VERGIL: AENEID XI - A STUDY

AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE STUDY OF THE ARTISTRY
OF
AENEID XI

By

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A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

October 1964

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CHAPTER I

The Subdivisions of Aeneid XI

(1) The Pattern of Book XI

Everyone is aware that the Aeneid was composed with exquisite care and artistry. In his Life of Vergil (23) Suetonius related that Vergil first constructed a prose outline which he then gradually converted to poetry, writing many lines quickly, and then devoting endless hours to the demanding task of polishing every line, every phrase. We also are told that he was interested in mathematics. It should be obvious that these two facts are not necessarily related. Yet whether by inherent artistic feeling for form or because of a rabid devotion to mathematical series, Vergil created an epic in which the twelve books unite in distinctly discernible patterns, and each individual book contains within itself balanced subsections. Such relationship of the parts to the artistic whole is a basic element in the common definition of any work of art that is defined as "classic". It would indeed have been surprising if it were not discernible in such a careful artist as Vergil. I intend, therefore, at least to outline these patterns in Book XI.

The study of this interrelationship of parts can only fail to help us appreciate Vergil's artistry if we elevate any one artistic principle - such as perfect symmetry - to a position of such overwhelming importance[1]

1. The discussion of symmetry in the Aeneid has reached some kind of climax in G. Duckworth's recent publication, Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid. For a discussion of this book see below, Chapter III, "The Golden Mean Ratio applied to Book XI."

that its absence disturbs us, or its presence distracts our attention from other dramatic or epic elements that may be of equal - or even greater- significance in the aesthetic experience.

Most of the books of the Aeneid resolve into a pattern of balanced sections - usually three - that are again divisible into a variety of discernible subsections. The whole is then unified by various motifs of action, character, emotion, symbolism or colour. In Book XI the pattern relating the three subsections is not as readily apparent as in most other books[2]. I think, however, that a more satisfactory pattern can be established than scholars have so far observed if we accept the initial and final scenes as prologue and epilogue overarching the whole with the spirit of Aeneas' relentless march on Latinus' capital.

In 1930, Mackail suggested the following division of Book XI:

1 - 212 - Burial of the Dead

213 - 497 - Debate in Latinus' capital

498 - 867 - Camilla's aristeia.

This division leaves 868 - 915 as "a coda of 48 lines describing the approach of Aeneas with his infantry forces, and the cessation of battle at nightfall"[3].

More recently, Mendell[4] has drawn attention to the fact that these

2. Even Duckworth is forced to admit that the pattern of XI is elusive - witness the numerous dotted lines of provisional relationships on his chart of XI, (ibid. p. 197).

3. CJ. 26 (1930-31), 12-18, "The Aeneid as a Work of Art". This synopsis I have largely borrowed from Duckworth, op. cit.

4. YCIS. XII (1951), 205-226, "The Influence of the Epyllion on the Aeneid".

three sections consist of three panels or circular groups, each containing balancing passages that frame a focal point. He divided XI as follows:

I.

1 - 28. Aeneas prepares for the burial of the slain.

29 - 99. Rites for Pallas. Eulogy by Aeneas.

100 - 138. Aeneas' peace appeal to the Latins.

139 - 181. Pallas' body received by Evander. Evander's lament.

182 - 224. Rites for the dead, Trojan and Latin.

II.

225 - 242. Arrival of the legates from Diomedes. Latin Council.

243 - 295. Venulus' speech.

296 - 301. Transition with simile.

302 - 335. Latinus' speech.

336 - 342. Transition with sketch of Drances.

343 - 444. Drances taunts Turnus.

443 - 467. Arrival of the Trojan attack ends the Latin Council.

III.

468 - 519. Turnus prepares for battle. Camilla volunteers.

520 - 531. Plan of battle.

532 - 596. Opis. Camilla's youth and prophecy of her death.

597 - 647. General battle scene.

648 - 724. Deeds of Camilla.

725 - 798. Tarchon and his cavalry.

799 - 867. Death of Camilla. Opis departs.

868 - 895. Battle resumed.

896 - 915. Turnus enters the battle to meet Aeneas.

Mendell's excellent article is basic to the understanding of the pattern of Aeneid XI. He perhaps placed too much importance, in the second part, on the simile as a transition, and he himself feels that the third part is not completely satisfactory, as the focal point is one of action "instead of a significant speech or a scene of emotional tension as is more usual".[5] He adds the astonishing explanation that this weakness was "due to the fact that Camilla appears as part of the battle books which Vergil found less to his taste than the more romantic and pathetic elements of his epic".[6] There can hardly be anything more potentially romantic than this tale of the warrior maid of the Volscians whose story combines so many of the elements of primitive history and religion that were dear to Vergil. In any case, the irregularity offended Duckworth's passion for symmetry. He therefore suggested[7] the following divisions, by which Diana's description of Camilla's youth and impending doom becomes the focal point, and the remainder serves as an epilogue and transition to Book XII.

5. op. cit., (see n. 4), p. 224.

6. ibid.

7. Vergilius, 7 (1961), 1-11, "Tripartite Structure in the Aeneid". Duckworth makes additional modifications in his monograph (op. cit., n. 1).

I.

1 - 224. Truce and Burial of the Dead.

(1) Mourning for Pallas.

(2) Embassy of Latins. (Focal point 100 - 138, Aeneas' peace appeal)

(3) Grief of Evander. Burial of the dead.

II.

226 - 467. Council and Speeches.

(1) Venulus' speech.

(2) Latinus' speech and Drances' reply. (Focal point 302 - 335, Latinus' speech)

(3) Turnus' speech. Renewed attack.

III.

468 - 497. Preparation for battle.

498 - 531. Camilla enters the battle.

532 - 596. Diana's speech about Camilla.

597 - 647. Cavalry battle.

648 - 867. Aristeia and death of Camilla.

868 - 915. Epilogue and transition to Book XII.

Duckworth's divisions of XI has the merit of simplicity lacking in Mendell's analysis. The problem in the second section revolves around the three speeches which cry out to be treated as a unit. The debate itself, which begins as a discussion of how to gain peace and ends in a wrangle between Drances and Turnus, settles nothing, but serves as verbal manifes-

tation of the confusion and hysteria that have paralysed Latinus' capital.

The problem might best be resolved by accepting the theory that XI, while attractive in its parts, is a less completely integrated book than some others. The three incidents that dominate it complement one another, but do not appear to have a complementary construction. This singularity caused Mendell to postulate an epyllion form for the Camilla incident, inset like a miniature picture within the fabric of the whole tapestry.

Setting aside this attractive theory temporarily[8], I suggest that these three incidents will show a similarity of pattern if we divide each incident, not into thirds, but into balancing halves with complementing sections. Each incident has a prelude that establishes the tone and atmosphere, the prelude of the first section serving also as the prelude of the whole. Thus the feeling of Aeneas' remorseless progress brackets the whole book. The pattern of lessening and increasing tensions within the sections then balances the corresponding sections in the other scenes, though the balance is more one of contrast than of comparison[9]. This might be diagrammed as follows:

8. see below,"The Camilla Scene."

9. In his article, "The architecture of the Aeneid", AJPh, LXXV (1954), 1-15, Duckworth suggests that the odd numbered books show a preponderance of similarities in patterns of tensions, whereas the corresponding even numbered books are noteworthy for their contrasts.

Prelude: The dawn. Aeneas' pietas. (1 - 13)

I.

Prelude: Trophy of Mezentius' arms. (1 - 13)

A.	comparisons	B.
1. Aeneas addresses his men (14 - 28)		4. Aeneas addresses the Latin embassy (100 - 138)
2. Aeneas mourns for Pallas (29 - 58)		5. Evander mourns for Pallas (139 - 181)
3. Aeneas arranges for Pallas' burial (59 - 99)		6. Aeneas buries his dead (182 - 202)

II.

Prelude: Return of the defeated Latins. (203 - 212)

A.	contrasts	B.
1. Grumbling against Turnus (Indecision) (213 - 224)		4. Turnus assumes command (Decision) (445 - 467)
2. Diomedes' warning (Gods with Aeneas) (225 - 295)		5. Sacrifice by Amata (Appeal to Gods) (468-485)
3. Speeches in Council (Words) (296 - 444)		6. Turnus leaves the Capital (Action) (486 - 497)

III.

Prelude: Camilla greets Turnus. (498 - 531)

A.	comparisons	B.
1. Camilla's childhood (532 - 596)		4. Camilla's *aristeia* (648 - 724)
2. The patterned cavalry battle (597 - 634)		5. The patterned 'dance of death' of Camilla - Chloreus - Arruns (725 - 793)
3. Death of individual heroes (635 - 647)		6. Death of Camilla (794 - 895)

Postlude: Sunset: Turnus abandons the essential ambush (896 - 915) (Justification of Aeneas' *pietas* in seeking vengeance for Pallas)

The advantage of this analysis is that it brings into relief the themes and symbols that balance one another; its weakness lies in its poorly proportioned mathematical subdivision of the parts. Herein lies the essence of the problem. Scholars have noted that the Aeneid can be divided into two overall patterns; one, the obvious dual division of Books I to VI and VII to XII, and another tripartite division whereby the central third of the book is surrounded by the first four books relating to the fall of Troy and Dido, and the last four, relating to the defeat of Turnus and the establishing of the new Troy. I believe that the three sections of Book XI can also be subdivided into either thirds or halves; the inspection of the poem from either point of view can be instructive, and probably both are valid. I present my own analysis at this point only because it more clearly outlines the patterns of composition that I wish to emphasize in my discussion of Book XI.

(2) The Burial Scene

(a) Aeneas addresses his men (1 - 28)

In the opening scene of Book Eleven Aeneas sets up a trophy of blood-stained arms taken from the tyrant Mezentius and, addressing his assembled leaders, exhorts them to advance sure in the faith of eventual victory after paying the final honours due to their dead comrades. Everything in the scene contributes to the portrayal of a hero deeply disturbed by the suffering of his people,[1] but confident that their initial success

1. I. Conington (note on line 3) dnsists that the funere refers only to Pallas; yet in his speech Aeneas mentions his own dead before Pallas.

in defeating the attack on their camp justifies a rapid advance against the enemy. Vergil stresses that setting up the trophy was a religious duty, one that was perhaps grounded in the superstitions of deepest antiquity;[2] in any case, it is a ceremony that had to be performed to fulfil Aeneas' oath to the gods.

But once the trophy was set up, Aeneas dismisses this formidable opponent with a harsh brief epitaph. Vergil does not repeat a third time the phrase contemptor divum to describe Mezentius,[3] but he may be summarizing this aspect of his character in the single word, primitiae. Macrobius (Serv.35) says Vergil is here alluding to the story that Mezentius compelled his subjects to offer to him the first fruits due to the gods.[4] Vergil would expect his readers to recollect that this was the fate of a man who had invited Jupiter's wrath saying, as he slew Orodes, "Now die; as for me, the King of gods will give the matter his attention" (X,743). He was, moreover, the one who had proudly boasted that he would array his son Lausus as a living trophy with the arms of Aeneas (X,775). With fine dramatic irony, Mezentius is himself now offered as a trophy to the god of war. He stands as a symbol of the fate of all those who opposed the will of the gods. The shadow of this trophy falls across the path of the naïve Camilla and the rash Turnus.

2. For further discussion of this possibility, see Chapter III, The Symbolic Significance of the Trophy in the Burial Scene.

3. VII,647; VIII,7.

4. Conington, note to 1.16. Primitiae is used only on one other occasion in the Aeneid - by Evander. Its use there is discussed in my note on the Trophy, Chapter III.

Because Vergil has so carefully interwoven the significant pattern of Mezentius' career[5] in the previous books, he can now afford to allow Aeneas to dismiss him in a few phrases. The brevity gives increased urgency to the words that Aeneas now addresses to his men. The speech is brief, but every verb demands that the soldiers combine speed with confidence. The clause Nunc iter (1.17) omits the weak copula; the remainder of the order to prepare themselves is skeletal (18-21), lending emphasis to the final exhortation that they pay immediate homage to the dead, and return to Evander the body of Pallas.

> . . . quem non virtutis egentem
> abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo. (XI,28)

The word funere carries us back to line 3, and unites the whole passage. The dismal atra dies combines the superstition implicit in its use on the Roman calendar with the superstitious raising of the trophy, as well as negating the bright colours of fulgentia arma - sanguine cristas . . . ensem eburnum that endow the trophy with a false life. The implied sentiment is that 'war is hell'; indeed the whole line abstulit atra dies . . . is borrowed directly from VI,429, where it describes the wailing of infants lodged at the very mouth of Hades - infants who, like Pallas, had died much before their time.

This echo from Book VI which introduces the theme of Pallas' untimely death is developed at length in Evander's lament for him (11.152 ff). But it is not the only echo that enriches this opening scene. Mezentius' ivory sword hanging on the trophy is a reminder of the ivory scabbard that Julus gave to the ill-fated Euryalus (IX,305), and anticipates the ivory and

5. This pattern is outlined at length by K. Quinn, Latin Explorations, p. 214.

gold that Latinus later wished to offer to Aeneas (XI,333). As on the trophy, ivory is associated with blood and death. And, curiously, the next (and last) time that ivory is mentioned in the Aeneid, it describes the fair face of Lavinia (XII,68), whose blushes throw Turnus into a turmoil - and rush him to his death!

Such echoes from earlier books can also pass from comparison to contrast. As Aeneas speaks, he is surrounded by his men in a turba stipata, reminiscent of the band that surrounds Dido when we first meet her approaching the temple, magna iuvenum stipante caterva[6] (I,497). In this context Dido is compared to Diana surrounded by her band of nymphs upon the mountains. The tenuous link of stipata thus serves to carry us from Diana and Dido through Aeneas to Camilla, a maid beloved of Diana, brought up in the mountains, and doomed like Dido to die after crossing the path of Aeneas. Aeneas does not take much active part in Book XI, but by such echoes as these his presence is felt throughout. The dignity of his speech, and the despatch with which his orders are obeyed contrast ominously with the hysterical rhetoric and confusion later evident at Latinus' capital, uniting these two scenes. Similarly, the harshness with which Aeneas dismisses Mezentius deepens the pathos of Aeneas' lament for Pallas immediately afterwards.

6. It is interesting that Vergil regularly associates the verb stipo with misfortune. In IV,136, Dido, about to set out for the fateful hunt is surrounded by magna stipante caterva. In IV,544, she bitterly wonders if she should pursue Aeneas with manu stipanta. In X,328, "infelix" Cydon was saved by his brother's stipata cohors.

Note, too, the connecting of Dido and Camilla with Aeneas through Apollo. The picture of Dido as Diana is picked up by a comparison, just before the hunt, of Aeneas with Apollo. This symbol of Dido's fate is repeated in Book XI where Apollo assists in the death of Camilla, an enemy of Aeneas.

(b) Aeneas' lament for Pallas (29 - 58)

Brief though it is, Aeneas' lament for Pallas (29-58) brilliantly entwines the many strands of the poet's imperial theme. Pallas acts as a complex symbol of the union of the Italian peoples, of the agony of internecine war that must precede that union, and of the predestined fortunes of Aeneas - and of the Julian clan. Vergil had already linked the name of Pallas with the Palatine hill, the original settlement of Imperial Rome (VIII,54-55). Aeneas knew that Pallas, through his mother, claimed a share of the Sabine inheritance of Rome (VIII,511); his fate now is symbolically bewailed not only by his own people but also by the women of Troy;[7] his body is protected by the former shield bearer of Evander from Parrhasian Arcadia (VIII,344). Greeks, Sabines and Trojans are all represented. The only group not present is the Latins. Aeneas remarks on the irony that Pallas should be slain by a native Ausonian spear (l.41). Of the Latin warriors themselves he speaks with respect, as a valiant and hardy race,

acris esse viros, cum dura proelia gente (l.48)

and proclaims that the loss of Pallas was a tragedy for both the Ausonian people and for his own son Julus,

. . . ei mihi, quantum
praesidium Ausonia et quantum tu perdis, Iule! (XI,58)

7. Conington points out that the presence of all these Trojan women is inconsistent with IX,217, where Euryalus' mother describes herself as the only one multis e matribus who had not remained behind in Sicily. Servius believes they refer to Aeneas' female slaves!

The position of Iulus as the last word in this speech serves to link the two youths. The connection is emphasized by the similarity of the two phrases, "tene," inquit, "miserande puer" (1.42) and "tu, perdis, Iule!" (1.58) that bracket the beginning and close of Aeneas' lament. The connection had been subtly suggested, however, earlier in the paragraph (1.30) where we are told that Pallas' body is protected by Acoetes, former armour bearer of Evander - a quiet echo of Book IX where young Ascanius is protected in battle by Apollo disguised as Butes, former armour bearer to Anchises (IX,649). Ascanius had heeded Apollo's warning, and withdrawn from battle; Pallas had ignored the pleading of his father to be cautious, and had been slain. From his dead body Turnus had stripped the famous sword belt whose embossed decoration depicted the fifty daughters of Danaus - the same theme that adorned the portico about the temple of Apollo, dedicated on the Palatine in 28 B.C. by the Julian Augustus.[8] Thus Pallas of the Palatine on which stood the temple of Apollo is related (by means of the similarity of these stories of the two old armour bearers) to Julus, ancestor of the Julian Augustus who built the temple. Pallas' sword belt that doomed Turnus carried on it the story of that unnatural war which Augustus claimed to have stopped.

While the lament of Aeneas is lightened by these symbolic promises of future union of the peoples of Italy and the peace in historic times under Augustus, its pervasive tone is one of despair and self-reproach. Twice in the lament Aeneas accuses himself of having failed to keep his

8. Propertius II, 31.3-4, v. S. E. Platner, Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome, p.144.

promise to Evander. Non haec promisi (1.45) . . . haec mea magna fides? (1.55) Vergil never states exactly what these promises had been; the echo is prolonged in the similarly ambiguous remark by Evander when he in turn laments for Pallas,

non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti (1.152)[9]

Aeneas had entered battle only three times; one of these occasions was to avenge the death of Pallas.[10] Whatever his promise to Evander, he was distressed by his responsibility for the youth's death. And he had not yet reaped his revenge. The evil symbolism of nefas and cruenti thalami portrayed on the belt of Pallas predicted "the bloody marriage that Turnus would celebrate".[11] The distress expressed by Aeneas as he sends away Pallas' body reaffirms the belt's symbolism, and casts further gloom over the subsequent debate in Latinus' capital.

Aeneas' lament thus gives a forward motion to the theme of Aeneas' cold determination to have his revenge upon Turnus. The trophy stands fixed as a symbol of doom; the lament personalizes it. In addition, it adds the dimension of tragedy of a nation split in civil war, and the prophecy of an Augustan victory. Although Aeneas is absent from the remainder

9. T. E. Page points the possible comparison to Horace Ode I.15.32 non haec pollicitus, a nice ironical touch, for here Paris is fleeing, not having fought as bravely as he had promised Helen!

10. The first time was when the Rutulians, in defiance of Latinus' treaty, resisted the Trojans' landing. Turnus had led the attack (X,276 ff). The third time was after much hesitation, when the Latins violated the pact in Book XII (496 ff; 573). Turnus is the first to raise his sword in combat. "Like a good Roman, Aeneas fights sui defendendi, ulciscendi and iniuriae propulsandae causa. He personifies the bellum iustum." V. Poschl, The Art of Vergil, pp.123-4.

11. ibid, p.149.

of the book, his lament establishes the mood - Evander's lament carries it forward.

(c) Aeneas arranges for Pallas' funeral (59 - 99)

The description of the entourage for Pallas' corpse is weighted with colourful dignity and Homeric allusion, with soft simile and harsh barbarism. Its pageantry is both real and illusive, for only here is implied the actual funeral of Pallas. By this omission of the description of Pallas' funeral pyre, the lament of Evander is given greater emphasis, while the following description of the funeral pyre of Aeneas' and Tarchon's men serves to unite the two scenes.

Men from the whole host, a thousand strong, are to accompany the corpse back to Evander's capital. The remainder of the army, Teucrian, Tuscan, and Arcadian alike, march out of the camp to honour its departure. But as if to strip away the pomp and circumstance of the parade in recognition of the loneliness of death, Vergil focuses the final scene upon Aeneas who says farewell in words most reminiscent of Catullus' lament for his beloved brother (CI.10). In a simile that Page picks out as "perhaps the most perfect simile in Virgil" Pallas is compared to a violet or hyacinth plucked by a maiden, no longer given strength by mother earth:

> qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
> seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,
> cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit;
> non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat. (68-71)

The picture may be a whimsically inverted echo from Catullus (LXII.43), as Conington suggests, but I think more likely it is a memory of the Georgics (IV.137-8), where the symbolism of warm life and chill death is more clearly suggested in the picture of the old Corycian picking hyacinths

in early spring near the cold running brook:

> et cum tristis hiems etiamnum frigore saxa
> rumperet et glacie cursus frenaret aquarum,
> ille comam mollis iam tondebat hyacinthi
> aestatem increpitans seram zephyrosque morantis.

In fact, it is not necessary to go so far for a comparison. Euryalus, another ill-starred youth, is likewise described as lying in death like a flower severed by the plough (IX,435). (And Euryalus had been loved by Ascanius; Pallas by Ascanius' father.) But the reference to the Georgics is of interest because of the use of comam and hyacinthi together. In the present context, Aeneas takes two cloaks, and wraps one about the boy's hair. Here, in typical Vergilian fashion, two Homeric references are combined;[12] the cloaks reminiscent of the two white cloaks in which Hector is wrapped (Il.XXIV,580), the hair reminiscent of the locks of hair that Achilles and his followers cut off to cover the body of Patroclus (Il.XXIII.129ff). Vergil's picture is both more civilized and more sensuous. The cloaks are of purple, shot with gold. They are cloaks made

12. Another combination of two Homeric references is in this same scene. Aethon, the weeping war-horse (1.89) takes his name from the name of Hector's horse, (Il.VIII.185), and his ability to weep from the horses of Achilles (Il.XVII.427). The combination of Hector and Achilles in one reference is instructive. Conington points out that (a) Aethon is also the name of one of the horses of the Sun (Ovid, Meta.2.153); (b) that Suetonius, (Julius 81) describes the horses of Caesar as weeping at the prospect of Caesar's death. I do not believe that the story of a horse weeping in sympathy for its master would appear as ludicrous to many Romans as it may to modern readers. (Some modern squires have felt a closer affinity for their horses than for their relatives!) Mezentius spoke to his horse at some length (X,846-55) and indeed, as Quinn points out (Latin Explorations, p. 214), whereas his words to his son show no affection, his words to his horse do!

for Aeneas by Dido, lovingly - as is emphasized by the interlocking word order -

> extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum
> ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido (73-74)

For the Homeric Greeks, as well as for the Hebrew Samson, hair was a symbol of strength and life.[13] Even in Vergil's more sophisticated day, it had retained special significance. When Aeneas' mother appears to him as a huntress, the only part of the goddess' physiognomy that is mentioned in the first description of her is her loose-flying hair. . . that breathed celestial fragrance (I,319,403). The symbol of divine favour is the flame that licks the hair of Julus (II,684) and of Lavinia (VII,75). But the web of reference woven here is even more subtle than that. For Aeneas had been warned by Helenus that when he arrived safely in Italy he was to sacrifice to the gods but, in order to ensure auspicious omens, he must first veil his hair in a purple robe:

> purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu (III,405)

Pallas, who had been plucked from life by Turnus, cruelly, almost casually, like a flower plucked by a child, no longer drew strength from the earth. As Aeneas had covered his head in purple on making his first sacrifice in Italy, so he wrapped in purple the head of Pallas who symbolized the first sacrifice of young manhood for Rome and her empire.

Vergil abruptly contrasts Aeneas' loving concern for Pallas with his brutal dispatch of eight captives to be sacrificed at the youth's pyre. It is possible to be so offended by this barbarity as to overlook

13. Possibly not only Homeric Greeks attached special significance to hair. The spectacle of the doomed Spartans at Thermopylae braiding their hair must have fascinated the Persians - and convinced them that this rite had some religious significance. (Herodotus, VII.208).

its dramatic significance. Mackail exclaims, "Of his shocking order for bound prisoners of war to be sent for immolation over Pallas' funeral pyre, one can only say that it is Virgil's single lapse into barbarism and think or hope that the two lines might have been cancelled in his final revision."[14] One may plead, of course, the inevitable Homeric precedent. Achilles, to avenge Patroclus, sets aside twelve captives for sacrifice (Il.XXI,27ff). The closeness of the parallel is emphasized by the succeeding action. Achilles then slays Lycaon, rejecting his plea of great friendship; so Aeneas takes eight captives and then slays Magus, angrily rejecting his offer of money (X,517ff). Greek tragedy, moreover, contained examples of human sacrifice, notably of Iphigenia and Polyxena.[15] Vergil's penchant for antiquarianism may have been of influence also. Pallas was son of Parrhasian Evander from Arcadia, where Zeus Lykaios was attended by a priest who had to offer the wolf god a child from his own family - and eat its flesh! (Plato, Republic 8.565D). Vergil probably was also acquainted with ancient Etruscan paintings in which the sacrifice of the captives to Patroclus was a common theme. The Roman historians related that gladiatorial games were first instituted as a substitute for the human sacrifice at the grave of a noble, in imitation of the Etruscan custom.

Not that foreign precedent was necessary. Roman history from earliest

14. Virgil and his Meaning to the World of Today, p. 105.

15. Polyxena is a pertinent example, if we equate Aeneas with Achilles (v. L. A. MacKay, "Achilles as a Model for Aeneas", TAPA. LXXXVIII (1957), 11-16), since she was sacrificed at the funeral of Achilles.

times contained hints of human sacrifice.[16] On two separate occasions two couples, one Greek, one Gaul, were buried alive in Rome. These two incidents, with their eight victims, may possibly account for Vergil's altering the Homeric twelve to eight captives. More significantly, in Vergil's own lifetime, there occurred several incidents that look very much like human sacrifice, one of them involving Augustus himself.[17] This is not to argue that Vergil introduced the theme in order to exonerate the Julians by allegorical precedent; one could argue the opposite, that Vergil included it in his epic in order to keep fresh the memory of the inherent viciousness of the Julian line. A truly prophetic touch, but hardly compatible with Book VI!

To return to Mackail's exclamation (p. 18 supra), it is most improbable that Vergil, in his final draft, would have cancelled out these two lines. Indeed, he would have been compelled to excise four lines (X,517-520; XI,81-82), and the fact that Vergil mentions the incident twice suggests that the idea did not disturb either him or other Romans as much as it does modern readers. The picture of Vergil weeping over the tragedy implicit in human life can easily be distorted by Christian

16. C. Saunders, Vergil's Primitive Italy, ch. 5, supplies many examples, e.g. The ceremony of the argei, during which straw dummies of men were thrown into the Tiber; Horatius' devoting the last of the Curiatii to the di inferi.

17. Saunders, ibid. includes the story that Sulla sacrificed the brother of Marius at the tomb of Catulus (Florus 2,9,26; Lucan, Pharsalia 2, 173-193). Dio Cassius (43,24,3-4) says Julius Caesar had the pontifices and priest of Mars sacrifice three men in the Campus Martius, and their heads set up near the Regia. Much debated is the story concerning Augustus. (Suetonius, Augustus 15, Dio Cassius 48,14,3-4). Augustus, after taking Perusia, a former Etruscan town, sacrificed 300 at the altar of J. Caesar - on the Ides of March - possibly in revenge for the Romans sacrificed by the Tarquinienses in 358 B.C.

readers who are repelled by capital punishment (even though not too seriously disturbed by either Buchenwald or Hiroshima!) Vergil possessed his share of Roman disregard for human life. His hero's action here is hardly more brutal than his action upon the battlefield. Even Lausus, over whom Aeneas wept, was first slain with vicious thoroughness.

Vergil may have introduced this incident in imitation of Homer, or for antiquarian or historical reasons. But of more significance is its dramatic force, coming as it does right after the luxurious description of the royal youth lying in state. Aeneas' great love must be avenged by the sternest measures. The magnanimous hero may have wept for young Lausus or may speak, in the following scene, with courtesy to the Latin embassy, but beneath the courteous mien is an implacable will. The slaughter of the captives reinforces the symbolism of the belt of Pallas and the implication of Aeneas' funeral speech, casting its shadow forward to the duel in Book XII.

(d) The Latin embassy to Aeneas (100 - 138)

Aeneas' generous reception[18] of the Latin embassy stresses another aspect of his character. The trophy had exemplified his revenge, the magnificent funeral arrangements his generosity to his friend; the present scene portrays the generous prince who bears no animosity towards the general foe, only towards the vacillating king Latinus who had broken the alliance, and the troublesome Turnus who was opposing the will of Destiny, Aeneas chides the Latins for bringing this terrible grief upon themselves.

18. Aeneas honours their request (prosequitur venia). The verb prosequor which first suggests the accompanying of one on the beginning of a journey and then, metaphorically, to honour a request, acts as a subtle connection between this and the previous passage where Aeneas had gone a short way from his camp to honour Pallas' funeral.

Vergil has already indirectly suggested that other Trojans beside Aeneas had been betrothed to Latins,

parceret hospitibus quondam socerisque vocatis (1.105)

This strife, therefore, carried with it the curse of civil war. Aeneas disclaims all responsibility for this tragedy, all desire for anything but peace and the home that the Fates had willed him.

The Latins appear amazed at this generosity

. . . illi obstipuere silentes
conversique oculos inter se atque ora tenebant. (11.120-121)

Drances serves as the mouthpiece of the common people. He promises to support Aeneas' claims, and places the blame, not on Latinus, but directly on Turnus, where in truth it belongs. As Heinze points out,[19] Vergil does not draw Drances in this scene as an impersonal spokesman but, as usual when he is introducing a new personality whose character will be of significance in a future scene, the poet quickly adumbrates Drances' chief traits, especially his envy and hatred of Turnus. Thus his reply to Aeneas serves a double function: it amplifies that sense of Aeneas' humanitas which was drawn in the hero's welcome to the embassy, and also, by anticipating the subsequent wrangle between Drances and Turnus, it adds dramatic force to that important scene in Latinus' capital.

This scene, moreover, interjected as it is between the departure of Pallas' funeral procession and its arrival at Evander's city, allows for the passage of time. For "twice six days" the Teucrians and Latins

19. Virgils Epische Technik, p. 377.

enjoyed a period of truce to bury their dead (1.133). We are to assume that within this same long period Pallas' body is honoured with funeral rites at the city of Evander. The pitiful lament of this aged king thus stands between the two scenes of burial, his words speak as an epitaph for both Latins and Trojans, his son Pallas symbolizes the young men sacrificed by both peoples in this internecine strife.

(e) Evander mourns for Pallas (139 - 181)

As the funeral cortege approaches Evander's city, the poetry is filled with symbols of firelight and ironical echoes from earlier lines. The light of the funeral torches divides the fields - as war was dividing Italy; the shrieks of the women set the city ablaze:

. . . maestam incendunt clamoribus urbem (1.147)

a line that echoes the clamore incendunt caelum (X,895) when Mezentius falls. Likewise, Evander's exclamation primitiae iuvenis (XI,156) echoes Aeneas' primitiae de rege superbo (XI,15-16). Mezentius had sworn to array his son as a living trophy with the arms of Aeneas (X,775); Evander, with unconscious irony, says that the dead warriors stand as trophies for Pallas (XI,172). Once again, the fate of Mezentius is linked with Pallas, and anticipates the result of the Aeneas-Turnus duel. The light of the funeral torches serves as the initial symbol that stimulates this series of interlocking ideas. More immediately, the glow of fire which, in Vergil's economy, is all we have of Pallas' funeral, is repeated and amplified in the following scenes of burial.

The figure of Evander is essential in the last five books of the Aeneid. Vergil had accepted him as a historical figure from previous

Roman historians.[20] As he sent his son Pallas to learn warfare under Aeneas' tutelage he had prayed that he might not live to see his son brought home dead. The tragedy of outliving one's children haunted both Greeks and Romans, and often found expression in their poetry.[21] Vergil had developed this theme of the reversal of natural order in the Georgics (IV.475-7), and again in Aeneid VI (308-310), where Aeneas, just before seeing his father in the Elysian fields, beheld the souls of youths whose parents had laid them on their funeral pyre. The scene in Book VI lends added pathos to Evander's lament in Book XI, and subtly links Evander and Anchises' son.[22] But here the pathos of lonely old age is accentuated by the fact that Aeneas had not accompanied the corpse home; Evander's grief is his alone.

Yet he is not overwhelmed by his loss. In what may be an oblique reference to centuries of war in Italy, he expresses satisfaction that Pallas had slain thousands of Volsci (XI, 167-8). He refuses to blame Aeneas for the disaster, accepting it as his grim debt to fate.

> nec vos arguerim, Teucri, nec foedera nec quas
> iunximus hospitio dextras; sors ista senectae
> debita erat nostrae. (XI, 164-166)

His only demand upon the Trojan is that the feud may be prosecuted to the

20. Pausanius, 8.43.1-3; Varro, De Lingua Latina 5.21.53; Strabo 5.3, 2-3, v. Saunders, op. cit., note 16, p. 39.

21. Horace, Odes II.9, 13-55; Juvenal, Satires X, 246-255; Propertius II.13, 49-50. Suggested by G. R. Manton, "The Tragedy of Evander", AUMLA, 17 (1962), 5-17.

22. The link between the two is reinforced by Evander's phrase o sanctissima coniunx (1.580), echoing Aeneas' sancte parens (V,80), as he pours a libation to his father's ashes.

end, that he might then die and take the news of revenge to his son in Hades (11.180-181).[23]

This is the final reference to Pallas in Book XI, yet it is his doom that motivates Aeneas' anger and renders futile the subsequent debate and hasty activity at Latinus' capital. Aeneas could hardly refuse to avenge Pallas. By birth he was distantly related to Evander;[24] to him, also, he was bound by the laws of hospitality. His love for Evander's son as well as his pity for all doomed young (such as Lausus) was revolted by the cynical brutality with which Turnus had (literally) trampled upon Pallas (X,491-495).

Aeneas' last gesture in the poem is an act of revenge for Pallas. Historically it might be conceived of as the revenge for Caesar that marked the start of Augustus' career.[25] On a wider canvas, Pallas might typify, as Prescott suggests, "The first great victim sacrificed on Italian soil for the sacred cause of Rome; his death is the prototype of the sacrifice of young lives through later Roman history. . . ."[26] But Romans were proud of this sacrifice, and Evander's lament sounds of both the pride and the sorrow at the price of empire.

23. Conington compares this clause, sed gnato Manis perferre sub imos (l.181) to Dido's cry in IV,387, Audiam et haec manis veniet mihi fama sub imos - an ironic inversion of fate!

24. Both were ultimately descended from Atlas, through his daughters Maia and Electra.

25. Pöschl, op. cit., (note 10), p. 86.

26. The Development of Vergil's Art, p. 472.

(f) Aeneas buries his dead (182 - 212)

The closing scene of the first section is probably the finest piece of impressionistic description in the whole epic. Like a great Beethoven coda it gathers to itself all the themes of the previous five scenes; it infuses magic, superstition and motion, and bathes it in weird chiarescura patterns of light.

The strongest impression is made by the contrasting patterns of light and sound. Kindly dawn looks down on toil (l.182). The murky smoke seems as a backdrop for glittering arms. Tears stream to earth while the blare of trumpets rises with the smoke to heaven. The mourners watch until cold and dewy night brings forth the bright patterns of stars. They cannot tear themselves away. The feeling of mystery is increased by the primitive ritual performed with ceremonious precision. They encircle the fire twice three times; for three days the fires burn. Enemy weapons are treated as taboo, and thrown on the fire lest they bring bad luck, as had the Greek weapons that the Trojans wore on the night that Troy was sacked (II, 387-430), and even as Pallas' balteus was to prove fatal to Turnus.[27] A formal sacrifice, a suovetaurilia (ll.197-8), is offered to Death.[28] The symbolism of primitive ritual answers and brings us back to the symbolism of the trophy in the opening scene. The whole is a brilliant mood poem, shot with light, as much a dedication to pietas as a poem to death.

27. So, too, Euryalus had perished after stripping his enemy of his belt. (IX,360). See Saunders, op. cit., (see n. 16), p. 140.

28. A surprising choice of a personification "which never in Rome attained to the rank of deity". C. Bailey, Religion in Virgil, p. 287.

In contrast, the accompanying burial of the Latins is depicted without colour. Like the first inhabitants of Rome, they are partly cremators, partly inhumaters. Some of their dead they carry back to Rome. And with their defeat they bring to Latinus' capital the deep grief and dissatisfaction which precipitates the council of nobles.

(g) The burial scene - Summary

In summary, this first third of Book XI presents a closely woven unity whose epic themes are couched in a highly dramatic form that is high-lighted by symbols of ritual and colour and embroidered with numerous Homeric, antiquarian and historical references. The trophy of Mezentius serves both as a link joining this Book to the previous battle scenes and as a demonstration of Aeneas' fulfilment of his obligation to the gods. Standing before it, Aeneas urges upon his men the duty of performing the funeral rites with all honour. His feeling of personal responsibility for such loss is then personalized in his lament for Pallas, in which he reproaches himself for not keeping his promise to Evander. His grief arises not merely from the loss of a dear comrade but also from the senseless strife among peoples whom destiny would unite.

National unity is the theme most urgently pressed in Book XI. As the final book will concentrate, of necessity, upon the drama of the duel, it is imperative that Vergil employ all his skill in Book XI to dramatize what is actually the central theme of the epic. In his words of welcome to the Latin embassy Aeneas urges them to end this useless carnage with bonds of peace. Drances' reply, excessively fulsome though it be, picks up the theme and projects it forward to the council meeting. The lament

of Evander dramatizes the unity of Aeneas' allies. Even in grief, Evander refuses to blame Aeneas, but accepts the loss of Pallas as the inevitable sacrifice for ultimate victory over Turnus, the prime obstacle to national unity.

The singleness of Aeneas' purpose is dramatized by the brusqueness of his actions. The words he speaks before the trophy are few, his orders to his men precise and vigorous. After his leave-taking of Pallas he returns without delay to his camp to prepare for the advance on Latinus' capital. His lament for Pallas promises revenge; his cold determination is harshly emphasized by his brutal choice of eight victims for sacrifice. And all of this dramatic demonstration of Aeneas' implacable will stands in ironic relief to the following scene of hysterical disunity in Latinus' capital.

The theme of the evils of civil war could not help but conjure up for Romans the obvious parallels in contemporary history. If Turnus represented Antony, the brilliant commander corrupted by wilfulness, then Mezentius, the central figure in the battle in which Aeneas had to employ ships and land for an attack, may represent Sextus Pompeius, Octavian's cruel opponent who predeceased Antony.[29] Aeneas's unwavering determination to avenge Pallas serves to foreshadow Augustus' revenge on Caesar's assassins, while the chilling act of detailing eight victims for sacrifice may serve as a grim memorial of Augustus' slaughter of the nobles of Perusia.

29. A comparison that is detailed by D. L. Drew, The Allegory of the Aeneid, p. 88 ff.

These historical parallels add depth to the picture which is further enlivened by many Homeric allusions, (such as the weeping war horse, and Achilles' wake for Patroclus) and the hints at cult practices seen in the trophy and in the ritualistic ceremony of the final burial scene. Throughout these many layers of illusion are woven bright threads of symbolism that create the chiarescura pattern which is the chief glory of these lines. The symbols are chiefly symbols of colour - gold, ivory and purple - and light, especially the murky light of the funeral torches that divide the fields before Evander's city, torches that light the funeral pyres whose gleam reflects the armour of mourning soldiers. Particularly effective is the symbolism of Dido's purple cloak laid over Pallas' hair, and the hyacinth simile that unites Pallas with Euryalus, and the two with Aeneas.

For sheer dramatic intensity, depth of meaning and symbolic colour, this section of Book XI stands unrivalled, at least in the latter half of the Aeneid.

(3) The Debate at Latinus' Capital

(a) The grumbling against Turnus (213 - 224)

In a brilliant series of implied contrasts, the prelude of the second scene in Book XI sets the tone of grief and despair among the Latins. Their returning soldiers have shared with the Trojans the sorrow of mourning, but not the satisfaction of victory. Aged Evander mourns his son, but many Latin boys mourn the loss of valiant fathers. Evander had cried out for revenge on Turnus; in Latinus' capital the cry goes up that Turnus must settle the war by a duel. Their words are dramatized by Drances who appears again, to sit like Fate weighing the scales (ingravit haec. l.220), reiterating the challenge of Aeneas - who holds Turnus' fate in his hands. The stories of the trophies he has raised protect Turnus (l.224), though his chief captain Mezentius now stands as Aeneas' trophy; the shadow of Amata is over him (l.223), but both he and she stand under the shadow of the Fury Allecto.

(b) Diomedes' Warning (225 - 296)

The atmosphere of gloom that pervaded Latinus' capital is greatly intensified by the report of the embassy from Diomedes. That Vergil had intended this here to be dramatically significant in the Aeneid is obvious from the care with which he constantly refers to him from the first book. In Homer Diomedes, leader of the men of Argos and Tiryns, stands forth as second only to Achilles among the Greek warriors. Most of the famous Homeric incidents in which he takes part are mentioned by Vergil who at once magnifies his stature. Aeneas is haunted by the memory of this mighty Greek. In the stress of the storm in Book I, when we are introduced to

Aeneas, the first person he mentions in his opening phrases is the son of Tydeus, bravest of the Greeks, (O Danaum fortissime gentis / Tydide, I,96-7) - Tydide being further emphasized by being placed at the beginning of the following line. Again, at the end of the same book, when Dido begs to be told the tale of Troy, the first Greek she inquires about is not Achilles, but Diomedes (I,752).

The magic of his name was recognized by the crafty Sinon, who uses it to blind the Trojans to the weakness of his story. It was, Sinon declared, the sin of this man and Ulysses in stealing the palladium from Troy that had been the beginning of defeat for the Greeks (II,164). He is then mentioned with Achilles as the leader who had only failed to do what Sinon and the Horse had accomplished (II,197). And in the dream world of Hades, Aeneas subconsciously associates the two most disturbing persons in his life; the first hero he meets after leaving Dido is the father of his antagonist Diomedes (VI,479).

The dramatic potentiality of his name that Vergil has carefully developed in the earlier books is put to good use in the second half of the Aeneid. At the beginning of Book VIII we are informed that an embassy has been sent to solicit his support for the Latins (VIII,9). The embassy is not mentioned again until Book XI, but we are not allowed to forget Diomedes. In the wrangle between Juno and Venus in Book X, the mother of Aeneas, who is not above employing specious arguments, complains to Jupiter that Diomedes is again attacking Troy (X,29). Later in the same book, Liger tries to intimidate Aeneas by mentioning Diomedes' dread name (X,581). By these constant references, Vergil has developed and maintained interest in this hero and has echoed many of the Homeric incidents associa-

ated with him.

The most famous incident, however, is not related until Diomedes himself refers to it in this speech in Book XI (ll.252-294). The essence of Diomedes' answer to the Latins is that he and the Greeks sinned in attacking Troy; let the Latins not make the same mistake by attacking him who bore Troy's destiny. The Greeks, said Diomedes, had profaned the land of Troy with steel (quicumque Iliacos ferro violavimus agros, l.255), and have all paid dearly for their guilt (infanda supplicia et poenas expendimus, l.258). They had all become outcasts or wanderers. He himself was still seeking a new home, still haunted by dread omens,

nunc etiam horribili visu portenta sequuntur (l.271),

since the day when he had madly attacked and wounded Venus as she sought to protect Aeneas. Aeneas is as great as Hector (l.285) in courage, but greater in piety (l.291). Make peace with him while you may!

It is the story of Diomedes' attack on Venus that Vergil has not hinted at previously. The continuing references to Diomedes added weight to that hero's words as he praised the bravery of Aeneas whom he had so nearly killed in battle. Aeneas had gained stature by the comparison. Similarly, Aeneas' pietas gains new emphasis coming from Diomedes' lips. Vergil had borrowed from Homer both Diomedes' attack on Venus (Il.V.239) and Aeneas' claim to piety (Il.XX.298).[1] But Vergil's theme of Imperial destiny required that the hero's piety be the basis for continuous divine support. Although Aeneas had been defeated in battle by Diomedes who was

1. Conington points out that Hector had, if anything, a preference given to him for piety by Zeus himself. (Il.XXIV.66 ff).

not even the first of Greek heroes, yet the Trojan destiny foreordained for him a home in Italy. His pietas guaranteed that he would gain his goal. No human, not even a hero greater than Diomedes, could hope to prevent the fulfilment of this destiny. As Diomedes has been impious in attacking the gods, so Aeneas, by submitting to their will, had proved his piety. For his impiety, Diomedes had been doomed to wander forever; like him, Aeneas was a wanderer, but his pietas had guaranteed that he would attain his destined home in Italy.[2] Thus Diomedes' warning to the Latins, coming as it does after the scene of general discontent of the citizens, impresses upon the subsequent council meeting the stamp of futility. Turnus' fine speech, gallant though it is, is the words of a tragic hero whose logic is outweighed by the superior logic of destiny.

(c) Speeches in Council (302 - 444)

(i) Latinus' speech: (302 - 335)

The speech of Latinus appears, at first reading, to be spoken with unpremeditated simplicity and founded on the sensible logic of compromise. And yet, indeed, it was neither. He insisted that they were fighting an invincible foe, descended from the gods. Diomedes had refused aid; their cause was almost hopeless. Everyone had done his best; none was to blame. Therefore he would offer Aeneas part of his own royal estate, or help him build ships to depart, if so he wished. By a hundred

2. Pöschl, The Art of Vergil. pp. 149-150 has a fine note on Diomedes as a symbol of the seeker of a new home, a theme further symbolized by Antenor, Andromache and Helenus, Dido, Evander, Daedalus (VI,114), the pictures of whom portray symbolically the story of Aeneas.

envoys he would send gifts fit for a king.[3] Let the council offer advice that would be the best for the commonwealth.

There was an ironical futility about this council. Latinus expresses regret that he had not called the council earlier - as if he had not long since relinquished control. His inability to control the situation had been obliquely referred to when he was first mentioned in Book XI.

> iam vero in tectis, praedivitis urbe Latini,
> praecipuus fragor et longi pars maxima luctus. (213-214)

In the midst of his wealth he was surrounded by grief. The same lack of control is subtly implied in the simile that precedes the council. The people's murmuring is compared to the roar of a river; but apparently Latinus can control it, for he waits for the noise to subside before speaking. The irony lies in the fact that when Latinus last addressed his people he had been compared to an ocean cliff that withstood the ocean's waves (VII,586-590); the immediate result had been his complete loss of control of the government (VII,600), and the declaration of war (VII,622).

Latinus himself admits that the council is too late, for the enemy is before the gates, and even though defeated will not stop fighting - a remark that might have stirred Roman readers by its double reference

3. Conington, note to 1.334, notes that the Romans had sent a purple robe and the ivory chair as gifts to Syphax and Ptolemy (Livy, 27.4).

to proud moments in Roman annals,[4] but must have perplexed those listening to Latinus, since it was not Aeneas who had been defeated! (305-307)

As Latinus volunteered to send a hundred envoys to Aeneas he must have wryly remembered the hundred who had come to him bearing Aeneas' humble request for a little land and promise of loyalty (VII,230; 235). On that occasion he had acted promptly and, without consulting his people, had offered Lavinia's hand to the Trojan. Now he can control neither Aeneas without the walls, nor Turnus within. But Turnus he is determined to help to the best of his ability. His statement that no one is to blame for their failure in battle is patently intended to excuse Turnus; his ostensibly logical compromise of giving Aeneas either land or the material necessary to build boats is no compromise. It does not meet the situation for, as Drances is quick to point out, it omits the essential factor: Lavinia. No compromise can avail if the marriage question remains unsettled.[5] Latinus' speech, although intended to protect Turnus, merely

4. Every Roman school boy knew the story of the Romans' refusal to treat with Pyrrhus while he was still on Roman territory. The phrase 'nec victi possunt absistere ferro' (307), is reminiscent of Hannibal's remark regarding the Romans (Livy 27.14), as Conington points out, quoting also Horace Odes IV.4.59-60)

per damna, per caedes ab ipso
ducit opes animumque ferro.

It is possible, of course, to interpret Latinus' remark as merely a rhetorical demonstration of the hopelessness of the situation for the Latins.

5. This important point is stressed by B. Otis, Virgil, A Study in Civilized Poetry, p. 366. I cannot agree with him, however, that Latinus is protecting Turnus by passing over "the embarrassing absence of Turnus from the crisis of the battle and the consequent catastrophe to. . . the Latin army." There is no doubt in my mind that Turnus' pursuit of the wraith of Aeneas out to sea is intended as a satisfactory explanation for Turnus' absence. Nevertheless, as commander, Turnus was indeed responsible for the defeat. His pursuit of the wraith at a critical moment foreshadows his even more serious delinquence in abandoning the ambush later in Book XI.

served to drive him more quickly to his doom.

Latinus appears only once again, briefly, in Book XI, when the meeting breaks up,

> concilium ipse pater et magna incepta Latinus
> deserit ac tristi turbatus tempore differt,
> multaque se incusat, qui non acceperit ultro
> Dardanium Aenean generumque adsciverit urbi, (469-472)

fondly wishing he had adopted Aeneas as son-in-law - having once again lost control of his people. His whole life seemed to have been an attempt to avoid reality. When we first meet him, he is listening to prophets (VII,68), and oracles (VII,81). He tells the ambassadors from Aeneas that his people are self-controlled, of their own free will, ("sponte sua") (VII,204). Nevertheless although he is able to stand up against his wife's raving (VII,373 ff), he cannot control his people (VII,600). It is Juno (VII,622) and Turnus who declare war on the Trojans (VIII,1).

But Latinus cannot free himself from the belief that he really is the ruler. In Book XII he actually assumes responsibility for the war, claiming that he had acted so from love for Turnus and Amata. He then urges Turnus not to enter battle - for what will the Rutulians say if Turnus is killed! (XII,29-44). His character seems a pale reflection of that of Jupiter in Book X when the Ruler of gods and men begged Juno and Venus to be obedient (6-15) and, after listening to their arguments, stated that the Trojans and Rutulians must fight it out by their own destinies (104-113).[6] Generally incompetent, though well-wishing and kindly,

6. A scene extraordinarily like the opening scene of Shakespeare's Richard II, when that weak monarch tried to control Mowbray and Norfolk.

he represents, as Semple suggests,[7] the tragedy of the weak ruler caught in the cruel meshes of war. But his dramatic function in the epic is still vague. It seems unreasonable that he could lose control of his people so easily, or that a young Rutulian could take control of the Laurentine forces so casually. One is forced to the conclusion that Vergil had represented Latinus thus of necessity, since he did not wish to represent Aeneas as obtaining his bride in opposition to her father; yet, if the father is portrayed as being on Aeneas' side, the Latins and he would be separated and his dramatic significance would vanish.[8] Epic can afford to be more casual than drama in the portrayal of character, since in it characterization is subordinate to theme and action.

(ii) Drances' speech: (343 - 375)

Vergil prepared for Drances' speech with more than usual care. When as spokesman for the Latin ambassadors, he asked Aeneas for a truce to bury the dead (122-131), his chief characteristics were clearly delineated. An older man, the spiteful opponent of Turnus, he praises Aeneas, their nation's enemy, in unnecessarily fulsome language, and promises to do everything within his power to forward plans for peace. His exclamation that he will help carry the stones for Aeneas' massive fortifications (130-131) does credit to his enthusiasm - but belies his sincerity.

As the Laurentines grumble at their defeat, Drances is again introduced (220-221), continuing to stir up discontent against Turnus. After

7. BRL, 36 (1953-54), 227.

8. v. H. W. Prescott, The Development of Vergil's Art, pp.434-5.

Diomedes' warning not to oppose Aeneas, and Latinus' obvious attempt to shield Turnus, the stage is set for Drances' big scene. Vergil repeats that it was envy that goaded Drances to attack Turnus' renown. His wealth, eloquence and political power cannot assuage his envy or compensate for his inferior birth and military incompetence. The motivation for his speech has been thoroughly prepared; the reader's anticipation that it will be a brilliant attack is not disappointed.

Drances' logic is as unassailable as the viciousness of his words is reprehensible. He saw that peace could be assured only when the issue of Lavinia's marriage was settled. He insisted that this one additional gift must be offered to Aeneas (352-353), and the king alone had the right to dispose of Lavinia's hand (355-356). Let Turnus either yield or accept the challenge, lest the country be plunged into further warfare. So far, like Polydamas addressing Hector (Il.18.245 ff), he speaks for the good of the state. But this argument is developed within the framework of a bitter polemic that is fanatical in its obsessive hatred. Vergil studiously motivated this hatred in Drances' oft-mentioned envy of Turnus' renown, but so pervasive is it that it is as remarkable as the argument itself. Here is the difference between Homer and Vergil, between a grotesque and vindictive Thersites attacking his betters (Il.2.212 ff) and a sophisticated Republican Roman, trained in epideictic rhetoric to attack his opponents in the senate.

With great skill Drances depicts Turnus as a haughty egotistical bully who is willing to crush all opposition with violence (1.348), who despises people of inferior birth (1.372), whose ruthless determination to marry Lavinia proves his complete lack of civic consciousness, and must

precipitate both the wrath of the gods (l.347) and endless slaughter (l.373). But Drances' purpose is to goad Turnus into accepting the challenge to a duel. Only one charge could force a proud aristocratic warrior to that - the charge of cowardice. And this indeed is the charge he makes, from the contemptuous alliterative phrase fugae fidens (l.351) to his final taunt

> etiam tu, si qua tibi vis,
> si patrii quid Martis habes, illum aspice contra,
> qui vocat. (11.373-375).

- face Aeneas if you dare!

It is a brilliant attack. Drances' fawning manner, already noted in his words to Aeneas (11.124-131), is magnified here as he paints a picture of himself prostrate in suppliance (l.364) and the whole civic body cringing at the feet of Turnus (l.358) who has arrogated the kingdom to himself. Turnus, despising the school-learned brilliance, comes close to overlooking the trap.

(iii) Turnus' speech: (376 - 444)

Turnus' reply is, almost inappropriately, as rhetorical as Drances' challenge. He assails Drances' obvious military failing, as Drances had intended he should, and challenges him to join in the next battle. He then points out that to lose a battle is not necessarily to lose a war. Even without Diomedes, they had many strong allies. But if the Teucrians call for him alone ("Quod si me solum Teucri in certamine poscunt," (l.434), he could still be victorious. He devoted (devovi, l.442) his life to Latinus, and urged, with heavy sarcasm, that Drances should not be allowed to take his place.

This reply could be interpreted as the gallant response of " a

splendid champion of a lost cause",[9] or as the studied evasion of a traitor[10] and a coward.[11] Whatever one's analysis of the speech is, the manner of speech and what is left unsaid is almost as significant as what *is* said. This is no brusque untutored soldier speaking! His reply is a carefully calculated rebuttal of his opponent's accusations, considered point by point. He is, moreover, a little too fond of exaggeration and the grand gesture. Instead of saying that he had killed Pallas, he boasts that he has wiped out all of Evander's house and line ("totam cum stirpe. . . procubuisse domum" (ll.394-395). He does not make the simple statement that he will fight for Latinus, but that he is vowing himself in sacrifice (*devovi*, l.442). This histrionic gesture well illustrates Vergil's economy of language. Not only is it in character for Turnus but,

9. E. K. Rand, *The Magical Art of Vergil*, p. 375.

10. J. B. Garstrang, "The Tragedy of Turnus", *Phoenix*, 4 (1950), 47-58. Garstrang suggests that Turnus is intentionally painted as a scoundrel and a traitor through studied allusions to Roman history, e.g.,

    (a) Turnus trapped inside the Trojan camp parallels Coriolanus who, while still serving Rome, forced his way into Corioli and "spread slaughter through the nearest part of the city" (Livy II.33.7).

    (b) The ambush of Aeneas in Book XI parallels the Caudine Forks (Livy IX.2). (It could also parallel Hannibal at Lake Trasimene).

    (c) The bird of ill-omen that appeared to Turnus during the duel parallels the raven that flew into the face of the doomed Gaul, whom Messala Corvinus was fighting (Livy VII.26.1-5).

    The danger with drawing historical parallels is that their very number makes it possible to argue on either side of the question. Turnus' escapade inside the camp, for instance, could be paralleled by Caesar's near capture at Dyrrhachium, or Alexander's in India. Garstrang's examples have, however, the merit of all being derived from Livy.

11. Otis, *op. cit.*, (see n. 5), p. 367.

considered together with the earlier clause - "let us stretch forth helpless hands (dextras tendamus inertis, 1.414) - if we are defeated" - it anticipates the closing scene of the epic with fine dramatic irony.

What Turnus omits to say is equally illuminating. The chief function of the first scene in Book XI is to depict Aeneas' sorrow for the death of his allies, particularly his young ally Pallas; Turnus in the debate scene does not even mention Lausus, much less Mezentius, his foremost captain. His recital of all the allies on whom they could still call for help (11.429-433) may simply be an attempt to encourage the Laurentines, or it may be, implicitly, an argument against risking everything in a duel. And the duel is apparently on his mind at this point, for he speaks of it next. Here again he is ambiguous, saying that he will answer the challenge if he is called by the Teucrians (1.434), sidestepping the fact that the challenge has already been delivered by Aeneas and emphatically repeated by Drances. And note that he says Teucrians, not Aeneas, as if afraid of the Trojan's name. When finally he does mention Aeneas ('solum Aeneas vocat', 1.442), he immediately quibbles with the word 'alone', and ends his speech sneering at Drances. That this indicates his fear of the duel may be supported by the eagerness with which, on the arrival of the messenger, he seizes the opportunity (arrepto tempore, 1.459) to disrupt the meeting and call out the army.

(iv) Conclusion:

A meeting of the Roman senate must always have been an event to stir the imagination of the Roman, and Vergil felt its dramatic force to such an extent that he had created here, in the centre of Book XI, a scene that one writer calls "one of the most varied and dramatic in the

whole epic".[12] Vergil carefully contrives the development of the political situation which undermines Turnus' position. Drances uses Aeneas' generous terms to stir up the bereaved citizens, who are further disturbed by Diomedes' refusal to help. Finally, in the meeting of the senate, Latinus' attempt to shield Turnus and grant concessions to Aeneas insults Turnus' pride and gives Drances his opportunity to goad Turnus.

Dramatically, the speeches serve several purposes:

1. They contrast the hysterical and selfish atmosphere prevalent in the Laurentine capital with the scene of dignified calm and determination evident in Aeneas' camp. Aeneas' quiet instructions to his captains, and his words of pity for the dead, friend and foe alike, find no parallel in Latinus' capital.

2. They destroy all possibility of peace, since Turnus will not relinquish Lavinia.

3. Drances' speech dramatizes the rising enmity against Turnus which stimulates him into a last fit of violentia.[13]

4. Turnus' speech illuminates new, if puzzling, facets of his character.

It might be argued that, brilliant though it is, the scene is not entirely successful, especially in regard to the characterization and motivation of both Turnus and Drances.

The motivation of Drances was repeatedly stated to be that of

12. W. H. Semple, "The Conclusion of Virgil's Aeneid", BRL, 42 (1959-60), 191.

13. Garstrang, op. cit., (note 10), compares this to the stimulus offered Macbeth by the decision of Duncan to send away Malcolm.

envy. He is, as Clarke says,[14] "The only wholly unsympathetic character" in the epic, and it is tempting to believe that Vergil is here depicting the discredited Republican regime and its characteristic orators. Scholars have seen in Drances a portrait of Cicero,[15] Pompey,[16] and Hanno.[17] Certainly, Drances' exhortation to Turnus to 'go, for you are defeated' (1.366), reminds one of Cicero's rhetorical remarks to both Verres and Antony. The problem is that Drances appears too well motivated. Though he may speak from envy, he is obviously recommending the only course that can bring peace. His position is "logically and ethically unanswerable".[18] If Vergil's hero is commended for obeying the oracles of the gods, it can hardly be despicable for Drances to recommend a similar course.

Not only is he too strongly motivated, but it may be argued that it is artistically unsatisfactory to present Drances as a figure of such influence in Book XI, and then drop him completely. Why is he not present in Book XII when the contract is being made?[19] The answer lies, I suppose, either in the fact that the latter event took place on the battle field where Drances was noticeable by his absence, or else that this is

14. Rhetoric at Rome, p. 100.

15. M. L. Clarke, ibid.

16. Conington, note on l. 337, quotes Lucan (I.132) as saying that to retain his waning popularity the aging Pompey multa dare in volgus.

17. Conington compares these speeches to those of Hanno opposing Hannibal, in Livy XXI.3; XXXIII.12.

18. C. J. Ellington, "Nescioquid Maius Nascitur Iliade," G&R, 11 (1942), 17.

19. v. Heinze, Virgils Epische Technik, p. 454.

an example of Vergil's use of "poetic economy"; but neither explanation is completely satisfactory. Like Camilla, he flashes across the horizon in this book only, and then disappears.

Turnus, likewise, is not satisfactorily presented in this scene. If the contrast is between the cynical old orator and the impetuous young warrior, then Turnus is all too eloquent and his arguments far too sophisticated in their logic. Shakespeare's Hotspur is just as eloquent, but makes no pretence at logic. Turnus poses as the champion of national independence and swears that he is willing to die for Latinus, but he welcomes the opportunity to break up the meeting - even as later, in Book XII, he joins the mêlée after taking the oath.

None of these criticisms, however, carries any great weight. The fact is that the scene is full of drama and life illuminating, by the speeches and ironical illusion, the atmosphere of despair; and increasing the onward thrust of the action toward the inevitable duel while, paradoxically, helping to postpone it.

(d) Turnus assumes command (445 - 476)

(f) Turnus leaves the capital (486 - 497)

The last three sections of the debate scene are in reality one, divided to give additional emphasis to the picture of Turnus, again exultant as the happy warrior, glad to be done with words (effectively though he may have used them!), brilliant in command. As a messenger's news had occasioned the meeting of the council, so another message caused its disruption. To further the balanced construction, the simile of the rushing river (11.298-9) describing the people's distress on hearing Diomedes'

refusal is now paralleled by the peaceful simile of the swans (11.457-8) describing their din as they arm for battle.

The swan ironically is used in Vergil's similes to symbolize graceful weakness and false security. Venus, in disguise, points out to Aeneas the swans settling peacefully on the river (I,393); he, too, she implies, is now secure - at Carthage. The swans in Book XI likewise depict the false security of a people ignorant of its fate. The symbolism is spelled out in the following book where the final picture of swans occurs. An eagle is forced to drop the swan it has seized - a sign sent by Juturna to rouse the Latins to break the truce, and "to confound their minds and cheat them with its miracle"

> his aliud maius Iuturna adiungit et alto
> dat signum caelo, quo non praesentius ullum
> turbavit mentes Italas monstroque fefellit. (XII.244-246)

Even so are they cheated in Book XI by Turnus' display of confidence.

Turnus

Our interpretation of Turnus is made more difficult by the fact that he exists on so many levels of myth and reality. He combines the qualities of the Homeric hero and the Italian warrior with those of a historical Republican general whose lust for power brings such dire disaster upon the state as to raise the whole epic to the proportions of a tragedy.

As a Homeric hero Turnus is primarily Achilles, the mighty and moody warrior. The Sibyl calls him another Achilles (VI.89); he himself claims to be Achilles (IX,742). But because of his alleged rights to Lavinia (VII,423) he is also Menelaus seeking vengeance on Aeneas, the

second Paris, as both Juno (VII,321) and Amata (VII,363) call the Trojan. In Book IX Turnus even calls Lavinia his bride (IX,138). But gradually his role is reversed. He becomes Hector, protector of his fatherland, leader of the country's army. Like Hector, he burns - or tries to burn - the enemy's fleet, and speaks in Council for national unity and a policy of daring, in answer to Drances whose prototype Polydamas had urged withdrawal into Troy. Conversely, Aeneas becomes Achilles and Menelaus. His mother, Venus, like Thetis, asks Vulcan for armour; his army advances upon Latinus' capital, another Troy, to avenge the theft of his rightful bride, while within the city the people murmur against Turnus who, like Paris, had abducted another's wife. The final duel confirms this reversal of role.[20]

Turnus is most appealing in this role as the champion of the national cause against their many foreign invaders, including the Trojan Aeneas, the Greek Evander, and the Etruscan Tarchon. ("Addant se protinus omnes / Etrusci socios." IX,148-9.) His cause is made one with the unity of Latium. Although he is not a Latin, Drances treats him as a citizen, not a foreigner (XI,359) - as indeed his argument requires, since to name him an externus would be to admit his eligibility as a bridegroom.[21] Likewise, Turnus' reply to Drances is a call for national unity, dramatized by his use of the formula of self-devotion for the fatherland (XI,441-2). In Book XII the Rutulians and Laurentines are as one. Juturna calls upon

20. This reversal of roles is analysed in detail by W. S. Anderson, "Vergil's Second Iliad", TAPA, LXXXVIII (1957), 17-30.

21. Amata had used this argument to press Turnus' claims to Lavinia (VII,367-72).

the Rutulians (XII,228) to attack; it is the Laurentines who charge first (XII,280). The peoples of Latium are united against the foreigner under one brilliant commander.

Vergil had combined the various legends of Aeneas' invasion of Latium. In the annalistic accounts of Cato and Dionysius the story is loosely woven, and neither Aeneas nor Turnus is the eventual victor.[22] By compressing the several campaigns into one, by reducing the action of many years into a few days, and by uniting all three kings (Latinus, Mezentius and Turnus) against Aeneas in a single campaign, Vergil has gained immeasurably in the dramatic unity of his plot, and focused attention upon the theme of the unity of Latium, with Turnus as its hero and leader.

As a soldier he is the epitome of Latin valour. He personally slays innumerable foes. Even when trapped inside Aeneas' camp (IX,727 ff), he terrorizes the Teucrians, who fall back. He is compared to a hungry wolf as he attacks Aeneas' camp (IX,59-64), to a lion as he falls upon Pallas (X,454-6), and to a wounded lion when he sees the failing spirits of his men (XII,4-8). His whole life is devoted to gaining honour in battle. When he is deceived into pursuing the wraith of Aeneas out to sea, he tries to commit suicide; only his honour, in the form of Juno, prevents him.[23] And it is this sense of honour that causes him to react so violently to Drances' taunts.

22. These campaigns are outlined by Prescott, op. cit., (see n. 8).

23. Pöschl, The Art of Vergil, p. 108.

His dramatic personality dominates his people. At the outbreak of war, the Rutulian leaders rally to him without question (VII,472). Even when his prestige is at its lowest he can rush from the council meeting and hypnotize the people with his brilliant armour (XI,490) and incisive commands (XI,263 ff). He is capable of organizing large forces of allies (VII,647 ff), of laying siege to a camp (Book IX), and planning an ambush (XI,522-531). But it is just here that cracks begin to appear in the glamorous picture. In spite of his fierce attack upon the camp, it was not taken - although defended by the boy Ascanius - because Turnus missed the opportunity of letting his comrades through the opened gates. Likewise in Book XI, when he had succeeded in ambushing Aeneas, he allowed the failure of the cavalry engagement before the town to blind him to the definitive issue, the destruction of the enemy's leader, Aeneas.[24] Turnus was a gallant leader, but an incompetent general.

The suspicion begins to arise that Turnus himself was aware of his incompetence, and attempted to compensate for it by his dash and impetuosity. The simile describing him as a stallion that has broken its tether and fled the stalls (XI,492) may reflect his "youthful strength, abundant courage, and unrestrained passion",[25] but it is actually a more satisfactory picture of one who feels confined by careful military planning, and seeks refuge in action. Pöschl's examples proving that Turnus

24. Examined in detail by W. H. Alexander, "War in the Aeneid", CJ, XL (1945), 261-273.

25. Pöschl, op. cit., p. 112, (see n. 23).

is loyal to his comrades are weak;[26] they more strongly support the contention that he is unwilling to do anything that may damage his reputation. His argument in council, as pointed out above (page 38), depicts a man who is as skilled in rhetoric and as devious as Milton's Satan, but not one concerned for his fellow men, or even for his captain Mezentius. His cruelty in battle is manifest (IX,698, 749, 770; XII,356, 380); his willingness to accept Aeneas' challenge is not.

He is, indeed, fit descendant of that Danaë (VII,372; 410) whose son Perseus was doomed to kill his grandsire.[27] So Turnus is doomed to ruin both Latinus and the Latin independence. The device on his helmet, a chimaera, is a chthonic demon who lurks near the Tree of Dreams on the outskirts of the Underworld (VI,288-9), and breathes the fire of Aetna (VII,785). On his shield is embossed the figure of Io, the daughter of Inachus, who had been brutalised by Zeus.[28] Unlike Io, Turnus does not recover his humanity. He is a dynamic, destructive force of nature, the kind of leader that, by Aristotle's definition, can only bring disaster

26. ibid. pp. 108-115.

27. Danaë had been shut up by her father Acrisius, king of Argos, who had been warned (like Numitor) that he would be slain by his grandson. Danaë, visited by Zeus in a shower of gold, conceived Perseus who later, unwittingly, killed his grandfather with a discus. Danaë came to Italy and founded Ardea, and married Pilumnus (Aeneid VII,410).

28. The significance of these symbols is discussed by S. G. Small, "The Arms of Turnus", TAPA. XC (1959), 243-252.

upon his state, for he is trained only in warfare.[29] He is not, as Boltwood suggests "a villain only in that he opposes the hero".[30] He is a type of military leader, all too well known by Vergil, whose military power, joined to civic irresponsibility, had occasioned the Social War with the Latins and had brought down the Republic in the shambles of the Civil Wars. Even in his last words, although Turnus finally perceives his guilt in leading his people into such tragedy, he is actually more concerned with his own failure as a military hero. The several events in Book XI, the council debate, Turnus' precipitous departure from it, and his subsequent failure to maintain the ambush, all add significantly to our understanding of the tragic misuse of military power personified in Turnus.

But if Vergil had been satisfied to depict Turnus only thus, as a Homeric warrior or a megalomaniacal Republican general, the epic would not have risen to the heights of tragedy that it actually does attain. It is obvious that Vergil intended Turnus as a tragic figure. He is represented, like Amata, as one attacked by the demon Allecto who inspires in him the violentia that must needs bring upon him divine vengeance. In

29. Aristotle, Politics, 1334a: "Facts as well as arguments prove that the legislator should direct all his military and other measures to . . . the establishment of peace. For most of the military states are safe only when they are at war, but fall when they have acquired their empire; like unused iron they lose their edge in time ofpeace. And for this the legislator is to blame, since he has never taught them to lead the life of peace." Quoted by W. H. Semple, op. cit.. (see n. 7).

30. R. M. Boltwood, "Turnus and Satan as Epic Villains", CJ, 47 (1951-2), 183-186.

spite of his gallantry, his whole vision is warped by this tragic flaw. He becomes, in his association with Juno, the incarnation of νεῖκος, strife.[31] He refuses to accept the reconciliation of the two peoples, the imposition of order on chaos that was the task of the Roman Empire.

This reconciliation, symbolized by the reconciliation of Juno and Jupiter (XII,808-842), foredoomed Turnus to the role of the "splendid champion of a lost cause".[32] The two antagonists are tragic; Aeneas' tragedy springs from the conflicts between his humanitas, his sympathy for the suffering caused to others, and his pietas, his dedication to the destiny laid upon him by the gods; Turnus' tragedy is founded in the clash between the warped logic of his human vision of honour and the superior logic of divine will. He is the 'vicarious sufferer',[33] the sacrifice that is grimly foreseen but unalterably necessary to fulfil Rome's destiny.

(e) Sacrifice by Amata (477 - 485)

The scene of Amata sacrificing is short but strikingly vivid, and has real dramatic function. Coming as it does between the two panels depicting Turnus giving orders to his captains and then arming and running to battle, it reinforces that picture. It also reminds us of the close ties between Amata and Turnus. These were the only two whom Allecto had poisoned; the madness of Turnus' present actions is reflected in the activity of the queen.

31. C. M. Bowra, From Virgil to Milton, pp. 70-71.

32. Rand, op. cit., (see n. 9), p. 375. See also Pöschl's excellent analysis, op. cit., pp. 91-138.

33. Garstrang, op. cit., (see n. 10).

The scene naturally reminds us of the previous scene in Book VII when Allecto is sent to Amata. Amata there is unsuccessful in her attempt to persuade Latinus to cancel the betrothal of Lavinia and Aeneas; she abducts her daughter and flees into the woods, leading a Bacchic rout, (VII,373 ff) and, seizing a torch, sings a marriage song of Lavinia and Turnus (VII,397-8). Immediately afterwards occurs the fatal stag hunt (VII,475 ff) that resulted in the sons of these same Bacchus-inspired women demanding arms for war (VII,583). Juno herself then pushes open the doors of war (VII,620-2).

The parallel between the two books is obvious. Amata leaves Latinus regretting that he had not welcomed Aeneas (XI,471-2). Accompanied by a great throng of women she goes, taking her daughter with her, to fill full with the smoke of incense the temple of Juno, goddess of marriage, calling down curses upon Aeneas. She invokes Juno as praeses belli (XI,483). Meanwhile, the men are crying for arms (XI,453), and the war is renewed.

The dramatic emphasis created by the parallel events in the two books is equalled by its irony. The success of Amata and Turnus depends upon the constancy of Juno. When Juno is reconciled to Jupiter in Book XII (808-842), the madness that had already led Amata to her suicide (603) now quickly dooms Turnus.

Conclusion:

The various panels of the debate scene act and interact in a swift-moving sequence that is full of drama and colour. The scene of the returning warriors, grumbling against Turnus, forms the prelude that

introduces the drama in a sombre tone. It is answered by the final scene which shows Turnus rushing forth full of confidence, but certainly doomed. The entry of messengers causes the meeting to be convened; another messenger disrupts it. The uproar against Turnus in the first panel is answered by the cry for arms in the fourth; the dire warning of Diomedes is ignored in the fervent prayers of Amata that parallel it; the dark mood of the futile speeches in the council resolves in a burst of activity that is made brilliant by the glitter of Turnus' arms and the sprightly simile of the rampaging stallion, a simile that naturally leads us to the entry of Camilla and her bright hordes of cavalry.

(4) The Camilla Scene

(a) The Romantic Character of the Book

The Third scene in Book XI stands in strong contrast to the other two: indeed in the whole epic it is unique for its pastoral atmosphere and evocative fancy. The light that glitters from Turnus' armour as he runs down from the fortress (XI,490) reflects a pattern of light and shade through the following picture whose mood is light, even in the battle scenes. The simile describing Turnus as a frisking stallion (XI,492-497) anticipates the cavalry engagements that wheel and turn in patterned formations. The pattern of this movement is reflected in the pattern of the poetic composition, creating an extraordinary illusion of a picture embroidered on a tapestry. The legendary story of Camilla's childhood, the religious and mythological connotations of her comrades' names, the presence of Diana, a primitive Italian goddess who weeps at

the death of her devotee, all help to create that brilliant, almost gem-like portrayal of idealized grief that is associated with pastoral poetry. The depersonalized yet touching picture of this woodland heroine is framed within the dramatic and turbulent scenes of Turnus' passionate violentia. Turnus' fate is linked with Camilla's; her death is part of his tragic responsibility.

The pastoral setting is immediately sketched, by Turnus himself, who describes the plains and valleys through which Aeneas is marching (512-516). As if in response to the play of light and shade on the woodland, the reader's eye is taken from the dark valley where Turnus sets up ambush ("quam densis frondibus atrum / urget", 523-4) to the sky and the halls of Heaven ("superis in sedibus, 532) where Diana addresses Opis. The story of Camilla's youth that the goddess relates is one of woodland and raging river, of rain and wild animals (532-594). The heroine dresses in the skins of animals; her father had dedicated her to Diana, the goddess of groves (nemorum cultrix, 557)

No more mysterious or romantic goddess existed in the Roman pantheon. As goddess of the woods, Diana had two cult-centres, one on Mt. Tifata,[1] near Capua, and the other, more remarkable, at Aricia on Lake Nemi. In both she was worshipped as a goddess of women and of childbirth. Her grove at Aricia was presided over by the rex nemorensis who was required to gain his position by first plucking a symbolic bough and then slaying his predecessor. The water goddess Egeria, Numa's adviser,

1. Tifata seems to mean holm-oak grove, O.C.D., under "Diana".

was also worshipped there. Virbius, son of Hippolytus, one of the heroes fighting for Turnus, had grown up in this wood, and is mentioned at the end of Book VII together with Turnus and Camilla (VII,761 ff). Thus Camilla is associated with the whole body of antiquarian and religious lore involving Diana's grove and the Golden Bough.

Diana was also of significance in Roman political history. The fact that her earliest temple in Rome, on the Aventine, lay outside the pomerium indicated that her cult came from outside of Rome. The Dies Natalis of this temple was the same as that of the temple of Diana at Aricia; the Aventine cult may have resulted from the Roman attempt to transfer the religious centre of the Latin League to Rome.[2] Diana symbolically represents the centuries of conflict between Rome and her southern neighbours.

As goddess of the woods Diana became identified with the Greek huntress goddess Artemis, sister of Phoebus Apollo. Thus she became a moon goddess and associate in the triad of Artemis-Trivia-Hecate. Vergil usually distinguishes Diana from Artemis,[3] although, in the Camilla episode, Diana is referred to as the daughter of Latona (XI,534; 557). Likewise, although as an Italian goddess she is distinct from Hecate, it is the three-faced Diana that Dido's priestess invokes (VI,510), and the Trivia whose grove Aeneas enters at Cumae must refer to the Olympian Artemis whose temple he promised to build on the Palatine (VI,13; 35; 69),

2. A. E. Gordon, "On the Origin of Diana", TAPA. LXIII (1932), 177-192.

3. C. Bailey, Religion in Vergil. 157-161.

although she was never called Artemis in this context. Less certain is her association with Bellona, the goddess of war, although it would help our interpretation of Vergil's attitude towards Camilla, who carried a battle axe (XI,696), if we knew more certainly whether the two goddesses were related.[4]

Vergil associates Camilla with Diana, not only through the story of her childhood, but also through her mother's name, Casmilla (XI,543). Bailey[5] relates this to the root of carmen, suggesting a prophetic nymph attendant upon Diana. The name may also be associated with camillus, the cult name of youths in certain Roman religious ceremonies.[6] But these cult associations are complicated by other associations. When we first meet her she is described as one who could run over the top of unmown corn without bending it[7] (VII,808-809) - like the horses of Homeric Erich-

4. Bellona is associated by Rose (in O.C.D.) with Mars and his partner Nerio, and in Imperial times, with the Cappadocian goddess Mā. See also Bailey, op. cit., p. 190. M. Mattingly, however, in his article "Diana - Bellona", CR (56), p. 18-21, points out that: (a) Diana, as well as Mars, is patroness of gladiators (but her shrine on the Aventine had long been a cult centre for slaves), (b) Horace, AP, 453, equates "iracunda Diana" with the frenzy inspired by Bellona, (c) coins of early Rome show Diana of Aricia in a context that definitely equates her with Bellona. Mattingly, therefore, concludes that Diana and Bellona were always identical.

5. op. cit., (see n. 3), p. 159.

6. R. D. Williams, "The function and structure of Vergil's Catalogue", CQ, 11 (1961), 146-153.

7. J. R. Fraser, The Golden Bough, p. 459, points out that in several European societies, the corn-spirit appeared in the shape of a horse. "As the corn bends before the wind, they say, 'There runs the Horse'." Camilla is a horse-woman; the whole scene is an intricate pattern of equitation. Hippolytus was killed by horses, and therefore horses were prohibited from the grove of Aricia (VII,778-780). Obviously, Camilla, personification of the forces of natural growth, exists on several strata.

thonius (Il. XX.227). She is described as an Amazon, Penthesilea or Hippolyte (XI,661).[8] Finally, the lament of Diana for Camilla echoes the lament in Euripides' Hippolytus.[9] But there is no direct prototype for Camilla in Greek literature; this causes scholars to believe that she is a true Vergilian creation, perhaps modelled on some figure of popular Italian folk lore.[10] In short, Camilla is a fascinating figure, combining many layers of significance, mythological, antiquarian, literary and historical.

It is not only the name of Camilla herself that helps to evoke the romantic and antiquarian atmosphere of this pastoral scene. Her attendants Tulla and Tarpeia are shadowy underworld powers, taken from the realm of ancient Roman religion.[11] Acca is either the mother of the Arval Brothers[12] (whose rites were revived by Augustus), or, more probably Acca Laurentina, an underground deity, appropriate messenger to Turnus of Camilla's death - summoning him back to the duel.[13] Her comrades in arms, Massapus and Coras (XI,465, 519, 604), are compared to centaurs (VII, 674-5); her victim, the Etruscan Ornytus (XI,677, 686), wears a totemistic wolf-head to protect him; her murderer, Arruns, bears the name of the

8. The relationship between Dido and Camilla is discussed above (p. 11).

9. F. L. Lucas, Euripides and his Influence, p. 66.

10. Williams, op. cit., (see n. 6); Conington, quoting Heyne, suggests that there was a tomb to Camilla among the Volsci.

11. C. Saunders, "Sources of the Names of Trojans and Latins in Virgil's Aeneid", TAPA, 71 (1941), 537-555.

12. O.C.D. v. Acca.

13. Bailey, op. cit., (see n. 3), p. 250.

of the legendary tyrant Tarquin.[14] Herminius (642), a veritable giant, is modelled on the hero who helped Cocles keep the bridge. Other heroes bear names from Greek mythology or hint at a more esoteric allusion, but all are woven into a colourful design suitable for this fanciful scene.[15]

(b) Camilla's Aristeia

Camilla's entrance is dramatic, but not unanticipated. She is the last of Turnus' leaders mentioned in Book VII. The picture presented there is of a warrior maid who despises women's work, but attracts universal admiration by her superhuman speed, military accoutrements, and apparel of purple and gold that stands in bold silhouette before the gay brass armour of her Volscian squadrons (VII,803-817). Then Vergil withdraws this romantic vision from our sight. She takes no part in the attack on Aeneas' camp, nor is she present at the council meeting. The battle plans were apparently not developed in the meeting, a fact that both concentrates attention on the altercation between Drances and Turnus and makes Camilla's entrance more effective. She appears suddenly, like

14. Saunders, op. cit., (see n. 11).

15. Camilla's attendant Larina may suggest the town of Larinum (in Apulia), L. A. Holland, "Place Names and Heroes in the Aeneid", AJP, LVI (1935), 202-215.
The three heroes, Demophoon, Harpalycus and Tereus, who all fell to Camilla in a single hexametre line (675) all derive from Thracian myths. Volusus (463), who led the Volscian infantry, was ancestor of a Roman family. Other names play on Greek words: Drances of the pedibus fugacibus (XI,390) from δράναι ; Chloreus (765) - yellow bird - χλωρεύς - because of his bright clothes and golden hair; Oryntus (677) - ὄρνυμι - to start up wild game from covert. So Camilla taunts him in battle (686); Aconteus (612, 615) - ἀκοντίζω - iaculum emittere - is hurled from his horse as he charges with his spear. Saunders, ibid.

Laocoön (II,40 ff), and the suddenness of her appearance, combined with our memory of her in Book VII, causes a brighter light to fall upon her as she steps into the foreground of the story.

Before her commander Turnus can speak, she impetuously suggests the order of battle, and proudly volunteers to face Aeneas' cavalry. Turnus can only stare at this virgo horrenda (507), and move away into ambush, leaving the stage clear for Camilla's aristeia. It is then that our eyes are raised from the plain to heaven, and Diana narrates the pastoral story of Camilla's youth. It is a story of untrammeled wandering in the wilds, but the idyllic charm of this life of unspoiled childhood is darkened by a shadow of tragedy. Diana foretells the fate of this heroine who, like Sarpedon, was doomed to die, though graced with special divine favour. In both symbol and action, the story embodies the tragedy. She is the daughter of the tyrant Metabus who was driven from his realm, as had been the ill-starred Mezentius whose death overshadows this whole book. His action of strapping the baby Camilla to the spear symbolically bound her to weapons for life, just as the throwing of the spear over the river accentuated her division from the rest of mankind and the beginning of her tragedy.[16] Her clothing is a tiger's skin (577), her toys are weapons of death. She spurns marriage (581) with a barbarian's contempt for organized society, but like a barbarian she is attracted by colourful clothes

16. Pöschl, The Art of Vergil, pp. 81-82, compares the spear hurled over the river to the smitten-deer simile that mirrored Dido's tragedy (IV,66), and Laocoön's death that mirrored the doom of Troy. G. Highet, The Classical Tradition, p. 155, points out that Tasso, in The Liberation of Jerusalem, has Clorinda carried over a raging river by her foster father (and suckled by a tigress, in imitation of the Roman wolf).

and ornaments of gold. Neither environment nor inheritance has encouraged self discipline, but rather stimulated that violent pride and obsession with weapons which has brought her to this war. Diana regrets that her darling has been swept away in such warfare (584), and swears revenge on her slayer.

Although portrayed as a follower of Diana, it is as an Amazon that Camilla enters the battle (XI,648, 660, 661, 662). Her aristeia is brilliant as she wheels and manoeuvres to run down her enemy. Every weapon of war, from bow to battle axe, is lethal in her hands. The scene is enlivened by numerous brief character sketches of enemies who try to outwit her.[17] She is like a falcon that snatches a dove on the wing. Her opposite number, Tarchon, who leads the enemy's cavalry, is portrayed as a sombre commander who scoffs at his men bitterly (732-740) and, after a brief aristeia, disappears from the scene compared to an eagle flying away with a writhing snake (751-756). And immediately after the snake symbol, Arruns is introduced, stalking and eventually killing the heroine whose eye had been attracted by the purple and gold attire of Chloreus, priest of Cybele (l.768 ff). Camilla dies, Arruns slinks off like a skulking wolf, but at the tomb of Dercennus, a Laurentine king (l.850), he is met by Opis who exacts Diana's revenge. The swirling motion of battle settles into two scenes of repose: Camilla, surrounded by her mourning Amazons, and Arruns abandoned on the plain by his forgetful comrades. The sibyl had foreseen "bella, horrida bella" (VI,86) as the future of Italy. Somehow, in this picture of Camilla's brief career, the

17. Note especially the son of Aunus (699-724), the Ligurian, noted for the proverbial Ligurian guile.

horror of war is lost in its romantic pageantry.

(c) The characterization of Camilla

Arruns, who killed Camilla, is a good foil for her. He is a worshipper of Apollo,[18] a man who has a country and claims to be pius. He is sensitive that what he is doing is cowardly, but is willing to accept devious means to wipe out the shame of his country's defeat at the hands of a woman.[19] Camilla is just the opposite. She grew up as one without a country, ingenuous by nature, impulsive and direct to both her commander and foe alike. Arruns is modest, asking no fame for his deed (790-791); Camilla is proud, vaunting with Homeric insolence over her fallen foes. In battle she succumbs to blood lust, killing with insensate fury. As she had rejected a woman's part in life, so she is unwomanly in destroying, not creating, life. Yet, like a woman (says Vergil), she has a passion for booty and spoil -

femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore (XI,782)

And this weakness for loot seduced her from her duty, even as it had Euryalus. Euryalus lost sight of his duty to carry a message to Aeneas; Camilla forgot that her duty was to protract the cavalry engagement long

18. The Hirpini who worshipped Apollo on Mr. Soracte walked through fire, carrying offerings to the god. Pliny, Nat. Hist., VII. 2. .9. Servius says that they cheated by doctoring the soles of their feet. Detailed by T. C. Rosenmeyer, "Virgil and Heroism, Aeneid XI", CJ, 55 (1959-60), 159-164.

19. Note that Aeneas killed Mezentius deviously, by spearing his horse (X,891). The comparison with the devious Augustus, worshipper of Apollo, is also obvious. As his many young heirs died before him under the arrows of Apollo, Augustus must have felt that, like Arruns, he had been granted only one half of his life's prayers.

enough to ensure the success of Turnus' ambush. Her impetuous bravery caused her to ignore her own safety, and her death was in part responsible for the defeat of the Latins.

In this respect, it is instructive to compare her with Turnus. They had much in common; indeed, they are introduced together at the climax of Vergil's roll call of the Latin warriors (VII,783-817). Both gloried in fine array and the panoply of war; both were dynamic and impetuous leaders for whom action was more attractive than was wise counsel. In battle they were mad with a common blood lust, killing with cruel joy.

Above all, they resembled each other in their dissimilarity to Aeneas. Aeneas raged in battle after the death of Pallas, but the simile comparing him to a fire-breathing monster (X,565-70), is cut off after the death of Lausus;[20] he combines the forces of nature with a rational mind. Both Turnus and Camilla are contradictory characters, for while ostensibly they are fighting with unselfish devotion for their country, they in fact destroy their country in pursuit of personal honour. Aeneas and his band are united in daring adventure in I-VI and, at least in the maius opus of VII-XII, they are united in the greater endeavour of establishing a new state. In contrast to them is Camilla, apparently a follower of Diana, but as she enters battle she is described as one of the Amazons, the servants of Ares who were the antagonists of the civilizing heroes, Heracles and Theseus.[21] Camilla is a child of nature; the arms of Turnus bear symbols of the forces of nature (VII,785-9); Aeneas' depict the triumphs of

20. Noted by S. G. R. Small, "The Arms of Turnus", TAPA, XC (1959), 243-252.

21. S. G. R. Small, "Vergil, Dante and Camilla", CJ, 54 (1958-59), 295-301.

Rome (VIII,626). Aeneas would found a civilization; Camilla despises it. Aeneas establishes pacts; Turnus rejects them. Dante identifies Turnus and Camilla, Euryalus and Nisus as types of those who died for Italy.[22] All four had to die that Italy might live, for they all placed personal fame before peace and humanity. But both Camilla and Turnus appeal to the romantic yearning of everyone, a yearning that evoked for each the same famous line to describe their death:

vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras (XI,831; XII,952)

But if Camilla and Turnus resemble each other in these various ways, they also display remarkable dissimilarities. Camilla has a much more ingenuous personality. She clearly sees the immediate necessity of war, but she cannot comprehend grand strategy. She volunteers to fight Aeneas, urging Turnus to stay close to the wall (502-506). It is Turnus who sees that her gesture has left him free to establish an ambush (515-6). Camilla does not perceive the necessary interrelationship between the two operations, and enters battle with a light-hearted resolve to prove her equality with men in battle (687-689), rather than to fight a delaying action. Even as she lies dying, she does not realize her mistake. She sends a messenger to call Turnus back to defend the walls, forgetting (as Hannibal would not), that Aeneas' cavalry forces cannot take a walled town. Her single-minded but misguided devotion does not reflect a profound or complicated mind.

Impetuous naïvete may explain Camilla's failure in battle, but Turnus' desertion of the essential ambush cannot be accounted for in such

22. Inferno I. 106-108. Noted by Small, ibid.

simple terms. To have trapped and slain Aeneas would automatically have ended the war; the cavalry mêlée was irrelevant at this point. Vergil says Jupiter's will and his own furor made him abandon the ambush.

ille furens (et saeva Iovis sic numina poscunt) (XI,901)

He abandoned the ambush before Aeneas entered it. Thus we have a repetition of the events of IX and X when Turnus raged before (and inside) Aeneas' camp but disappeared, pursuing a wraith of Aeneas, when that hero approached. The result had been the death of Mezentius and Lausus. First Juno's intervention and now Jupiter's will motivate his furor to irrational actions. On the previous occasion, when he realized his mistake he had tried to commit suicide (X,681-685). On this occasion, the news of Camilla's death, reminiscent of the death of Lausus during his previous absence from battle, sends him, saevus, back to the capital, forgetful of the importance of the ambush.

Such is the kindest interpretation of his actions. If, on the other hand, I am correct in interpreting Turnus' speech in the council as a demonstration of real fear at engaging Aeneas in open battle, then it is worth noticing that although Camilla suggested that he should stay near the wall, he preferred to wait in ambush. Such a demonstration of fear suggests that the wraith he pursued before had been the projection of a terrified mind.[23] But when Camilla's death vindicates the accusation made by Drances, at last the clash between his furor and his virtus be-

23. This is of course, quite a different thing from suggesting, as Pöschl does (op. cit., p. 108), that this pursuit of the wraith demonstrates the workings of his dementia.

comes unbearable, and he resolves it by accepting Aeneas' challenge. Thus Book XI is essential in motivating Turnus; it illuminates, moreover, the convoluted workings of his mind in his last speech in Book XII, when he finally is reconciled to the union of Trojans and Latins.

(d) The Camilla scene as an epyllion

I have tried to show in the previous sections how this scene differs from the rest of Book XI in its romantic atmosphere, unity of action, and distinctive portrayal of the heroine. These are some of the peculiarities that create the illusion of a stylized picture inserted in a tapestry. Another remarkable characteristic which reinforces this impression is the symmetrical correspondence of its various parts which combines the whole composition into a unity of design, colour and texture. The aristeia of Camilla is bracketed by the entry of Camilla's cavalry at the beginning of the battle and its retreat at the end; the address of Diana to Opis is balanced by the address of Opis to Arruns; the patterned advance and retreat of the enemy cavalry forces is counterpoint to the 'dance of death' that interweaves the movements of Camilla, Chloreus and Arruns. The whole scene is framed by the larger battle ground involving Turnus, whose very inactivity in dark ambush at the beginning highlights the brightness and dash of Camilla's aristeia, and whose return in frustrated anguish at the end accents the mood of gloomy pathos.

The pattern of action is paralleled by the pattern of symbols and colour. Arruns is killed for slaying a devotee of Diana; it is her attack on a priest of Cybele that proves fatal for Camilla. The one is a worshipper of Apollo, the other of Apollo's sister, Diana. (In the Iliad, Apollo helped save Aeneas; in the Aeneid he helped kill Camilla). The

last of the enemy to fall to Camilla is a dishonourable Ligurian (699-720); at the end of Tarchon's aristeia the miserable Arruns is introduced.

The devotion of Camilla's comrades is as obvious as her Homeric vaunting over her enemies; Tarchon slays in cold silence and speaks only to insult his own followers. In a brutal but colourful simile Camilla is compared to a hawk, bird of the god Apollo who sanctioned her death (721-724); Arruns slinks in the train of Tarchon who appears like an eagle, bird of Jupiter, carrying a writhing snake (752-756).

The picture is one of colour, action and movement. But nevertheless it is strangely static, a series of vignettes, like a medieval painting which depicts several scenes from the life of a saint within one composition. This impression of 'frozen action' is partly a result of Diana's long monologue in which she laments the imminent death of Camilla. Her words negate all action. We know that though much may happen, nothing can result. But chiefly the inertia resides in the heroine herself. In the simplicity of her life she has never changed. Her impetuous naïvete, her proud vaunting, her thoughtless abandon in a battle that she should have been controlling, all reflect a child-like immaturity. She cannot change. The picture she presents has light but no shadow; her doom is bitter, but not pathetic. Her story is a digression, graceful and vivid, which illuminates the main theme but is not essential to it. To this extent, the scene is similar to an epyllion.

To attempt to describe the characteristics of an epyllion is a

foolhardy procedure.[24] Some scholars deny that it ever existed as an independent form.[25] Yet it is a word that is convenient to describe a certain group of classical compositions. Essentially, an epyllion is "a short poem in hexametre verse which tells a story".[26] Its generally accepted characteristics are:

1. a short epic, but more descriptive than narrative,
2. romantic, emphasizing the heroine, rather than the hero,
3. the heroes are human, or gods acting like humans,
4. dramatic in form, containing at least one long set speech.
5. It includes a digression (before Ovid) - a second story often of great length contained within the first, and frequently unconnected with it in subject. The connection, when there is one, consists of parallel or definitely contrasted subjects, details and style. The digression may be even more important than the main subject which acts merely as a frame.

24. Even Miss Crump, whose monograph, The Epyllion from Theocritus to Ovid is the most detailed study of the epyllion in English, admits "no two critics will agree on the question of what exactly constitutes an epyllion". (p. 217)

25. W. Allen, TAPA, 71 (1940), 1-26, states flatly that the name epyllion has no good foundation in antiquity, and the form has no common literary characteristics. He quotes (p. 25) R. Heinze, (Ovids elegische Erzählung), as saying that the epyllion and narrative elegy are indistinguishable; both are sympathetic and sentimental; both use monologue, erotic elements and ἔκφρασις .

26. C. W. Mendell, "The Influence of the Epyllion on the Aeneid", YCIS, XII (1951), 205-226.

6. In style, it is allusive, formal, learned; usually realistic and graceful; more homely in language and atmosphere than a grand epic.[27]

Theocritus, Callimachus, and Apollonius Rhodius were jointly responsible for the birth of the Alexandrian epyllion.[28] Theocritus created a series of exquisite pictures, with little plot or character study (idyllic epyllion). Callimachus' Hecate developed some plot; it was the first epyllion to contain a digression. "He was responsible for the general outline of the epyllion form."[29] Euphorion of Chalcis popularized the criminal love story, and concentrated attention upon the heroine (psychological epyllion). He was apparently the link between Greek and Latin epyllia. Parthenius, who may have been Vergil's tutor, made a collection of (prose) stories suitable for either elegy or epyllion, called "Love Romances". In these later epyllia the subject and digression tended to be combined, and the subject was usually a romance, morbidly sensational. Apollonius Rhodius, though not a writer of epyllia, influenced the introduction of romantic love as a theme in epyllia. His Medea became the prototype of the heroine of the Latin epyllia, such as those presented in Catullus LXIV (Peleus and Thetis), Vergil's Culex, Ciris, Georgics IV (Aristaeus episode), possibly some incidents in the Aeneid, and in Ovid's

27. Crump, op. cit., (see n. 24), pp. 22 ff; and Allen, op. cit., (see n. 25).

28. Crump, ibid, p. 19.

29. ibid, p. 37.

Metamorphoses (Eo, Procne, Scylla and Meleager).[30]

The Romans developed two different types of epyllia. The psychological epyllia, (originated by Euphorion), included the Ciris, and Ovid's examples. The Ciris has some symmetry, and Carme's appeal and lament frame Scylla's confession. There are elements of contrast and parallelism between the main story and the digression; Minos is fatal to both maidens; Britomaris became a goddess; Scylla is changed to a bird. But the style is learned and obscure. Ovid's Eo (Met. I.583.747) is picturesque, and psychologically interesting. His style is much influenced by rhetoric, however.

The second or idyllic type of epyllion includes Catullus' Peleus and Thetis, and the Vergilian examples. Catullus' poem had great influence. It contains some plot and character development, but its chief significance lies in its careful construction.[31] The transition consists of the arrival of the human guests at the wedding and their first sight of the tapestry, balanced by their satisfied scrutiny of the tapestry and their departure from the palace. The lament of Ariadne is set in a series of concentric rings around the story of Theseus and Ariadne, which is itself surrounded by the story of the Argonauts. The insert (11.50-266)

30. ibid. p. 217.
C. N. Jackson, "The Latin Epyllion", HSCP, XXIV (1913), 37-50, includes the Culex;
Mendell, op. cit., (see n. 26) sees epyllion characteristics in the Sinon story, framed by the (combined) Laocoon incidents. (Very debatable!); the Caeus story, Nisus-Euryalus (pathos, lament, abbreviation of narrative) and the Dido story (a dramatic epyllion, which started out as a framework for II and III but took over!)

31. Mendell, ibid. outlines the pattern of construction.

contrasts in style with the main story which has little plot. The language is lucid, and contains few allusions. The poem is important for its influence upon Vergil, who borrowed at least forty echoes from it, and may also have borrowed the form. (Because of its influence on Vergil, it changed the character of epic also).[32]

Of the Vergilian examples, the most significant by far is the 'Aristaeus' story in Georgics IV, which is generally considered the finest epyllion extant.[33] It is a masterpiece of symmetrical contruction. It is worth noting some of its characteristics, because of their relevance to the Camilla story.[34] The framing story of Aristaeus is characterized by:

1. abrupt opening,
2. epic style - elaborate speeches, epithets, periodization,
3. dialogue - not dramatic, but used rather to advance the plot,
4. ends with a vivid description of Proteus' cave,
5. is resumed only briefly after the inserted digression. Cyrene reenters to explain the details,
6. The connection between it and the insert is clear, "but after the

32. Mendell, summarizing Vergil's contribution to the epic technique says (ibid. p. 226): "It was Vergil who combined the dramatic unity of the Odyssey, with its dominant hero, the romance of the Argonautica with its meticulous care for detail, and the theme of Roman grandeur. His great triumph was the fusion of perfected details into a superb unity. One element of technique that made this possible was the contribution of the neoterics developed in the epyllion."

33. Crump, op. cit., (see n. 24), p. 48, says it "stands alone among epyllia".

34. B. Otis, Vergil a Study in Civilized Poetry, p. 190 f, in an excellent chapter, outlines the symmetry.

first few lines, Aristaeus and his troubles pass from the readers' mind altogether"[35] - primarily because of the changed mood from the objectivity of the framing story to the sympathetic atmosphere in the insert.

The Orpheus - Eurydice insert: - by contrast with the framing story:

1. divided very carefully into symmetrical panels,
2. elliptical form of narrative - which emphasizes the drama,
3. some allusions, and a constant use of proper names, but no pedantry,
4. vivid pictures - but interest is centred on the plot,
5. sympathetic and subjective style. Eurydice is directly addressed by the author; numerous adjectives express sympathy for the victims,
6. dramatic content of the story. Tragic love story with violent death. Atmosphere of magic. Orpheus' two temptations. Constant use of the imperfect tense.
7. only one speech - by Eurydice - but it is dramatic, not narrative.
8. the Proteus figure - omniscient; connects past, present and future,
9. the Aristaeus figure, by contrast, is a shadowy personality.
10. The drama of Orpheus is the tragedy of human nature. By his singing, Orpheus can conquer death, but not his own impulses.

The fourth Georgic begins as a story of the bees, symbols of communal altruism and self sacrifice. Though disease attacks them, the hive

35. Crump, op. cit., p. 189.

is reborn from the rotting carcass of the bullock, symbol of animal nature (295-314) - the union of nature and organized civilization.[36] The Aristaeus story translates the bee-symbol back into human terms. Aristaeus symbolizes the sinful self-destruction - atonement - and rebirth of society. The Orpheus story rises from and personalizes the framing story. (Hence it has more dramatic power than Catullus' Ariadne theme, which is in contrast to the main theme.)

Although Otis does not suggest a comparison between Georgics IV and the Camilla scene, the similarities are extraordinary, both in theme and in details of construction.

Aeneid XI opens with attention centred upon Aeneas, whose pietas and humanitas assure the preservation of his band. The theme of civilization struggling against undisciplined nature in the disease of war parallels the death and rebirth of the hive in the steer's carcass. Turnus, symbol of nature, bears on his shield the figure of Io, man made beast (VII,789). Through his tragic death the state is preserved, and the cooperation of the Latins and Trojans ensured. Within this framework, the story of Camilla dramatizes and personalizes the theme of the tragedy of war and wilfulness. As Orpheus has no second chance, but must thereafter wander without hope, so Camilla perishes, a victim of Arruns' wiles, unaware of the cause for which she had to die. The picture of Camilla, vivid personalization of the drama, lovingly and sympathetically drawn, is framed by the static and depersonalized figure of Turnus, sitting still

36. I am following the analysis of Otis, op. cit., (see n. 34).

in ambush, but foredoomed in his larger destiny by the fate of the heroine. And as Camilla's destiny resides in the circle of Turnus' destiny, so is his encircled by the ordained destiny of Aeneas' Rome.[37]

The comparison between the Orpheus and Camilla stories can be demonstrated in details as well as in theme. The framing story opens abruptly with the meeting of Turnus and Camilla. Their dialogue quickly advances the plot as they plan their tactics. The scene ends with a vivid description of the valley where the ambush is to be laid. The connection between Turnus and Camilla's aristeia was clearly laid at the end of Book VII, but the connecting link, Turnus, is quickly forgotten as the scene develops.

The insert is divided into carefully balanced panels, as I outlined above (page 64). There are some allusions (page 57) and a constant use of proper names. The style is sympathetic, especially in the lament of Diana, in the death of Camilla and in the contrast between this and the lonely death of Arruns. The pictures are vividly drawn, but the emphasis is on the evolving drama of Arruns' fatal approach. Like Proteus, Diana presides omniscient, overlooking the scene. The tragedy of human passion, (expressed in the Aristaeus story by Orpheus looking back) here sends Camilla in pursuit of Chloreus' rich apparel. The glitter of that

37. C. Murley, "The Structure and Proportion of Catullus LXIV", TAPA LXVIII (1937), 305-317, in his analysis of Catullus LXIV, describes it as a "framed picture: the frame ornamented with symbolic figures of gods and men, the background made of the vaguer, more remote figures of Peleus and Thetis and their entourage, and the foreground presenting the clear figures of Theseus and especially Ariadne. . . . So in Greek Tragedies of the older type the hereditary curse motif lurks behind the actual incidents of the play as staged and emerges especially in the choral odes." (p. 309)

costume brings us back to the brilliant armour of gold worn by Turnus as he runs down from the citadel to meet Camilla. The bright irresponsibility of her gallantry contrasts with Turnus' retreat into ambush, as the romantic saga of Orpheus sings like a major theme to the obbligato of Aristaeus' diffused personality.

There are, of course, objections to describing the Camilla scene as an epyllion. Although the symmetry of the insert is apparent, it is a symmetry that is not as clearly defined as in either Georgics IV or in Catullus LXIV; it is, actually, a much more satisfying symmetry, for it is less mechanical than theirs, more concerned with themes and symbols. Similarly, the lament, which usually is the focal point of the epyllion, is here united with the long speech of the presiding deity. The focal point here is not, as usual, a speech or a scene of emotional tension, but one of action, although it is the schematized action of the approach of Arruns. The inserted scene is usually told by one of the characters (as with Aristaeus) or surveyed by outsiders (as the Catullan wedding guests inspected the picture). Yet of all the possible epyllia in the Aeneid suggested by Mendell,[38] only the Nisus-Euryalus escapade comes as close to the epyllion form as the Camilla scene does, and it fails to qualify on the grounds that these heroes take an active part in an earlier book (V,294-339). The Camilla scene qualifies as an epyllion primarily on this score, that it is a digression that has clear motivation in the surrounding theme, but is sufficiently irrelevant and painted in such warm and sympathetic tones that it stands out from its framework, - like a miniature in Czar Nicholas II's jeweled easter eggs.

38. see footnote 30.

(e) The interrelationship of the three scenes of Book XI

Book XI is one of the so-called 'lighter' books,[1] and is generally considered to be inferior in dramatic unity to some of the even-numbered books. My purpose has been to show that this Book not only is essential to the progress of the epic, but also has dramatic and poetic power equal to any of the last six books. It serves as a pause after the hectic fighting of the previous two books, and as a relief from the tragedy of the deaths of the young warriors Lausus and Pallas. The steadily mounting carnage of battle is stopped for a while; the unending gloom is lightened by the variety of emotional tension in these three scenes as we move from the solemnity of the burial scene to the "mock heroic" debate of the council scene, and then to the romantic atmosphere of Camilla's ride. Like Book V, which it resembles in many ways, Book XI is purposely lightened in tone to act as a relief for the climactic book which follows it; but as it is placed at the very climax of the epic, its colours are much darker than those of Book V, its humour much more bitter. The very success of its composition ensures that it will serve its main function which is, of course, to postpone and further motivate the final duel.

The scene of burial reestablishes Aeneas' control of his forces after his absence in Etruria and the desperate fight on the beach. His grief for the dead firmly establishes our appreciation of that pietas which motivates his final action in the epic. His grief is lent depth by the lament of Evander, his resolve by the sombre ritual of the funeral

1. R. S. Conway, "The Architecture of the Epic", BRL, 9 (1925), 481-500.

pyres. Our attention is transferred naturally from Aeneas' camp to Latinus' capital by the peace terms which Drances carries. Here the scene of rising discontent against Turnus and the violent acrimony of the council debate contrast sharply with the resolve depicted in Aeneas' camp. The helplessness of Latinus to control his council, coming as it does on the heels of Diomedes' refusal to take part in the war, destroys the possibility of either peace or final victory. More significantly, the violent (and ambiguous) reply given to Drances by Turnus prepares us for his quick departure when another messenger announces the Trojan attack. The false sense of optimism created by his presence among the soldiers transfers itself to the following scene of Camilla's rout.

This third scene has thus been naturally prepared for, and its function in the epic is not insignificant. I cannot agree with Conway that the Camilla story was not composed for this place or that "the episode as a whole might have occurred anywhere between Book VII and Book XII".[2] The need for dramatic relief is greater here than in the earlier books, and the epyllion-like romanticism of this episode serves that function much better than would, for example, the death of Lausus. More important, this incident precipitates Turnus' withdrawal from the ambush; it is essential that the death of Mezentius and Lausus precede this disaster, in order that we may appreciate Turnus' chagrin that his actions should have caused a second disaster, this time involving the most attractive ally that Vergil has granted the Latins.

2. ibid, p. 490.

Just as the first scene in Book XI is essential to crystalize our conception of Aeneas' pietas, so this final scene dramatically demonstrates, by contrast with Camilla's naïve unselfishness, the ruthless egotism and, possibly, the cowardice of her commander, Turnus. The news of her death links the end of this book with the events in Book XII.

The minor dramatic and thematic links connecting the three scenes are not, however, as important as the overarching imperial theme personified in Aeneas. As the events of the book are bracketed by the sunrise and sunset, so the first scene depicts Aeneas preparing to attack, and the last scene the arrival of pater Aeneas at Latinus' capital. In spite of his absence throughout the action of most of the book, Aeneas' implacable advance casts a shadow over every event, as inevitably as the march of the sun across the sky. It is indeed saevum Aenean (910) that Turnus sees advancing out of the defile. The three scenes of Book XI, however tenuous their association, hold our attention by their brilliance, and transfer some of their dramatic power to this last brief spectacle of the two antagonists finally moving towards one another.

CHAPTER II

The Relationship of Book XI to the Rest of the Aeneid

Vergil himself, it would appear, was responsible for the long-held tradition that the Aeneid was a disjointed poem,[1] but recently the pendulum has swung in the other direction and critics have been vying with one another to prove the complete unity of the epic. Mackail writes: "We shall hardly even begin to appreciate the Aeneid until we realize that with all its complexity of structure and movement, with all its debt to both the Iliad and the Odyssey, it is no less than these an organic unity and a masterpiece of creative art."[2] In his preface to Aeneid V, R. D. Williams goes even farther: "The structure of the Aeneid, both in factual content and in emotional and tensional arrangement, is of the most intricate and closely woven kind. . . . There are still some places where the cohesion is not perfect, but it must be emphasized that these are of relatively little significance compared with the total effect of structural unity" (p. XXIV). The discussion now seems to centre upon whether or not the odd numbered books match the even ones in either structural unity or gravity of theme. Although Conway's statement that "the Books with the odd numbers show what we may call the lighter or Odyssean type. . . ."[3]

1. Macrobius, Sat. I. 24. 11 quoting Vergil's letter to Augustus: "tanta incohata res est ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar."

2. J. W. Mackail, Vergil and his Meaning to the World of Today, p. 99.

3. R. A. Conway, "The Architecture of the Epic", BRL, 9 (1925), 481-500.

has been challenged in more recent studies,[4] it still receives support, with good reason.[5] Pöschl, moreover, still feels that "the odd numbered Books are all less unified than the even numbered ones which are related to Aeneas".[6] This statement seems to be corroborated by Duckworth's findings that the odd numbered books contain fewer Golden Mean ratios, in both their tripartite and interlocked passages.[7]

The differences between the odd and even numbered Books, together with the structural similarities between certain Books, have stimulated many profitable studies concerning the pattern of the whole poem. These studies fall into four groups, studying respectively:

1. The even numbered books contrasted with the odd.
2. The relationship of each book to other books in that half of the Aeneid.
3. Dual construction - the relationship of each book to a corresponding book in the other half of the Aeneid.
4. Tripartite construction - the four central books bracketed by the story of Dido and the story of Turnus. (Troy lost vs. Rome found).

My sole objective in this chapter is to synopsize the parts of these studies that relate Book XI to the other books, commenting as I proceed.

4. E. A. Hahn, "The Character of the Eclogues", TAPA, LXXV (1944), 239, footnote, doubts the lighter side of the last six books of the Aeneid.

5. G. D. Duckworth, in Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid, p. 2, states that "important and essential as they are, (the odd numbered books) have a lighter nature and serve to relieve the tension".

6. v. Pöschl, The Art of Vergil, p. 104.

7. op. cit., (see n. 5), p. 60.

The odd numbered books do not concentrate upon Aeneas, but generally upon other characters and events. They are said to contain more humour, as if Vergil were watching "the actions of very young and foolish creatures"[8] with a certain amount of sympathy, whereas whatever humour appears in the even numbered books contains sardonic overtones. Conway sees Vergil attempting to "combine in alternation the method and motive of epic poetry with those of Greek tragedy". Thus each of the even numbered books has a culminating point: II and IV calamity, VI and VIIIrevelation, X and XII triumph.[9] With reference to Book XI, I find it difficult to find much humour here, unless we consider the debate scene to be mock-heroic. Sympathy there certainly is for Camilla, but not without undertones of criticism for her life and character. And although it is certainly more epic than tragic in its lack of a climax, it does contain, as Duckworth admits,[10] a steadily increasing tension which is maintained to the end, in spite of the fact that it is the longest book in the epic, with the exception of XII.

Both Perret[11] and Duckworth have evolved patterns of relationship in the last six books of the Aeneid.[12] In Duckworth's scheme, XI serves merely as an interlude between the tragic fighting in X and the final

8. Conway, op. cit., (see n. 3), p. 493.

9. Proc. Brit. Acad., 17 (1931), 25, quoted by G. Duckworth, "The Aeneid as a Trilogy", TAPA. LXXXVIII (1957), 1-10.

10. op. cit., (see n. 5), p. 2.

11. S. Perret, Virgile, L'Homme et L'Oeuvre, p. 119.

12. op. cit., (see n. 5), p. 6-7.

conflict in XII. Perret groups Book XI with both Book VII and Book X. The relationship with X is the less satisfactory, although both books deal with the death of a young hero, Pallas and Camilla. The relationship of XI with VII is more interesting. Both books concern the Latins; Latinus is weak in both (or rather, always!); in VII an embassy arrives from the Trojans to Latinus, in XI from Latinus to the Trojans; Camilla is introduced at the end of VII, and her death occurs in XI. One might add that both open with a burial scene conducted by Aeneas, although in VII it occurs at night, in XI at dawn. Latinus' concern for his daughter's future parallels Evander's grief over his son's fate; in both the embassies bring peace but their return stirs up trouble in Latinus' capital; in both Lavinia is removed by her mother away from her father's influence; the united opposition to Aeneas by Amata and Turnus appears in both; the madness inspired in Turnus by Allecto in VII reaches its climax in his irresponsible actions in XI. The earlier book, in short, initiates the civil war, the later book sees it approach its climax.

More interesting is the parallel between Book XI and Book V, which we should expect if we consider the Aeneid a dual construction. Both books open with a demonstration of Aeneas' <u>pietas</u> as he presides over funeral ceremonies, first for his father, then for his young protégé, Pallas. At the close of each is a death, death dealt by a minor deity, Palinurus killed by Somnus, Arruns by Opis. In Book V Aeneas is depicted as the wise ruler sympathetically settling his subjects' disputes; in XI Latinus fails to control the dissension between the two factions. The prominent part played in V by the women who burn the ships parallels the unnatural incursion of Camilla into a male world. The elaborate equitation

of the Trojan Games which is echoed in the patterned cavalry battle in XI contrasts the self-control of Ascanius and the lawlessness of Camilla. Both books gradually rise in tension, and the death of Camilla and Palinarus at the end seems equally futile, "the almost irrelevant sacrifice of innocent lives, unum pro multis caput" (V,815).[13] The similar construction of the two books parallels their similar function, Book V serving as a prelude to the revelation of Rome's future in VI, Book XI the prelude to the establishing of Rome's destiny in XII.

The dual construction of the Aeneid can be considered to have superimposed upon it another, tripartite, construction in which books V - VIII, which depict the glorification of Rome, are surrounded by the two historical tragedies of Dido and Turnus, perhaps on the model of a Greek dramatic trilogy. Duckworth points out that Horace's six Roman Odes can be likewise divided into both halves and thirds, and he also makes the happy analogy between these and the friezes on the Ara Pacis which divide into two groups (Julian and Roman) as well as three (two legendary friezes, two contemporary history, and two symbolic friezes).[14] As a member of the third panel, Book XI is the prelude to the victory in XII, as IX is to the victory in X (Mezentius as contemptor divum standing for impiety, paralleling Turnus, symbol of violentia).

Duckworth's discussion of the tripartite division of the Aeneid draws attention to the relationship of Books X and XII, but he fails to remark on the extraordinary parallels between Books IX and XI. The most obvious of these is Camilla with Euryalus-Nisus, Camilla combining the

13. Conway, op. cit., (see n. 3), p. 492.

14. Duckworth, op. cit., (see n. 9).

characteristics of both of these Trojans. Nisus is the Trojan exemplum virtutis, Camilla the corresponding Latin exemplum. Camilla, like Euryalus, forgets her duty and meets her doom because she is distracted by an enemy's fine apparel. Camilla is a follower of Diana; Nisus prays to nemorum Latonia custos (IX,405), as he hurls his spear. Surely it is not fanciful to carry the parallel farther and see in Nisus' Liebestod Camilla's reckless determination to sacrifice herself for Turnus? It is worth noticing, too, that at the end of Book IX Turnus saves himself from his rash entry into the Trojan camp by jumping into the river; at the end of XI he saves himself from meeting Aeneas by deserting the ambush.

The two books are further related by similes and symbols. The simile of the drooping flower (IX,435-7) unites the young victims with Pallas at the beginning of Book XI (68-70). In both books, moreover, a gift of Dido symbolizes doom; before they set out, Nisus and Euryalus are rewarded by Ascanius with an ancient bowl that Sidonian Dido had given (IX,266); in XI Aeneas wrapped the corpse of Pallas in two cloaks given him by Dido.

Finally, the two books are linked by the religious motif. Early in Book IX Turnus attacks the Trojan fleet which is only saved by the intervention of Cybele, on whose Phrygian mountain their timber had been cut (IX,77 ff). Camilla is killed while pursuing a priest of Cybele. In the battle at the camp Ascanius kills, as his first victim, Numanus who had been bragging before the battle lines, taunting the Trojans with being effeminate followers of Cybele (IX,590 ff). Numanus, significantly, was brother-in-law of Turnus. Apollo likewise is prominent in these two books. He is the god who saved both Aeneas and Venus from Diomedes in

the Iliad. In Aeneid VI (69 ff) Aeneas had vowed a temple to him. Now in Book IX he is seen blessing and admonishing Iulus (IX,638 ff). This is the only occasion on which he is shown actively intervening in the epic, but in Book XI he abets Arruns' attack on Camilla (XI,785 ff).

These examples illustrate but a few of the threads by which Book XI is woven into the texture of the Aeneid. I have already mentioned other parallels, such as the symbolism uniting Camilla with the Amazons, Dido and Aeneas, and Camilla with Juturna and Lausus. Now that scholars such as Duckworth have sketched in the broad outlines of the division of the Aeneid into its dual and tripartite construction, it is time for the relationships to be worked out much more thoroughly, not only with regard to the general balance and contrast of themes, but also in the more subtle poetic, symbolic and religious parallels.

CHAPTER III

Appendices

(1) The Symbolic Significance of the Trophy in the Burial Scene

The Eleventh Book is introduced by a scene of dark sorrow and sombre resolve. As the dawn rises, Aeneas is troubled as to which of two duties he should first perform, for he must both bury his dead comrades and fulfil his vow to the gods to raise a trophy of Mezentius' armour. He had not been able to accompany the Sibyl until he had exorcised the taboo of living in the presence of his dead comrade Misenus (VI,162). Similarly, he must now honour those who had died in the previous battle. But religious devotion requires that first he must respect his duty to the gods. At once he creates a trophy from an oak log, and arrays it in the spolia opima stripped from Mezentius, the "despiser of the gods". As he stands before this effigy whose helmet drips with the blood of his enemy (rorantis sanguine cristas), Aeneas briefly addresses his assembled officers. This trophy, he reminds them, this victory over a haughty king, is but the earnest of their eventual victory in Latium. As soon as the gods grant auspicious omens, the Trojans are to break camp and advance against Latinus, for nothing can now stop them. Meanwhile, they must first return the body of Pallas to his father Evander, and honour the dead who by their blood have bought them the Promised Land.

> "Ite," ait, "egregias animas, quae sanguine nobis
> hanc patriam peperere suo. . ." (24-25)

In these few lines Vergil has interwoven the many strands of thought and feeling that form the tapestry of this first section of Book XI. The sombre tones of death that darken the colourful luxury of the tyrant's armour, the pattern of devotion to ancient superstitions and religious rites, the contrast between Mezentius and Aeneas, and the skein of tragedy that connects Mezentius, Pallas and Aeneas who between them symbolize the primary characters in the last six books of the Aeneid; all of these dramatic elements are richly portrayed in this significant prelude.

Mezentius is patently intended as a foil for Aeneas' pietas. In the first description of him he is labelled as contemptor divum (VII,648), a phrase that is repeated emphatically when he is next mentioned as one of Turnus' most powerful allies (VIII,7). Finally, as he and Aeneas close in combat and Aeneas prays to Jupiter and Apollo, Mezentius, even though critically wounded, proudly disclaims either fear of death or reverence for the gods.

nec mortem horremus nec divum parcimus ulli. (X,880)

It is the arms of this man that now serve to symbolize Aeneas' unquestioning devotion to fata deorum. Yet, as Pöschl iterates,[1] Vergil's symbols tend to take on several layers, Mezentius was not a creation of Vergil's imagination. He was described by several writers[2] prior to Ver-

1. V. Pöschl, The Art of Vergil; Image and Symbol in the Aeneid, p. 1 and passim.

2. Cato's Origines (Macrob. Sat. 3. 5. 10).
Varro (Pliny. N.H. 14. 88).
Livy, 1, 2, 3.
Dion. Hal. 1. 64 f.

gil, and his story varied greatly in detail. The one addition to the legend apparently invented by Vergil is the story of his exile from his native town. This story is put into the mouth of Evander (VIII,481 ff), who relates to Aeneas how this tyrant's inhumanity had eventually caused his people to rise against him.

> Hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo
> imperio et saevis tenuit Mezentius armis,
> Quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni
> effera? Di capiti ipsius generique reservent. (VIII,481-484)

He had fled for aid to the Rutulians and Turnus, while the Etruscans, led by Tarchon, pursued him, eager for revenge. This picture of a haughty tyrant exiled by his people who have been finally driven to revolt epitomized for Roman readers whole epochs of historical struggle. The theory that Vergil intentionally created the story of Mezentius' exile receives some support if we contrast with it the previously depicted tableau of Aeneas humbly bowing his head to enter Evander's primitive abode on the Palatine (VIII,364). The arrogant and irresponsible king of Etruria was just as doomed when faced by our dedicated Trojan hero as was Charles I before Cromwell - and he even refused to claim any Divine Right!

Evander told Aeneas that the Etruscans had even offered the crown to him, but he, too old for war, urged Aeneas to seize it, as the chosen one of Heaven.

> . . . tu, cuius et annis
> et generi fata indulgent, quem numina poscunt,
> ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime ductor. (VIII, 511-513)

The suggestion that Aeneas was called by Fate serves to remind us that he was also fated to succeed Latinus in Latium. Aeneas' Etruscan inheritance had been challenged by Mezentius; in Latium his antagonist is

Turnus. Both of these leaders had caused division among their people at home; both were consumed by feverish madness in battle. In Book X Turnus gloatingly slew young Pallas, and stripped him of his fateful sword belt; Aeneas later slew Lausus, son of Mezentius, but far from gloating or taking his armour, he expressed sorrow that one so young must die. He then slew Mezentius, and reserved his armour for a trophy.

By interweaving the story of Aeneas, Turnus, Mezentius, Pallas and Lausus, Vergil creates a pattern of fate that is perhaps too obvious, and not artistically successful.[3] Yet Mezentius is strongly drawn and his love for Lausus gives him claim to Aeneas' respect as the latter laments his young friend, Pallas. More significantly, his career of insolent disregard for both men and gods and his lust for battle foreshadow the inevitable doom of Turnus. His symbolic presence at the beginning of Book XI serves as one of the strands that link Books X and XII, while the trophy of his arms monumentally incorporates the atmosphere of barbarous superstition in the face of death which must have existed in Italy's early history.

A trophy must have been an awesome and deeply significant fetish

3. I find particularly unsuccessful Aeneas' sudden concern for Lausus. Aeneas had been having such a glorious afternoon slaying hecatombs of Latin farmers (turmas agrestis, X,310). Like Turnus, he had even been overcome by battle madness, "glutting his victorious rage over the whole plain when once his sword grew warm." (sic toto Aeneas desaevit in aequore victor, / ut semel intepuit mucro, X,569-570). And he killed Lausus with demonic violence, for he "drives the sword sheer through the youth's body, and buries it within to the hilt." Yet he then proceeds to weep over the boy who had attacked him, lifts up the unfortunate victim, and hands him back to his comrades, though, mark you, in so doing, "he befouled with blood his seemly ordered locks." (sanguine turpantem comptos de more capillos X,832).

for even a Roman of historical times. An upright log of oak, capped with the victim's helmet and encased in his armour presented a figure very similar to that of an idol, and in all probability had a similar origin. At least it would serve as Lord of the Flies! If the form is a crude personification of the spirit within the tree from which the log was taken, then the ceremonious decking of a trophy was probably related to the tree worship which, as Fraser demonstrates at great length,[4] was common to all Indo-European peoples. Vergil was aware of the theory that trees, like humans, contained spirits and that races of men were believed to have come from trees. As Evander and Aeneas walk back from sacrifice, the old man relates, "In these woodlands the native fauns and nymphs once lived, and a race of men sprung from trunks of trees and hardy oaks." (VIII,314 ff)

gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata.

(I suspect that the et is explanatory, not additive).

This passage may be partly an adaptation from Homer in which Penelope says to the disguised Odysseus, "Tell me of thine own stock, whence thou art, for thou art not sprung of oak or rock, as told in olden tales." (Od. XIX, 163)[5] There can be no doubt that the Romans worshipped various trees;[6] furthermore, it is probable that Vergil's Laurentes were a tribe

4. J. R. Fraser, The Golden Bough, passim, and especially Ch. XV.

5. noted by H. R. Fairclough, in the Loeb edition of Aeneid (VIII, 315). As Prof. H. L. Tracy reminds me, however, this reference to "oak and rock" may merely suggest 'inconsequential'. Compare Hector's use of the phrase (Il. XXII) when talking to himself as he waits for Achilles.

6. Fraser, op. cit., p. 111, refers to the sacred fig tree of Romulus in the forum and the equally revered cornel tree on the Palatine. T. E. Page, in his edition of Aeneid XI, refers to a passage in Suetonius' Life of Caligula (XLV), describing an amusing incident in which this unfortunate emperor, bored with futile campaigning in Germany, set up trophies during the night.

claiming the laurel tree as its fetish symbol.

But most pertinent is the fact that the tree chosen was an oak. The oak was the tree that, above all others, was worshipped by Indo-Europeans. The sacred mistletoe of the Druids was cut only from the oak, and was a panacea for all sickness. Egeria, deity of childbirth, was an oak nymph. Jupiter, as sky god, was the great fertilizing power that made everything grow, and the oak was the tree of the sky god. Zeus was revered among the Dodona oaks. The oak was sacred to Roman Jupiter.[7] In triumphal parades, the victorious general wore a crown of oak leaves. We know that the spolia opima were hung in the Capitol on the oak of Juppiter Feretrius, a tree god.[8] It seems apparent then, that the dedication of trophies originated in some form of apotrophaic worship of the

7. Not to mention Germanic Donar, Scandinavian Thor, and, of course, the Lithuanian Perkunas. Fraser, op. cit., p. 160. On Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia, Zeus, god of both oak and rain, was worshipped by dipping an oak branch into a sacred stream. (ibid)

8. C. Bailey, Religion in Vergil. p. 109.

oak, and probably the oak as the tree of Jupiter.[9] This worship had at least symbolic significance, even in Vergil's day. In Georgics III, 32, Augustus is portrayed as setting up a two-fold trophy after his victory in East and West. Therefore, the picture of the trophy at the beginning of Book XI acts as a powerful symbol attracting to itself several subtle references to Roman religion and archaic superstition.

Vergil strengthens this symbolism by associating it with Aeneas' troubled state of mind. The hero is overwhelmed by the sickening carnage that is afflicting his people because of their loyalty to his destiny (turbataque funere mens est, 1.3). Yet after he has erected the trophy, as if gaining strength from the supernatural powers of the oak form beside him, he speaks to his men in words that signify nothing but the firmest determination to press the attack against Latinus. The trophy, he remarks,

9. Two facts should be noted here:
(a) There is no doubt that the oak is the tree of Jupiter, as related above, and that the spolia opima were hung on the tree of Juppiter Feretrius.
(b) When Aeneas attacks Mezentius he prays to Jupiter and Apollo (X,875).

The trophy should, therefore, have been dedicated to one or other of these two deities. Yet Vergil, with one of his twists that makes him the despair of students of religion, had Aeneas dedicate it to "bellipotens", Mars. One might argue that bellipotens (a hapax legomenon) could equally well apply to either Jupiter or Apollo (especially as Apollo is the only major deity actively involved in the fighting in this book). Statius (L. C.) describes a trophy set up by Minerva bellipotens (Conington, note on 1.8). Unfortunately, in X, 541-2, where Aeneas again has a trophy raised, it is specifically stated to be to Mars Gradivus. But Gradivus is the old cult name of Mars under which he was invoked, not as a god of war, but as a protector of crops. And in this function he is always associated with Jupiter and Quirinus. Perhaps we have here another example of the classical love of the philosophy of the union of opposites; the god of life who is invoked in the presence of potential death in battle. If this explanation is correct, it accords well with my conclusions regarding the use of colours in this context. See Rose, Ancient Roman Religion, p. 62.

is the first fruits (primitiae) of their victory. He has gained his personal revenge. Now they must garner the harvest of revenge against the king. The symbolism of the trophy now incorporates not only all that Mezentius represents, but also Aeneas' resolution in the face of unending suffering.

There is irony in Aeneas' use of the word primitiae (1.16). It is used only in one other place in Vergil - at 1.156 of this book, where Evander refers to the single battle that Pallas had experienced. Aeneas uses the word with satisfaction, Evander with bitter grief; for Aeneas it represents the beginning, for Evander the end of life. Here is true Vergilian philosophy of the cruelty of individual sacrifice for the sake of national destiny.

Finally, throughout the tapestry of these first twenty eight lines Vergil shoots threads of real colour. The trophy he paints in warm tones of glittering metal (fulgentia arma) and white ivory (1.11). But the adjective fulgentia next is used of the armour of Aeneas' men which reflects the light from the funeral pyres of his own comrades (1.188), while the ivory of the sword is reminiscent of the ivory scabbard that Julus hung about the neck of the ill-fated Euryalus (IX,305), and its whiteness is the whiteness of death that Aeneas perceives next on the face of the dead Pallas.

> ipse caput nivei fultum Pallantis et ora
> ut vidit. . . (XI, 39-40)

As the trophy symbolizes both Mezentius' fate and Aeneas' resolution, the colours that invest it are colours of both light - and death. These colours are an essential part of the tapestry of this book which, as

Pöschl points out, is in that part of the Aeneid that is dark with the tragedy of war but intershot with the light of victory. That Vergil intended the double interpretation of the colours in this unit is suggested by the fact that the brightness of the colours on the trophy are completely cancelled out by the atra in the last line of Aeneas' speech (1.28).

(2) The Golden Mean Ration applied to Book XI

The examination of the interrelationship of various divisions and subdivisions of the Aeneid can lead one to some truly amazing observations which suggest that Vergil worked with an abacus in one hand and scissors and paste in the other. This, I admit, presupposes a genius whose mental agility was equalled only by his manual dexterity, and these two together were as nothing compared to his superhuman patience. Yet such a genius Vergil must have been if he actually did work to the mathematical scheme outlined below.

The number of lines in interrelated sections of the Aeneid can be expressed as a fraction whose two parts form the two consecutive numbers in a series. In a surprisingly large number of examples, the division of these two numbers into one another results in a ratio of 1.618 or .618, (depending on whether the smaller is divided into the larger, or vice versa). These two numbers (1.618 and .618) added together total 2.236, which is the square root of five; in other words $1.618 = \frac{1}{2}(\sqrt{5} - 1)$ and $.618 = \frac{1}{2}(\sqrt{5} - 1)$. And $\frac{1}{2}(\sqrt{5} - 1)$ is "none other than the ratio known as the aurea sectio which has played such a role in attempts to reduce beauty

of proportion to a mathematical formula".[1] This Golden Section, sometimes called the Divine Proportion or Golden Mean Ratio,[2] is the one commonly met in a discussion of the most aesthetically satisfying form of rectangle.

The Golden Section will be reached in any series beginning with any two numbers, provided that each number is the sum of its two predecessors:

e.g. 1, 5, 6, 11, 17, 28, 45, 73, 118, 191, 309,

where 191/309 = 0.61812. . . and 309/191 = 1.618. . .

But the Golden Section is most quickly reached in the simple Fibonacci series which begins

1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, 55, etc.,

arriving at the ratio.618 at the eighth stage.

It should be noted that the same results are gained if each number in the series is first multiplied by some other number.

Duckworth's calculations signify that the ratios in the short episodes and speeches, as well as in longer narrative units, and in the subdivisions and main divisions of each book of the Aeneid almost always arrive in the area of .618. Furthermore, Vergil most often uses the series containing 13 and 21 or 21 and 34, that is the Fibonacci series, or a series with multiples of these numbers

e.g. 26, 42, 68 (= 2 x 13, 21, 34)

or 40, 65, 105 (= 5 x 8, 13, 21)

1. G. Duckworth, Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid, p. 37, quoting H. Weyl, Symmetry, p. 72, (Princeton, 1952).

2. Duckworth, TAPA, 91 (1960), 184.

These series appear over 300 times, and the next simplest series

(1, 3, 4, 7, 11, 18, 29, 47, 76) over 900 times.

"This," says Duckworth, "would seem to rule out intuition or poetic instinct."[3] It must be intentional.

Duckworth arrives at the two numbers that he employs in his series, called the major (M) and minor (m), by correlating the number of lines in related passages of poetry. He allows himself several avenues of approach to these numbers.[4]

(1) Where there are two simple passages to be related: (M/m or M/M-m) a/b or b/(a+b) or a/(a+b)

(2) Tripartite passage, where either M or m is divided into two parts; (b+c)/a or c/(a+b) or a(b+c), or a/(a+b+c) or (a+b)/(a+b+c) or (b+c)/a+b+c).

(3) Tripartite construction, where a and c, as major or minor, enclose the middle portion (b): b/(a+c) or (a+c)/b, or (a+c)/(a+b+c), or b/(a+b+c). Twenty six percent of the ratios were in this category.

(4) Four or more alternating passages, usually in interlocking order: (b+d)/(a+c) or (a+c)/(b+d); or five parts: (b+d)/(a+c+e)or (a+c+e)/(b+d), or (a+c)/(a+b+c+d) or(b+d)/(a+b+c+d+e).

Duckworth then declares (p. 47):

"These complex patterns are far more numerous than one would anticipate. . . and they are determined by the natural divisions of the narrative; this again rules out the element of chance or intuition. . . .

3. ibid. p. 184 ff.

4. op. cit., (note 1), pp. 46-7.

In the shortest passages the units are sentences; in the larger passages the major and minor may be determined by divisions of thought within speeches or episodes, or by the alternation of speeches and narrative . . . . The dozens and hundreds of passages in which the proportions occur result in no way from arbitrary divisions of the text, but follow naturally the narrative units large and small."

The problem to be pursued is whether or not Duckworth abides by this rather vague declaration of principles.

Book XI is not the best book to use in an examination of Duckworth's series. The numerous dotted lines on his chart (p.196) suggest that the third subdivision of the book (Camilla) proved to be less than amenable to perfect mathematical proportion. But it might be worth while to examine the two proportions in XI which provide a perfect .618 ratio (p.62).

I. ll. 768 - 835 - The larger subdivision

Equation: a/b (#310, p. 130)

794 - 835 = 42 lines

768 - 793 = 26 lines = .618 ratio

(a Fibonacci series multiplied by 2 2(13, 21).

768 - 793. Chloreus pursued by Camilla; Arruns' prayer to Apollo.

794 - 835. Apollo's response. Camilla is killed by Arruns; Arruns slinks away; Teucrians advance.

This is the climax of the <u>aristeia</u> of Camilla, and probably should be treated as a unit if we are willing to exclude the death of Arruns. This is demanding quite a bit, however, since Arruns' death is closely linked to Apollo's response. The more pertinent question might be, what would

Vergil have gained, aesthetically, by creating such a division in an artistic whole? However, let us leave the larger of the two perfect proportions, and look at the second one.

II. ll. 794 - 815 - The smaller subdivision.

Equation: (a+c)/(b+a) (#914, p. 163)

Major: 799 - 801a, 805 - 815 = 13.6 lines

minor: 794 - 798, 801b-804 = 8.4 lines

= .618 ratio

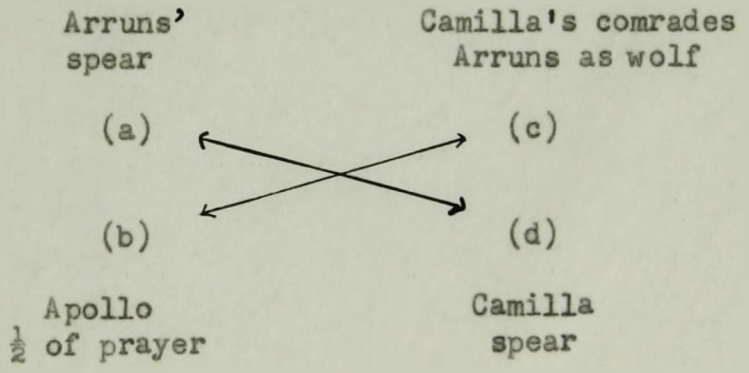
799 - 801.6 (a) Everyone watches the spear approach Camilla.

805 - 815 (c) (1) Her comrades run up to her; (2) Arruns flees; (3) Arruns is compared to a wolf; (4) Arruns hides among his fellows.

794 - 798 (b) (1) Apollo heard and allowed one half of Arruns' prayer; (2) He allowed him to kill Camilla, but not to return home.

801.4 - 804 (d) Camilla did not hear the spear that buried itself in her breast.

If this is an example of chiastic order, we now have:



The interrelationship of the two sentences (a and d) regarding the javelin is clear, but that of c and b is not so clear, except inasmuch as both contain more ideas than either a or d! More serious is the question of whether lines 794 - 815 can actually be treated as a unit, dividing Arruns'

prayer from Apollo's response, and also splitting up the closely textured narrative of the throwing of the spear - Camilla collapsing - Arruns' running - Camilla dying. But the given selection is a Golden Section!

Duckworth's chart (p. 196) relates ll. 794-815 to both ll. 816-835 and ll. 690-724. Let us examine these two:

ll. 816 - 835

Equation b/a (#311, p. 130)

Major 816 - 828a = 12.6 lines

minor 828b - 835 = 7.4 lines

= .630 ratio

816 - 828a - Camilla tugs at the javelin, speaks to Acca, slides off her horse.

828b - 835 - Camilla grows chill in death; the Teucrian host advances.

This division causes me even more uneasiness than the previous one. Here we have, apparently, an example of the simplest type of ratio a/b, in which a Major and a minor are related. The division after line 828a separates what Vergil hath united - Camilla falling helplessly to earth and dying. The division should have come, if at all, at the end of her speech to Acca (l.827a). Even as it is, Duckworth is left with a ratio of .630 which is rather far from the Golden .618.

11. 690 - 724

Equation b/(a+c) (#686, p. 150)

Major 690 - 698
712 - 724 = 22 lines = .629 ratio

minor 699 - 711 = 13 lines

690 - 698 - Camilla kills (a) Butes, (b) Orsilochus.

712 - 724 - (a) Camilla kills the Ligurian, (b) Camilla compared to a falcon that has seized a dove.

699 - 711 - (a) Camilla approaches the Ligurian who challenges her to a duel, (b) She leaps off her horse and advances on foot.

Here again the divisions are arbitrary, especially the minor section, 699-711. The attempt to deceive Camilla more logically would end with the Ligurian galloping away (l.714). Perhaps the type of equation is at fault. The vigorous - if not violent - simile of the falcon tearing out the heart of the dove hardly deserves to be engulfed in the section that already includes (a) the flight of the Ligurian, (b) the speech of Camilla, (c) Camilla's pursuit on foot. I recommend a reorganization of the equation to the form (a+b+e)/(b+a)! As they now stand, these lines limp along, carrying a proportion of .629, again rather less than Divine.

If, moreover, our search is for mathematical symmetry, we have in these examples further cause for dissatisfaction. The first group of lines that I discussed (11.794-815) are assumed to contain a perfect .618 ratio, employing the equation (a+c)/(b+c). This section is then linked to lines 816-835 which employs equation b/a to arrive at an unsatisfactory .630 ratio. These two groups are then compared to 11.690-724 which employs the equation b/(a+c) to arrive at the similarly unsatisfactory ratio

of .629. Thus, although Duckworth has allowed himself three different equations in the three correlated passages, only one of them produces a result within the range of .615 to .621 which he considers to be the acceptable limits. If Vergil had spent so much time developing these proportions, surely he would have been sufficiently inspired to unite related passages by similar equations (this would have been so much more artistic!), and would have tried to unite units that contain a perfect ratio with other units that are at least close to it in perfection. This is not a trivial consideration, for the essence of Duckworth's thesis is that Vergil was obsessed with the Golden Mean ratio because it "had a mathematically formal beauty that would contribute to the perfection of the structure of his epic" (p. 77). This mathematical perfection, moreover, Duckworth claims to find more commonly in the shorter passages than in the longer ones. "The percentage for the group ranging from .615 to .621 is slightly higher in the shorter passages than in the main divisions; this might seem surprising, as the mathematical series leading to the Golden Mean ratio become more accurate as the numbers grow larger, but it indicates that Vergil worked with small narrative units and gave special attention to the ratios in these passages." (p. 60) The four sections that I have analysed indicate that, at least for Book XI, the larger units are more plausible examples of the Fibonacci ratio.

Duckworth's hypothesis, fascinating though it is, is open to innumerable objections:

(a) It is not necessary to be a mathematician to see that if you allow yourself as many combinations of ratios as he includes (see above, p.94), and are sufficiently vague in your definition of what comprises a

unit (see above, p.95), it might be almost impossible not to arrive at a Golden Mean ratio. And brilliant though he no doubt was, Vergil had problems enough uniting the various threads of his epic without wishing to be delayed by such fantastic intricacies, especially as he was arriving at merely approximate results. If Vergil had been a Neo-Pythagorean it would be more understandable that he might devote religious fervour to such a preoccupation with mathematics. But Duckworth will not allow us this motivation, for he can find little Pythagorean mathematics in Vergil, except for the Golden Mean (and the use of the 333 in Jupiter's prophecy in I,261-274).[5]

(b) There is no evidence whatsoever that the Greeks were acquainted with the Golden Mean, but Duckworth assumes, by analogy, that since they knew similar series they could not have been ignorant of this one.[6] He demonstrates that such series can be found not only in Vergil's other works, but also in Catullus LXIV, Lucretius, and Horace. If this be proved, the puzzling fact remains that such a demanding method of composition would have to preoccupy their every thought and permeate their discussion of art. It is true that "a great poet or artist or musician always puts more into a work than is ordinarily realized",[7] but when an artist begins to discuss the techniques of his craft he does not omit to mention the basic elements, especially if they are as demonstrably complex

5. ibid. p. 75.

6. ibid. p. 63.

7. ibid. p. 37.

as this. Yet, although Duckworth finds Horace's poetry riddled with the Fibonacci series,[8] he can discover no reference in the Ars Poetica to such a demanding skill as composition by the Golden Section.

8. ibid, p. 110.

List of Abbreviations

AJPh	American Journal of Philology, John Hopkins Press.
Antiquity	Antiquity, A Quarterly Review of Archaeology.
AUMLA	Journal of the Australasian Universities Language & Literature Association, N.Z.
BRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester
CJ	The Classical Journal, Published by The Classical Association of the Middle West and South.
CPh	Classical Philology, University of Chicago Press.
CQ	Classical Quarterly, Oxford University Press.
CR	Classical Review, Oxford University Press.
CW	Classical World, Fordham University.
G&R	Greece and Rome, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
HSPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Harvard Univ. Press.
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies, London.
MLN	Modern Language Notes, John Hopkins Press.
O.C.D.	Oxford Classical Dictionary.
Phoenix	The Phoenix. The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada, University of Toronto Press.
SPhNC	Studies in Philology of North Carolina.
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Assoc.
YClS	Yale Classical Studies, Yale University Press.
Vergilius	Vergilius, The Vergilian Society of America.

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