vestra...verba 11.687-

88), would seem to imply that he was accompanied by others, thereby either making the contrast with a mere woman all the more marked, or else suggesting that he was a person of some consequence deserving of the royal plural. Camilla emphasises that his opponent is a woman (muliebribus armis 11.687; femineo...amore 11.782).

Camilla's encounters with Trojan Butes (11.690 cf 9.647 where he is described as armour-bearer of Anchises) and Orsilochus, a name with its variant Ortilochus found also in Homer (Iliad 5.542, 546, 549; 8.224; Od. 3.489, 13.26, 15.187, 21.15), duo maxima Teucrum corpora (11.690-91) are deliberate and graphic, and their epic connections emphasize the magnitude of the Volscian queen's achievements. Orsilochus is described in hunting terminology (magnum per orbem 11.694; gyro interior 11.695), with the hunter becoming the hunted (sequitur ...sequentem.11.695). The circular movement associated with Orsilochus is a constantly recurrent image throughout the Aeneid, the circle being a symbol of defence.⁷²

Camilla, aspera (11.664), accensa (11.709), furens (11.709, 762), ignea (11.718), caeca (11.781), incauta (11.781) likewise treats war as a stimulating hunt, her adversaries as human prey.

Of all Camilla's adversaries, however, the most striking is the nameless filius Auni (11.700). Vergil tells us (1) that he is a bellator — a warrior who knows how to fight, as opposed to the miles, a soldier by profession- who clearly felt himself to be the match of the Voscian bellatrix

(7.805): (2) that his father was connected with the Apennines and so possibly of Celtic origin, for the aun- forms the suffix of a number of North European tribal names (e.g. the Velauni, Segovellauni) and further South among the Ligurians (Ingauni) who stretched from Gaul to Etruria (haud Ligurum extremus 11.701; vane Ligus 11.715). Strabo (4.6.2 ff.) and Diodorus Siculus (5.30) describe the Ligurians as rough, strong people whose piracy the Romans deplored. Noted for their boldness,⁷³ they were in great demand as mercenaries. Servius (ad. 11.715) quotes from Nigidius' de Sphaera: nam et Ligures qui Appeninum tenuerunt, latrones, insidiosi, fallaces, mendaces. In Augustan times, Liguria made up the ninth division of Italy and included the powerful Ingauni, who had a capital on the coast called Albium Ingaunum (modern Albenga: cf Livy 28.46.9; 29.5.2).⁷⁴

Vergil seems to make a point of contemptuously mentioning the Ligurian's cowardice (subito...aspectu (Camillae) territus 11.699), his readiness to flee (dimitte fugam 11.706), avolat ipse 11.712, fugax 11.713) and his strategy of deception (cf Aeneas: 4.283, 289 ff.305) as he tricks Camilla into fighting him in an inferior position: (Camilla tradit equum 11.710). He is well-versed in guile (consilio versare dolos ingressus et astu 11.704; nec fraus te incolumnem fallaci perferet Auno 11.717), and slippery (lubricus) in his inherited skills (patrias...artis 11.716). Ligus would thus seem to have much in common with Arruns:-

...fugit ante omnis exterritus Arruns
laetitia mixtoque metu...(11.806-7).

Like Arruns, Ligus is also vanus (vane Ligus 11.715; Arruntem...fulgentem armis ac vana tumentem 11.853-54).

Overtaking the evasive Ligurian, Camilla at first sight appears to tear him apart as easily as a sacred falcon (accipiter) destroys a dove (columba) (11.720-24),⁷⁵ in a simile, the first two lines of which are based on Homer (Iliad 22.139 ff. where Achilles is clearly the mountain hawk (κίρκος ὄφρεσφιν) and on Iliad 23.874, where Meriones — having first promised a pleasing sacrifice to Apollo — succeeds in striking with this arrow the timorous dove (τρήρωνα πέλειαν), which plummets down to earth with drooping head and plumage all awry. The final lines of the Vergilian simile are also to be found in Odyssey 15.525 ff., where the hawk, swift messenger of Apollo (Ἀπόλλωνις ταχὺς ἄγγελος), appears as an omen to Telemachus, holding in his talons a dove whose feathers he is plucking. Although a bird of prey taking advantage of a weaker species is a natural image, it is nevertheless remarkable in this instance that Camilla should be represented as accipiter and the hardy Ligurian warrior as dove (columba):⁷⁶ it might make more sense if one were to assume a change of subject in the latter part of line 720, with Ligus, as Apollo's bird, wreaking vengeance on Camilla (poenasque inimico ex sanguine sumit). Ligus would then be the accipiter, Camilla the columba: this interpretation merits consideration on two accounts: I) The accipiter swoops from a higher position (saxo...ab alto 11.721), and it is important to remember that the poet has not spared

himself in describing the trickery employed in persuading Camilla (caeca, incauta 11.781) to give up her advantageous position (11.715 ff.), and 2) Vergil would thus appear to be preparing the reader en passant for the inevitable outcome — the overcoming of the Volscian queen — which he proceeds to describe in great detail in 11.759 ff.

At this point, Camilla's prowess in battle is counterbalanced by an episode, in which Tarchon, the somewhat elusive Etruscan commander, earlier associated in funeral ceremonies, in acts of pietas to the dead with which Aeneas too was equally concerned (11.184-5: iam pater Aeneas, iam curvo in litore Tarchon/ constituere pyras), makes an unexpected appearance as a result of Jupiter's fatal demands:-

Tyrrhenum genitor Tarchorem in proelia saeva
suscitat et stimulis haud mollibus incit iras (11.727-28),

a description evoked again in Aeneid 11, but this time of Turnus upon receiving news of Camilla's wounding:

ille furens (et saeva Iovis sic numina poscunt)
deserit obsessos collis...(11.901-2).

Goaded into action Tarchon, in a speech intended to stimulate his men to return to the fray (semper inertes Tyrrheni 11.732-33), addresses each of them by name in Homeric fashion (Iliad 10.68), upbraiding them for their cowardice which contrasts unfavourably with that of the femina:
femina palantis agit atque haec agmina vertit (11.734).

In a line reminiscent of the elegiac poets⁷⁷ Tarchon notes that his soldiers were far from lazy in Venerem...nocturnaue bella (11.736). His taunting reference to their facility to indulge in Bacchic revels (11.737), recalls the words of Iarbas of Ptolemaic title (Hammone satus 4.198)⁷⁸ about the Marusia...gens (4.206-7) of Dido's court and the invective of Numanus Remulus against the bis captu Phryges for their enjoyment of idleness and dancing:-

vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis,
desidia cordi, iuvat indulgere choreis (9.614-16)

Bailey sees in Tarchon's upbraiding of his men a reference to Georgics 2.393 ff. to a Graeco-Italian Bacchic ritual:⁷⁹

ergo rite suum Baccho dicemus honorem
carminibus patriis, lancesque et liba feremus,
et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aram,
pinguaque in veribus torrebimus exta columnis.

After these cutting remarks, Tarchon moriturus (11.741)⁸⁰ and turbidus (11.742),⁸¹ charges at Venulus his adversary, former spokesman of Diomedes (cf Venulus dicto parens...11.242), and with an impetuosity exhibited earlier when beaching his ship (10.290-307) sweeps him from his horse onto his own beast before disappearing like a streak of lightning (igneus 11.746. cf Camilla igneae 11.718) across the plain, seeking all the while to find an unprotected spot in Venulus' armour through which to deliver a blow.

The life and death struggle between Tarchon and his writhing victim is reflected in the simile of the golden eagle (fulva ...aquila 11.751-2)

carrying a snake (draconem 11.751), which though wounded continues to writhe and hiss, harassed as it is by the eagle's beak, a description found in Homer Iliad 12.200 ff. Vergil does not give the final outcome of the struggle, although in the Homeric description the writhing snake bites its captor and the eagle in pain is forced to release its hold: this may well indicate that the victim escapes. Tarchon's jubilation (portat ovans 11.758) recalls that of Turnus when taking possession of Pallas' sword-belt (quo nunc Turnus ovat spolio...10.500) and the poet's warning to keep a sense of moderation in success; Tarchon's impetuous behaviour does not augur well for the future. Vergil has, however, for the moment heightened the reader's suspense by referring to Tarchon's success and its encouraging effect upon his followers the Maeonidae, variously translated as Etruscans or Lydians (11.759⁸²)

haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto
urbis Agyllinae sedes, ubi Lydia quondam
gens, bello praeclara, iugis insedit Etruscis.
(Aen.8.470-80).

At this point the narrative stops dramatically and enables the reader to catch a quick glimpse of Camilla's shadowy stalker and eventual attacker, Arruns, who, like Ligus, is un-Homeric inasmuch as he resorts to trickery.⁸³ Camilla's assailant, the man fatis debitus (11.759 cf Aeneas' words fatis...debita tellus 7,120), destined not only to harm Camilla but to be wounded himself in accordance with Diana's instructions (11.590 ff.), is depicted as a vague but menacing figure, always in the background,

shamelessly (improbus 11.767) grasping his spear which always finds its target (certam quatit hastam 11.767). On horseback circling (circuit 11.761) the swift maiden (velocem ...Camillam 11.76), Arruns plays a cat-and-mouse game with the virgo furens (11.762) unobtrusively and deliberately anticipating her every move (tacitus vestigia lustrat 11.763; furtim celeris detorquet habenas 11.765), as she either moves in to attack or hurriedly withdraws from her enemy. Yet after eight and a half lines Arruns seems to vanish and disappear from view. Vergil's reference to the spear (11.767) destined to find its mark in the warrior-queen — although not until just over forty lines later (11.804) — his impressionistic description with an obvious reticence about so important a character, his vague clues as to his origins and identity revealed in the second of the two digressionary passages which follow Arruns' introduction en scène, effectively serve to heighten the tension of the drama which is about to unfold.

CAMILLA'S WOUNDING AND DEATH

So far Camilla has had two aspects of her character stressed, her devotion to the chase and her exceptional passion for warfare. At this point in the first of two digressions (11.768-82), a third aspect becomes apparent — her cupido (femineo praedae et spoliolum ardebat amore 11.782). Attracted by the finery of Chloereus, warrior-priest of Cybele, a Gallus (the

followers of the Phrygian goddess were known as Galli),⁸⁴ Camilla resolved to attack him in order to despoil him of his apparel and accoutrements. That Vergil is perturbed at Camilla's impulse is implicit in the text, for the priest, mounted on his horse, is obviously a person of importance (sacer...sacerdos 11.768) since he is described in elaborate and exotic detail (insignis, fulgebat, ferrugine, clarus, et ostro; aureus; croceam chlamydem; fulvo..auro 11.769-77), so much so that Servius (11.777) dryly comments: sane armorum longa descriptio illuc spectat, ut in eorum cupiditatem merito Camilla videatur esse succensa. Apart from a reference to Chloereus (12.363) as one of Turnus' adversaries, the name does not appear again in the Aeneid, so that one may perhaps assume that Vergil adapted it from the Greek meaning golden, for golden yellow was known to be the principal colour worn by the Galli, priests of Cybele.⁸⁵ The "oriental" character of this rider is particularly apparent in Vergil's details: (1) the scale armour, with which his horse was protected (pellis aenis...squamis 11.770-71), the snake-like scales forming a corselet with which the cataphracti or heavy cavalry (Servius ad loc) equipped themselves and their horses. The Romans had encountered these troops in their recent wars in the East against such rulers as Antiochus and Tigranes (Livy 37.40.5);⁸⁶ (2) the "foreign" purple (peregrina ferrugine 11.772) in which the rider was decked — associating him thereby with the chlamydes of royal Dido (4.137), Ascanius (3.484), Pallas (8.588;11.72) and Arcentis filius (9.582) and recalling possibly royal

cloaks, such as those found in the Vergina royal tomb finds; (3) the Lycian bow and Cretan arrows (spicula torquebat lycio Gortynia cornu 11.773), for both Lycia and Crete were specially noted for archery (cf Ecl.10.59, Geo.3.345, Aen 5.305-6; 7.816; 8.166) and (4) Chloereus' embroidered tunic and trousers (11.777), forms of dress particularly associated with the Phrygians (Pliny N.H. 8.196). Trousers, ridiculed by the Romans (Cic. ad Fam.9.15.2; Valerius Flaccus 6.700 ff.), were also a mode of dress particularly favoured by the Gauls (Galli), for Gallia Narbonensis was called Bracata (Pliny N.H. 3.31). Camilla's opponent would thus seem to embody both Eastern and Western elements.

Camilla — in her straightforward desire for the chase — detaches herself from her own squadrons and from her responsibility to Turnus in a heedless way (11.781) reminding the reader of Nisus and Euryalus and their disregard for their mission (Nisus sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri 9.354). So also Turnus jeopardised his army and his commanders to a very marked extent by his erratic, reckless behaviour, a weakness noted and emphasized in Drances' speech (11.343-75), for amor habendi — in this case wanting the sword-belt of Pallas — proved to be the cause of his death too. So intent was Camilla upon stalking her prey, caeca and incauta (11.781 cf immemor as applied to Euryalus 9.374), that she was totally unaware of Arruns, thereby exposing herself to her fata acerba

(11.587. cf Dido in the deer simile who similarly exposes herself to a hunter's arrow 4.68-73).

Arruns, a prestige-laden Etruscan name (Livy 1.46.5; 2.6.6.-10; 2.14; 5.33.3; Dion.Hal.13.14 ff.) appears as a priest of the Hirpini because in his prayer to Apollo, (11.785-93), when he begs to be allowed to dispose of Camilla, hoc dedecus (11.789), haec dira pestis (11.792), even at the cost of returning home inglorius (11.793), he refers to the rustic rite of treading the embers, a rite associated with the Hirpini (Pliny N.H.72.19). Trickery, it would seem, was their forte also since Servius (11.787-88) claims that the Hirpini, the most southerly of the Samnites (resembling the Lucani more than their fellow Samnites, both of whom were reputed to be "wolf men" (cf Oscan [h]irpus, Greek λύκος),⁸⁷ cheated by doctoring the soles of their feet with an analgesic lotion before dancing on the hot ashes as their ritual dictated. It is also of interest to note that Camilla's assassin addresses Apollo, the god who favours Trojans (Iliad 16.511 ff.) and Augustus' own special deity.⁸⁸

Arruns' prayer to Apollo (11.785-93) follows the traditional request pattern, beginning with an invocation to the god in the appositional style, dwelling upon his status (summe deum 11.785) and the locality in which his numen chiefly resides (sancti custos Soractis 11.785): he next stresses the devotion paid to the god (quem primi colimus, freti pietati, cultores 11.786), and the detail with which the fire-ritual was performed (medium per ignem,

multa pruna,premimus vestigia 11.786-8). Thereafter he comes to the real request (da...pater omnipotens 11.798 ff.). His assumption of a mission to get rid of the dedecus, pestis through altruistic motives, in view of his shifty associations (circuit 761, tacitus...lustrat 763, telum ex insidiis...conciat 783-84, improbis 767), does not ring true and is presumably uttered in grandiose strains to excuse or even to cloak his cowardice (11.809-13). Apollo sees through this pretence and although he permits him to carry out the dastardly deed, he nevertheless overlooks the praise factor (mihi cetera laudem facta ferent 11.791-92). Inglorius (793) indeed will be Arruns' return to his homeland.

Arruns' invocation recalls that of Achilles to Zeus (Iliad 16.234-35) where the deity invoked in a similar manner allows the exploit on the battlefield to be carried out, although ignoring the safe return of Patroclus from the undertaking (Iliad 16.250). As Woodrow states, "Virgil, with a characteristic twist has transformed a prayer for the success and safety of a friend into one for the death of an enemy".⁸⁹

It appears that the god honoured at Soracte was called Soranus and that the spread of Greek influence eventually led to his being identified with Apollo with whom Soranus would seem to have had much in common. Woodrow evidences an inscription discovered near Falerii on which the names occur side by side: Sancto Sorano Apollini. It is clear from the account of Servius that Soranus (or Ditis pater as he was also called) was

associated particularly with the underworld, and that his rites were concerned with propitiation and purification from pestilential exhalations in the neighbourhood of Soracte (cf Pliny N.H. 2.207, 31.27), symbolized in the wolves which the worshippers imitated in the enactment of the ritual intended to drive away a plague. Thus Apollo, bringer of pestilence and plague (Iliad 1.44 ff, 24.758, Od.3.279, 7.63), was also identified with healing. The Hirpi (Hirpini) Sorani (for Servius ad 11.785 tells us that hirpus is the Sabine for "wolf"), servants of the god of Soracte were drawn from a number of families in that area,⁹⁰ and Arruns as minister of that god, was anxious to destroy a noxious force (dira pestis) for this deity. Alessandro Fo suggests that Chloereus and Arruns may have been one and the same person, on the grounds that Camilla was struck down by Arruns before Chloereus had reached her,⁹¹ thereby indicating the employment of pseudonyms.

At this point the drama has become a sacred one. Diva Camilla (11.657),⁹² whose person is sacra (11.591), pursues her last opponent (sacer sacerdos 11.768) and is herself overcome by the devotee of Apollo (11.785-86), whose spear, launched at the opportune moment (telum...tempore capto/concitat 11.783-84), after careful positioning to ensure its hitting the target (certam quatit...hastam 11.767) hisses through the air (sonitum dedit hasta per auras) and lodges fast in her bared breast (sub exsertam... papillam 11.803) where it drinks deeply of her virginal blood (virgineumque alte bibit

...cruorem 11.804). One senses here that the participles agreeing with hasta, (missa manu, perlata, acta 11.799-803) emphasize the deliberate nature of such a cowardly act, whereas the use of sexual terminology, such as papilla (11.803) together with virgineum (11.804) emphasises Camilla's youthful womanhood and vulnerability and may possibly equate metaphorically with rape (cf rapta Garamantide nympha 4.198).

Death was an accepted part of the heroic code; it is the fact that Camilla has been ravished, violata (violare vulnere 11.591,848), mutilated (mulcata morte Camilla 11.839) which is so abhorrent and focuses the attention of the Volsci upon their queen (11.800-1). Diana — in order to counteract the horror of this killing — seems anxious, in her instructions to Opis, to preserve Camilla's decus (non tamen indecorem tua te regina reliquit/extrema iam in morte 11.845-46), for providing her arms remain undamaged, her death will remain honourable and unimpeachable (inspoliata 11.594, 846-47). Unlike the treatment generally accorded by Vergil to young heroes who suffered premature deaths (e.g. Euryalus, Lausus, Pallas), Camilla's "wounding" and exitus are noticeably separated (11.796-806, 816-831), recalling the treatment accorded both Dido (4.70,660 ff.) and Hippolytus (Eur.Hipp. 1442-4) whose fates too seemed cruel and unjustified.

Both Greeks and Romans were extremely casuistic about the death of virgins; they were killed but without their corporal integrity being

touched by hand. Antigone, for instance, was sealed up on Kreon's orders in a deserted cave with a small supply of food so that Thebes might not incur the blood-guilt of her death (Soph.Antigone 773-75). Suetonius likewise refers to this practice, pointing out that Tiberius in his inhumanity permitted even this sacred law to be contravened (Tiberius 61.5).⁹³ In view of this, the treatment accorded Dido (4.171-72), Camilla and Livy's Lucretia (1.58 ff) would appear to be particularly reprehensible, especially as Ogilvie states with reference to Lucretia: "It was widely held that adultery so defiled the woman that any subsequent progeny would be themselves contaminated. Hence the woman had to die".⁹⁴

The tenderness with which Vergil describes the death of Camilla is paralleled somewhat by Livy in his description of the death of Lucretia, whose seduction was accomplished in a cowardly way by Sextus Tarquinius — of Etruscan royal name also. Taking advantage of the fact that she was alone, he overcame Lucretia when she was sleeping (stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam 1.58.2 cf Camilla, caeca, incauta Aen.11.781), and took advantage of her just as shamefully (sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso 1.58.2. cf sub exsertam papillam Aen 11.803), threatening her with dedecus (1.58.4 cf dedecus as applied by Arruns to Camilla Aen.11.789), and having completed this heinous act rode away ferox expugnato decore muliebri (1.58.5 cf Camilla's decus Aen.11.508 and Arruns' departure fugit Arruns laetitia 11.807, contentus fuga 11.815). The manner of Camilla's

death, nimum in the case of a virgo (11.803.804) is symbolic of defloration. Her vulnerability when the lethal weapon lodges in her ribs (haesit 11.804) recalls the wounding of another Vergilian regina, Dido, who wandered around desperately like a wounded stag, the arrow of death, carelessly implanted by the hunter Aeneas, stuck fast in her side (haeret lateri letalis harundo 4.73).

The impact of the wounding verges on the theatrical: all the Volsci have their eyes riveted upon their queen (convertere animos acris oculosque tulere/ cuncti ad reginam Volsci 11.800-801); in panic they rush up and support their mistress as she falls (concurrunt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem/suscipiunt 11.805-6) recalling the behaviour of Dido's companions when she collapses (4.390-2) and the clamour after her suicide (4.667-8).

Allusion has been made to the Hirpini who-relying on their sense of duty towards the god-or possibly on the god's towards them (cf at tibi...pro talibus ausis Di, si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet, persolvant grates dignas 2.535-37)-carry out their fire-walking exercise. Pietas (11.787) would never seem to be used lightly in Vergil, but always to stress some point of crisis in Aeneas' life, as noted by Austin.⁹⁵ Keppel likewise associates pietas closely with Arruns as well as with Aeneas.⁹⁶

Lupus also has strong connections with both: for Arruns, exhilarated yet apprehensive at having caught so formidable a female as Camilla

unawares (exteritus...laetitia mixtoque metu 11.806-7) slinks away like a cowardly wolf who has killed a shepherd or a powerful young bullock (occiso pastore lupus magno iuvenco 11.812). Aeneas, likewise, forced on by necessity, is brought into the context of a lupus...raptor (2.355-56). Many other parallels are found between these two characters, "rare in the work of a poet writing in the Hellenistic tradition" and therefore of consequence.⁹⁷ Both are fatis debitus (11.759 cf (Aeneas)...scire fateris deberi caelo fatisque...12.794-95), both stalk their victims, Camilla and Turnus, in similar phraseology (vestigia lustrat 11.763 cf vestigat lustrans 12.466-67); Arruns in his approach to Camilla seeks the easier approach (quae sit fortuna facillima 11.761), Aeneas, in preparing his final onslaught of Turnus marks his chance with careful eye (sortitus fortunam oculis 12.920). Both are improbi (Arruns 11,767; Aeneas 4.386, 11.512, 12.261), both responsible for the killing of major figures. If Aeneas is capable of disposing of Mezentius and Turnus, with whom Camilla had so much in common, why should Camilla's assault be merely at the hands of some passing religious fanatic? Since Vergil would appear to go to great lengths to show parallelism between Camilla and Turnus on one side (shared leadership, amor habendi 10.496,11.782), and an identical death-line (vitaeque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras 11.831; 12.952), why should Camilla—clearly of equal importance—fall to some unknown person, whereas Turnus is conquered by Aeneas? The suggestion is thus implicit that Arruns seems to

mirror Aeneas: both take refuge in ignominious flight after attaining their purposes (contentus fuga) 11.815; 4.283 ff): in Arruns' case, his treatment of Camilla is hidden from his companions who are unaware (obliti 11.866). Yet like Aeneas (12.383 ff.), Arruns too is hit by an avenging arrow (11.858 ff). This similarity between two such characters might lead the reader yet again to suspect that Arruns and Aeneas are the same person and that Vergil has employed pseudonyms.

The simile of Arruns' cowardly wolf-like retreat from the scene of his crime seems to have been based on Homer, Iliad 15.586 ff. where Antilochus, after piercing Melanippus through the breast, is confronted by Hector and runs away like a wild beast that has perpetrated the enormity of killing a dog or a herdsman. In Vergil's simile (11.809-13) the unspecified $\theta\eta\rho$ is replaced by lupus (an animal with a particular connection with Arruns, as already noted, and resembling him in cunning and cowardice); the $\kappa\upsilon\omega\nu$ is replaced by iuventus, the herdsman (pastor, $\beta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$) is retained. The fact that Vergil has retained one of the Homeric alternatives and replaced the other is significant, for Servius (ad 11.811) remarks, "bene pastori reginam comparat, nam reges ipsi pastores vocantur: Homerus ποιγένη λαῶν". Woodrow comments: "It is indeed quite possible that Vergil had this metaphor in mind here, especially in view of its predominantly military association ($\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma, \lambda\alpha\omicron\iota$ in the Iliad usually means 'men' in their capacity as soldiers...), and is alluding to Camilla's

leadership (reginam 801, dominam 805), upon which the morale of her troops...and their very lives depend", but notes that no comment was offered by Servius on the second comparison, magno iuvenco, and that Turnus, roused by the prospect of his duel with Aeneas, is compared to a bull summoning his fighting spirit (12.103 ff), an animal which is powerful and strong (validis Georg. 2.237, fortis 3.50), and of outstanding physical qualities as implied in the magno.⁹⁸ Thus the pastor and iuvenco might well imply aspects of both Camilla and Turnus (cf O decus Italiae virgo ... mecum partire laborem...ducis et tu concipe curam 11.508-19) both of whom were victims of Arruns and Aeneas (cf Horace who uses the term iuvenco to mean a strong young man Odes 11.8.21 in keeping with seemingly royal pastoral terminology).

Meanwhile after Arruns' cowardly exit, the scene focuses on the collapse of Camilla, who sinks to the ground, her eyes glossing over, the colour, once so brilliant, draining from her face (11.818-19). This description recalls that in Catullus 64.188 languescunt lumina morte, and evokes the deaths of Euryalus (purpurens veluti cum flos succisus aratro/ languiscit moriens 9.435 ff) and the floral image of the dead Pallas (qualem virgineo demissum pollice florem/ seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi./ cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit 11.68 ff. cf Catullus 62.39 ff.). The scene reminds one also of the collapse of Dido, whose deep wound in the breast (infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus 4.689)

parallels Camilla's fatal wound (11.803). Acca is beside Camilla to catch her last instructions (tum sic expirans Accam...adloquitur 11.820-21 just as Anna was present with Dido (4.684-85). Both queens were victims to the destiny of Rome.

Camilla's farewell speech to Acca soror (quicum partiri curas 11.821-22) who would appear to have so much in common with Anna soror in her advisory capacity (4.9 ff.), is impressive in its brevity and simplicity (11.823-26). As Anna receives the dying Dido's last breath (extremus si quis super halitus errat,/ore legam 4.684-85), so Camilla's mandata novissima (11.825) are directed through Acca to Turnus: having done everything in her power (hactenus...potui 11.823 cf Dido: vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi 4.653), she instructs Acca to hurry (effuge 11.825) and instructs Turnus to move into battle and to keep the Trojans out of the city. Here the Homeric description of death (Iliad 13.575-80) as black shadows are encircling her (tenebris ingrescunt omnia circum 11.824),⁹⁹ recalls the deaths of Hippolytus and Alcestis (Eur.Hipp.1444, Alcestis 385), both of whom — like Camilla — were condemned to die prematurely, before the expiry of the normal span of life. Like Eurydice (Geo. 4.497) who addresses Orpheus, Camilla directs her iamque vale (11.827) to Turnus. Finally letting go the reins she collapses (fluens) to the ground but not of her own accord non sponte (11.828), once more reminding the reader in her reluctance of Eurydice:-

iamque vale: feror ingenti circumdata nocte
 invalidasque tibi tendens, heu non tua, palmas
 (Geo.4.497-8).

Camilla's spirit gradually secures its own release from the imprisoning body (paulatim exsolvit se corpore 829), possibly implying that her obitus, like Dido's was somewhat protracted with solvere suggesting the difficult liberating of the spirit in death (cf Dido, meque his exsolvite curis 4.695; teque isto corpore solvo 4.703), until her life sobbing and complaining fled to the shades (vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras 11.831), a death-line strikingly repeated in the case of Turnus (12.952), effectively linking the two comrades in life firmly in death also, and recalling the Homeric description of Hector's end (Iliad.22.362 ff.) as well as the pact of Antony and Cleopatra to die together (Plut.Ant.71.3).

Woodrow makes the interesting observation that Vergil has introduced the notion of resentment (indignata 11.831; 12.952), implying that unlike Homer's shades who bewail their fate yet accept it without bitterness, Vergil's feel that they have been outraged and have not deserved it.¹⁰⁰ The reader has thus to decide whether or not their suffering is justified.

With Camilla thrown down (deiecta 11.833) the fight intensifies, the Trojans, Etruscans and squadrons of Evander making a concerted charge. Whether Camilla had actually died or was on the verge of death at this point is open to question. Arrigone takes pains to stress that the

warrior-maiden's death was not a bella morte in true Homeric fashion as was the death of Hector, slain by his opposite number, or of Pallas, but that Camilla — an Amazzone fallita, in the sense that she died through treachery rather than as the result of a duel, her sacred body lacerated and profaned — suffered a tristis mors, a crude, violent and undeserved death. She considers this $\lambdaυγρὸς ὄλεθρος$ to be the reason for Opis' sympathy for the infelix queen (11.841 ff.).¹⁰¹ As far as Camilla's burial is concerned, little is stated: merely that Diana will transport the miserandae corpus with arms unspoiled for a burial in her native city (11.593-94), a statement reinforced later by the avenging nymph Opis:-

non tamen indecorem tua te regina reliquit
 extrema iam in morte, neque hoc sine nomine letum
 per gentis erit aut famam patieris inultae (11.845-47).

The burial of Camilla recalls, with Vergilian variations, Iliad 16.667 ff), where the godlike Sarpedon, Jupiter's own son, fated to be killed by Patroclus is "to fall in mortal combat...and Death and the sweet God of sleep...bring him to the broad realm of Lycia, where his kinsmen and retainers will give him burial with a barrow and monument that are a dead man's rights". (cf Jupiter's treatment of Turnus, as he weighs the fates of the two champions 12.725; Iliad 22.209 ff.). The reader is also reminded in the words of Opis (11.841 ff.) of Artemis' speech in Euripides' Hippolytus 1417 ff.), when she assures Hippolytus (the prototype of Camilla in his devotion to the chase and his premature death), that his death will not be

unavenged (cf morte luet merita 11.849) and unsung: he like Camilla will not be forgotten.

In seemingly complete contrast to Camilla's obsequies is the punishment awarded Arruns (11.836-67) at the bustum Dercenni (11.850) with Opis in the role of executioner. Curiously no such ancient Laurentine king (bustum antiqui Laurentis 11.851-52) is mentioned in extant literature, just as there is no mention of a monument to Camilla, although there is a possibility that Dercennus is derived from Derkynos (Δέρκυνος, Δέρκιννος), the name of a son of Poseidon, who with his brother Alebion attacked Hercules when he was passing through Liguria with the cattle of Geryon. This would link Dercennus with the barbaric Cacus in Aeneid 8,190 ff.¹⁰² who has so much in common with Antony. This bustum covered with a shady oak (bustum...opaca...ilice tectum 11.850-51), the tree associated with death (e.g. the oaks hindered the escape of Nisus and Euryalus 9.381; held the golden bough for entrance to Avernus 6.209), was ingens (11.849) conjuring up perhaps the picture of a mausoleum, whose impressive proportions are emphasised by iamdudum in montibus Opis alta sedet summis (11.837), and hic dea...sistit et Arruntem tumulo speculatur ab alto (11.852-53). Although anxious to give Arruns the reward so richly deserved (digna praemia 11.856-57. cf 790-91) as, snake-like, he preens himself in self-satisfaction, Opis, nevertheless, in her loathing of him, seems even to begrudge him death by an arrow, (tunc etiam telis moriere Dianae? 11.768

ff.). With great exactitude and after due deliberation she places the bow-string at the correct tension before releasing the arrow (11.858-62), drawing the reader's attention to what might seem to be an outcome merited by such behaviour. At the same time, however, perplexed at the outcome of the situation, one is compelled to ponder over the question of guilt and justice, for in Augustan Rome Camilla would have been the enemy of the state and Arruns the hero.

Unlike Camilla, Arruns does hear the twang of the bow-string and feels the rush of air before the weapon hits him (11.863-64). His associates, however, are left quite unaware of the reason for this attack (socii...obliti 11.865-66). Opis, on the other hand, mission accomplished, flies back to Olympus.

Vergil now-after the digression on Arruns-picks up his narrative again, describing the flight of acer Atinas (11.869) towards the city, with Trojans pursuing Rutulians, and the carnage which ensued at the city gates. The zealous defence of the matres on the walls (11.891) recalls the capture of Veii by the Roman dictator Camillus: ...pars aversos in muris invadunt hostes, pars claustra portarum revellunt, pars cum ex tectis, saxa tegulaeque a mulieribus ac servitiis lacerentur inferunt ignes. Clamor omnia variis terrentium ac paventium vocibus mixto mulierum ac puerorum ploratu complet (Livy 5.21.10-12). From that time onwards, Juno patron-

goddess of Veii submitted entirely to Rome (cf Juno's words to Jupiter 12.808 ff.).

Once Acca has borne the news of the assault on Camilla to the Latins, Turnus furens (901) plays into Jupiter's hands (et saeva Iovis sic numina poscunt 11.901), by abandoning his position of ambush and proceeds to the city to which Aeneas now has complete access. The moment for the final confrontation between the two leaders is at this critical point imminent:

quae nunc deinde mora est?...saevis certandum est
comminus armis (12.889-90).

Chapter 4

ELEMENTS OF AMBIGUITY IN GREEK AND LATIN LITERATURE.

Coleiro notes that scholars nowadays are trying to bring to light the "allegorical connection" which joins the thematic picture on the surface of the poem (i.e. the story of Aeneas) with the abstruse orchestration of the poet in terms of reference and historical symbolism (which must have been apparent to Vergil's contemporaries — particularly to those interested in the poem such as Augustus), a connection which it seems was lost to a large extent. As one might expect any attempt to pick up the connection is difficult and risky (un lavoro questo difficile e rischioso).¹ The allegorical connection is similarly maintained by Griffin who states that "the mythological epic was also to be an epic about Augustus, who was to be brought into the poem both by explicit passages of prophecy and also by implicit means — by comparisons and juxtaposition which would suggest to the audience that the actions or sufferings of Aeneas alluded to those of the great leader who now presides over their destinies".²

Allegorical interpretations involving a number of pseudonyms began as far back as Vergil's own day. A certain Numitarius, a detractor of Vergil scathingly wrote:- Tityre, si toga calda tibi est, quo tegmine fagi?

(Suet. Vita Vergil 43 cf canebam...Vergilium me...alebat Parthaenope... Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi. Geo.4.566). Since Vergil here refers to Tityrus, the name of a shepherd in Eclogue 1.1 (Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi), a name which was used as a designation of Vergil's Eclogues (cf Tityrus et segetes Aeneiaque arma legentur Ovid.Am. 1.15.25) and of Vergil himself (huic licet ingratae Tityrus ipse canat Prop.2.34.72), one may with justification assume that Tityrus is the poet Vergil, thereby giving some point to Numitarius' remark. Quintilian (Ins. 6.47), however, considers Vergil to be Menalcas, a position shared by Griffin who states:"Here we have a character who resembles Virgil...Menalcas lives near Mantua, he is a singer and a translator of Theocritus.; he hoped to preserve his property by his song (Ecl.9.11 ff.)".³

Also, with regard to the phrase "Shepherd of the people", which was treated earlier, Griffin notes that regius pastor was "a phrase for a ruler familiar ever since Homer",⁴ that Daphnis was, for instance "a pious devotee of Bacchus (yet Caesar was pontifex maximus, the official head of Roman religion)".⁵ He concludes that Vergil uses a technique of suggestion and denial, that, for instance, in the persona of Daphnis, Vergil gives the reader "a shimmer of the figure of Caesar", a technique which will prove to be important in the Aeneid when Vergil permits us to catch glimpses of Augustus as well as Dido, the African Queen who evokes Cleopatra.⁶

Royalty and royal appellations abound in the Aeneid, an unexpected phenomenon in republican Rome. As Cairns shows, in Aeneid 1, for example, kingship is an attribute of several gods with Jupiter pre-eminent.⁷ The most frequently designated royal personae are Dido and Aeneas.⁸ After reviewing varying literary attitudes towards kingship in Homer and Apollonius, Cairns concludes that "kingship in the Aeneid is not an epic feature". Augustus although cautious in the use of the title rex in Rome, was less particular in the Eastern part of the Empire: he even appears as "king of Upper and Lower Egypt" in his hieroglyphic representation. Vergil would therefore seem comfortable with the term, purging it of unpleasant undertones by Anchises' mandate to Aeneas (tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento 6.851).⁹ A similar ambivalence to kingship is found also in Vergil's predecessor, Ennius, and Vergil might very well have been acquainted with standard works, such as Philodemus' On the Good King according to Homer, Hesiod's Works and Days (here the injustice of kings is condemned), Xenophon's Anabasis, Epicurus' de Officiis.¹⁰ Judged according to these works, Dido begins as a good queen but deteriorates; Aeneas is the "good king"; Turnus by displaying more bad characteristics than good verges towards the 'bad king'; Mezentius as a tyrant is a monstrum, whereas Anchises, Evander and Latinus are older versions of the good ruler, and Ascanius is a younger version. Apart from being merely a good king (1.544 ff.588), Aeneas is also a Cynic king (a

member of the inner palace with Maecenas and the Cynic philosopher Areius Didymus of Alexandria, and based also on "the paradigmatic figures of Heracles...and Odysseus" for both Heracles and Odysseus were linked with the concept of harmony (Aen.8 passim; Hor.Epis.1.2.6-26: Heracles was regarded as philanthropic) in his destruction of monsters and tyrants), a "most just killer".¹¹ Coleiro compares the triumph of Heracles over Cacus to the forces of Octavius against Antony (and Cleopatra) at Actium: as Hercules saves Evander by killing the monster, so Augustus saves his country from its Egyptian foe.¹²

There is an unbroken tradition of Vergilian interpreters, scholars such as Quintilian, Gellius, Donatus, Servius, Macrobius, all of whom draw conclusions similar to that of Donatus (Vita 21), who describes the Aeneid as an argumentum tum varium et multiplex, a work in which Romanae simul urbis et Augusti origo contineretur.¹³

Scholars have also noted that Vergil, who claims to have been the first to introduce into Rome pastoral poetry in the style of Theocritus (Ecl.6.1 ff.) depicts his shepherds in a much more polished way. Since Vergil's education was a sophisticated one, enabling him to portray the educated gentleman farmer, Martin concludes that Vergil's shepherds are the owners, the rich domini of the countryside.¹⁴ One is thus reminded of the French aristocracy of the 18th century who retreated to Le Petit Trianon for the rustic existence and pursuit of impromptu drama.

Other major scholars who subscribe to an allegorical connection, who detect various connections between the major characters of the epic and historical persons of Vergil's day, include Drew,¹⁵ Camps,¹⁶ Bailey,¹⁷ and Tanner.¹⁸ Bailey writes, with reference to Aeneid 6.69-70, where Aeneas promises to build a temple to Apollo and transfer there the Sibylline books, "Aeneas, if not an allegory, is the prototype of Augustus and it is impossible to doubt that Vergil intended the reference". Camps declares that there is little doubt "that the narrative of the Aeneid is at some point coloured by reminiscence of events in the career of Octavian". Coleiro forms parallel pictures of Aeneas and Octavian: neither were outstanding fighters, both had reputations as womanizers — Aeneas with Dido (4 passim) and Octavian with Scribonia. Coleiro notices too that years later Nero compared the desertion of Scribonia by Octavian and his hasty marriage with Livia immediately afterwards to the rape of the Sabines.¹⁹

The Aeneid is an extremely complex work (Donatus, Vita 21). Vergil's sources are numerous ranging from Homeric epic, Attic tragedy, Hellenistic poetry, Roman myths, Naevius, Ennius and Catullus, aetiologies and contemporary politics.²⁰ Not only is Vergil representative of Rome: he is also a Hellenistic poet, for according to Macrobius (Sat. 5.17.8), "Parthenius initiated Vergil into the mysteries of Hellenistic and especially Alexandrian poetry".²¹

Vergil's is a complicated and varied poem, one that provides a battle-ground for critics particularly on the question of allegory or symbolism. The tradition of an allegorical interpretation of the Aeneid had already begun before the close of the Classical Age, as witnessed by Donatus, Servius and Macrobius in the fourth century. Donatus thought that the order of Vergil's poems, the Eclogues, then the Georgics followed by the Aeneid paralleled the development of man's life which is first pastoral, secondly agricultural, and finally warlike. Philargyrius and Servius thought that Vergil was praising Augustus through the exploits of Aeneas. By the Middle Ages the allegorical interpretation had reached absurd proportions. Fulgentius, who wrote in the fifth or sixth century in his De Continentia Vergiliana interpreted each book in terms of the stages of man's life, a view held by John of Salisbury with regard to the first six books of the Aeneid; Bernard de Chartres considered that Vergil was describing the fortunes of the body!²² The relationship of Dido and Aeneas in the Middle Ages was understood allegorically as an example of obstacles to be faced and overcome in order to follow "an honest, laudable and fruitful life" (Dante, Convivio 4.26.8).²³ Allegorization may therefore be used to extract a number of different types of "truth" from myth or poetry: truths about ethics, about actual historical events, about the nature of the soul and the afterlife".²⁴ There is, moreover, as Hardie states, a sizeable amount of evidence to show that "stoicizing and other philosophical allegory was in general circulation;

to name only some of the mainstream works: Cicero's De Natura Deorum, the extensive utilization...of allegorical interpretations of myths in Lucretius, and drawing directly on the moralizing allegorization of Homer, Horace, Epistles 1.2".²⁵

Ambiguity in writing and veiled meaning had various names among the ancients. Plato, for instance, in the Republic (2.378 D) used the term hyponoia ("hidden meaning"), rather than allegoria, the latter term defined by Cicero as a technique whereby "one thing is said but something else is understood" (ut aliud dicatur, aliud intellegendum sit. De Or.3.41. 166). Plutarch made the observation that hyponoiai were at that time (i.e. the latter part of the first century A.D. and beginning of the second) called allegoriai (Moralia 19 E-F). Rollinson therefore concludes that saying one thing and meaning another remains the basic definition of allegory.²⁶ Duckworth, however, defines allegory more strictly: "In allegory, a must equal x and only x and usually in all its details; in symbolism a may suggest x and also y and perhaps z. Allegory confines, symbolism liberates and allows the poet several levels of meaning simultaneously".²⁷

One important factor in both symbolism and allegory is the disintegration which must take place in a reader's mind of chronology as we know it, as the major divisions of Book 11 have already implied. Ahl tells us that in antiquity there flourished many varied notions of time, and that Greek and Roman poets do not always describe sequences in time as a

modern reader would understand them. According to the Newtonian view of space and time, time is one-dimensional and moves forward: the past, present and future happen in that particular sequence. According to the theory of relativity events do not develop, they just are: there is a feeling of déjà vu. This latter idea corresponds to the ideas developed by Parmenides, the Pythagoreans and Plato, especially the Neoplatonists.

Einstein argued that the apparent development of events in time is illusory, establishing the notion of a space-time continuum. Varro (L.L. 5.12) bows to Pythagoras who had paved the way for "the quadripartite nature of virtually all things"; that is, position, body, time and action", the four-horse chariot of things. Aristotle, however, followed by Newton in the Renaissance, declared in favour of the separation of time and space. Aristotle's view was thus a reply to Parmenides and the Eleatics, who denied time altogether. Iamblichus, on the other hand, envisaged two different types of time: time that is participated in and time that participates in — the world of the $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ and the world of the $\nu\upsilon\nu$. Damascius developed the point even further, claiming that "the whole of time exists together in reality", that Nature proceeds in quantum jumps, the latter theory originating from Parmenides.

Some perception of time is necessary, as Ahl argues, if we are to assess how Vergil (and Ovid) both cyclical poets, perceived concepts of time, for strictly sequential time is not common in Greek or Latin poets, even in

the historical epicists Lucan and Silvius. Vergil, for instance, speaks of the battles of Pharsalia and Philippi as if they had been identical (Georg.1.49), as do Statius (Silvae 2.7.65-6) and Lucan (Pharsalia 7.872). Ovid too makes a similar identification (Met. 15.823-4) and is treated by scholars as though he were making an historical error. Ahl concludes accordingly that "classical scholarship is dominated by historical, annalistic, Newtonian concepts of time. Ancient epic is not".

Alexandrian and Latin epic, however, especially the Aeneid, present events which are widely separated in chronological time, as if they had occurred simultaneously. As an example of this Ahl cites Aeneas' flight from Troy via Carthage (not founded for several centuries after the Fall of Troy) to Italy. Carthage is thus urbs antiqua (Aen.1.12) and nova (Aen. 1. 366), yet it is already dead for Juno (Aen.1.12.13). Similarly rex Latinus, opening the temple of Janus to symbolize the beginning of war, is described as performing an ancient Hesperian rite, yet he does so as a Roman consul in the state robe of the deified Romulus worn in Gabinian style (Aen.7.611-14), whereas Gabii, according to Aen.6.773, had not been founded by Aeneas' day.

Ahl concludes that "when historical events enter epic they are adapted to the mythic patterns of repetition. Myth confers upon the events it assimilates a kind of eternity, moving them from the world of the nun (now) to that of the nous (mind). Time resembles the river Oceanus

encompassing the universe: time is a rheuma, a flumen, a process of flowing (Ovid Met.15.178-81).²⁸

Among the ancients censorship of writing on sensitive political issues too was a possibility, as Sir Ronald Syme so succinctly remarks: "Literature under the Empire was constrained to veiled criticism or delayed revenge upon the enemies of the government".²⁹ Historians especially were in an invidious position and were the first to fall. (Sen. Con.10. Praef 7). Secrecy too was of the utmost importance particularly when affairs of state were discussed; Cicero (Ad Fam.10.31.1,4; Ad Att. 1.18.2; Ad Quint. Frat. 1.2.7) shows a considerable preoccupation with the subject of reliable letter-carriers. Code names and pseudonyms were often adopted: Atticus himself for example is Τίτος Ἀθηναῖος (Ad Att.2.9.4); Clodia is βόωπις or "Ox-Eyes" (Ad Att.2.9.1.); P. Clodius is Paris or C. Memmius (Ad Att.1.18.20). Pompey, whose troops captured Jerusalem in 63 is obviously noster Hierosolymarius (Ad Att.2.9.1.); Mark Antony's returning exiles were referred to as Charonitae or Orcini by Plutarch (Ant.15.3); Marcus and Lucius Lucullus were termed Menelaus and Agamemnon respectively (Ad Att.1.18.3). Nor was this practice merely restricted to Cicero. Ovid, relegated to the Black Sea, uses a code or indications instead of names, obeying the letter rather than the spirit of the law (positis pro nomine signis/ dictus es: Tristia 4.4.8). At one point he wickedly reminds his "friend" that he nearly let his name slip out (excidit heu nomen quam mihi

paene tuum! Tristia 4.5.10). On another occasion he threatens his correspondent that he will keep silent only if mercy is shown to him (nomen facinusque tacebo. Tristia 4.9.1). Livy similarly refers to the pretender Herophilus-Amatius (executed by Antony) as Chamates (qui se C.Marii filium ferebat...necatus est Per. 106). Vergil too, like Ovid, would seem to use notata signa and mutatae formae (of which Ovid had fifteen volumes in his library at Rome Tristia.1.117) in his reference to Camilla's name which resembles that of Camilla's mother (nomine Casmillae mutata parte. Aen. 11.543). Starobinski, working with the notes of Saussure, also refers to codes and hidden meanings, stating that a Roman audience would be skilled in identifying certain nuances or parole sotto parole,³⁰ but detail on the procedure and clear rules for interpretation would seem to be lacking.

The first phase of language is a poetic one: it is contemporary with a society in which the poet was the main source of culturally inherited knowledge, as Homer was to Greek culture. Elizabethans claimed that in pre-Homeric times, in the days of the legendary Thracian Orpheus and Hermes Trismegistus (Egyptian Thoth, the very great), the poet was the depository of all wisdom and knowledge, the teacher, the "unacknowledged legislator" of Shelley, within his own society. "Verse with its formulaic sound schemes is the easiest vehicle for an oral culture, in which memory or the keeping alive of tradition, is of primary importance".³¹ Poetry has then to adapt to changed linguistic conditions in an attempt to preserve its culture

by allegory.³² In Vergil's own age, for instance, reading aloud was of the utmost importance. Suetonius states that Vergil read the Georgics to Augustus for four days in succession; that his delivery evidenced a suavitas, to such an extent that the poet Julius Montanus used to declare that he would have purloined some of Vergil's work if he could also have stolen his voice, expression and dramatic power: for these verses sounded well ipso pronuntiante but without him were flat and toneless (Suet. Vergil 28-30).

That Vergil, as one of the Neoterici poets who found new writing patterns in Alexandria, was well versed in Hellenistic writing techniques there would seem to be no doubt. Stanford in his detailed study on ambiguities in Greek literature claims that one is under a misapprehension if one believes that "the more ingenious uses of verbal ambiguity were a pernicious product of fifth century Sophistry". He claims that poets from Homer to Aeschylus used almost all types of verbal ambiguity: that it was only because of Sophistic uses that a thinker such as Aristotle considered all ambiguity to be "a perversion or failing of language instead of its natural and valuable quality".³³ Verbal ambiguity is thus shown to be an intrinsic part of language, stemming from the days of poetic innocence before the "serpent of sophistry beguiled it".³⁴ Stanford points out that the ancient Greeks wrote free of analysis and grammar-books and dictionaries, that performance came first: theory and analysis merely followed.³⁵

Features of ambiguous writing as demonstrated by Stanford include:- paranomasia (a play on words which sound alike, a word-punning). Gorgias, for example, used a stiff kind of word-play with the word χρύσιος, playing upon the character's name and the word in Greek for "gold" (Ep,83.134),³⁶ a characteristic evidently employed by Cicero with his play on Verres (praetor of Sicily) and verres (aper, porcus) resulting in verrinum ius, a pork-broth as opposed to Verres' legislation (Cic.Verr.2.1.46; 1.46.121). McCartney refers to a similar play with the word rex (or cognomen Rex): "Like wine, the play upon the name Rex apparently grew better as it was seasoned. We find it on the lips of Cicero (Ad att.1. 16.10), Caesar (Suet.Div. Iul.79.2) and Horace (Sat.1.7)".³⁷ Vergil too would seem to indulge in the game with his play upon the word chloreus (χλωρός = gold) and Chloreus who shone in his golden finery (Aen.11.768 ff.).

Another feature of ambiguity is asapheia (lack of clarity in speech) as opposed to σαφήνεια (clear speech). Aristotle (Rhet.2.24) extends this figure of speech to include homonyms (ambiguities in the meaning of single words) and amphibole (ambiguous grammatical discourse producing misconceptions).³⁸ Examples of homonyms in Vergil would be a lurking Helen after the Fall of Troy (Aen.2.574) where he plays on the meanings of invisa (= "hated" or "unseen"): similarly Lavinia causa mali tanti (Aen. 11.480) might be the reason for the disaster or the cause of it. Asapheia also involves: zeugma (a junction of two words under the same modifier

although the common factor strictly applies to one), such as oculos telumque tetendit (Aen. 5.508: cf Tib. 1.4.66; Tac. Ann. 2.29.2); parenthesis (Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis, aspice... Aen. 2.689; cf 4.125, 11.323, 368); metaphor (Homer Iliad 2.457,459. cf Aen. 691 where Messapus' country folk are bronze-plated yet like swans, and Aen. 11.273-4, where Diomedes' socii are birds). Aristotle and Quintilian agree on the use of sustained ambiguity which is to be avoided, although Quintilian does justify its use when it is unsafe to speak openly. (Rhet. 3.5.1407-11; Inst. 9. 2.65 ff.).

Other widely used components of ambiguous writing include synthesis and diaeresis (ambiguities of composition and division). Vergil gives an example of diaeresis in his mis-reading of Homer's εἶν Ἀρίφους (Iliad 2.783. cf Inarime Iovis imposto Typhaeo Aen. 9.716). Irony, especially Socratic irony or riddling obscurity, combining accuracy with an anxiety to avoid offending, was notable for its blend of humour and skill. Examples include Patroclus' exulting over Cebriones who has fallen fighting from his chariot:- ἦ μάλ' ἐλαφὸς ἀνὴρ ὡς πρῆξ κούβιστος (Iliad 16.745), Euripides, Medea 446, Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus 293, Cicero, Verrine Orations 2.4.127 (iste eruditus homo et Graeculus qui subtiliter indicat, qui solus intellegit...)³⁹, to which one may add Vergil's ignobile otium (Geo. 4.564) and imbellem... Indum (Geo. 2.172), the latter example finding its parallel in Antony's description of Caesar's assassins as "honourable men" (Shakespeare Julius Caesar Act 3. Sc.2).

Characterisation by name among the ancients was a favourite ploy. Astyanax (Iliad 22.506-7) for instance was so named because his father Hector defended Ilium, yet elsewhere Homer tells us that he was also called Scamandrius (Iliad 6.402-3): the $\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\iota\varsigma$ incident with the Cyclops (Homer Od. 9.364) is probably the most famous example,⁴⁰ Other examples would include Cleopatra ("glory to her father") and its masculine variant Patroclus,⁴¹ Ucalegon ("uncaring." Aen.2.312), Drances, possibly meaning "the skilled orator" (Aen.11.336), and Dido (in Hebrew the "beloved", a translation of the Latin Amata. Aen.4, passim).

Another frequently employed figure in allegory is allusion or the use of covert reference to people, places or events.⁴² Evander, for instance, refers to promises made by Aeneas (non haec dederas promissa petenti. Aen. 11.152), promises earlier reflected in Aeneas' own words when viewing the body of Pallas (non haec Evandro de te promissa parenti/ discedens dederam Aen.11.45-6), references which to a Roman intellectual audience would evoke Ariadne's words when abandoned by Theseus (at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti/voce mihi. Catullus 64.139-40). Many allusive factors emerge in the treatment by Horace and Vergil of regina Cleopatra (Hor. Odes 1.37: cf Vergil Aen. 8.696 for the direct approach), who has nuances of Dido (Aen.1,4 passim) Amata (Aen.7.405 ff.), Camilla (Aen.432 ff.) and Juturna (Aen.12 passim). Proceeding upon these lines Norma P. Miller, in a paper discussing Tacitus' indebtedness to Vergil, states that if

one can catch certain resonances between texts, one is justified in asking whether the reader is being given further information about the subject matter.⁴³ Among graphic phrases examined are: lymphatis (animis), which is employed with reference to rioting troops (Tac.Hist. 82.1); Vergil uses the phrase in connection with Amata who loses all self-control at Aeneas' proposed marriage with Lavinia (Aen.7.377 ff.); Horace with Cleopatra in her bid to overrun the Roman empire (mentemque lymphatam Odes 1.37.14); and Catullus of the betrayed Ariadne (lymphata mente 64.254), thereby forming an allusive connection with the idea of betrayal and frenzy.⁴⁴

In view of the examples cited, it seems clear that Vergil and classical writers generally were aware of allegorical allusory techniques employed since the time of Homer. Ambiguity would therefore appear to have manifold usages:

(1) to display verbal dexterity, (2) to appeal to an apparent argument in the language itself by etymologia, a "relic of a superstitious belief in the mystic significance of words", (3) to set up vague or conflicting emotions in listeners' minds, and (4) to deceive or, far more important, to portray others being deceived.⁴⁵

Having attempted to demonstrate that the ancients were manifestly exposed to various theories of chronology and were immersed in history and mythology, on reading the Aeneid, one is immediately conscious

of a vast array of characters, of a bewildering battery of names taken from literature, religion and history such as Paris, Achilles, Odysseus, Mezentius, Hector, Messapus, Evander, Latinus, Camilla, Amata and Dido, who belong to various periods of history and have much in common. In view of the fact that Cicero refers to Julius Caesar as a despot, a Phalaris and a Peisander⁴⁶ (doublets used effectively to highlight the concept of tyranny), and that Phalaris was equated with Verres (Cic.Verr. 2.4.53) and with Ovid's enemy to whom he wrote from the Black Sea (Tristia 3.1.39 ff.), that Cicero called Clodius "a lucky Catiline"), Apronius "another Verres", L. Piso "that Semiramis" as well as a "barbarian Epicurus", Antony "your new Hannibal", and Verres "another Cyclops",⁴⁷ that Tiberius princeps referred to his own dead son Drusus by the pseudonym Hector (Suet.Tib.52.2) and that Romulus and Remus were names employed by Lucan to refer to Nero and his adoptive brother Britannicus (B.C.7.432)⁴⁸ there emerges a concept of typology involving a seemingly natural use of names taken from history and historical literature (as the fusion on the Shield of Aeneas would suggest. Aen.8.62 ff.). This might be explained by the fact that we seem to be dealing with a highly educated élite, exposed to Latin and Greek, and to politics and diplomatic niceties. Certainly this would be true of the examples cited for their users are in total contact with the outstanding personalities of their day as well as being writers of the first order. Taking all these points into consideration it seems to be inevitable that aspects of

political situations and important characters invade a text, whether by accident or design, for at a certain point, as the ancients obviously appreciated, literature and history become inseparable.⁴⁹ At this juncture it is apposite to examine Vergil's major characters in Book 11.

AMBIGUOUS ELEMENTS IN VERGIL, AENEID 11

AENEAS

That Aeneas shows the reader glimpses of Augustus has already been noted. This is especially evident, as Camps and Coleiro point out,⁵⁰ in the combination of crown of oak-leaves and shield (honours voted to Augustus in 27 B.C.) which are symbolized in Venus' stationing the shield of Aeneas under an oak (Aen. 8.615 ff.). Moreover Aeneas as natus dea (Aen.5.474), a goddess' son (like Achilles), reflects the "divine" nature of Augustus. His association with Oriental ruler cults is suggested by the title Sebastos (a translation of Augustus), by reliefs concerned with the "pharaoh" Augustus, carved, for example, on the exterior south wall of the temple of Dendur and re-constructed in the Sackler wing in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.⁵¹ The association of Italy with the East was long-standing. From the sixth century B.C. onwards, Rome

had been in contact with Greek influences, through the Greek settlements in Italy and in Sicily, and indirectly, through Etruria. In the fifth century the Dioscuri were already being worshipped at Lavinium⁵². Hence there would seem to be definite precedents for Vergil's epic fusion of Graeco-Etruscan-Italic cults. After the first Punic war (264-241 B.C.), which resulted in Rome's taking possession of Sicily (so beloved by Vergil Ecl.1.54; 7.37), the Western half of the Greek world was firmly under Roman control.

As Walbank shows, there appear to have also been links between the Roman West and the Ptolemies: for instance Hiero II of Syracuse followed a taxation system, which we hear of in Cicero's Verrine Orations, which exhibits many parallels with Ptolemy II's revenue laws. The cities which granted asylia to the temple of Asclepius in Cos (cf Aen.7.769; Georg.4.315 ff.) in 242 were Naples and Elea in Italy, and Camarina and Phintias in Sicily, and Cos — at this time — was within the Ptolemaic sphere of interest.⁵³ Cairns too notes that the interest in kingship among important Romans had material effects, such as the royal trappings employed by victorious Roman generals. Lucius Aemilius Paulus for instance — connected with the Aemilii Lepidi family — in the third century B.C. allegedly sailed up the Tiber in a Macedonian galley.⁵⁴

Roman life was also affected by contact with the Greek world, for from the third century B.C. onwards, doctors, philosophers, traders, hostages all poured into Rome. The plunder of Syracuse and Corinth

brought the Romans into contact with costly Greek works of art: Roman villas became increasingly luxurious. Rome became, in fact, a Hellenistic city.⁵⁵ Livius Andronicus (284-204), the earliest Latin poet, was a Greek from Tarentum; Quintus Ennius (239-169) came from Calabria, where he was in contact with the Greek philosophical schools of Southern Italy. His Annales provided a great epic of the Roman past. Fabius Pictor, Cincius Alimentus and Postumius Albinus were all Roman statesmen, writing not in Latin but in Greek. Even Cato whose Origines (which Vergil obviously knew so well and which provided his principal source for Mezentius and Latinus) was the first work in Latin prose and was reputed to have been influenced much more by Greek models than "its author's reputed contempt for all things Greek would lead us to expect".⁵⁶

A further aspect of this Hellenistic process was the growth of a native theatre. Ennius wrote plays derived from Sophocles and the Trojan cycle; Naevius wrote tragedies and historical plays as well as comedies, and Plautus and Terence were influenced by the Athenian Menander.⁵⁷

Another important factor affecting resemblances between Aeneas and Augustus, a Trojan hero and Roman emperor, is the geography of the Aeneid. Cairns writes: "...Troy and Italy in particular...are united by destiny, in that Rome will become the new morally purified Troy: ...throughout the epic Virgil has continued to blur the distinctions between Troy and Italy and even to suggest that Troy is Italy, or rather, since Troy

cannot be refounded...that Italy is Troy...Taken out of context, however, the concept that Italy is Troy is hardly credible". Cairns further shows that Aeneas is both Italian and non-Italian, a "foreigner" who will eventually marry Latinus' daughter, whereas Turnus, though a native Italian, is an alien (10.746). Ironically as a descendant of Dardanus (4.222), who came originally from Troy to Italy, Aeneas has Italy as his true patria and destination. However to Amata, Aeneas is merely a Trojan exile (Phrygius pastor 7.363); Turnus on the other hand is of impeccable Mycenaean descent (7.372). Similarly Evander of the Palatine is optimus Graiugenum 8.127) related to the Atreidae and to Aeneas.⁵⁸

Octavian is associated with various deities. He was popularly regarded as Apollo, a connection which was emphasised after the Battle of Naulochus (cf Hor.Carmen Saeculare 51-2; Odes 1.2.32) and an equation of greater dignity in the Roman world than Antony's with Dionysus.⁵⁹ Boas notes that Apollo was the god of the whole civilised Graeco-Roman world.⁶⁰ The temple of Palatine Apollo with its libraries would certainly accord with Boas' observations, and Vergil too in a simile compares Apollo and Aeneas directly in highly flattering terms (Aen.4.143-9). According to



Fig. 39. Glass cameo. The Apollonian snake winds around the tripod, behind its head a nimbus of sunlight. Tripod, feeding chickens, augur's staff, and ladle (*simpvium*) allude to the three priesthoods to which Octavian then belonged, thus linking the snake of Apollo directly to him.

Paul Zanker. The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1988 Fig.39

Paul Zanker. The Power of Images in the
Age of Augustus. University of Michigan
Press, Ann Arbor, 1988. Fig. 61

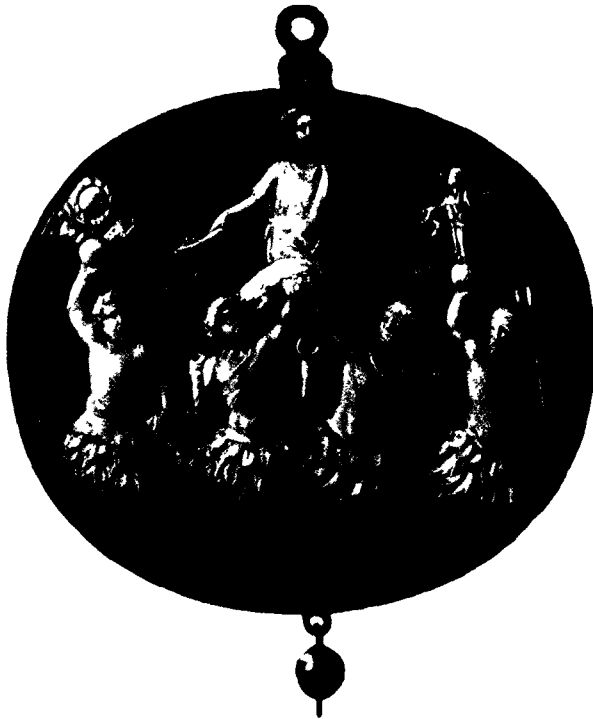


Fig. 81. Sardonyx. Augustus in a chariot drawn by Tritons. The sea creatures hold rudders; Victoria with oak wreath and *clipeus virtutis* with Capricorns and globe.

Ovid, Augustus as Apollo was a poet and a soldier (Ex ponte 4.8.75-6). As Jupiter, however, Caesar made only mild reference to his thunderbolt (Ovid Ex Ponte 1.7.46; Tristia 1.1.81; 1.4.26): for Horace, Caesar is Jupiter's vice-regent on earth (Odes 1.14), and is Mercury also (Hor.Odes 1.2.41.cf Aen.4.558). Octavian was also associated with sea gods (deus immensi... maris. Geo. 2.29) and with Tritons, a connection reflected in artworks,⁶¹ with Ptolemaic associations. The Ptolemies as Alexander the Great's descendants, were similarly accorded the attributes of Zeus and Poseidon.⁶² Hellenism, it would appear, had truly invaded the Roman world.

The poets also associated Octavian with hero-gods such as Hercules, a connection already noted in the Hercules-Cacus episode (Aen.8.184 ff.cf Hor. Odes 3.3.12). Feeney recognizes him as an ἡλεσίκακος, who won immortality as a benefactor of mankind.⁶³ Heilmann similarly notes a comparison between Octavian and Hercules in the Hercules-Cacus episode, seeing an association of Aeneas and Hercules versus the monstrous Cacus and Mezentius,⁶⁴ while Camps sees in the Vergilian episode a reflection of Octavian's inclusion among the Salii, dancing priests involved with the celebrations at the Ara Maxima in honour of Hercules.⁶⁵ Augustus was also associated with Romulus, as suggested by Juno's speech on the future greatness of Rome. (Hor. Odes 3.3.9 ff:cf Aen.12.808 ff.). Romulus provided a parallel for the popular view of a "divine" Augustus (Aen.6.789-90) and for the emphasis placed during his principate on public shows and

games, temple-building and marriage laws (cf Livy I.9.10). The Romulus-Aeneas association has also been noted by Griffin (ad.I.292.Remo cum fratre Quirinus), especially in the games held by Octavian, in particular the lusus Troiae (cf Aen. 5.556 ff.).⁶⁶ The wolf connection in Romulus' story (Livy I.4.6. cf Aen.8.630-4) is reflected in Propertius' Romulus (4.10.20) who wears a wolf-cap similar to that worn by Ornytus, Camilla's opponent (Aen.11.681).

Achilles formed a model for Vergil's Aeneas particularly in the fifth book of the Aeneid dealing with the funeral games held in memory of Anchises (cf Iliad 23 where games were held at the funeral of Patroclus), and in Aeneas'slaying of live victims at Pallas'pyre (Aen.10.517-20;11.81-82 cf Iliad. 21.27 ff.; 23.175 ff. where Achilles commits a similar act of barbarity at the pyre of Patroclus).⁶⁷ R. D. Williams inter alios notes that the very fact that Vergil included this "act of savagery" must be accorded full significance: he compares it to the report in Suetonius (Div. Aug.15) that Octavian at Perugia offered human sacrifice to the shade of Julius Caesar.⁶⁸ Human sacrifice is a very rare yet recurrent feature in Greek and Roman literature and Aeneas' behaviour would appear difficult to exonerate. As Cairns notes, any reference to such behaviour serves to underline the importance of Pallas.⁶⁹ It is, however, still disputed among scholars as to whether the human sacrifice of three hundred at Perugia ever really took place, for Kraggerud argues that adverse propaganda may account for the macabre episode. Suetonius (Aug.25) and Dio Cassius (48.14.4) refer to

mass executions, whereas Appian (B.C. 5.46.192-5, 49.207) implies that only a few were executed and that Octavian tried to find "a reasonable balance between amnesty and punishment".⁷⁰ Farron notes the literary and historical precedents already mentioned, but refuses to whitewash Aeneas, pointing to the use of immolo (10.519. 12.949) as killing someone in vengeance, which was certainly the case in his unheroic treatment of Turnus also. In discussing the possible allusion to Octavian, Farron concludes that four approaches were used by those who did not want Octavian's brutal acts during the civil wars to create an unfavourable impression of him. They included denial that such actions had occurred, application of the proverb optima civilis belli defensio oblivio est (Seneca Con.10.3.5), lack of choice in the circumstances, and finally the propaganda that Octavian's civil war-record was outweighed by his constructive achievements.⁷¹ Like R. D. Williams, Farron notes that Vergil's mention of human sacrifice must have been deliberate since there were literary precedents for avoiding mention of such a gruesome act. For example in Aeschylus' Agamemnon, both Agamemnon and the Chorus (247-8) avoid mention of his intention to sacrifice Iphigenia and do not describe it; similarly in Euripides (I.T.37 and 41) Iphigenia refuses to describe the sacrifices in which she participates; Ovid (Tristia 4.4.68) merely writes (Iphigenia) sacra deae coluit qualiacumque. Vergil's inclusion of this

episode might lead the reader to suppose that Aeneas-and possibly Octavian-were being subtly criticised.⁷²

A further Achilles-Octavian parallel is suggested by the fact, as Appian tells us, that Octavian was actually called Achilles and that his mother Atia was referred to as Thetis (Appian BC.3.2.13). Comparison with Achilles is also reflected in the career of Alexander the Great: his tutor Lysimachus bestowed upon the Macedonian king the sobriquet of Achilles, calling himself Phoenix (cf custodes lecti Phoenix et divus Ulixes Aen.2,762).⁷³ Like Alexander of Macedon, Octavian also used the Sphinx as a seal on his ring (Suet.Div. Aug.50).⁷⁴ Moreover Alexander grieved excessively at the death of his favourite Hephaestion,⁷⁵ thereby mirroring the comparable grief of Achilles and Patroclus and of Aeneas for Pallas.

Aeneas is also paralleled with Paris by Juno (7.321; 10.79), by Amata (7.363), by Iarbas (ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu 4.215), by Numanus Remulus (9.600) and by Turnus (9.136-9): it should accordingly follow that Lavinia, bride of Aeneas would be a second Helen.⁷⁶ He similarly brings to mind Odysseus, especially in his descent to the Land of the Dead (cf Aen.6 and Od.11), his shipwreck in Aeneid I (81-179)" where more than three-quarters of the material corresponds closely with the episode and incident of Odyssey 5-8",⁷⁷ his wanderings (for example his encounter with the Harpies cf Aen.3.210 ff. Od.12.260),⁷⁸ and the episode of Achaemenides (3.588 ff.) who describes Polyphemus, as well as in the

reference to Aeneas' beautiful hair, as already developed in Chapter 2.

Aeneas has also much in common with the Greek hero at the centre of Book 11, Diomedes (as also noted earlier). Diomedes in Vergil is always associated with Aeneas (11.404; 12.351) and with Ulysses (2.164,197), so much so that he appears to be an alter ego. The employment of more than one name for one person is mentioned by Cicero (ad Att.11.5.1) and has been touched upon earlier. Diomedes' treachery (tentoria...primo prodita somno 1.470) is a noted characteristic of Aeneas also (perfide 4.305; ambire 4.283; Aeneas' men are taciti, dissimulent 4.289-91).⁷⁹ Moreover in Ovid Heroides 7, Dido calls Aeneas treacherous (perfide Her.7.79.118) untruthful (omnia mentiris Her.7. 81)19, and the causa of her death (Her.7.195).

Yavetz argues that Octavian too was an accomplished dissimulator, outdoing even Cicero (ad Fam. 5.7.12, ad Att.2.1.2), and that he did not even blush when asking others to praise his deeds: he used subtler means, such as the destruction of historical source material which might incriminate him (Appian BC 5.132; Dio Cassius 52.42.8; Suet. Div. Aug.31), and discouragement of his opponents' open vilification him of (non est enim facile in eum scribere qui potest proscribere Macr.Sat.2.4.21).⁸⁰ Diomedes, like Aeneas, revels in bloodshed (Tydides multa vastabat caeda 1.470 cf (Aeneas) metit gladio... ardens...agit ferro, te, Turne, superbum caede nova



b

A bduction of a woman and Diomedes carrying the Palladium.

Diomedes, his back to the tumult, holds the large Palladium: Troy must fall, so that Rome may be founded and her present greatness realized. The figure of Diomedes is also important elsewhere in Augustan art, because of both the rape and the rescue of the Palladium. Just as once Diomedes (or Aeneas) had rescued the Palladium that was now worshiped in the Temple of Vesta, so had Augustus saved it, as Varro would say (cf. p. 103) through his preservation of the Roman state. For this reason he and later emperors were sometimes represented as Diomedes.

Paul Walker. The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1988. Fig. 161

quaerens 10.514-15). Deceptively Diomedes calms Venulus' fears (placido ore 11.251), yet is clearly aware of Aeneas' plans (8.16-17) which include taking the city of Latinus by surprise.

Not averse to harming a goddess (Iliad 5.337 ff. cf Veneris violavi vulnere dextram. Aen. 11.277), and associated in art with rape, Diomedes parallels Achilles, who wounds the Amazonian Penthesilea (Aen. 1.466 ff.), Aeneas, who "marries" Dido (rapta...nympha Aen. 4.198), and Arruns, who violates Camilla's person (Aen. 11.801 ff.). As already noted in Chapter 2, Vergil has substituted the Phrygius praedo (11.484) for Homer's Diomedes (Iliad 6.297 ff.), Phrygian being an epithet for Aeneas (cf 7.363). As Gransden writes, "the role of Diomedes has been transferred to Aeneas".⁸¹ Zanker not only makes an additional connection between Diomedes and Aeneas (both of whom had also rescued the Palladium), but also parallels them with Augustus, stating that "he and later emperors were sometimes represented as Diomedes".⁸²

Aeneas throughout most of the Aeneid is the epitome of pietas and clementia, the ideal ruler. Although he has much in common with gods and heroes, Vergil, nevertheless, portrays in Books 10-11 his less desirable qualities and occasional lapses. He is immemor at the siege of Troy (2.244), amens (2.314), a prey to ira and furor. (2.316) as when he kills Turnus (12.946-7): he can be vengeful, as the captive episodes show (10.517-20;

11.81-2) and occasionally inclement as the slaughter of the pleading Mago demonstrates (10.523-36), thereby exhibiting barbaric and un-Greek behaviour (Eur.Heracl.123-31),⁸³ and a total disregard of Anchises' precept to spare the vanquished (parcere subiectis 6.853). Acer in armis (12.938) volvens oculos (12.939), furiis accensus et ira terribilis (12.946-7), he resembles his enemies Mezentius and Turnus; yet in Aeneas' case a lack of self-control would appear to be the exception rather than the rule.

Vergil frequently employs animal imagery in his descriptions. Turnus is portrayed as a retreating lion harassed by hunters, a Carthaginian lion (12.6). Aeneas and his companions are portrayed as wolves (2.355). To the Sabellians and to the ancients generally animals, such as the wolf and the woodpecker, were worshipped as divinities.⁸⁴ Arruns, Camilla's assailant also belongs to the Hirpini (11.785), whose name was reputed to be derived from hirpus, the Oscan word for "wolf", in keeping with the tradition that "the Hirpini had been originally led to their historical habitat by a wolf on the occasion of the ver sacrum or Sacred Spring".⁸⁵ Arruns is also a wolf-priest, someone who took part in special ceremonies on Soracte during which they danced barefoot on burning wood.⁸⁶ After felling Camilla, Arruns flees like a wolf who has killed a shepherdess (pastore 11.811) or a magnificent bullock (magnove iuenco 11.811). Arruns, his cowardly deed accomplished, then mingles with the others (contentusque fuga mediis se immiscuit armis 11.815), only to be hit

by an unseen archer later (11.864) prefiguring Aeneas' similar predicament when wounded by an arrow before his final encounter with Turnus (12.385 ff.). The wolf is a hunter, the bane of flocks (Ecl.7.52;8.52); the hunter is an image which Horace also uses with regard to Octavian in his "Cleopatra" Ode: he is portrayed as an accipiter (Odes I.37.17. cf Aen.11.721), who frightens mollis columbas (Odes I.37.18. cf columbam comprehensamque... eviscerat uncis Aen.11.722-24), a venator longing to enchain a monstrum (Odes I.37.19).⁸⁷

Aeneas is also connected with snakes: in Aen.2.379 he is compared to a hidden snake. Apollo with whom Aeneas has already been connected (as also was Octavian) was similarly associated with serpents.⁸⁸ Octavian, a future Pharaoh, was prophetically connected with serpents at his birth (Suet.Aug.94), the serpent being also a Pharaonic symbol for it adorned the crown of the Pharaoh as well as the Sun-God's brow⁸⁹ and was part of the Pharaonic insignia⁹⁰ which Octavius was later to inherit. These serpents' scales were also part of Chloereus' — Camilla's enemy's — equipment (Aen.11.770-71).

One is therefore led to conclude that Camilla's enemies generally represented aspects of Aeneas and that in terms of contemporary society Octavian would appear to align with Chloereus and Arruns.

TURNUS

Turnus, champion of his native land (7.531, 469;10-75) has been regarded by some scholars as reflecting Mark Antony: Coleiro notes that "Vergil allows Antony to fall in the person of Turnus but admires his resistance and sheds on it the brilliant colours of bravery and glory".⁹¹ Drew claims: "Antony supplies Virgil with material for the character of Turnus, and Turnus' death must have suggested to contemporary Romans the fate of Antony in Egypt, if they identified Augustus with Aeneas".⁹² Tanner sees the resemblance of Antony to Turnus, but admits that the partnership of Octavian and Antony at Philippi offers a problem.⁹³ Turnus' material distinction in the catalogue centred on his arms: a helmet supporting a chimaera spouting Etnaeian flames, and a shield decorated with the Egyptian story of Io (7.785-92 cf Aesch.P.V.561 ff; Ovid Met.1.583 ff; Apollod.9, where Io is identified with Isis). Already as a result of the furor implanted in him by Allecto, agent of Juno, he was angry and raging with battle-lust (exarsit in iras 7.445;arma armens fremit 7.46; saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli, via super 7.461-2); he has much in common with Antony whom Cicero actually represents as a gladiator (opinio ...obruet scelerati gladiatoris amentiam Phil.5.12.32), and even as a Hannibal (ergo Hannibal hostis, civis Antonius? Phil.5.25,27;6.4,6; 13.25; 14.9). That cruelty was an integral part of Turnus' nature is shown by his aristeia in the Trojan camp (9.672-818), by his vicious treatment of Lycus (9.672-818), and

especially by his barbaric wounding of the youthful Pallas of unequal strength (viribus imparibus 10.459 ff.), prompting the poet to predict that as a result Turnus' own death would not be long in coming (10.467 ff.).

Cruelty was also an aspect of Antony's character, as witnessed by his treatment of the Marsian legion and his inhumanity towards the inhabitants of Parma, one of Antony's own cities (Cic.Phil.10.10). After receiving Juno's instructions via Iris to attack the Trojans, Turnus prays (9.24) only to contradict this act of faith by boasting for all to hear that although, unlike Aeneas, he had no arms specially forged for him by Vulcan he was not afraid of fate (9.148, 9.133). His flaw is hybris, (the flaw so warned against by the ancients). Turnus' end is, in tragic contexts, a forgone conclusion! Turbidus, restless (9.57,58) in his anxiety to attack, on this one occasion he resembles a wolf lying in wait (lupus insidiatus 9.59-64). Asper et improbus ira (9.62) he is poised to pounce and vent his fury on his prey (9.59-64). Finally he attacks the fleet waving a flaming pine-branch (9.72)-Mezentius' weapon also (9.522). Turnus (asper, acerba tuens) in his retreat (9.794), recalls Ajax in Iliad 15 and 16. After spitefully wounding Pallas (cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset 10.443; qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto (Evandro) 10.942; haud illi stabunt Aeneia parvo/hospitia 10.494-95), in an arrogant and typically Homeric manner he despoils his young victim of his balteus with its impressum nefas (10.497) on which was engraved the sacrilegious killing by the daughters of Danaus

of the sons of Aegyptus: another omen of treachery to come. Like Mark Antony, Turnus shows himself to be gladiatorial (Cic.Phil.3.31; 5.10;20,7.17), insolens, immanis (Cic.Ad Fam.10.1.1): yet Turnus had a magnetic effect on women, for even vicious Juno considers him to be pius and insons (10.617, 630-1) as she pleads on his behalf with Jupiter and actually attempts to rescue him from Aeneas' vengeance (10.633 ff.). Camilla and Juturna are willing to die to save him (11.823-28; 10.633 ff.). Here too, Turnus has much in common with Antony, for Fulvia and Cleopatra, women with "no thought for spinning or house-keeping" (Plut.Ant.10.3) were totally swayed by him and deeply concerned about his interests.

That Antony also had a generous and unselfish side to his character and an easy disposition is stated by Plutarch (Ant.6.4). In fact despite his conflicts with Julius Caesar (Plut.Ant.6.6-7) he was reinstated after the Spanish war and actually offered Caesar the crown (Cic. Phil. 10.6), being a despot himself by nature (Plut.Ant. 6.6). He did the same with Ptolemy Auletes (Plut.Ant. 3) and became very popular with the people of Alexandria as a result. One is reminded of the fiery and irascible Tarchon (igneus 11.746; turbidus 11.742; moriturus 11.741) who offered the crown to Evander (8.505-6). Although reluctant to wound his enemy Venulus (11.725 ff.;11.434 ff.), Turnus, having come to a decision, acts brutally and boastfully (ovans 11,758 [of Tarchon], 10.500 [of Turnus]).

Turnus has also a great deal in common with Mezentius. Both kill countless numbers barbarically (10.736; cf 12.509-12), yet both rise in stature in their encounters with Aeneas, accepting death heroically and with dignity (10.900-908; 12.931-32) from an enemy who at this point ignores clementia. Both Turnus and Mezentius are concerned for their respective burials — as though they distrust any honourable impulses on the part of Aeneas: Mezentius desires to be buried with his son; Turnus wants to be buried with his own people (10.904-906; 12.935-36). Heilmann has connected Mezentius with Turnus in the Hercules-Cacus episode in Aeneid, 8⁹⁴ and Drew has identified Turnus with Cacus,⁹⁵ so it would seem logical to connect Mezentius and Turnus with Antony, for just as in Vergil's beehive there cannot be two reges.⁹⁶

One of the most interesting parallels of Turnus, however, is that with Hector: the merciless wounding of Patroclus by an irate Hector is paralleled by that of Pallas by Turnus.⁹⁷ Vergil gives the reader of Aeneid 1 an interesting glimpse of things to come in Aeneid 10 by dwelling upon the frieze in Juno's temple complex which depicted a mutilated Hector (calling to mind Mezentius and Marcus Fufetius 8.642; 11.9) being dragged along by Achilles' chariot (1.483-86). Vergil's allusion to Hector's tumulus, watched over by a sorrowing Andromache (3.304 ff) finds its parallel in Cleopatra's libations at Antony's tomb (Plut.Ant.84.2).

CAMILLA

Camilla has much in common with heroes and heroines throughout the Aeneid: she would seem to function as a connecting link between the heroes par excellence (Aeneas, Turnus and Mezentius) and the more youthful element whose heroic aspirations meet with tragic conclusions.

All four "super" heroes have Homeric aristeiai (9.691 ff.; 10.570 ff.; 10.689 ff.11.532 ff.) All are victims (only occasionally it would seem in the person of Aeneas) of furor (8.489;11.709; 11.901; 12.946). Camilla, together with Mezentius and Turnus, is among the primi ductores of the Latins. They are superbi (Turnus 10.514, Mezentius 10.852; Camilla-classed with Metabus-11.539), asper (7.647; 9.62;11.66), dashing in their bravura and tireless as they move from one victim to another, representatives of wild primitive backgrounds. All three are associated with trees (9.72; 9.521-2; 11.667). Camilla actually began her life tied to her father's oaken-spear, whereas Turnus' alter ego Mezentius, ended his by draping an oak. Thus all three were bound to wood and thus-by extension-to warfare and hunting. They are associated with fire (7.785-6; 9.522; 11.718) and water (10.557 ff.; 10.833-4; 11.547 ff.) courageous in facing death (10.901; 11.823; 12.932), capable of outstanding loyalty and attachment to a cause: Mezentius to Lausus (10.846 ff) and Camilla to Turnus (11.825). All three were devoted to expelling the Trojan invader.

In common with certain more youthful heroes, detrimental qualities too are present, such as fiducia (Turnus 10.276; Camilla 11.502), violentia (Turnus 12.9), audacia (Pallas 8.110.; Turnus.9.3; Nisus and Euryalus 9.320; Lausus 10.811; Camilla 11.503), caedis insana cupido (Nisus and Euryalus 9.354; Turnus 9.760; Pallas 10.398 ff.; Lausus 10.813; Camilla 11.648), and amor habendi (Euryalus 9.365; Turnus 10.500; Camilla 11.782). Each in the end through premature death is regarded as infelix (Nisus and Euryalus 9.430; Lausus 10.850, Camilla 11.563) and miserandus (Lausus 10.825; Pallas 11.42; Camilla 11.593).

Camilla, apart from having much in common with the heroes of the Aeneid has an even stronger link with Vergil's other heroines. Royal maidens or reginae are to be found throughout e.g. Dido (7.36 ff.; 4 passim), Amata (7.343 ff), Creusa (2.650 ff.). Andromache (3.303 ff.), Juturna (12.142, passim). Dido is impressive and pulchra, as is Camilla (I.496; 7.803). Amata too is majestic as she processes to the temple (11.447-9). Dido resembles Diana in a simile (I.498-503); Camilla is the goddess' acolyte (11.532 ff.); like Camilla, Dido is a huntress (4.136-40); both are elaborately dressed in rich cloaks and royal purple and gold (4.136-40; 7.814-17). Dido has connections with various deities (e.g. with Juno and Diana I.494 ff.); she calls upon Erebus Chaos and Hecate, who is Diana of the three faces (4.510-11); she sacrifices to Juno, Ceres, Apollo and Bacchus (4.57-9); in her frenzy-like Amata, she even resembles a Bacchanal (4.301-2; 7.385, 389). Camilla's

crook resembles a Bacchic thyrsus (7.817) like those carried by Amata and her matres (7.395-6). Ululare (4.609; 7.395; 11.662) is used of ritual cries in the cult of Hecate/Diana, of the war-cries of the Amazons, votaries of Diana and of the cries of the followers of Bacchus, a cult which Servius claimed (ad Ecl. 5.29) was re-introduced by Julius Caesar upon his return from the East. Vergil's Cleopatra too has a Bacchic rattle (regina...patrio vocat agmina sistro 8.696), Juturna has connections with the gods,⁹⁸ with Juno (12.142 ff.). Like Camilla, Juturna (Turnus' sister 12.138) is divine (12.139: Cf:11.658) and a decus too (12.142. cf 11.508). Camilla, Dido, Amata and Juturna are all androgynous in character: Camilla and Juturna indulge in warfare (11.498 ff. cf 12.245 ff.), Amata urges warfare against the Trojans and Aeneas (7.582), Dido dispenses justice to her subjects (1.505-7). Dido is also a dux (1.364) as Camilla is to her virgines and Amata to her matres. Dido, Camilla and Amata, because of excessive passion are betrayers: Dido betrays the memory of Sychaeus (1.24-29), Camilla betrays herself by her insatiable love of warfare (11.584-85) and cupido for gold (11.782), and Amata, centre of a complex set of relationships betrays her role as queen and wife (7.344-5; 373-404).

Vergil's heroines are all victims of amor in some form or another: Dido, as a result of her love for Aeneas, becomes irresponsible (4.193-4) and frenzied (4.381 ff.,604 ff.); infelix Juturna, seeing Turnus' end in sight, longs for death (12.870-884) and is given, like Cleopatra (8.711-14), a dignified

Ptolemaic-like end (12.885) by being received under the water;⁹⁹ Amata, an Italic queen, as a result of her mirus amor (7,57) for Turnus was reported to have ended her own life (12.659-60) by suicide, distraught and hysterical (mentem turbata dolore 12.599) in a most un-Roman manner. Vergil consigns Amata to a letum informe (12.603) in conformity with the theme of incestuous love and its "background of illustrious women hanging themselves for being implicated directly or indirectly in some grave error", (cf Jocasta Soph.O.T.1234-1264) and Antigone (Soph.Ant. 76.2).¹⁰⁰ Although Dido procured death by her own hand, Vergil nevertheless awards her a noble Roman death, a death in keeping with her self-respect and dignity, even though Aeneas was to a certain extent responsible for it (4.662. cf Ovid Her.7.195-6). Camilla too retains her dignity when assaulted, or perhaps metaphorically raped, recalling Livy's Lucretia who was raped and died to preserve her good name (Livy 1.58) and Dido who sought to save her reputation by death. Andromache likewise survived her husband Hector (a Turnus type as discussed earlier) for a while at least (Aen.3.303 ff.), tending his grave with the care shown by Dido (miro honore 4.455) towards her murdered husband Sychaeus (3.304 ff. cf 4.457 ff.) whom she heard calling her (4.460. cf Ovid Her.7.100-2). Palmer notes that Shakespeare (Ant.and Cleo 5.2) noted this resonance when Cleopatra says "methinks I hear Antony call...husband, I come".¹⁰¹ Camilla's dignity when struck down was also noted by Corneille, who, although keeping to the Livian text in Horace,

named his heroine Camille rather than Horatia (Livy 1.26) possibly because he was conscious of a loyalty comparable with Camilla's toward Turnus in similar circumstances.¹⁰² These courageous illustrious royal women, duly mourned at their untimely deaths (4.666;11.876-8: 12.606-8), seem like diverse facets of a single royal person whose name must have been on the lips of Vergil and of his contemporaries (cf Prop. 4.6), Cleopatra, whose signal achievement in Propertius' eyes was death, at the hour of her own choice (hoc unum, iusso non moritura die Prop.4.6.64).

Duckworth shows a clear relationship between the poetry of Horace and that of Vergil, who, with Maecenas as colleague of both, were spokesmen for the Augustan regime.¹⁰³ Galinsky supports the harmony of theme in the two poets and demonstrates that J. V. Luce's definition of Horace's monstrum (Odes 1.37.21) as natura varia et multiplex, expressing horror mingled with admiration, reflects the complexities of Cleopatra's character.¹⁰⁴ Janice Benario notes resemblances between Vergil's Dido and Horace's Cleopatra in choice of words and expression, a similarity "too striking to be entirely coincidental".¹⁰⁵ Vergil's major heroines and his overt references to Cleopatra (8.685-713) as well as Horace's portrait of the Queen (Epode 9, Odes 1.37) need more critical attention.

Both poets refer time after time to the female sex of the enemy (emancipatus feminae Hor.Epode 9..12; nec muliebriter expavit ensem. Hor. Odes 1.37. 22-3; dux femina facti.Aen.1.364; femineo praedae...amore

Aen.11.782), and to the impetuous and unreflecting nature of the furiosa as defined by the Augustan propaganda machine, monstrum, dedecus, pestis to her enemies (Hor.Odes1.37.21; Aen.11.789,792) but decus (cf Camilla and Juturna:Aen.11.508;12.142) to her admirers. The heroines are highly emotional:each is demens (Cleopatra.Hor.Odes 1.37.7; Dido Aen. 4.78; Amata 12.601), furens (Cleopatra.Hor.Odes 1.37; Dido Aen.4.69; Amata 7.350; Camilla 11.762), inops animi (Dido Aen.4.300), male sana (Dido,Aen. 4.8), bacchic in behaviour (bacchatur.Dido Aen. 4.301), lymphata (Cleopatra. Hor.Odes 1.37.14; Amata Aen.112.377), volans (Juturna Aen.12.478, Camilla 7.810-11), caeca (Camilla Aen.11.781), pale at the thought of imminent death (Dido Aen.4.644. Cleopatra Aen.8.709) yet unflinching (Camilla Aen.11.711. Cleopatra Hor.Odes 1.37. 22-3,29). They all have a hint of illicit attraction by Roman republican standards, of indignus amor, of the apparent promiscuity associated with the Egyptian court: for example irregular family relationships are hinted at especially in the persona of Amata: she addresses Latinus, her husband as father (o genitor: Aen.8.360), by whom she would appear to have had a daughter Lavinia (Aen.8.359 ff.): she loves Turnus who is related to Latinus (consanguineus Aen.8.366), yet pronounces the wedding-hymn for Lavinia and Turnus (Aen.8.398) to prevent her from marrying Aeneas (Aen.8.362): the theme of unbridled licence and the immorality of the East and particularly of the Egyptian court, is stressed by Horace (contaminato cum grege turpium/morbo virorum

Odes.1.37.9-12; spadonibus...rugosis Epode 9.13) and suggested to by Vergil with Fama's reference to Aeneas and Dido:

nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa fovere
regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos (4.193-4).

Horace's Octavian eventually reduced Cleopatra to fear (regit in veros timores Odes.1.37.15) in much the same way that Aeneas destroyed Dido's sanity (sensus animumque labantem/impulit 4.22-3). Horace's simile of the accipiter, who is Octavian, pursuing mollis columbas (Odes 1.17-18) is reflected in what appears to be an inverted simile of the falcon, the sacred bird of Apollo, tearing to pieces the dove, Camilla (Aen.11.721). Cleopatra as impotens (Odes 1.37.14) conjures up helpless Dido wounded by an uncaring hunter (Aen.4.69-73), and the wounding of Camilla (Aen.11.796 ff.) by Arruns.

Vergil's major heroines are all connected with religion: both Dido and Amata process to the temple (1.496; 11.478 ff.) and conduct religious rites (4.56 ff.; 7.385 ff.; 11.483 ff.), while Camilla and Juturna have divine associations (Dia Camilla 11.667; Daunia dea 12.785). It is possible that Amata, like Camilla, was an acolyte since "te, Amata, capio" is also the formula of acceptance made by a Vestal Virgin; Cleopatra was also a priestess, identified in Egyptian religious terms with the goddess Isis, whose cult was popular in Rome during this period.¹⁰⁶

Scholars have noted similarities between Dido and Cleopatra, similarities listed in detail by Pease with detailed references to this

tradition of scholarship;¹⁰⁷ Drew, Camps and Coleiro also subscribe to this theory.¹⁰⁸ Coleiro sees a perfect parallelism between Dido and Amata and notes that Juturna, in trying to help Turnus in his final encounter with Aeneas, bears a striking resemblance to the ill-fated queen who tried to help Antony evade Octavian's clutches, a connection also suggested by Drew, just as the Amazon queens Camilla and Penthesilea also have much in common.¹⁰⁹ Cairns, on the other hand, regards Dido as an elegiac topos, comparable with "Sulpicia", an aggressive female elegiac lover, and particularly with "Cynthia" (Prop.1.3;2.29; 1.4;1,16; 2.7;3.6; 3.24;3.25); he notes that Guillemain compares Dido with both "Cynthia" and "Delia", pseudonyms adapted by Propertius and Tibullus respectively in writing of their mistresses.¹¹⁰

Dido has also been held to reflect Scribonia "whose divorce from Augustus would correspond to Dido's desertion by Aeneas".¹¹¹ Drew notes that Vergil refers to Sidonia Dido on four occasions and suggests that "Sidonia Dido conceals Scribonia (Libonis), also, like Dido, a widow and, like Dido, deserted", for Augustus was said to have divorced Scribonia on the very day that the expected heir (who turned out to be a girl, Julia) was born in 39 B.C.¹¹²

If one accepts the use of typology, that Hector has much in common with Mark Antony, as earlier suggested, Vergil's Andromache who tends the two altars (geminas...aras 3.305) at her husband Hector's grave, whose son

Astyanax (her son by Hector in Homeric terms) is already dead, would also seem to equate with Fulvia, daughter of the noble Bambalio, reportedly dead after the Perugian defeat (Plut.Ant.57.3), wife of Antony and mother of Antyllus, who was put to death after the defeat at Actium (Plut.Ant. 81.1). If these identifications are right, the use of pseudonyms, an integral part of ambiguous writing, seems to be indicated. This might explain several problems: why Vergil accords Dido a noble Roman death in accordance with the highest Roman literary tradition, comparable with those of Livy's Lucretia (I.57-9) and the gallant Volscian queen; and why Cicero hated Fulvia, who must have been extremely important since she was accorded the rare honour of being portrayed on Roman coins,¹¹³ with a virulence paralleled only by his hatred of the "Queen" (Cic. Phil2.11; 3.11,16: Ad Att.14.20.2; 15.4.4.; 15.5.2). That Vergil disagreed with Cicero's vehemence on the subject of Cleopatra might be indicated by the tenderness and dignity depicted on the Shield when a sorrowing Nile opened his robe inviting the vanquished into the depths of his embrace (8.711-13).

THE KINGS

Three kings, Evander, Latinus and Metabus, are treated in Aeneid 11, and they all have many common characteristics.

Evander is especially prominent in Aeneid 8.50 ff. where Vergil reveals that he is an Arcadian; descendant of Pallas, a king and founder of a city called Pallanteum; that his Arcadians had waged war with the Latinus, and that Aeneas should make a treaty with them and regard them as allies (8.51-6). When Aeneas approaches Evander he is celebrating, in his sacerdotal capacity, Hercules at the Ara Maxima, a feast whereby the hero in his role of benefactor was honoured every year on August 12th. His worship at the Ara Maxima had some special features; no other god was mentioned (Plut. Quaest Rom.90, citing Varro) and no women were admitted (Prop.4.9.21 ff). The ritual was originally in the care of two families, the Potiti and the Pinarii, of whom the Potiti were the senior (Aen.8.269-70. cf Livy I.7.12-15) and were instructed by Evander (Livy I.7.8). Evander was revered for "the use of writing",¹¹⁴ a novelty for men unacquainted with the arts (venerabilis vir miraculo litterarum...Livy I.7.8). His mother was a prophetess (Livy i.7.8.). Evander, auctor of the only foreign observance adopted by Romulus, greets Aeneas paternally¹¹⁵ after some initial fear (Aen. 8.109), a fear not shared by his son audax Pallas who immediately makes friends with the hero (8.122-5). Nestor-like in behaviour,¹¹⁶ Evander (who entertains Aeneas, relates the Hercules-Cacus myth and conducts him over the site of the future Rome before entrusting his son Pallas to Aeneas' care) is presented in Aen.11.150 as a father mourning the loss of his young son Pallas, now about to be buried, a father who grieves at the reversal of

the natural order — a theme which would appear to have had a pathetic appeal for Vergil (8.514-19 cf Geo. 4.475-77). Related to Aeneas (8.134 ff.), Evander had been a great admirer of Anchises, who had accompanied Priam on a visit to his sister when Evander had been a mere youth (8.153 ff). Evidently the admiration had been mutual for Anchises had presented the iuvenis (mihi meus iuvenali ardebat amore 8.163) with costly presents, which included a magnificent quiver containing Lycian arrows, a chlamys woven with gold and two gold discs (frena), which later were in the possession of Pallas (8.166-8).

Evander appears to have much in common with Latinus, who was also a king of divine descent from Faunus and Marica (7.46-7), somewhat elderly (7.46) with a love of peace (longa...in pace regebat 7.46). Like Evander, Latinus had also lost a son by premature death (7.51), but was married, somewhat ambiguously one feels, to Amata (O genitor...7.360), by whom he had a daughter who was now of marriageable age (filia...iam matura viro 7.52-3). Once again Cleopatra comes to mind inasmuch as she was both daughter and consort of her father. Although Vergil makes no mention of a daughter in Evander's case, Polybius notes that Latinus' daughter, Lavinia, founded Rome (6.11a.1).¹¹⁷ Latinus, the eponymous founder of the Latins, appears in Hesiod (Theog 1011 ff) to be an Etruscan king not connected with Lavinium. Vergil's account of the marriage of his daughter Lavinia is only found from Cato onwards, a factor which prompted

Boas to conclude that data regarding Latinus were introduced by the poet himself,¹¹⁸ suggesting a possible manipulation of available material.

Latinus is also given the title pater (11.356.410), an appellation granted only to gods, kings¹¹⁹ and Roman senators. Latinus' hospitality to the Trojans, as Cairns points out, would seem to be motivated by Faunus' oracle rather than by gifts.¹²⁰ Like Evander, Latinus is portrayed as a good king, but a rather vacillating one. In times of stress he abdicates (rerumque reliquit habenas 7.600), although he is clearly present at the final encounter between Turnus and Aeneas (12.707).

Metabus too was a king, a tyrant driven from his kingdom through jealousy (ab invidiam 11.539). As the name indicates Metabus, whose story was not known before Vergil's time and is possibly Vergil's "own invention",¹²¹ would seem to mean "he who has passed from one place to another". Here Vergil would seem to be employing an aspect of ambiguous writing, characterisation by name, as in the case of Drances, possibly meaning a "skilful speaker" as discussed earlier. Metabus, like Evander,¹²² appears to be an exile with a Greek name, well versed in the worship of Diana (11.552 ff) whose main shrine was at Ephesus before her introduction to Rome by king Servius Tullus (Livy I.45). Once more a connection is suggested between the Ptolemaic and Roman worlds, for the Metabus-Camilla story would seem to have much in common with Ptolemy Auletes and Cleopatra. Egypt, officially a sovereign state, was dependent on Rome,

and Auletes, when forced to escape from Egypt, may have taken his young daughter with him into exile.¹²³ We know that after complex business dealings at Rome, Auletes at the end of 57 B.C. "retired to the sacred precinct of Artemis at Ephesus in Asia Minor to wait until the Romans had decided who would restore him to the throne".¹²⁴ After his restoration by Gabinius with Antony's help, Cleopatra ruled with her father as consort. Papyri referring to them both as rulers may be found as late as July 51 B.C. and it has been suggested that Cleopatra hushed up her father's death for a while, for Roman politicians were not aware of it until August 51 B.C.¹²⁵ That he abdicated, like Latinus (saepsit se tectis rerumque reliquit 7.600), and was thereby regarded as officially dead — for morior ("to die") has a variety of meanings which include "to languish" (Prop.1.10.5), "to vanish" (Cic.Pis.38,93) and "to fall into disuse" (Ovid Ex Pont.3.2,27; Quint.8.6,32) — is a distinct possibility, since, for example C. Octavius, (who had "died" in 58 B.C. when returning to Rome)reappeared after Julius Caesar's assassination in 44 B.C. claiming his share of the glory as one of the conspirators, only, so Plutarch relates, to suffer later for this at the hands of the young Octavian (!) and Antony (Cesar 67.3);¹²⁶ L. Piso and L. Caesar simply disappear from record; L. Aemilius Paullus, elder brother of the triumvir, Lepidus, although named first in the proscriptions, was allowed to escape;¹²⁷ Vergil, too, survived (L. Ariosto, Orl.Fur. 36.26); Ovid, who

identifies himself with Hippolytus — Virbius ("twice born"), describes his resurrection and the subsequent process of changing his appearance (Met.15.497ff).

It is of interest that Aeneas, precursor of Octavian, did not penalize his father-in-law Latinus harshly:

...socer arma Latinus habeto,
imperium sollemne socer...(12.192-3).

Once more Vergil seems to take refuge in ambiguity for sollemnis may be "established" authority, but seems to be more frequently used with a suggestion of a "religious" character (Luc.R.N. 5.1162;1.96; Cic.de Orat.3.51.197; sollemnia vota Vergil Ecl. 5.74; Aen.9.626; Georg.3.22). This reference by Aeneas would imply that Latinus would still be able to carry out both religious and secular duties, as would Lepidus who had wanted Africa and was summus imperator as well as pontifex maximus. Tanner also sees a combination of identities: "Latinus seems to combine elements of both Lepidus and P. Servilius Isauricus".¹²⁸

DRANCES

In his satirical portrait of the orator, a certain amount of contempt, exceptional in Vergil, may be discerned. Drances is portrayed as an aggressive bully with a somewhat questionable background (noble on his mother's side yet incertum de patre 11.341), a bitter, hostile man who is

insanely jealous of Turnus (11.336-7), a trouble-maker (seditione potens 11.340), and a windbag (flatusque remittat 11.346) who does not grant his opponent the right of free-speech (11.346). In his conjuring up of Homer's Thersites (discussed in the second chapter of this thesis) Vergil's Italic demagogue, a novus homo would appear to be modelled on Cicero, an identity detected by Turnebus (Adversariorum libri 23,24) as early as the sixteenth century. Plutarch's Life of Cicero, compiled from the writings of Pollio, gives, albeit in Greek, an almost verbatim translation of Vergil's description (Aen.11.340-41):- "It is said of Helvia the mother of Cicero, that she was well-born...but of his father nothing can be learned...Some say that he was born and reared in a fuller's shop, while others trace the origin of his family to Tullus Attius,¹²⁹ illustrious king of the Volscians who waged war upon the Romans...(Plut.Cicero I.1). As Drances hated Turnus, so Cicero had an intense hatred for the aristocratic Antony, to which the Philippics bear witness. Sneeringly he boasts (Ad Fam. 10.28.1) that had he, Cicero, been among the conspirators who killed Caesar, there would have been no left-overs. Appian too reaffirms Cicero's activity in Rome against Antony on Octavian's behalf (App.BC.3.9.66) and his manifest passion and want of decorum with regard to Antony (App.BC.3.10.74). Drances' pressure upon Turnus to challenge Aeneas (11.371-75) recalls Cicero's boast of March 43 B.C. to a certain Cornificius (Ad Fam. 12.25a,4) made in March 43 B.C., in which he described his reaction to Mark Antony:

"He vented all his drunken frenzy on my head alone...so I bundled him into the toils of Caesar Octavius".

When Octavian marched on Rome in August 43 B.C. Cicero sought an interview with him at the gates of the city (App.BC. 3. 13. 92). Octavian even proposed making Cicero his colleague in the consulship (App.BC 11.82). Similarly in Aeneid 11.122 ff. it is Drances, one of the legates whose duty it was to arrange a truce to bury the dead (11.100-105), who offers to co-operate with Aeneas. Coincidences are very numerous and startling!

LAVINIA

Drew noted that as "Lavinia is marked out for Aeneas by destiny ... even so was Livia Drusilla marked out for Augustus"¹³⁰ Vergil, Drew notes,¹³¹ makes his connection by introducing the laurel-tree when describing various portents connected with Latinus' daughter (7.59 ff.). There is a further allusion to Livia and the laurel in the symbolic story of the laurel with berries dropped by an eagle into Livia's lap (Dio Cass 48. 52; Suet. Galba 1; Pliny N.H. 15.136-7),¹³² a sign which was interpreted as meaning that Livia, the goddess Roma, was destined to hold Caesar's power in her lap and dominate him in every way. A resonance of Vergil's description of flame surrounding Lavinia's head (7.73-7) is to be found in Suetonius' description of Livia, who, before the marriage to Octavius, was

encircled by flame so that her robe and hair were scorched (Tib 6.2). One of Lavinia's major attributes in the Aeneid is her ability to blush beautifully, a blush which Vergil in a striking simile transmits to the reader:

acceptit vocem lacrimis Lavinia matris
 flagrantis perfusa genas, cui plurimus ignem
 subiecit rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit
 Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro
 si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa
 alba rosa, talis virgo dabat ore colores (12.64-69)

Lavinia's blush and shining hair are also referred to once more by Vergil in describing her reactions upon hearing of her mother's ignoble death (filia prima manu flores Lavinia crinis/et roseas laniata genas...12.605-6).

Although Cairns, in discussing Lavinia, sees her in terms of a literary topos from the pages of Alcaeus, Sappho, Simonides and Callimachus,¹³³ he also notes her connections with Helen of the Iliad.¹³⁴ Lavinia is enigmatic and elusive. As Cairns notes, she "surfaces in the words of others yet determines the development of the action".¹³⁵ Although Lavinia is daughter of an Italic queen, she nevertheless has a non-Roman side to her to which Vergil lightly alludes: she wears her hair long in an un-Roman Indo-European fashion (longis...crinibus 7.73) and has a crown (insignem gemmis), indicative of a Persian-Mesopotamian-Etruscan background.¹³⁶

Livia, like so many outstanding historical characters, such as Fulvia, had her admirers and her detractors. Vergil seems to refer to her beauty but to nothing else. As Octavian's counterpart she was scathingly (in typological terms) referred to as Ulixes stolata by the Emperor

Caligula, her great grandson (Suet. Calig.23.2); she was as autocratic as Juno, as beautiful as Venus (Ovid Ex Ponte 3.1.117,145): as counterpart to Apollo, at the scandalous banquet of the twelve gods, at which Octavian appeared as Apollo, Livia was referred to by the pseudonym Mallia¹³⁷ (Suet. Div. Aug.70). Her marriage to Octavian also brought scandal in its wake, for Octavian was charged by Antony not only with his outrageous marriage to Livia, already mother of one son and about to give birth to a second by her former husband Tiberius Claudius Nero, but with taking Livia before her husband's eyes into a bedroom and shamelessly bringing her back in a disordered state (Suet. Aug. 69.1).

If Lavinia was a pseudonym for Livia, she would be both daughter and sister to Amata.¹³⁸ If Amata were equated with Dido and Camilla, Livia might then qualify for the roles of germana Anna (4.478) who had such power with Aeneas (solam nam perfidus ille/te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus 4.421-2) and Acca soror (11.820 ff), both of whom were present at their respective queens' deaths. It may also be of some significance typologically that Acca was mistress of Hercules (Plut. Romulus 5)¹³⁹ just as Livia was of Augustus.

The laurel-tree, that stood in Latinus' palace, recalls another internal laurel-tree at the place where Priam was struck down (ingens ara fuit iuxtaque veterrima laurus 2.513. cf 7.59). Scholars, including Camps, have seen in Vergil's description of the death of Priam (superbum

regnatorem Asiae 2.557), once an oriental despot but now merely a headless corpse lying on the beach (iacet ingens truncus/, avulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus 2.257-58), a reflection of Pompey the Great's death, for his body was subjected to comparable disrespect after his murder in Egypt at the instigation of the young Ptolemy XIII (Lucan, B.C. 8.604 ff; Plutarch Pompey 80).¹⁴⁰ In allegorical terms this might imply that Alexandria, the place where Pompey met his death, was also the place where the laurel grew, and so bolster an identification between Latinus and the mysterious Ptolemy XII Auletes, father of Cleopatra VII. Lavinia, daughter of Latinus as Livia, in historical terms would have had M. Livius Drusus Claudianus (Suet.Tib.3) for a father, a Claudian who must have been adopted by Livius Drusus and who would thereby parallel Lepidus (equated earlier with the three Kings, Latinus, Evander and Metabus), Julius Caesar's trusted magister equum (46-44 B.C.) whom Antony supported for the position of pontifex maximus after Julius Caesar's assassination. As senior member of the triumvirate Lepidus must have been of considerable importance, especially as Dio Cassius (44.5.3) states that the position of pontifex maximus had been made hereditary in Julius Caesar's time. This would accord with the favour shown to Evander by Anchises (Julius Caesar) in Aeneid 7.166 ff, and with Tarchon's (Antony's) offer of the crown to Evander (7.505-7);¹⁴¹ it would also imply a relationship with the Julian family. Tacitus, moreover, writes that Livia used the name

Julia (Ann. 1.14), which is an anagrammatic form of her own name. It would thus seem that variatio or the use of multi-pseudonyms was a practice in which contemporary society indulged and one not consigned exclusively to mythology.

PALLAS

Pallas is the most perplexing character for whom to find a role model or an identification.¹⁴² Aeneas in his last farewell to Pallas' corpse speaks ambiguously:-

...hei mihi, quantum a
praesidium, Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule!
(11.57-8).

These lines translated mean either "Alas! what a great protector you lose, Italy, and what a great (protector) you lose, Iulus", or "what a great protector you lose, Italy, and how much you are losing, Iulus".

Sidonian Dido provides the shroud(s) for Pallas' burial (11.74 ff.) a function which, as the mother of the slain Euryalus shows was the prerogative of mothers:

veste tegens tibi quam noctes festina diesque
urgebam...(9. 488.9).

Evander, father of Pallas, says that the mother's background was Sabellian (mixtus matre Sabella 8.510). The Sabelli were Oscan-speaking people like the Volsci¹⁴³ forming a possible link with Camilla, queen of the Volsci who

parallels Dido and Andromache. If we examine the possibility of Pallas' and Iulus-Ascanius' being one and the same person, an intriguing pattern emerges: Creusa, at one time a wife of Aeneas (2.651) is the mother of young Ascanius, a nepos of Anchises (Julius Caesar) (2.702) father (by adoption) of Aeneas (Anchisiades 8.521, 10-822): Dido loves the boy Ascanius passionately (1.685 ff.): Andromache, (paralleled with Dido), tending the twin altars at Hector's tomb, starts up in fear as she catches sight of Aeneas with Ascanius (exterrita 3.307). As Evander gave Pallas (the heir of the Palatine) into Aeneas' keeping (8.572 ff.) so Ascanius regarded Aeneas as pater (3.343) and Hector as uncle (3.343. cf 12.440). Furthermore Ascanius, Andromache declares, resembles her dead son Astyanax, who would have been about the same age:-

o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago
 sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat;
 et nunc aequali tecum pubesceret aevo (3.489-91).

One is reminded of the descriptions of Pallas and Lausus, fighting on opposing sides (hinc Pallas...hinc contra Lausus, nec multum discrepat aetas 10.433-4), and of the cruel death of Lausus at the hands of Aeneas, paralleling in mythology the death of Astyanax by Odysseus (Iliupersis), with whom Aeneas has so much in common. Ascanius, spes altera Romae (12.168), heres Iulus (4.274), was presented by Dido with a horse which he loved (monumentum et pignus amoris 5,570-2; gaudet equo 4.156-7). Pallas' funeral cortège includes a horse which weeps at his master's death (11.89-

90), and two robes which serve as his shroud woven by Dido (fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro 11.75), described as being very similar to those which Andromache (Dido) had presented to Ascanius:

fert picturatas curi subtemine vestis
 et Phrygiam Ascanio chlamydem (nec cedit honore)
 extilibusque onerat donis ac talia fatur
 'accipe et haec, manuum tibi quae monimenta mearum
 sint, puer, et longum Andromache testentur amorem"
 (3.483-487).

Not only did Andromache fear Aeneas; it appears that Jupiter too had reservations for he feared lest Aeneas might withhold Rome from Ascanius (4.234). Ovid gives the reader a similar picture of the situation in Heroides 7, where Dido pleads with Aeneas to spare Ascanius (haec mirus ut cures puero parcaturo Iulo! Her.7.75), asking what little Ascanius had done to deserve such misfortune (Her.77-8). Determined now to die, Dido identifies Iulus as her son (si quaeras, ubi sit formosi mater Iuli/occidit a duro sola relicta viro! Her.7.83-4). Ascanius would thus seem to have had three distressed mothers — Creusa, Andromache and Dido. That they were one and the same person might therefore be a logical conclusion. The major problem remaining in the identification of Pallas with Ascanius (with Hector/Turnus now exonerated of having actually killed him) would seem to be the identification of his killer.

Although Turnus treated Pallas brutally in Evander's opinion (11.173-5), Evander tells Aeneas dextera causa tua est (11.178 ff.), which might be translated not only as giving permission to Aeneas for retributive

action, but could also have the opposite meaning: "your right hand, which you see owes Turnus to a father and son, is the reason why I am living a life now made hateful for me by Pallas' death. High office now, without those whose right it was, is for you alone". Moreover the Latin (quod...dextera causa tua est...quam) contains an example of inversio verborum, a phrase used by Cicero for allegoria (De Or.2.65.261).

Servius (ad 11.72 ff.) noted that one of the two robes provided by Dido in happier times was to cover the head to be burned (11.77). Evander would then be implying that Aeneas had craftily turned the situation to his own advantage. Pallas' head was also "propped up" (caput...fultum Pallantis 11.39), a procedure which would be necessary if an execution had taken place. If this were so two robes would be required, one for the trunk, the other for the head. Aeneas' reluctant execution of Iulus might also be referred to in certain ambiguous lines in his farewell speech to Dido:

admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;
me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,
quem regno Hesperiae fraudo...(4.353-5).

These lines need not necessarily imply scrupulous concern for Ascanius' future inheritance: they could also be translated literally in terms of regret at having injured his beloved person and thereby indicating that he, Aeneas, was benefitting instead. In an historical context it must be remembered that Octavian, if Aeneas, had no son of his own flesh. Moreover, as already noted, Burke questioned Aeneas' ambiguous treatment

of Lausus who, as the son of Mezentius, aligned with Hector and Turnus, in contemporary terms might qualify as Antyllus, Antony's son by Fulvia, who was executed by Octavian (Plut.Ant. 81.1; Suet.Aug.17.5). Taking into consideration the frequent association of Dido with Cleopatra, Iulus might then be a young Caesarion, son of Cleopatra (Plut.Ant.82.1; Suet.Aug.17.5) executed a little later by Octavian. Plutarch states that Octavian plied Cleopatra "with threats and fears regarding her children, by which she was laid low" (Ant. 82.2). Like Caesarion (Suet.Div. Iul.52), Ascanius also had the Julian gait (...gressu gaudens incedit Iuli 1.690).

Taking into consideration the fact that Anchises prefigures Julius Caesar, Anchises' bestowal of rich gifts upon Evander (8.166-8) implied that he was an heir, since frena are frequently used metaphorically to refer to the "reins" of government (Ovid.Tristia 2.42;ex Ponte 2.9.33; Hor.Odes 4.15; Cic. De Or.3.9.36; ad Att.6.1.12; Livy 37.36.5). Evander had in turn handed over suzerainty to his son, Pallas, just as Julius Caesar's son Caesarion had (in 36 B.C.) become joint ruler with his mother Cleopatra and — in religious terms — her consort. Later, by the Donations of Alexandria in 34 B.C., Caesarion had had the title King of Kings bestowed upon him whereas Cleopatra was declared Queen of Kings.¹⁴⁴ The existence of a little Caesar was acknowledged by May 44 B.C., as is shown by a letter of Cicero (ad Att.14.20) where he refers to the queen and her son Caesar.¹⁴⁵ Caesarion, representative of the East and West, would thus have been a major

impediment to Octavian's assuming total sovereign power. Suetonius (Div. Iul.52.2) writes that Julius Caesar had acknowledged the boy (born about 47 B.C.) and that Oppius, Caesar's friend actually published a book to prove that the child whom Cleopatra had ascribed to Julius Caesar was not his. Possibly Caesar had adopted him (adnotum...senatui adfirmavit Suet.Div. Iul. 52.2) for Anchises (Julius Caesar) was certainly concerned to preserve his house and his descendant Iulus (servate domum, servate nepotem Aen. 2. 702). Evander's handing over Pallas to Aeneas' care, also has some interesting parallels, since Cicero refers in 43 B.C. to the handing over of a noble scion of Bambalio (Greek for Balbus) as a sign of good faith (Phil.2.90) and also to Lepidus' handing over of a certain Apella in similar circumstances of pledge (Ad.Fam.10.17.3). Lepidus would seem to be a central figure, thereby indicating a use of pseudonyms and an identification with Evander and his seeming alter ego, Latinus.

Since Cicero refers to some of these characters their reality cannot be questioned, whether as historical persons or pseudonyms. Latinus and Venulus formed part of a legation whose mission, unidentified, was to Cicero's relief apparently unsuccessful (in June 43 B.C.) (Ad Fam. 12.30.7); he also knows an Avianus Evander, a connoisseur of art and expensive statuary (Ad Fam. 7.23,1,2.3); Volusus (11.463) was also known by Catullus (Cat.36.1). Nothing further seems to be known of these people, once more hinting at the use of code-names.¹⁴⁶

Pallas, possessor of frena bina (8.168), two discs possibly like those which figure prominently as Pharaonic symbols of royalty,¹⁴⁷ of a rich gold-embroidered cloak (8.589), similar in description to that discovered in a royal Macedonian tomb,¹⁴⁸ borne along in the funeral cortège upon a beautifully decorated couch; another feature of the Vergina tomb finds¹⁴⁹ escorted to his final resting-place by an imposing phalanx (11.92) and by youths intended for human sacrifice, another feature of early Pharaonic burial practices,¹⁵⁰ seems to have received a truly royal Hellenistic funeral in keeping with the status of a prince. In a passage of very ambiguous Latin, Ascanius is also removed to prevent any interference in certain plans (ne qua scire dolos mediusve occurrere possit 1.682): placida quies is diffused throughout the boy's limbs (1.691), and he is either "buried" or "hidden" (cf recondam 1.681) in Venus' hallowed precincts at Idalium (1.693), in Cyprus, part of the Ptolemaic empire and therefore perhaps an example of synecdoche.

To summarize: Coleiro has seen parallels between Dido and Amata, between Juturna and Cleopatra, and between Dido and Cleopatra; the latter connection has also been noted by Pease, Benario, Drew and Camps.

Drew has also seen nuances of Scribonia in Dido,¹⁵¹ and Tanner has noted, in Lavinia (daughter of Amata and Latinus), a reference to Servilia the Younger.¹⁵² This would imply that Lavinia's mother, as the

result of an incestuous union with the father, would assimilate with the elder Servilia.

Andromache's reference to Astyanax (eldest son of Hector and Andromache), in a contemporary context would probably suggest an identification with Fulvia. Vergil, in allegorical terms, would therefore, through his royal heroines (with the exception of Lavinia) seem to refer to Cleopatra, Scribonia, Servilia and Fulvia, about all of whom relatively little detail is available. How can one reconcile these four major identities seemingly so dissimilar? Historical documentation on many members of the Julian and Ptolemaic families is lacking: only textual ambiguities survive, so that at this point one can only try to interpret the text.

The Etruscan story of an exiled princeps, a god, as the name Servius implies,¹⁵³ indicated also by the nimbus of fire around his head (Livy 1.39.1), a fire reproduced also in the description of young Iulus Ascanius (Aen.2.684-5), with two daughters (Tulliae) who change royal husbands, with the younger couple eventually gaining ascendancy to the detriment of the other couple and their family (Livy 1.46) although king Servius was, like Latinus(11.469-72;12.19 ff), unhappy about the arrangements (iunguntur nuptis magis non prohibente Servio quam adprobante Livy 1.46. 9), has a familiar ring and is a story with which Vergil was probably acquainted when he made Tulla a companion of Camilla (Aen.11.656).

Intermarriage between members of the same family was a

Ptolemaic custom and one with which the Claudian and Julian gentes were not unfamiliar (Plut.Caesar 9; Cicero 28;Cicero Pro Caelio 26.62;Suet.Caligula 23.1; 24;Nero 5). Moreover, foreign Hellenistic kings, as Walbank writes, adopted certain "servile" attitudes in order to disarm the Senate and obtain Roman support; Hellenistic kingdoms and their kings were reduced "to a condition of ineffective and humiliating dependance on the Senate".¹⁵⁴ The Ptolemaic empire, Macedonian in origin and dependant upon Rome at this period, would seem to come into the above category, thereby lending itself to a play on servus, servilis, and possibly accounting for the aristocratic family of P. Servilius Isauricus, one aspect of Tanner's Latinus.¹⁵⁵ Identity changes or pseudonyms would therefore seem indicated.

Tanner's other element of Latinus — M. Aemilius Lepidus — accordingly springs into prominence: he has the background of Ptolemy XII Auletes, priestly, loyal, aristocratic. Little is known of his children: we do know however that he had a son executed in 30 B.C., and that his son's wife Servilia, once betrothed to Octavian, like Cleopatra,¹⁵⁶ committed suicide; this would coincide with Caesarion (a possible Pallas, son of Evander) married in religious terms to Cleopatra(Dido/Andromache/Amata). The Ptolemaic practice of brother and sister marriage might explain the daughter/daughter-in-law equation.

Excluding Auletes, Lepidus and Servilius, other connections would include (1) L. Scribonius Libo, of noble family, a Caesarian, a peace-maker,

agreeable to Octavius' marriage with Scribonia, like Lepidus of major importance, like Servilius Isauricus father of a daughter connected with Octavius: (2) Livius Drusus Claudianus — a Claudian by birth, adopted into the family of Livius Drusus (Suet.Tib 3), father of Livia and thus able to use at least two sets of names: (3) Bambalio — father of Fulvia (wife of Anthony) of whom little is known, but who gave a noble child (cf Lepidus and Evander) as a hostage. Thus all the major father-figures have various common characteristics: they are noble, priestly, Caesarians, highly important with highly eligible daughters, peace-makers who have given hostages, acquainted with execution in the family and with suicides. As mentioned previously, all have much in common with Auletes, who would have been as much at home in Rome as in the East. C. Julius Caesar, far from annexing Egypt, treated the Ptolemaic family with exceptional leniency. Since Turnus (Antony) and Juturna (Cleopatra) were brother and sister (or half-brother and sister) for the text refers to them consistently in such terms (soror: 12.138,623; germana: 12.679.872; germanus 12.152,479) they would be suitable candidates for a Ptolemaic marriage. This might also imply that Julia (Venilia 10.76) mother of Antony (Turnus), was also mother of both Antony and Cleopatra (Turnus and Juturna), and if the rule of brother-sister marriage were applied, such as Grant states existed in the case of Cleopatra VII's parents,¹⁵⁷ Auletes might thus be Julia's younger brother Lucius Caesar. We have only a little information on Lucius

Caesar: like Lepidus and Evander he was an augur; he was anti-Catiline (Cic.Phil.2.14 cf Aen.8 668), an optimate but republican in spirit (cf Livy's Servius Tullus I.48.8), concerned with land allocation (Cic.Phil.6.14) and closely attached to both Antony and Antony's mother Julia who was his half-sister (Phil.8.1-2), a citizen of unimpeachable consistency (Phil.11.19-20), a brave and noble senator upon whom Antony would have done well to model himself (Phil.1.27; 12.18). Lucius Caesar was also an historian and an antiquarian. Proscribed, he disappeared, in name at least, in 43 B.C. after having been protected by his sister Julia (Appian B.C.4.6.37). Lucius also had an estate at Aricia and was intimately connected with the shrine of Diana Nemorensis (Cic.Ad Att.15.4a.cf Livy I.48.6 and Aen.7.762-69). Ogilvie (ad Virbium clivum Livy I.48.6) notes that the cult of Diana Nemorensis was also associated with the Latin god Virbius (or Virbius Sequester) "who under the influence of Greek Mythology quickly came to be identified with Hippolytus (Servius ad Aen. 7.761) and inherited many details of Hippolytus' biography. The street leading up to the temple of Diana Nemorensis was called the clivus Virbi (Perseus 6.55.56). The similarity in sound between the Roman clivus Urbis and clivus Virbi facilitated the transference of the cult to Rome and its establishment in that region of the Esquiline".¹⁵⁸ Hence Lucius with his connection with Diana would have a great deal in common with king Servius Tullus and Metabus

(Livy I.48.6:Aen.11.539 ff.), connections unlikely to have fallen upon deaf ears in a contemporary Roman audience.

Accurate historical documentation on both the Julian and Ptolemaic families is lacking as well as clear proof of Caesarion's real father: a possible explanation may be that Lucius — rather than Gaius — was the father (Evander) and that Caesarion was adopted by Gaius. Caesarion's paternity became a burning political issue at the dictator's death for upon this the whole question of inheritance revolved. We do know from Suetonius, however, that the dictator allowed Cleopatra to give his name to the son she bore and that he was concerned to legitimize his heirs (Div. Iul. 52). The very fact that two Roman generals — related to each other — wanted Cleopatra as wife thereby contravening Roman law, would seem to argue that rule in the East was somewhat of a res familiaris: Sulla, for example, "seemed to regard Egypt as a sort of personal dependancy";¹⁵⁹ Pompey, once briefly married to Sulla's step-daughter Aemilia, was "an Oriental despot".¹⁶⁰

THE CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

With the cast assembled an attempt must now be made to view the episodes in Aeneid 11 in a possible historical context employing the appropriate "pseudonyms" keeping in mind a lack of chronology and the fact

that the Aeneid was emended iussu Caesaris (Suet.Vergil 37). Excluding the trophy of Mezentius, which would seem to follow upon the ending of Aeneid 10 after the slaying of Mezentius and Lausus, Book 11, with the exception of the lines dealing with Opis' revenge (11.836-67), falls roughly into two major divisions and appears to treat events which took place both before and after Actium. The following break-down may help to illustrate this point.

- A. Octavian's landing in Italy until the capture of Rome (April 44-August 43 B.C.).
1. Peace initiative on the part of Lepidus (Latinus-Evander).11.225-497.
 2. Cicero's (Drances') exacerbation of the situation by the second Philippic speech, and his support of Octavian 11.336-43; 122-138.
 3. Burial of the dead after a major battle (possibly Mutina) since Cicero (Drances) was present 11.185-226.
 4. Octavian's (Aeneas') advance on Rome 11.444-97.
- B. Actium and Afterwards. (30 B.C.).

1. Cleopatra's (Camilla's) early upbringing mainly by her exiled father Ptolemy XII Auletes (Metabus, Latinus, Evander).
11.532-96.
2. Cleopatra (Camilla) as commander-in-chief of a dispirited Antony's (Turnus') forces: she is the enemy of Octavian (Aeneas) 11.495-53. 597-805.
3. The failure (wounding/rape) or rape of Cleopatra (Dido-Camilla) which led to her eventual suicide 11.836-68.
4. The capture and destruction of Alexandria (Laurentum, city of Latinus) 11.878-96.
5. The funeral of Caesarion (Iulus-Pallas) at Alexandria (Evander's city), after the deaths of Antony and Antyllus (Mezentius and Lausus) 11.12-99, 139-182.

After Julius Caesar's assassination, Octavian (Aeneas) after a stormy crossing (cf Diomedes 7.9 ff.; 11.243 ff.) crossed from Apollonia to Italy. He had a series of meetings with various Roman dignitaries, such as Balbus (possibly a translation of the Greek Bambalio) and Philippus at Naples, April 18th, 44 B.C. (Cic. ad Att. 14.10.3), and again on April 22nd (Ad Att. 14.12.2) during which discussions discretion was urged. Octavian, despite well-intentioned advice, proceeded to Rome for the time being uttering no threats against Antony yet regarding the amnesty votes by the Senate as merely a temporary expedient. Cicero (Drances) in the

meanwhile aggravated a very delicate situation in a series of speeches aimed at vilifying Antony; his fourteen Philippic speeches derived their name from Demosthenes' orations against Philip of Macedon, and from Cicero's point of view had been dubbed the Philippics as a sort of joke (Iam concedo ut vel Philippici vocentur, quod tu quadam epistula iocans scripsisti Ad Brut.2.3.4). "The case of the Republic against Antony in 44 held no complexities for Cicero".¹⁶¹ The second Philippic would seem to furnish most of the material relevant to the Drances' speech in Aeneid 11, and seems to be Cicero's rejoinder to Antony. On October 25th the second Philippic was sent to Atticus (ad Att.16.11.1) but, as Shackleton Bailey suggests, once Antony had departed for Cisalpine Gaul there would be no reason for further delay. The speech "is a pamphlet in oratorical form supposed to have been delivered in Antony's presence on September 19th".¹⁶² Vergil's direct confrontation involving both Turnus (Antony) and Drances (Cicero) therefore lacks specific historical documentation, due to the fact that the exact day of the delivery of second Philippic is in question. Moreover since these speeches were made in 44-43 B.C. Antony's wife at that time (Turnus' regia coniunx 11.371) would have been Fulvia whom he had married in 46 B.C.), daughter of the noble Bambalio. (Cic.Phil.2.11, 48, 77, 93, 95, 113; 5.11.22; 12.12; 13.18).

The burial of the dead in which Cicero (Drances) takes part (11.100 ff.), would therefore seem to be the result of a major battle, possibly that of

Mutina in April 43 B.C. Cicero, at this time, opposed Lepidus' peace moves with heavy sarcasm: "M. Lepidus wants peace. Admirable, if he can make such a peace" (Phil.13.9) and with what would appear to be a play on servus and libertus (cf Servilius identification), inveighs against a slave, now owner of Caesar's property (Phil.13.12) possibly referring to Lepidus (Latinus) under the code-name of Servilius. At this point Cicero is obviously in Octavian's camp (et te, o puer, virum fortissimum ... Phil,13.24; Caesar, adulescens summa pietate et memoria parentis sui. Phil.13.46).

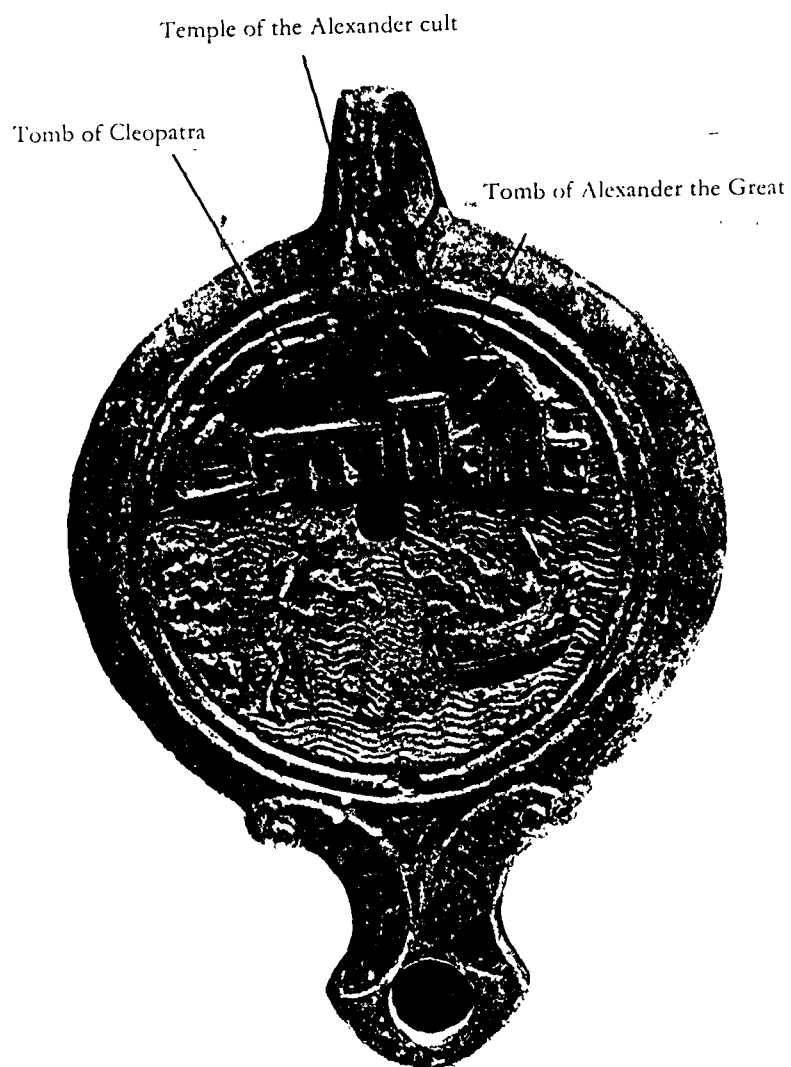
All this would imply that Octavius' advance on Rome in August 43 B.C. would have held no surprise for Cicero (cf Drances 11.100-38). Vergil in Aeneid 8.470 ff.) dwells specifically on talks calculated for a reconciliation between Aeneas (Octavian) and Tarchon (Antony), with Evander's son Pallas (cf Bambalio's young relative, and Lepidus' Apella) as a hostage for good faith, talks which took place amid the celebrations for the feast of Hercules at the Ara Maxima at Rome, a feast which was of Greek origin and observed on August 12th annually. On August 18th Octavius entered Rome and as he "moved up the Flaminia, he instructed the other consul to revoke the decrees for outlawry against Antonius and Lepidus — for Lepidus too had been declared a public enemy".¹⁶³ Hence the perturbation of Evander and of the participants at Aeneas' arrival (terrentur visu subito... consurpunt mensis 8.109-10). It seemed that Lepidus' peace-plan (Phil, 13.1-21), a division of power with Lepidus as the senior partner without any

desire to rule (cf Evander: sed mihi tarda gelu saecisque effeta senectus/ invidet imperium 8.508-9 — a suggestion made also by Latinus (toto certatum est corpore regni...expediam et paucis (animos adhibete)docebo 7.313 ff.), had borne fruit, and that the second Triumvirate was now in existence.

The second part of Book 11 would seem to centre around the battle of Actium, where Cleopatra (Camilla) actively opposed Octavian (Aeneas) as commander-in-chief of Antony's forces:

Turne, sui merito si qua est fiducia forti
 audeo et Aeneadam promitto occurrere turmae
 solaque Tyrrhenos equites ire obvia contra
 (11.502-4).

Well-trained for war Cleopatra had clearly been reared to cope with hard times, for her own father had had difficulties in the fifties in retaining his control of the East. That her person would have been in danger there could be no doubt, as Vergil's Diana clearly foresaw (11.587 ff.). Opis' attempt to exact vengeance upon Camilla's assailant would seem to have taken place from above, from the top of a high monumental tomb belonging to an unidentifiable king Dercennus (11.849-50). This incident has much in common with one involving Aeneas: both Arruns and Aeneas are hit by an unknown arrow which sticks in the body (haesit in corpore



Roman lamp with a view of the tombs of Alexander the Great and Cleopatra on the discus

Dorothy Green, Alexander the Great,
 in Journal of Hellenic Studies, Vol. 20, 1900,
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ferrum 11.864 ff. infracta luctatur harundine telum/eripere...ense secent lato vulnus telique latebram rescindant penitus...12.386 ff.): both are helped by comrades (11.865. cf 12.384-5): a dust-cloud is present on both occasions (in pulvere linguunt 11,866 cf iam pulvere caelum/ stare vident 12.407-8).

Arruns and Aeneas would thus seem to be the same person and if one associates them with Octavian, the incident may be supposed to have taken place at Alexandria, possibly, at the huge mausoleum of Alexander of Macedon, which Augustus out of curiosity had visited. An oil-lamp shows the tomb of Alexander (who was encased in a crystal sarcophagus), the temple dedicated to his worship and the adjoining tomb of Cleopatra and Mark Antony.¹⁶⁴ Attempts may have been made upon Octavian's life, a likelihood in revolutionary times, but information is lacking. It is probable that Antony's suicide and dramatic expiry in his beloved's arms — so like the conclusion of a Greek tragedy — was the work of a propagandist who had Octavian's interests at heart,¹⁶⁵ especially as Orpheus (husband of Eurydice rapta(Geo.4.519) who was beheaded and dismembered (Geo.4. 520 ff.) — recalling the Mezentius/Fufetius identification as well as Nadeau's with Mark Antony (page 4) — was scathingly referred to by Cicero in a letter to his wife (est in officio adhuc Orpheus. Ad Fam. 14.4). Once more we seem to be dealing with code names for real people and minimising the likelihood of clemency on Octavian's part. The princeps was, however, responsible for the executions of Antyllus and Caesarion, and although

there is no definite information about his having been directly involved with Cleopatra's death, the reluctant "marriage" of Dido, possibly Camilla's "rape", may indicate that indirect methods were used. Ariosto (1474-1533) writes that there were certainly doubts that Augustus was santo or benigno (Orlando Furioso 35.26), and concludes that if one wants to know the truth, one should turn history upside down:-

E se tu vuoi che 'l ver non ti sia ascoso,
tutta al contrario l'istoria converti (Or.Fur.35.27).¹⁶⁶

Ariosto's point, that in a war of propaganda the truth is buried in the victor's version, is also one upon which Johnson centres his article on Cleopatra, querying whether Cleopatra was really nothing more than an "alcoholic slut turned stoic saint".¹⁶⁷ Horace, an enthusiastic supporter of the Augustan régime in his victory ode, accuses the queen of being inebriated (ebria) on cheap Egyptian wine (Ode 1.37. 12-14). Grant considers that Cleopatra's accusation of alcoholism for instance could easily be "due to a mistaken understanding of a ring in her possession which was inscribed with the word drunkenness (Methe); in fact this referred to a mystical drunkenness, the philosophic 'mother of virtue' and the stone it was engraved upon was an amethyst, the symbol of sobriety".¹⁶⁸ This would accord with the modesty noted by Servius of Vergil's Dido (summo tenus attigit ore ad 1.737). As for the theme of vengeance so prevalent in the Aeneid — instanced by Aeneas' refusal to spare Mezentius, Lausus or Turnus, and the goddess Diana's demanding revenge for Camilla's death —

this was "a very important idea of the religion of antiquity from Homer on, certainly at Rome".¹⁶⁹

Octavian was as great an enigma as Cleopatra. He behaved ruthlessly, so we are told by Appian, with regard to Quintus Cicero and his son (B.C.4.20), a description paralleled by Vergil's reference to Mago and Haemonides (10.521 ff.). His response to a captive after Philippi who requested burial, to the effect that the birds of the air would make short work of his body, may be reflected in Aeneas' words over Tarquitus' corpse (alibus linqere feris...10.559). Augustus' treatment of the Perugians has already been discussed and discrepancies in the report of supporters and detractors noted. On the other hand he was also merciful in his treatment of Lucius Antonius who was permitted to go to Spain after Perugia (Appian B.C. 5.54). Augustus refers to his personal clementia, subtly linking himself with Julius Caesar who pardoned most of his enemies: bella terra et mari civilia externaque...gessi, victorque omnibus veniam petentibus peperci (Res Gestae 3.1.): This statement, although a slight distortion of facts, might serve to show that the princeps wanted to eradicate some of the excesses of his youth, a period when the end had justified the means.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion I feel that Vergil is reluctant to judge any of his major characters. He has presented them all with compassion indicating both their good points and shortcomings, with the possible exception of Drances. Whether one is dealing with allegory or allusion is a difficult question to answer. As I have tried to demonstrate, most of Vergil's characters would seem to have recognizable counterparts in contemporary society, yet there are certain problems which refuse to respond to any facile solution. These include 1) The lack of an historical record of a vis-à-vis encounter between Cicero and Antony in the Philippics, and a lack of certainty as to exactly when the second Philippic speech was delivered. 2) The absence of early records of the Julian or Ptolemaic gentes whereby any family connection between the East and the West may be proven. 3) The dearth of historical information about any personal relationship between Octavian and Caesarion. Indeed the whole career of Caesarion, apart from his execution by Octavian, is highly disputed. 4) A total lack of clarity as to the exact method and circumstances of Cleopatra's death.

Finally, the Aeneid appears to be no mere replica of Homer's epic, nor mere piece of Augustan propaganda. Vergil's epic, motivated by a deep desire to condemn civil war and to ensure a national unity, is a highly sensitive poem that blends references from Greek mythology and tragedy with Roman folk-lore, history and tradition, resembling an elaborate and

intricately woven tapestry. It speaks strongly however for Augustus' far-sightedness as a ruler that he permitted the Aeneid, even after emendations (Suet.Vita 37,38), to be published, for he must have been perfectly aware of any underlying remonstrations, admonitions or hidden meanings.

Ambiguity would seem to be a characteristic of Livy too as his treatment of Lucretia (1.57-9), so like Dido and Camilla, shows. Ogilvie comments:

"Whatever the exact historical facts, whether Lucretia committed suicide to forestall an unfavourable verdict before a domestic court of her family or whether her suicide was a deliberate act to ensure the birth of a vendetta against the Tarquins, the story has been considerably improved both by the addition of unhistorical personalities (59.12n., Spurius Lucretius) and by its assimilation to the violent ends of many Greek tyrannies...".¹⁷⁰ This comment would seem to be tantamount to noting a manipulation in the treatment of myth and history by recourse to pseudonyms, to veil certain personalities. Livy, Vergil's contemporary, would also seem to have favoured hyponoiai, (hidden meaning), writing of a period when "sources are tantalizingly fragmentary, intractable and enigmatic".¹⁷¹ That real persons were concerned is indicated by the presence of code names, such as Evander, Latinus and Venulus, incorporated in both Vergil's texts and Cicero's correspondence. However if one accepts Duckworth's stricter definition of allegory that a equals b and only b, allegory where precise historical facts are lacking would seem to defy proof. Nevertheless Vergil,

by using well-known techniques associated with ambiguous writing, appears to have written in a highly pointed and allusive manner that corresponds so remarkably with the history of that period that the reader, keeping in mind the virulent propaganda campaigns of that age, might well be excused for regarding the fragmentation of sources as a possible cover-up policy for Octavian's assumption of total imperium.¹⁷² This being the case, it would follow that Vergil, although frequently a laudator of Augustus, like Tacitus, in his Eleventh Aeneid suggested, that peace had been attained at a terrible price (pacem sine dubio...verum cruentam Ann.1.10).

Notes to Preface

¹William Bedell Stanford. Ambiguity in Greek Literature. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1939. passim.

²A. Turnebus. Adversaria. Paris, 1564-5. C. Schrevel. P. Vergilii Maronis cum veterum omnium commentariis et selectis recentiorum notis nova editio. Leiden, 1646.

³William S. Anderson. The Art of the Aeneid. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969. 89

⁴W. A. Camps. An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1969. 138-9

⁵Manolis Andronicos. Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City. Endotike Athenon S. A., Athens, 1984. 171, 214, 215

⁶Manolis Andronicos. op.cit. 143

⁷Manolis Andronicos. op.cit. 143.
Paul Zanker. The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1988. fig.35.

⁸Manolis Andronicos. op.cit. greaves: 145, 186, 217;
thorax: 182-3.
Paul Zanker. op.cit. fig. 8 (cuirassed statue of Augustus from the villa of Livia, at Prima Porta fig.155 (Octavius as Mars Ultor with cuirass).

⁹Manolis Andronicos. op.cit. 195

¹⁰Manolis Andronicos. op.cit. 234

¹¹Yves Nadeau. "The Lover and the Statesman. A study in Apiculture. Virgil: Georgics 4.281-558. Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus, ed. Tony Woodman & David West, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984. 59-82

¹²Wendell Clausen. Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1987. 5 ff.

¹³Henriette Boas. Aeneas' Arrival in Latium, N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, Amsterdam, 1938. 3

¹⁴D. L. Drew. The Allegory of the Aeneid. Blackwell, Oxford, 1927 passim.
E. Coleiro. "Allegory in the Aeneid", PVS 13 (1973-4) 42-53
R. G. Tanner. "Some Problems in Aeneid 7-12". PVS 10 (1970-71) 37-45

¹⁵Léon Hermann. Les Masques et les Visages dans les Bucoliques de Virgile. L'université de Bruxelles, Bruxelles, 1930. 3.6-7

¹⁶Jean Starobinski. Le Parole sotto le Parole. Gli Anagrammi di Ferdinand de Saussure. Il Melangolo, Genova. 1982. 14, 23-25, 48, 60, 73, 109-130

¹⁷Frederick Ahl. Metaformations, Soundplay and Wordplay in Ovid and Other Classical Poets. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y. 1985. 275-87

¹⁸Jasper Griffin. "Augustus and the Poets: "Caesar qui cogere posset". Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects. ed. F. Millar & E. Segal, Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1984. 207-10

¹⁹Hans Volkmann. Cleopatra. A Study in Politics and propaganda. Elek Books Ltd., London, 1958. 15

²⁰W. A. Camps. "Some personal reflections on Virgilian and Homeric narrative" PVS (1986). Presidential address. 133-41

²¹Eduard Frankel. Horace. Oxford University Press, Oxford. 1957. praef.

²²L. Hermann. op.cit. 17

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¹T. E. Page, The Aeneid of Vergil. MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1924. 357

²T. E. Page, op.cit. 357 with reference to Servius (11.2): "si contingeret, ut suo eodemque tempore et funestaretur quis et cogeret operam dare sacrificiis, elaborat ut ante sacra compleret quam funus agnosceret".

³Vergil refers to Mars or Mavors, the old Italian god of war (11.389), as a personification of war (11.152.373.389.899).

⁴P. T. Eden "Mezentius and the Etruscans in the Aeneid" PVS (1966) pp. 31-40 points out (p.39) that Quirinus or Romulus, son of Mars, was often identified with the god of war, owing his name to quiris (a spear).

⁵Sir Paul Harvey. The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937. spolia opima.

⁶Tacitus, Annales 2.18: miles in loco proelii Tiberium imperatorem salutavit struxitque aggerem et in modum tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nominibus imposuit.

⁷R. M. Ogilvie. A commentary on Livy. Books 1-5. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965. 41

⁸R. M. Ogilvie op.cit. 41
Nicholas Horsfall. Aeneid 7. Notes on Selected Passages, unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, Oxford, 1971. 182

⁹P. T. Eden. "Mezentius and the Etruscans in the Aeneid". PVS 1966. pp.31-40

¹⁰R. M. Ogilvie. op.cit. 200

¹¹P. Burke. Characterisation in the Aeneid. Ph.D.Thesis. Stanford University, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1971. 53-54

¹²E. T. Salmon. Samnium and the Samnites. Cambridge University Press 1967. 84-5

- ¹³E. T. Salmon. op.cit. 85 note 7
- ¹⁴E. T. Salmon. op.cit. 86
- ¹⁵Appian. B.C. 49
- ¹⁶P. T. Eden. op.cit. 34-36
- ¹⁷E. T. Salmon. op.cit. 35-36
- ¹⁸Sir J. G. Frazer. The Golden Bough. Macmillan, New York, 1951. 205
- ¹⁹Georg Nikolaus Knauer. Die Aeneis und Homer. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Gottingen, 1964. 405
- ²⁰W. V. Harris. Rome in Etruria and Umbria. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971. 16
- ²¹P. T. Eden. op.cit. p. 36 quotes a practice ascribed to the Etruscans by Cicero (a citation from the lost Hortensius, in Augustine contra Pel 4):-
 "qui quondam in praedonum Etruscorum manus
 incidissent, crudelitate excogitata
 necabantur, quorum corpora viva cum mortuis,
 adversa adversis, accomodata quam aptissime
 colligabantur".
- ²²P. F. Burke, "The role of Mezentius in the Aeneid". CJ 69 (1974) pp.202-209. note 6. Lovers touch hands (Ovid A.A. 1.167,578; Tibullus I.1.60, I.6.26, 60); the mille basia of Catullus surely establish kissing as Roman amatory behaviour.
- ²³W. V. Harris. op.cit. 14-15
- ²⁴Kenneth J. Reckford. "Some trees in Vergil and Tolkien". pp.57-91. Perspectives of Roman Poetry. ed. G. Karl Galinsky. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1972. 78
- ²⁵Reckford. op.cit. 64
- ²⁶E. T. Salmon. op.cit. 180
- ²⁷Burke. op.cit. 204

²⁸Willibald Heilmann. "Aeneas und Evander im achten Buch der Aeneis". Gymnasium 78. (1971). 83

²⁹Justin Glenn. "Mezentius and Polyphemus". AJP 92 (1971) pp. 129-55.

³⁰vastus is applied to the Cyclops (3.647), to his vast bulk (vasta mole Polyphemum, 3.655).

³¹P. T. Eden. op.cit. 36 Other modern scholars referring to the Etruscans as piratical include:-

J. Heurgon. Daily Life of the Etruscans. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1964. 12,42.

W. Keller. The Etruscans. Lowe and Boydone Ltd., Norfolk, 1975, 67-9, 73, 155, 160, 226, 286, 301, 304.

Massimo Pallotino. The Etruscans. Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1975. 82-83.

E. Richardson. The Etruscans. Their Art and civilization. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1964. 17

H. H. Scullard. The Etruscan Cities and Rome. Thames and Hudson, London, 1967. 178

W. V. Harris. Rome in Etruria and Umbria. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971. 15-16

³²Eden. op.cit. pp. 36-38 states that the first gladiatorial combat in Rome took place in the Forum Boarium where Gallic and Greek substitute pairs were buried in 228 B.C. and again in 216 B.C., to gain the good will of the gods at the burning alive of a Vestal Virgin guilty of incest.

³³P. F. Burke. op.cit. 90

P. T. Eden. op.cit. 38

³⁴P. F. Burke. op.cit. 91

³⁵William S. Anderson. The Art of the Aeneid. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969, 9

³⁶P. F. Burke, op.cit. 93 with reference to Brooks Otis, Virgil: A Study in Civilised Poetry, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1964. 359

Fredrich Klingner. Virgil: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis, Artemis, Zurich, 1967. 573

³⁷W. S. Anderson. op.cit. 85

³⁸P. F. Burke. op.cit. 94

³⁹On Pietas see Ronald Syme, The Roman Revolution, Oxford University Press, 1939. 157 "The family was older than the State; and the family was the kernel of a Roman political faction. Loyalty to the ties of kinship in politics was a supreme obligation, often imposing inexorable vendettas. Hence the role of the words "pius" and "pietas" in the revolutionary wars... Pietas and the state of public emergency was the excuse for sedition". cf Cicero (Pro Plancio 33.80)

quid est pietas nisi voluntas grata in parentes?

⁴⁰P. F. Burke. op.cit. 95

⁴¹G. R. Manton. "Virgil and the Greek Epic: The Tragedy of Evander" AUMLA 17, 1962. pp. 5-17 p.14.

⁴²G. R. Manton. op.cit. 15

⁴³G.Karl Galinsky. Aeneas, Sicily and Rome. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1969. 165 note 66 states that besides the Julii, the Caecilii (Fest.44 L), Aemilii (Fest.23 L), Memmii, Sergii, Cluentii (all mentioned by Servius (Aen.5.117) and the Junii (D.H.4.68.1) all belonged to this Trojan group.

The Antonii were Heracleidae (Plut.Ant.1), descended from Anton, son of Heracles.

⁴⁴J. M. C. Toynbee. CR 1970 84

⁴⁵Michael Grant. Cleopatra. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1972. 110

⁴⁶Gilbert Highet. The Speeches in Virgil's Aeneid. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1972. 208

⁴⁷Gordon Williams. Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1983. 114 note 12.

⁴⁸Evander (8.366-69) led Aeneas into a simple hut with a roughly-made bed, a forcible reminder of that afforded by Eumaeus to Odysseus (Hom.Od.14).

⁴⁹Servius (ad loc): Ennii versus est. Egentem sane nos ablativo iungamus".

⁵⁰R. M. Ogilvie. The Romans and their Gods in the Age of Augustus. Chatto and Windus, London, 1969. 75-76, 85
C. Bailey. Religion in Vergil. Barnes and Noble, New York, 1935. 241 ff.

- ⁵¹R. M. Ogilvie. The Romans and their Gods in the Age of Augustus. Chatto and Windus, London, 1969. 85
- ⁵²C. Bailey. op.cit. 241
G. Thaniel. Themes of death in Roman Religion and Poetry. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, McMaster University, Hamilton, 1971. 228
- ⁵³C. Bailey. op.cit. 243
- ⁵⁴W. Keller. The Etruscans. Lowe and Brydone, Norfolk, 1975. 82
J. Heurgon. Daily Life of the Etruscans. Wenderfeld and Nicolson, London, 1964. 224
- ⁵⁵W. Keller. op.cit. 29-34
- ⁵⁶Lionel Casson. Ancient Egypt. Time Life Books, New York, 1965. 82
- ⁵⁷Lionel Casson. op.cit. 172
- ⁵⁸H. E. Butler. Propertius. William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1912. 241 note 1.
- ⁵⁹Robin Lane Fox. Alexander the Great. Allen Lane, London, 1973. 56
- ⁶⁰Robin Lane Fox. op.cit. 56, 59, 434-36
- ⁶¹R. D. Williams. The Aeneid of Virgil. Books 7-12. MacMillan Education Ltd., London, 1973. 384
- ⁶²Frederick E. Brenk. "Aurorum Spes et Purpurei Flores: The Eulogy for Marcellus in Aeneid 6", AJP 107 (1980) pp. 218-228.
- ⁶³Michael Grant. op.cit. 147
- ⁶⁴Egil Kraggerud. "Perusia and the Aeneid" S.O. 62 (1987), pg. 77
- ⁶⁵S. Farron. "Aeneas' Human Sacrifice" Acta Class. 28 (1985) pp.21-23.
- ⁶⁶R. D. Williams. op.cit. 354
- ⁶⁷D. Randall-MacIver. The Etruscans. Cooper Square Publishers Inc., New York, 1972. 19-20

- ⁶⁸J. M. C. Toynbee. Death and Burial in the Roman World. Thames and Hudson, London, 1971. plate 2.
- ⁶⁹B. Otis. Virgil: A Study in Civilised Poetry. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1963. 364
- ⁷⁰K. W. Gransden. Virgil's Iliad. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984. 167
- ⁷¹K. Quinn. Virgil's Aeneid. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1968. 235
- ⁷²E. Coleiro. "Allegory in the Aeneid". PVS 13 (1973-4) pp.48-9.
R. G. Tanner. "Some problems in Aeneid 7-12". PVS 10 (1970-1) 42
- ⁷³R. M. Ogilvie. A commentary on Livy. Books 1-5. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1985. 52
- ⁷⁴Oxford Classical Dictionary, sub Evander.
- ⁷⁵R. M. Ogilvie. op.cit. 52,56
- ⁷⁶R. M. Ogilvie. op.cit. 52,56_
O.C.D. sub Evander.
- ⁷⁷Denis Feeney. "Following after Hercules in Virgil and Apollonius". PVS 18 (1986) 85.
W. A. Camps. Virgil's Aeneid. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1969. 98-100. 141
- ⁷⁸G. R. Manton. "Virgil and the Greek Epic: The Tragedy of Evander". Aumla 17 (1962) 7-8.
- ⁷⁹R. D. Williams. op.cit. 391
- ⁸⁰Frederick E. Brenk. op.cit. 220
- ⁸¹J. M. C. Toynbee. Death and Burial in the Roman World. Cornell University Press, New York, 1971. 55
Funeral expenses for those who died on active service were paid by their comrades, contributions from the soldiers' pay having been set aside for such eventualities (Vegetius. Epitome rei militaris 2.20).
- ⁸²J. M. C. Toynbee. op.cit. 55

⁸³C. Bailey. op.cit. 276-77

⁸⁴C. Bailey. op.cit. 286-87

⁸⁵C. Bailey. op.cit. 289

⁸⁶O.C.D. sub Hero-Cult.

H. J. Rose. Religion in Greece and Rome. Harper and Row, London, 1959. 27-28

⁸⁷Samuel Ball Platner. A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1929. 253. The ara maxima was burned in the fire of Nero (Tac.Ann.15,41).

⁸⁸Bertha Tilly. The story of Pallas. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1961. 123-6.

⁸⁹C. Bailey. op.cit. 294 with reference to Servius (ad Ecl. 5.66) "novimus enim aras et dis esse superis et inferis consecratas; altaria vero esse superiorum tantum deorum", and ad Aen. 5. 54. "ponit autem altaria quae superiorum deorum sunt et hoc ideo quia Anchises iam deus est".

⁹⁰W. A. Camps. op.cit. 138

⁹¹C. Bailey. op.cit. 295

Jasper Griffin. Virgil. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986. 30 also notes that in the persona of Daphnis, Vergil gives the reader "a shimmer of the figure of Caesar".

⁹²C. Bailey. op.cit. 296

⁹³G. S. Kirk. The Nature of Greek Myths. Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1974. 176-7.

⁹⁴Michael Grant op.cit. 88

⁹⁵Frederick E. Brenk S. J. "Aurorum spes at Purpurei Flores: The Eulogy of Marcellus in Aeneid 6". AJP 107 218

⁹⁶Frederick E. Brenk. op.cit. 227

⁹⁷Frederick E. Brenck. op.cit. 228

Notes to Chapter 2

¹R. M. Ogilvie. A commentary on Livy. Books 1-5. Clarendon Press. Oxford 1965. 38-40

H.Boas. Aeneas' Arrival in Latium. Amsterdam, 1938. 72-5 O.C.D. sub Latinus

²Ernest Nash. Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome. A. Zweimner Ltd., London, 1962. Sub regia.

Samuel Ball Platner. A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1929, 440-41.

O.C.D. sub regia, where the authors refer to the work of F. E. Brown (Amer. Acad. Rome 1935 67 ff.)

³Arthur Palmer. Heroides. George Olms, Hildesheim, 1967. 345-6, discussing the name Elissa (used as a substitute for Dido). (Her.7.102; Aen. 4,335,610;5.3) notes that Elissa, seems to have been her original name, and that Dido(the "loved one") was bestowed upon her after her death (Servius ad Aen.1.340. According to Servius (ad Aen.4.647) the name Dido meant virago in the Punic tongue (i.e. heroic maiden) a definition accepted by the Etymologicum Magnum, except that it claims that Dido also means a "wanderer". The name Elissa is Semitic, meaning "princess".

Arthur Stanley Pease. Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos. Liber Quartus. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1967. 22, 300, agrees with the above points, but gives some additional information:that Elissa = $\Theta\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\acute{\omega}$ and that another form is $\Theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\acute{\omega}$; that Elissa can be written Elisa; that she was the daughter of Belus (equivalent of Ba'al, Bel, Helios, Sol, Mithras).

O.C.D. sub Belus, notes that Belus was recognized as a divine title (e.g. Zeus Belus. Herod.1.181.2) as well as being a stop-gap title for Oriental Kings, as Creon was for Greek kings. One may thus conclude that Dido was both queen and goddess.

⁴Pierre Grimal. A Dictionary of Classical Mythology. Translated by A. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, Blackwell, Oxford, 1986. 36

⁵P. F. Burke. Characterisation in the Aeneid. Stanford University Ph.D. thesis, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1971. 100

⁶P. F. Burke. op.cit. 100

⁷P. F. Burke. op.cit. 101

⁸P. F. Burke. op.cit. 101-2 with reference to H. W. G. Peter. Historicum Romanorum Reliquiae (Leipzig 1914) 1, 112 for the Fabius Pictor reference.

⁹Georg N. Knauer. Die Aeneis und Homer .Vandernhoeck and Ruprecht, Gottingen, 1964. 29

¹⁰Catherine Saunders. "The Tragedy of Latinus". CW. 15 (1922) 17-24

¹¹Aristotle. Theory of Poetry and Fine Arts. Trans. S. H. Butcher. Dover Publications, New York, 1951. 41

¹²Aristotle. op.cit. 13. 3

¹³M. Ross and J.Stevens. In Search of ourselves. Dent and Sons, Toronto, 1967. 50

¹⁴Michael Grant. Cleopatra. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1972. 22-23

¹⁵Michael Grant. op.cit. 25

¹⁶Michael Grant. op.cit. 23

¹⁷P. Burke. op.cit. 118

¹⁸Euripides scandalized public opinion with his Aeolus, now lost. cf also Euripides Andromache 175

¹⁹Gilbert Highet. The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid. Princeton University Press, 1972. 142 refers to F. Olivier Virgile et Cicéron. Essais, Lausanne, 1963. 211-13

²⁰M. Grant. op.cit. 10 (cf Plut.Cic.1.2)

²¹D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Cicero's letters to Atticus. (Books 11-13). Cambridge University Press 1966. 404 ff. for a full discussion on Tullia's shrine.

²²William S. Anderson. The Art of the Aeneid. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969. 89

- ²³P. Burke. op.cit. 42 refers (1) to C.Schrevel P. Vergilii Maronis cum veterum omnium commentariis et selectis recentiorum notis nova editio. Leiden. 1646. ad.Aen.11.122. (2) A. Turnebe. Adversaria, Paris, 1564-5. Book 23. Chapter 13
- ²⁴P. Burke. op.cit. 43-44, with ref. to J. G. Cooper Publii Vergilii Maronis Opera, New York, 1842. Ad.Aen. 11.338.
J. Conington & H. Nettleship. Aeneid. 1872. ad.Aen.11.336.
Kenneth Quinn. Virgil's Aeneid: A critical Description, Ann Arbor, 1968. 241
- ²⁵D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Cicero:Philippics. University of N. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1986. 31
- ²⁶D. R. Shackleton Bailey. op.cit. 11
- ²⁷O.C.D. sub. Letters.
- ²⁸T. A. Dorey. "Honesty in Roman Politics", (Cicero. edited T. A. Dorey. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1964). 28
- ²⁹M. L. Clarke. "Non hominis nomen sed Eloquentiae" (Cicero. edited by T. A. Dorey. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1964. 81-108) 82
- ³⁰G. B. Townsend. "The Poems"(Cicero ed. T. A. Dorey. 109-35). 112-16
- ³¹Gordon Williams. Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1983. 54-56
- ³²Geography and nationality would appear to be somewhat flexible and all-embracing in the Aeneid, since Diomedes, originally an Aetolian before becoming king of Argos (11.239) is here ruler of Argyripa or Argos Hippiion (Servius ad. 11.246)in Daunia, part of Apulia in Southern Italy, an area which took its name from Daunus, a fabulous king, a relative of Turnus (Daunus hero Aen. 12.723) and Juturna (Daunia dea 12.785). The gens Daunia refers to the Rutuli (Aen.8.146), and to the Romans (Dauniae...caedes. Hor.Od.2.1..34-5) and Apulians -pars pro toto-in Pliny 3.11.16. Similarly Aeneas is dux...Troianus (4.124),Romanus (6.851)and Phrygius pastor (7.363).
F. Della Corte. La Mappa dell'Eneide. La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1972. 5 concludes that geographical identifications in the Aeneid are many and seemingly contradictory.

³³R. D. Williams. The Aeneid of Virgil. Books 7-12. Macmillan Education Ltd., London, 1973. 230

³⁴In Hesiod's Works and Days (111 ff.), the Golden Age occurred during the rule of Cronus (Saturnus) before he was deposed by his son Zeus. In the Italian legend, Saturnus took refuge in Latium and taught the Latins agriculture. Under the rule of Saturn, who is here an Italian deity (the husband of Ops), Latium had its Golden Age (cf Georgics 2.598. Aen. 6 792-3, 7.203-4).

³⁵Servius tells the story of how Idomeneus of Crete (Homer II. 13.210 ff.) after sacrificing his son in fulfillment of a vow eventually founded a state in Calabria among the Sallentini (ad.Aen.3.400-1).

³⁶R. Syme. The Roman Revolution. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1939. 167-69

³⁷P. Burke. Characterisation in the Aeneid. Ph.D. Thesis. Stanford University, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1971. 12-13

³⁸Lewis & Short Latin Dictionary sub iuvenis: "one who is in the flower of his or her own age (mostly of persons older than adulescentes and younger than seniores. i.e. between twenty and forty years)".

³⁹P. Burke. op.cit. 15

⁴⁰R. D. Williams. op.cit. 404

⁴¹Gordon Williams. Technique & Ideas in the Aeneid, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1983. 200

⁴²R. Heinze. Vergils epische Technik, Leipzig, 1915. 426

⁴³G. Highet. op.cit. 59

⁴⁴R. D. Williams. op.cit. 410

⁴⁵Ennius. Annales. 287-89:-multa dies in bello conficit unus et rursus multae fortunae forte recumbunt: haudquaquam quemquam semper fortuna secuta est.

⁴⁶Messapus (7.691 ff.): eponymous hero of the Messapians in Southern Italy, reputed to have come originally from Boeotia.

Tolumnius is referred to as augur (12.258). Camilla is mentioned as commander of the Volsci in 7.803 ff. 11.498 ff.

⁴⁷Georg Knauer. Die Aeneis und Homer. op.cit. 284

⁴⁸J. Conington & H. Nettleship. The Works of Vergil, (vol.3). Georg Olms, Hildesheim, 1963. 349-50

⁴⁹P. Burke. op.cit. 35

⁵⁰M. L. Clarke. op.cit. "Rhetorical influences in the Aeneid G & R. 18" (1949). 15

⁵¹M. L. Clarke. op.cit. 17-20

⁵²M. L. Clarke. op.cit. 14-15. quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem campus aget gemitus! Vel quae, Tiberine, videbis/funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem! (Aen.6.872-4), Synecdoche is shown by the use of plural for singular in funera; apostrophe, in the address to Tiber; prosopopoeia in the personification of the river, and ἐκφώνησις or exclamatio in the sentence as a whole.

⁵³M. L. Clarke. op.cit. 20

⁵⁴M. L. Clarke. op.cit. 21-3

⁵⁵M. L. Clarke. op.cit. 25

⁵⁶G. Highet. op.cit. 283 and R. D. Williams op.cit. (Books 1-6) 172 suggest that Vergil probably had a specific person in mind, possibly Cato.

⁵⁷G. Highet. op.cit. 284

⁵⁸unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem (Aen. 6.846) is an adapted quotation from Ennius: unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem. (Ann.370).

⁵⁹D. R. Shackleton Bailey. op.cit. 321

⁶⁰The Padusa is a canal running from the mouth of the river Po to Ravenna, now the Canale di S. Alberto. The historian Livy was associated with Patavium, an important centre in Gallia Cisalpina. Vergil too was obviously well acquainted with this Veneto region.

⁶¹Frederick Ahl. Metaformations. Soundplay & Wordplay in Ovid & other Classical Poets, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1985. 319-20.

⁶²R. D. Williams. op.cit. 219

⁶³R. D. Williams. op.cit. 410

⁶⁴In Homer (Odyssey 15.526), the falcon is the "swift messenger of Apollo", and is frequently represented in Ptolemaic hieroglyphic cartouches.

⁶⁵R. D. Williams. op.cit. 142

⁶⁶Francis P. Simpson. Selected Poems of Catullus. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London. 95

⁶⁷Antimachus was the author of a Thebaid (Cic. Brut.51,191; Cat.95,10), a Centaur (Ovid. Met.12.400), and a son of Aegyptus (Hyginus Fab 170).

⁶⁸R. G. M. Nisbet & M. Hubbard. op.cit. 228

⁶⁹R. G. M. Nisbet & M. Hubbard. op. cit.101

⁷⁰R. Syme. The Roman Revolution, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1939. 208 note 1.

⁷¹Paul Zanker. The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, Ann Arbor, 1988. Plate 148 showing a cuirassed statue of Augustus from the villa of Livia at Prima Porta.

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¹Wendell Clausen. Vergil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic poetry. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1987 17

²C. J. Fordyce. Catullus. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1961, 272

³R. D. Williams. Virgil, Aeneid 7-12. Macmillan, London, 1973, 416

⁴M. Alessio. ...sed proelia virgo. Heroism and Death in Aeneid 11. Unpublished M. A. thesis, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont. 1981. 60-3.

⁵ variatio...in catalogo suo velut dedecus
aut crimen vitans repetitionem (Macr.5.15.14 ff.).

⁶Nicolas Horsfall. Aeneid VII: Notes on Selected Passages. Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, Oxford, 1971. 162-3

⁷N. Horsfall. op.cit. 315

⁸N. Horsfall. op.cit. 316

⁹N. Horsfall. op.cit. 318

¹⁰Kathleen Manneke. Prolegomena to a Social History of the Volscian Territory. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont., 1982. 62

¹¹F. Delphino "Discussione" (Giorgio Bretschneider. Gli Etruschi e Roma. Bretschneider Editore, Rome, 1981, 199-211) 210-12
Giovanni Colonna. "Quali Etruschi a Roma"(Giorgio Bretschneider. Gli Etruschi a Roma. Bretschneider Editore, Rome, 1981. 159-172) 160

¹³Arcadian Atalanta was "extremely swift of foot" (Ael.V.H. 13.1)
Arethusa velox (Vergil Georg.4.344). Aura and Nicea (Nonnus Dion 48.246).

¹⁴Penthesilea was $\theta\sigma\eta'$ in battle.(Quint.Smyrn.1.181).

¹⁵R. D. Williams. "The Function and Structure of Vergil's Catalogue" CQ 11. (1961) pp.146-153, considers Camilla as a "pendant" to the catalogue.

¹⁶N. Horsfall. op.cit. 326 states that the purple trabea was associated with Romulus as well as with Homer (Iliad 8.221; 24.644. ff.), although in Homer

the cloak was not worn in war. He suggests that Vergil may well have had in mind the short cloak of the Roman cavalry (trossula) which was of purple and scarlet.

Giampiera Arrigoni, Camilla, Amazzone e Sacerdotessa di Diana, Cisalpino, Goliardica, Milano, 1982. 29 note 37 refers to the purple cloak and gold brooch as proof of a possible rapport between the Volsci and an advanced Etruscan civilisation for [Metabus]pulsus fuerat a gente Volscorum, quae etiam ipsa Etruscorum potestate regebatur (Servius ad 11.567).

A. S. Pease Publi Vergi Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1967. 134, considers the combination of purple and gold to be very common in the ancient world. Further Homeric references to purple cloaks: Odyssey 4.115, 154; 8.84; 14.500; 19.225, 241-2

¹⁷The Pharaoh was shepherd of his people (Northrop Frye. The Great Code. The Bible and Literature, Academic Press Canada, Toronto, 1982) and the royal crook, together with sceptre, whip and double crown was part of Pharaonic corona insignia distinguishing the Pharoas from whatever inaugural ceremonies they celebrated as Greek rulers (M.Grant, op.cit. 44).

¹⁸G. Arrigoni. op.cit. 30

¹⁹G. Arrigoni. op.cit. 31. with ref. to Dict.Cret.IV.3: Quint. Smyrn. 1.100-3; 582-91

²⁰Horrendus in the Aeneid has characteristically negative associations, applied as it is to Charybdis (3.559), to Polyphemus (3.658), to Fama (4.181), to the Sibyl (6.10,99), to the beast of Lerna and other hybrids (6.228), to Charon (6.298), to the river-banks of the dead (6.327), to the palace of Picus (7.,172), to Juno (7.323), to the Underworld entrance (7.568), to Mezentius (9.521) and to Turnus'scally armour (11.488). cf fatale monstrum referring to Cleopatra. Horace Odes. 1.37.21.

²¹K. W. Gransden. Virgil's Iliad. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1984. 86

²²Latonia: Diana, daughter of Latona an earlier and more usual Latin version of Λητώα made its first literary appearance in Catullus 34.5: Latonia, maximi magna progenies Jovis The patronymic (or matronymic) was a regular mode of address in prayers and hymns.

²³compellabat et...voces ore dabat. cf Plautus Aul.523, Rud.1227, Ennius Annales 44: exim compellare pater me voce videtur his verbis and 306 quam tibi ex ore orationem duriter dictis dedit.

²⁴R. E. Woodrow. Virgil's Aeneid XI: A Commentary on the Camilla Episode. unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, Oxford, 1978. 17 equates Servius' comment ad Aen.11.567 with fragment 62 of Cato's Origines:...nam pulsus fuerat a gente Volscorum quae etiam ipsa Etruscorum potestate regebatur:quod Cato plenissime executus est.

²⁵T. T. Duke. "Metabus of Privernum", Vergilius 23 (1977) 34

²⁶R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 17

T. T. Duke. op.cit. 34-5

²⁷R. D. Williams. The Aeneid of Virgil (7-12). Macmillan. London 1973. 218-19.

²⁸T. T. Duke. op.cit. 35

²⁹Thomas Köves-Zulauf. "Camilla II", Gymnasium 85 (1978) 408

³⁰Aul Gell. 5.11.12; Juv. 8.229

³¹Diana was of political importance at Rome. Her temple on the Aventine ascribed to the reign of Servius Tullus was associated with the plebeian class (Livy 1.45.2). She was also one of the Augustan Palatine triad: Apollo-Latona-Diana.

³²C. Bailey. Religion in Virgil. Barnes and Noble, New York, 1935 157-61. For Diana as Artemis see Aeneid 1.329, 498 ff.; 7.305-6; 10.215; as Luna 9.403 ff.; as Trivia, sister of Apollo 6. 13, 35, 69; 7.774; 10.537; as Hecate/Trivia 4.510- 11, 609; 6.116-17, 247, 251 ff. 564-5

³³Livy 1.19.5 (Egeria) quae acceptissima deis essent sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique dearum praeficere.

³⁴Virbius: Hippolytus (Aen.7.777. cf Ovid Met. 15.497 ff.)

³⁵J. G. Frazer. The Golden Bough. Macmillan, New York, 1951. 161 ff.

³⁶Werner Keller. The Etruscans. Book Club Associates, London, 1975, 318. The vanth represents implacable fate.

³⁷T. T. Duke. op.cit. pp.34-38

The Hyperbolean maidens Opis and Arge accompanied Leto (Latona) and her children, Artemis and Apollo, to Delos, where they were held in great honour.

³⁸T. T. Duke op.cit. 38 tunc etiam telis moriere Dianae? (11.857) may give the impression that Opis was Diana herself. Opis, a name for Diana, is to be found in Callimachus (Dian 204-240).

³⁹T. Köves-Zulauf. "Camilla". Gymnasium 85 (1978) pp.183-205 states that Opis is invisible in descending to earth (nigro circumdata turbine corpus 11.596); she is an onlooker at the battle (spectatque interrita pugnas 11.837); she trails Arruns with her eyes (speculatur 11.853). He connects also the tumulus Dercenni (11.850,853), her place of watching with the Greek verb (to see).

⁴⁰T. E. Page. The Aeneid of Vergil. 7-12. Macmillan, London, 1914. 393

⁴¹C. Bailey. op.cit. 159-60

⁴²T. T. Duke. op.cit. 36

⁴³Sir Paul Harvey. The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1937. 289

⁴⁴R. D. Williams. op.cit. 227

T. T. Duke. op.cit. 35

T.Köves-Zulauf. op.cit. 421-25

⁴⁵N. Horsfall. op.cit. 316

R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 19

K. W. Gransden. Virgil's Iliad. An essay on epic narrative. Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1984. 189

⁴⁶M. Hadas. "Aeneas as a national hero". AJP 69 (1948).408-14, comments that "if Horace assumes that Jewish credulity is a matter of common knowledge (credat Judaeus Apella non ego Serm. 1.5.100), Virgil is the type of mind which would investigate the objects of that credulity".

⁴⁷The Aethiopsis, a lost epic poem of Arcturus of Miletus was intended as a sequel to the Iliad, and contained the tale of the coming of Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, to Troy, as well as the advent of Memnon.

⁴⁸cf Propertius (of Atalanta) 1.1.15 ergo velocem potuit domuisse puellam.

⁴⁹Propertius. 1.1.13

⁵⁰Köves-Zulauf. op.cit. 424

⁵¹Köves-Zulauf. op.cit. 430-32

⁵²Köves-Zulauf. op.cit. 432

⁵³cf also Georgics.2.142 horret seges; Aen.3.46 telerum seges; 12.663-4 Strictisque seges mucronibus horret ferrea.

⁵⁴R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 85

⁵⁵G. Arrigone. op.cit. 35 with ref. to Strabo (12.8.6).

⁵⁶R. E. Woodrow. op.cit.87.

⁵⁷R. E. Woodrow. op.cit.87.

⁵⁸G. Arrigone. op.cit. 37-38

⁵⁹R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 94.

⁶⁰R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. with ref. to C.Daremberg and E.Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments. Paris, 1877-1919. 4.2. pp. 1170 ff. Securis.

⁶¹Decus: is applied to Aeneas (4.150; 6.546), to Turnus (7.473, 12.58), to Hercules (8.301), to Iris (9.18), to Diana (9.405), to Pallas (10.507), to Juturna (12.142).

⁶²Köves-Zulauf. op.cit. 409

⁶³Oxford Classical Dictionary sub. Acca.
Pierre Grimal's Dictionary of Classical Mythology sub. Acca.

⁶⁴C.Bailey. op.cit. 250

⁶⁵Oxford Companion to Classical Literature.sub. Tarpeia.

⁶⁶R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 100-101

⁶⁷R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 104

⁶⁸R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 112

⁶⁹The violence exhibited by Vergil's warriors would seem to be implicit in his use of torrential river names, e.g., Umbro (7.752), Ufens (7.745), Galaesus (7.535), Tagus (9.418), Tanais, (12.513), Caicus (1.813), Lycus (9.545), Hebrus (10.696), Hydaspes (10.747), Sybaris (12.363).

⁷⁰R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 119 conjectures that Pagasus derives his name from Pagasae, the Thessalian town from which the Argo set sail. Clytius, Chromis and Orsilochus are names of Trojan allies in the Iliad. Tereus, Harpalycus and Demophoon have a Thracian connection, while Pagasus, Ornytus, Butes and Clytius are probably drawn from Apollonius Rhodius.

⁷¹This idea of bestial behaviour on the part of a human being is also implicit in Vergil's reference to Tereus, whose son Itys met a similar fate at the hands of Philomela (Ecl. 6.79). Demophoon (11.675) had traitorous associations in his treatment of the Thracian princess Phyllis (Ovid Heroides 2. A.A.3.459, Rem. 591 ff.). He also gained possession of the Palladium — as did Aeneas and Diomedes (O.C.D sub. Demophoon, with ref. to Suda s.v. ἐπὶ Παλαδίῳ ; Clem. Al. Protr. 36, 15 ff. Stahlin). Chromis appears in Homer as a Trojan leader (Iliad 2.856 ff.).

⁷²R. W. Cruttwell. Virgil's Mind at Work: An Analysis of the Symbolism of the Aeneid. Cooper Square, New York, 1969. 83
Troy was defended by encirclements (1.483 ff). Similarly the Underworld was guarded by the Cocytus (sinu labens circumvenit atro 6.132); Mezentius circles Aenea ingenti gyro (10.884) in an attempt to penetrate his defenses; Arruns circles Camilla seeking the opportunity to strike (11.759-67) Aeneas and Turnus circle in their final life and death struggle (quinque orbis explent cursu totidemque retexunt/huc illuc...12.763-64); Amata lymphata throws herself about in the manner of a top which spins magno in gyro within the confines of a hall in response to the boys' lashes (7.328 ff), resembling Turnus who runs in circles (nunc huc...implicat orbis 12.743) enclosed by a vasta palus on one side and ardua moenia on the other, a trapped stag (inclusum...cervum saeptum) pursued by a hunting dog, whose prey only just evades it (iam iamque tenet 12.754)

⁷³In earliest historical times Liguria referred to an area between Catalonia, Languedoc, Rousillon, Southern Switzerland and Northern Italy, yet no texts refer to the Ligurians in Southern Gaul as a nation or attribute definite racial characteristic to them.

For the bad reputations of the Ligurians, refer also to Cato Origines 2; Cicero pro Cluentio 26, pro Sesto 69; Sallust Jugurtha 38.

⁷⁴Arnold J. Toynbee. Hannibal's legacy. vol.2. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1965 261-87. Other tribes of the Augustan era include:- the Friniates (N. Apennines), the Apuani (Magra valley), the Genuates (Genova area), the Veturii (West of Genuates), the Vediantiti (around modern Venice), the Intemelii (whose capital was at Albium Intemelium-modern Ventimiglia); North of the Alps were the Vagienni, the Statielli and the Taurini (around Augusta Vaiennorum, Aquae Statiellae or modern Acqui, and Turin respectively).

⁷⁵In Homer (Odyssey 15.526) the hawk, the "swift messenger of Apollo" is considered an happy omen, coming as it did from the right.

⁷⁶R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 160

⁷⁷cf Propertius 2.1.45; 3.8.32. Ovid Amores 1.9.15-16; Tibullus 1.10.53; Horace Odes 3.26. 1-8.

⁷⁸M. Grant. op.cit. 46. The Pharaohs were believed to be the offspring of Jupiter-Ammon, a claim taken over by the Ptolemies. Cicero (ad Att. 15.15.2) in a letter dated June 44 B.C. refers to Cleopatra's representative Ammonius: this could imply that Auletes had abdicated rather than died in 51 B.C.

⁷⁹C. Bailey. Religion in Vergil. Barnes and Noble, New York, 1935. 149.

⁸⁰moriturus-a-um would seem to be used of two categories: of heroes (e.g. Priam 2.511, Nisus 9.400, Helenor 9.554, Lausus 10.811, Mezentius 10.881 and of those who died for amor (e.g. Leander, Geo. 3.263; Eurydice, Geo. 4.458; Dido, Aen. 4.308, 415, 519.604.

⁸¹turbidus would seem to be connected with the involuntary state of mind of Turnus (9.57, 10.648, 12.671) and of Arruns, agitated after his treatment of Camilla (11.814).

⁸²Maeones are 1) Lydians, 2) Etruscans (Herodotus 1.94). Vergil uses this term on various occasions:- in Geo. 4.380 Maeonii carchesia Bacchi; Aen. 216 Maeonia mitra; 8.499 Maeonia delecta iuventus; 9.546 of Helenor, Maeonio regi...Licymnia furtim sustulerat; 10.141 of Ismarus, descendant of Maeonia generose domo; 10.337-8 of the spear of Aeneas which clipei transverberat aera Maeonis. Thus, in certain contexts, Maeonius is indisputably Eastern or Lydian rather than Etruscan in meaning.

⁸³Marzia Bonfanti. Punto di vista e modi della narrazione nell'Eneide. Giardini, Pisa, 1985. 198

⁸⁴Augustus is also a Gallus (Suet.Aug.68).

⁸⁵R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 172 with ref. to Apuleius (Met.8-27).

⁸⁶R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 173

⁸⁷E. T. Salmon. op.cit. 46

⁸⁸Apollo is especially associated with the Trojans and Augustus in Aeneid 5.545-603; 8.707,720; 9.638-63

⁸⁹R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 185

⁹⁰R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 187

⁹¹Enciclopedia Virgiliana (vol.1) sub.Chloerus.

⁹²cf Homer Iliad 5.334 where Venus, another divinum corpus is wounded by Diomedes.

⁹³cf also Dio 58.11.5; Tacitus Annales 5.9.2.

⁹⁴R. M. Ogilvie. op.cit. 225

⁹⁵R. G. Austin. P. Virgilii Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1955. 121-22 categorizes pius under three headings: a) in passages of ordeal or of thoughts and acts of devotion towards a loved one: 1.220,305; 5.26; 6.9.176,232; 7.5. b) when offering up a prayer: 5.685; 8.84; 12.175,311. c) in complex settings to obtain a particular effect: 10.591,783; also pietas 10.824).

⁹⁶L. R. Keppel. "Arruns and the Death of Aeneas" AJP 97. (1976) 344-60, note 6 lists occurrences of pietas in the ablative case with reference to a specific person: to Aeneas (1.10, 544-45; 3.480; 6.403; 11.291-92; 12.839); to Anchises (2.690), to Silvius Aeneas (6.769), to Arruns (11.787).

⁹⁷L. R. Keppel. op.cit. 344-60

⁹⁸R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 196

⁹⁹G. Knauer. op.cit. 311 ff.

¹⁰⁰R. E. Woodrow. op.cit. 209

¹⁰¹G. Arrigone. op.cit. 60-63

¹⁰²R. E. Woodrow. op.cit 121-2

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¹E. Coleiro, Tematica e Struttura dell'Eneide di Virgilio. B. R. Gruner, Amsterdam, 1983, 1

²Jasper Griffin. Virgil. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986. 16

³Jasper Griffin. op.cit. 23

⁴Jasper Griffin. op.cit. 29

⁵Jasper Griffin. op.cit. 30

⁶Jasper Griffin. op.cit. 30

⁷F. Cairns. Virgil's Augustan Epic. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989. 1.

-Jupiter as divum pater atque hominum (1.65); rex magne (1.241).

-Juno is divum regina (1.46)

-Aeolus is a rex (1.52, 62,137) with sceptre (1.57) and regnum (1.78).

⁸F. Cairns. op.cit. 2. In Book I:- Dido's royal status is emphatic, she is regina eleven times (1.303, 389, 454, 496.522.594. 660. 674.697.717.728): regit (1.340), regni novitas (1.563), regnis (1.572), regna...tecta (1.631-2), regali luxu (1.637), regales mensas (1.686). Aeneas is Teucrorum...regem (1.38). rex (1.544).

⁹F. Cairns. op.cit. 4-8

¹⁰F. Cairns. op.cit. 9

¹¹F. Cairns. op.cit. 30-35

¹²E. Coleiro. op.cit. 13-14

¹³E. Coleiro. op.cit. 6

Other refs. include: Servius Vita 27; Ad Aen. 1.1.;6.752; Donatus Vita 31; Macrobius Sat. 24.11; Quintilian Inst.Or. 10.1.86; Gellius 5.12.13.

- ¹⁴R. Martin Récherches sur les agronomes latins et leur conceptions économiques et sociales, Paris, 1971.
- ¹⁵D. L. Drew. The Allegory of the Aeneid. Blackwell, Oxford, 1927 passim
- ¹⁶W. A. Camps. An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1969. 95-104
- ¹⁷C. Bailey. Religion in Virgil. Barnes and Noble, New York, 1935. 195 note 3
- ¹⁸R. G. Tanner. "Some Problems in Aeneid 7-12", PVS 10 (1970-71) 34-44
- ¹⁹E. Coleiro. "Allegory in the Aeneid". PVC (1973-4) 43-44
- ²⁰Jasper Griffin. Latin Poets and Roman Life. Duckworth, London, 1985. 183
- ²¹Wendell Clausen. Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1987. 5
Parthenius, who arrived at Rome between 73-65 B.C. introduced the poetry of Callimachus to the Novi Poetae at Rome, and it became an effective part of their education.
- ²²E. Coleiro. "Allegory in the Aeneid". PVC 13 (1973-4). 42
- ²³Natalino Sapegno, La Divina Commedia, (vol.1). La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1955. 58 note to line 61
- ²⁴Philip R. Hardie. Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1986. 26
- ²⁵Philip R. Hardie. op.cit. 31
- ²⁶Philip Rollinson. Classical Theories of Allegory and Christian Culture. Duquesne University Press, Duquesne, PA, 1981. 12-16
- ²⁷G. E. Duckworth. "Animae Dimidium Meae: Two Poets of Rome". TAPA 87 (1956). Presidential Address. 306
- ²⁸Frederic Ahl. Metaformations: Sound-Play and Word-Play in Ovid and other Classical Poets. Cornell University Press, 1985. 275-87

²⁹Sir Ronald Syme. The Roman Revolution. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1939. 489

³⁰Jean Starobinski. Le Parole Sotto Le Parole. Gli Anagrammi di Ferdinand de Saussure. Il Melangolo, Genova, 1982. 23-25
Starobinski discusses the anagram and anaphone, and also the concept of pseudonyms with reference to Priamides in Aen. 2.268 ff.

³¹Northrop Frye. The Great Code: The Bible and Literature. Academic Press, Toronto, 1981. 20

³²Northrop Frye. op.cit. 25

³³William Bedell Stanford. Ambiguity in Greek Literature. Oxford University Press, 1939. 1-2

³⁴W. B. Stanford. op.cit. 1-2

³⁵W. B. Stanford. op.cit. 2

³⁶W. B. Stanford. op.cit. 3

³⁷Eugene S. McCartney. "Puns and Plays on Proper Names". CJ 14 (1918-19), 344 ff, where he lists many jeux de mots, e.g. Aeschylus juggled with πανδίκως and Δίκη (Sept. 657-8); Euripides with Πενθεὺς and Πένθος (Bacch. 367); Sophocles with Ἄιδης... πλουτίζεται (Oed. Tyr. 30).

³⁸W. B. Stanford. op.cit. 9-18 lists other aspects of asapheia, including zeugma, parenthesis, metaphor.

³⁹W. B. Stanford. op.cit. 45-51. Other examples cited include Hermogenes' play on the names Λέων and Πανταλέων (πάντα Λέων) in a dispute over a will (Rhet.Gr. 2.141), and Horace's disputed finibus Atticis (Odes 3.5-7) whether it means "to" or "from".

⁴⁰W. B. Stanford. op.cit. 62-3

⁴¹M. M. Willock, "Mythical Paradeigma in the Iliad." CQ 14 (1964) 150 note 4

⁴²Philip Rollinson. Classical Theories of Allegory and Christian Culture. Duquesne University Press, Duquesne, 1981. 17

⁴³Norma P. Miller. "Vergil and Tacitus Again". PVS 18 (1986). 87

⁴⁴Norma P. Miller. op.cit. 98-100 examines also phrases such as infaustus omine (Tac.Hist. 1.6.2; cf Aen.11.589 where Diana hints at the unjustified assault on Camilla), and foedare sanguine (Tac.Hist. 1.26.1. cf Aen. 2.502 where Vergil refers to the unhallowed death of Polites, Aen.8.645 referring the death to Mettius Fufetius; Aen.11.8 to the trophy of Mezentius, and Livy 1.28.6, once more in connection with the cruel death of Mettius).

⁴⁵W. B. Stanford. op.cit. 73-5

⁴⁶Phalaris and Peisander were tyrants of Agrigentum and Athens respectively.

⁴⁷Jasper Griffin. Latin Poets and Roman Life. Duckworth. London, 1985. 191 with ref. to Cicero Dom. 72; Verr.3.31; Piso.20; Phil. 11.11; 13.24; Verr. 5.146.

⁴⁸Robert Graves. Lucan: Pharsalia Penguin Classics, Middlesex, 1956. 162 note 2

⁴⁹M. Corti e C.Segre. I metodi attuali della critica in Italia. RAI 1970.25, with reference to Louis de Bonald: "Vedendo la letteratura di un popolo di cui non si conoscesse la storia, si potrebbe dire quel che e' stato, e leggendo la storia di un popolo di cui non si conoscesse la letteratura, si potrebbe ugualmente dire con certezza quel che avrebbe dovuto essere il carattere dominante di quella letteratura".

⁵⁰E. Coleiro. "Allegory in the Aeneid". PVC 13 (1973-4).45
W.A.Camps. op.cit. 102-3

⁵¹Cyril Aldred. The Temple of Dendur. Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York. 1978. 25

⁵²F. W. Walbank. The Hellenistic World. Fontana Books, Middlesex, 1981. 228

⁵³F. W. Walbank. op.cit 229,242

⁵⁴F. Cairns. op.cit. 8

⁵⁵F. W. Walbank. op.cit. 245-7

⁵⁶F. W. Walbank. op.cit. 247-8

⁵⁷F. W. Walbank. op.cit. 248

- ⁵⁸F. Cairns. op.cit. 113-14
- ⁵⁹H. Volkmann. Cleopatra. A Study in Politics and Propaganda. Elex Books Ltd., London, 1958. 136
- ⁶⁰Henriette Boas. Aeneas' Arrival in Latium. N.V.Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschppij, Amsterdam, 1938. 133
- ⁶¹Paul Zanker. The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1988. Figs.39, 81 and 82 illustrate Augustus association with Apollo's snake, with Tritons and hippocamps.
- ⁶²Jasper Griffin. "Augustus and the Poets: 'Caesar qui cogere posset'" (F. Millar and E. Segal: Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1985) 192
- ⁶³Dennis Feeney. "Following after Hercules in Virgil and Apollonius" PVS 18 (1986) 49
- ⁶⁴Willibald Heilmann. "Aeneas und Evander in achtem Buch der Aeneis". Gymnasium 78 (1971) 83
- ⁶⁵W. A. Camps. op.cit. 98-99. The cult, originally in the hands of the Potiti and Pinarii families (Livy I.7.12; Vergil Aen.8.269-70), passed to the state in the censorship of Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 B.C.
- ⁶⁶Jasper Griffin. "Augustus and the Poets: 'Caesar qui cogere posset'" op.cit. 183
- ⁶⁷F. Cairns. op.cit. 18
- ⁶⁸R. D. Williams. The Aeneid of Vergil (7-12). Macmillan, London, 1973. 356
- ⁶⁹F. Cairns. op.,cit. 81-83
- ⁷⁰Egil Kraggerud. "Perusia and the Aeneid. Symb.Oslo. 62 (1987) 78-81
- ⁷¹S. Farron. "Aeneas' Human Sacrifice" Act.Class. 28. (1985) 21-33
- ⁷²S. Farron. "Aeneas' revenge for Pallas as a criticism of Aeneas". Act.Class. 29. (1986). 69-83
- ⁷³Jasper Griffin. "Augustus and the Poets". op.cit. 189

⁷⁴Paul Zanker. op.cit. Fig.38

⁷⁵Robin Lane Fox. Alexander the Great. Allen Lane, London, 1973. 434

⁷⁶F. Cairns. op.cit. 158

⁷⁷R. D. Williams. The Aeneid of Virgil. (1-6). St. Martin's Press, New York, 1972. 154

⁷⁸R. D. Williams. The Aeneid of Virgil (1-6) 285 sees elements of Apollonius Rhodes (2,178, esp. 262 ff.) in the tale of how the two sons of Boreas drove the Harpies away from Phineus, as well as marked elements with the theft of the cattle of the Sun God by Odysseus' companions (Odyssey 12.260 ff.).

⁷⁹Marzia Bonfanti. Punto di vista e modi nella narrazione nell'Eneide. Giardini, Pisa, 1985. 198

Wendell Clausen. op.cit 45-7

⁸⁰Zvi Yavetz. "The Res Gestae of Augustus" (Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects) 6

⁸¹K. W. Gransden. Virgil's Iliad. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1984. 184

⁸²Paul Zanker. op.cit. 208

⁸³S. Farron. "Aeneas' Revenge for Pallas as a Criticism of Aeneas". Act.Class. 29. 1986. 69

⁸⁴E. T. Salmon. Samnium and the Samnites. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1967. 36

⁸⁵E. T. Salmon. "The Hirpini: ex Italia semper aliquid novi". Phoenix. vol.43 (1989) 225

⁸⁶Pierre Grimal's Classical Dictionary. sub Hirpi.

⁸⁷monstrum. In Odes 1.37.22, the term is clearly applied to Cleopatra. Vergil has applied it to Cacus (8.198) and to Polyphemus (3.658) whereas Cicero described Catiline as such (Cat.2.1.1; Pro Caelio 12-14). It would thus appear to be a term designating tyrants and enemies of the state.

⁸⁸P. Zanker. op.cit. plate 39

⁸⁹Hans Volkmann. Cleopatra. A study in Politics and Propaganda. Elex Books Ltd., London, 1958. 17

⁹⁰Michael Grant. Cleopatra. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. London. 1972. 44

⁹¹E. Coleiro. Allegory in the Aeneid. op.cit. 48

⁹²D. L. Drew. op.cit. 37,88

⁹³R. G. Tanner. op.cit. 42

⁹⁴W. Heilmann. op.cit. 83

⁹⁵D. L. Drew. op.cit. 37

⁹⁶L. P. Wilkinson. Virgil. The Georgics. Penguin Books Ltd., Middlesex, 1982. 121

Yves Nadeau. "The Lover and the Statesman. A Study in Apiculture: Virgil, Georgics 4. 281-558 (Tony Woodman and David West. Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus. Cambridge Univ. Press 1984) 77

⁹⁷R. G. Tanner. op.cit. 40

⁹⁸The name Caesar is the Etruscan for "god", a title adopted also by the Ptolemies (θεός). In fact Julius Caesar gave himself the title of Jupiter Iulius (Dio Cassius 44.6.4) whereas Octavian was associated not only with Apollo (Hor.Odes 1.12.23-4) but also with Mercury (Odes 1.2. 41-44). Thus in the Julians and the Ptolemies the Hellenistic worlds and the West would appear to meet.

⁹⁹Michael Grant. op.cit. 77-8. Death by drowning was an appropriate fate for an Egyptian ruler for such a death was considered to confer on the victim the blessing of Osiris and divine status.

¹⁰⁰George Thaniel. " Nodum informis leti". Act.Class. 19 (1976) 79-81.

¹⁰¹Arthur Palmer. Heroides. Georg Olms, Hildesheim, 1967. 346

¹⁰²R. M. Ogilvie. A Commentary on Livy. Clarendon Press. Oxford, 1965. 115 notes that Horatia in mourning for an enemy of the state was guilty of proditio. Horatius in procuring her death merely forestalled the due process of law.

¹⁰³G. E. Duckworth. "Animae Dimidium Meae: Two Poets of Rome" TAPA 87 (1956) 281-316 Presidential Address. Duckworth compares, for instance, the Golden Age of Eclogue 4 with Horace's Epode 16: both poets note the divinity of Augustus (Ecl.1.7; Georgics 1.24-42, 503-504; Odes 1.2.25 ff); stress the need for clemency whenever possible (Aen.6.853; Odes 3.4; Carmen Saeculare 51-2); note Apollo as Augustus' tutular deity (Carm.Saec. 1-8; 33-6, 61-72; Aen.8. 704)

¹⁰⁴G. K. Galinski. "The Hercules-Cacus episode in Aeneid 8" A J P 87 (1966) 18-51. Note 6 quotes J.V.Luce "Cleopatra as Fatale Monstrum" CQ 13 (1963) 251-57

¹⁰⁵J. M. Benario. "Dido and Cleopatra". Vergilius 16 (1970) 2-6

¹⁰⁶O.C.D. sub Vesta.
M. Grant. op.cit. 118-20

¹⁰⁷Arthur Stanley Pease. Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos (Liber Quartus). Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1967. 23-28. Similarities listed by Pease include the fact that both are queens, displaced from their own countries, beautiful, forgetful of "higher things", have effete courts, brilliant banquets, much show of gold, ride on horseback, hunt, scandalize public opinion, accuse lovers of hard-heartedness, struggle to repress emotions, plan their own deaths.

¹⁰⁸D. L. Drew. The Allegory of the Aeneid. Garland Publishing Inc., New York, 1978. 82

W. A. Camps. op.cit. 29

E. Coleiro. "Allegory in the Aeneid". PVS 13. 1973-4. 51

¹⁰⁹E. Coleiro. Tematica e Struttura dell'Eneide di Virgilio. op.cit. 20,21
D. L. Drew. op.cit. 76 note 3

¹¹⁰F. Cairns. op.cit 138, 136 note 19 refers to A. M. Guillemin L'originalite de Vergile: étude sur la methode litteraire antique. Collection d'études latines 7, Paris, 1931. 73-77

M. Grant. op.cit. 40 also notes that the queen was a writer and used a pseudonym.

¹¹¹A. S. Pease. op.cit. 28

¹¹²D. L. Drew. op.cit. 82-82

¹¹³M. Grant. op.cit. 169

¹¹⁴R. M. Ogilvie op.cit. 59 states that "Evander is expressly credited not with the invention which was traditionally due to Cadmus, but only with the use of writing, but Roman belief evidently made him responsible for the introduction of the Latin alphabet (Tac.Ann.11.14)

¹¹⁵Gilbert Highet. op.cit. 141

¹¹⁶G. R. Manton. "Virgil and the Greek Epic: the Tragedy of Evander"
AUMLA 17 (1962) 5-17

¹¹⁷R. M. Ogilvie. op.cit. 52

¹¹⁸H. Boas. op.cit. 69-74

¹¹⁹H. Boas. op.cit. 127

¹²⁰F. Cairns.op.cit. 65

¹²¹R. D. Williams. op.cit.(ad Aen. 11.534-400). 416

¹²²D. L. Drew. op.cit. 21 ff. identifies Evander with the poet Vergil, a) on grounds that he uses the techniques of deus ex machina and parenthesis to speak in his own persona (op.cit. 31-2 ad Aen 8. 2688-75); b) that Anchises must surely be Julius Caesar (op.cit.32-3 ad. 8.155-164) — a view later shared by Camps (op.cit.101) who in addition connects Priam with Pompey with ref. to Plut. Pompey 80 — who would have made a deep impression on a young man; c) that both Vergil and Evander were exiles op.cit. 33 ad.8.333-5); that Evander's mother was a prophetess (op.cit. 34 ad.8.339-41) as was Vergil's Magia Polla — in name at least.

¹²³M. Grant.op.cit. 9-15. Ptolemy VIII in order to enforce internal peace had been forced to appeal for help to the Romans in 162 and in 145. Later Ptolemy X was said to have bequeathed the entire country to the Roman people.

¹²⁴M. Grant. op.cit. 16

¹²⁵M. Grant. op.cit.30 with ref. to Cicero Ad.Fam.8.4.5. who notes that in Rome Ptolemy's death had been generally accepted.

¹²⁶O.C.D. sub. C. Octavius.

¹²⁷R. Syme. op.cit. 197 ,

¹²⁸R. G. Tanner. op.cit., 42.

¹²⁹It is of interest to note that Tullus Attius is written as Tullus Aufidius in the Coriolanus 22.1., thereby contributing to the suggestion of name change.

¹³⁰D. L. Drew. op.cit. 84 ff.

¹³¹D. L. Drew. op.cit. 85 note 2

¹³²D. L. Drew. op.cit. 85 note 2

¹³³F. Cairns. op.cit. 160 ff.

¹³⁴F. Cairns. op.cit. 158

¹³⁵F. Cairns. op.cit. 155

¹³⁶H. Boas. op.cit. 171-2

¹³⁷Robert Graves. Suetonius. The Twelve Caesars. Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1957. 89 note 1

¹³⁸Amata addresses Latinus in the vocative case (O genitor 7.360). Latinus would thus be father to both Amata and Lavinia. In contemporary history Cleopatra, with whom Amata has been compared, was both daughter and consort of Auletes, her father. For dual relationship in literature see also Apoll.Rhod.Argo 3.732-3, where Medea tells Chalciope that she is both her daughter and her sister.

¹³⁹R. M. Ogilvie. op.cit. 50

¹⁴⁰W. A. Camps. op.cit. 97-8. refer also to note 118.
J. E. Dunlop. Virgil's Aeneid 2. G. Bell & sons Ltd., London, 1961. 81
T. E. Page. Virgil:Aeneid 2. MacMillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1952. 81

¹⁴¹M. Grant. op. cit. 54,283 notes Auletes' pro-Roman behaviour, and Antony's help in restoring Auletes to the throne in 55 B.C.

¹⁴²R. D. Williams. op.cit. concludes (ad 11.57-8) that sight of the dead Pallas causes Aeneas to think of his son Iulus.
W. A. Camps. op.cit. 142, sees Pallas as representing Julius Caesar.
Robert J. Rowland, Jr. "Ductor Rhoeteus (Vergil Aeneid 12.456)" unpublished article (1990) 5, sees Pallas as protector of Ascanius.

¹⁴³The Sabelli were "the Roman name for speakers of Oscan". Oscan together with Umbrian and Volscian forms one group of Italic languages (O.C.D. sub Sabelli, Oscan, Volsci).

¹⁴⁴M. Grant op.cit. 166-67

¹⁴⁵D. R. Shackleton-Bailey. Cicero's Letters to Atticus. Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1978. 592 note 957 explains the passage as "Cleopatra's son, supposedly by Caesar, called Caesarion". This would imply that Iulus (nepos to Anchises) was a Caesar through Evander, who would have been related to the dictator.

¹⁴⁶Catullus' Lesbia is generally acknowledged to have been the wife of Metellus Celer (O.C.D. sub Clodia).

Propertius' Arethusa and Lycotas (4.3)" are but poetical names for Aelia Galla and Postumus" (A. Palmer. op.cit. introd.12).

Apuleius (Apol.10) declared that he was able to penetrate the pseudonyms of all the mistresses of the Roman love-elegists, except for Ovid's Corinna.

¹⁴⁷Lionel Casson. op.cit. 172

¹⁴⁸Manolis Andronicos. Vergina. The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City. Ekdotike Athenon S. A., Athens, 1984. 73, 191 refers to findings of royal purple and gold.

¹⁴⁹M. Andronicos. op.cit. 42,145,219

¹⁵⁰Lionel Casson. op.cit. 76. Human sacrifice was later replaced by figurines in the tomb.

¹⁵¹D. L. Drew. op.cit. 82 ff.

¹⁵²R. G. Tanner. op.cit. 42.

¹⁵³O.C.D. sub. Names (Personal). Theodore Cadoux notes that both Servius and Marcus are names designating divinity.

¹⁵⁴F. W. Walbank. op.cit. 243-4

¹⁵⁵R. G. Tanner. op.cit. 42

¹⁵⁶O.C.D. sub. M.Aemilius Lepidus triumvir. R. Syme. op.cit. 230

- ¹⁵⁷M. Grant. op.cit. 4
- ¹⁵⁸R. M. Ogilvie. op.cit 193
- ¹⁵⁹M. Grant. op.cit. 11
- ¹⁶⁰R. Syme. op.cit. 559
- ¹⁶¹D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Cicero: Philippics. Chapel Hill, 1986.
Introd. 10-11
- ¹⁶²D. R. Shackleton Bailey. op.cit. 31
- ¹⁶³R. Syme. op.cit. 188
- ¹⁶⁴Peter Green. Alexander the Great. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1980.
297
M. Grant. op.cit. 229
- ¹⁶⁵M. Grant. op. cit. 223.
M. Cary. A History of Rome. Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1954, 449
- ¹⁶⁶N. Borsellino. Ludovico Ariosto. Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1981. 136
- ¹⁶⁷W. R. Johnson. "A Queen, a great Queen? Cleopatra and the politics of misrepresentation" Arion 6 (1967) 387-402.
- ¹⁶⁸M. Grant. op.cit. 178. Servius (ad Aen.1.737 libato notes that Dido's sipping the wine denotes verecundiam reginae et morem Romanam).
- ¹⁶⁹M. Owen Lee. Fathers and Sons in Virgil's Aeneid. Albany. New York. 1979. 186 quoting V. Poschl CW 66 (1972) 65-75.
- ¹⁷⁰R. M. Ogilvie. op.cit 219.
- ¹⁷¹M. Grant. op.cit. introd. 18
- ¹⁷²Z. Yavetz. op.cit. 20, states that Augustus suppressed history through his own Res Gestae and that critical contemporaries were suppressed (nam contra, punitis ingeniis, gliscit auctoritas. Tac.Ann.2.35).

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