...sed proelia virgo
HEROISM AND DEATH IN AENEID ELEVEN

by

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ABSTRACT

The main points treated in this thesis may be summarised as follows:

A study of Camilla -indicating her ambivalent nature, her androgynous character and her Amazonian aspect -which would consequently appear to be uppermost. Upon a detailed examination, Vergil's Volscian queen would seem to have been composed from various sources in Greek and Italic folklore and history:--Harpalyce, Atalanta, Medea, Cloelia, the various Valeriae, Dido, Amata and, in Vergil's own age, Cleopatra.

In order to evaluate the character of Camilla it was necessary to examine heroism and death in other books of the Aeneid in order to introduce comparable behaviour of other heroes for an eventual assessment of character and values. When treating death and funeral rites one needed also to try and trace Vergil's sources which were Greek, Etruscan and Roman.

These findings, together with the dramatic, ritualistic and colourful language of the text would seem to be indicative of Vergil's interests and feelings, his dislikes and reservations, and suggest some possible conclusions.

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INTRODUCTION

The central aim of this thesis is a commentary on the Camilla episode (Aeneid 11.498-868) which involves an examination of Vergil's treatment of heroism and death. In my concern to try and avoid an impressionistic approach, to which a work of this kind might easily lend itself, I have tried, first and foremost, never to abandon the basic source of information, the text itself. In passing comment I have attempted to bring into focus all the many and varied implications, particularly with reference to Vergil's sources and influences, his deliberate use of connecting language, descriptions and similes and his frequent parallelism in character and situation. In short, I have attempted, figuratively speaking, an "archaeological" approach with the intention and hope that all the pieces of information gathered would create a clear mosaic.

I should perhaps add that in venturing upon this topic I have tried to bear in mind two very valid observations by Edouard Fraenkel (Horace, Oxford, 1957, praef), which I consider to be equally applicable to Vergil: 1) that Horace catered to the sophisticated tastes of a literary élite, an élite "who would be awake to the careful structure of a poem and to its minute detail, subtle hints, sometimes elusive transitions," and 2) that Horace's poetry (like

Vergil's) used throughout the centuries as a school-book has become so encrusted with the opinions of commentators, that it is almost impossible to treat it with a free, unprejudiced mind. The reader is counselled accordingly to strip away the barnacles, as it were, to let the voice of the poet rather than that of his "learned patrons" be heard.

CHAPTER I

Funeral Ceremonies: (Mezentius, Pallas, the countless unknown warriors)

A large portion of Aeneid 11 is taken up with deaths and funeral rites. Aeneas piously thanks the gods for allowing him to triumph over his enemy Mezentius of Caere (11.1-11), mourns the death of Pallas (11.12-99), arranges a twelve day truce with the Latin embassy to enable them to bury their dead (11.100-38), whilst a general mourning ensues at Pallanteum for Pallas (11.139-81) and among the Trojans, Arcadians and Latins for their countless dead (11.182-212). The episode concludes with scenes of mourning and unrest in the city of Latinus, Aeneas' enemy, and with a demand that Turnus should decide the issue by single Combat (11.213-22).

1. Mezentius (11.1-11)

The book opens with interea (11.1), a vague formulaic particle of transition (as in 12.182), which introduces the reader to events of the previous day. There is an atmosphere of depressing calm and intense sadness after the stormy encounters of the day before on

the battlefield. Aeneas, jerked to an abrupt halt, is forced to dwell upon the atrocities of war. He now realises that his priorities have to be put in order, that his emotions, particularly after his recent chaotic outbreak (10.510ff) must be controlled. In Book 11 he makes an earnest attempt to do so. In spite of his feelings of grief and self-reproach at the numerous deaths of his comrades and his anxiety to pay them the last rites, he first attends to his religious duties, piously thanking the powers above (vota deum primo victor solvebat Eoo: 11.4) for his success against Mezentius and ritually dedicates a trophy to Mars, the god of War[1] (11.5-8).

> ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis
> constituit tumulo fulgentiaque induit arma,
> Mezenti ducis exuvias, tibi, magne, tropaeum,
> bellipotens;

Mezentius, Turnus' most important ally, first appears in the Catalogue of Latin allies (7.647-54). The oldest version of this Etruscan saga was to be found in the first book of Cato's Origines, a reconstruction of which P. T. Eden has made from Servius' notes: Latinus grants the Trojans some land but Trojan encroachments result in war with the Latins and their Rutulian allies under the leadership of Turnus, and Latinus is killed in the first engagement. As a result Turnus flees to Mezentius of Caere for aid: in the second encounter the Rutulian leader falls and Aeneas "disappears".

(Servius Aen 9.745 non comparuit). Ascanius eventually slays Mezentius in single combat. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.57ff) and Livy (1.1-3) give practically identical accounts, stressing an initial peace between Trojans and Latins, the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia, the founding of the city Lavinium, and a settlement between Ascanius and Mezentius.

Thus in all these accounts, Mezentius survives Latinus and Aeneas, the Rutulians are defeated and Turnus seeks Mezentius' help (Servius. Aen 1.267; Livy 1.2-3). Yet Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.64) differs slightly, asserting that Turnus (Τυρρηνός, "the Etruscan") was killed before the alliance of Mezentius and the Rutulians. Vergil, however, reverses the traditional account, causing Mezentius to flee to Turnus and to die first.[2]

After an Homeric invocation to the Muses, modelled upon Iliad 2.484ff, Mezentius asper, contemptor divum is first to enter en scène from the Etruscan borders (7. 647-8), one of the principal opponents of the pius Aeneas (10. 783, 826). He forms a perfect counterbalance with Camilla, who significantly brings up the rear (7.804-5). Accompanying him is his handsome son Lausus leading one thousand men from Agylla (Caere or modern Cerveteri). Mezentius' correspondence with the Volscian queen and the position of his son right next to him (filius huic iuxta Lausus...7.649) may cause the reader to suspect even at

this early stage some ambiguity in the King of Caere's character.

Like Camilla (agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas, 7.804), Mezentius, in response to the poet's request to the Muses (pandite.....quibus Itala iam tum/ floruerit terra alma viris... 7.641-4) is described at his second appearance as one of the ductores primi (8.6), a competent general busily conscripting countryfolk for Turnus' war. Once more he is contemptor deum (8.7). This description is probably a reference to the well-known legend[3] of the Etruscan tyrant's having commanded the Rutulians to give him the first fruits, usually reserved for the gods. The Latins, fearful of a similar demand prayed to Jupiter declaring that they would prefer to offer them to him instead of to Mezentius if only he would make them victorious. P. F. Burke[4] notes a subtle irony in the fact that Mezentius, far from receiving the first-fruits (primitiae: 11.16), has actually become the primitiae offered by Aeneas to Mars, God of War. Eden[5] develops the theory of Etruscan Sacral Kingship. Hence Mezentius would not merely be an earthly ruler but a god. Moreover the functions of the Etruscan lucumo, originally identified with Jupiter (Tinia), involved both the performing and receiving of sacrifices and a general transmission of the will of the gods. Sir J. G. Frazer[6] provides an interesting parallel in one of the Tonga islands where once a year the first-fruits of the ground were offered to the great

divine chief to placate the gods and avert disaster from the people.

A third reference to Mezentius is made by his enemy Evander (8.470-519), who describes him to Aeneas as a cruel despot, repulsive even to his fellow Etruscans, a despot who practised hideous perversions, in particular the abnormal forcing together of dead and alive, an inhuman practice attributed by Cicero to Etruscan pirates.[7] Vergil (8.485-8) has given a highly descriptive account of his grisly tortures:

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

P. F. Burke notes the addition of "nightmarish" sexual overtones to Roman amatory behaviour.[8] Evander, whose relationship to his son Pallas is stressed over and over again (spes et solacia nostri, 8.514, ...care, puer mea sola et sera voluptas, 8.581), as Mezentius' enemy, never mentions the Etruscan King's attachment to his own son, Lausus, a relationship parallel with that of the two Arcadians.

The tree motif is conspicuous in Vergil's treatment of Mezentius, providing a link between him and other archaic heroes and a possible premonition of his end. In 9.521-2, the tyrant brandishes an Etruscam pinum, a lethal weapon of war if compared with Camilla's abies

(9.667). Burke, however, favours the Conington-Nettleship interpretation (ad Aen 9.522) of torch,[9] providing parallels of a similar usage in the Aeneid. Amata (7.397-8) and Turnus (9.72) both brandish torches. Mezentius is moreover associated with fire: his expulsion from Caere was connected with fire (ignem ad fastigia iactant, 8.491: merita accendit Mezentius ira: 8.501, Mezentius ardens/ succedit pugnae, 10.689-90). Camilla (ignea 11.718), Tarchon (igneus 11.746) and Turnus (cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram/sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis, 7. 785-6) all creatures of furor also have this association with fire. The tree motif is once more apparent as the Etruscan King nears his end. Like the giant Orion he brings back an aged ash from the mountain tops (referens annosam montibus ornum, 10.766-7) and when wounded he props himself arboris acclinis trunco, his bronze helmet hanging from a nearby branch (10.835-6).

Mezentius takes an active part in the attack on the Trojan Camp, horrendus visu (9.521). Similar chthonic overtones are implied in Turnus' fascination for Camilla (Turnus ad haec oculos horrenda in virgine fixus, 9.507) and in Vergil's description of Polyphemus (monstrum horrendum, 3.658).[10] J. Glenn finds a relationship between Homer's Polyphemus and Vergil's Mezentius.[11] This apt comparison is based on four major and three minor points. The primary parallels between them are: (1) the position of each as a notorious contemptor deorum. Mezentius is the

most impious character in Vergil's epic (contemptor divum, 7.648, contemptor deorum, 8.7). Polyphemus too cares nothing for the powers above since he is stronger than they (Odyssey, 9.273-8).

οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν
οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων, ἐπεὶ ἢ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰμεν·

(2) fiendish atrocities, with verbal echoes in the Aeneid, such as Achaemenides' description of Polyphemus' cannibalism (3.623-7) and Evander's of Mezentius' torture of his enemies (8.485-8), in both of which descriptions sanies and tabum occur. (3) Both address animals similarly and affectionately, Polyphemus his ram (Odyssey, 9.447-60), Mezentius his horse Rhaebus (10.856-66). (4) Vergil compares Mezentius with Orion (10.763-8) in imagery highly reminiscent of Polyphemus, a giant likewise, carrying a tree for a staff and wading out to sea (3.659, 662-5). In the less distinctive similarities both wield pines (3.655ff; 9.521-2), both throw mountainous rocks (Odyssey 9.481; Aen 10.698-9), and share epithets -- horrendus, as already noted, and moles as an indication of their vast size (3.656-7; 10.771). Thus Polyphemus, like monstra Mezentius and Camilla, is an omen, a portent of two of Aeneas' most formidable Italian opponents.

Mezentius' brutality and impiety are greatly underlined by his brutal slaying of Arcentis filius (9.581-2) whose head he split with great unconcern and certainly at this point without any vestige of patria pietas. Vergil's

description of the poor victim unevenly matched with Mezentius as Pallas was with Turnus (10.452-56) stresses this point:

> stabat in egregiis Arcentis filius armis
> pictus acu chlamydem et ferrugine clarus Hibera,
> insignis facie, genitor quem miserat Arcens
> eductum Martis luco Symaethia circum
> flumina, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici
> (9.581-858)

Mezentius' aristeia is presented in Aeneid 10.689-768. In this section Vergil attempts to rehabilitate Mezentius as an Homeric-type warrior. Jupiter's stimulating him to fight (Iovis...monitis, 10. 689) recalls the Homeric Zeus (Iliad 15.592-604) who inspired the Trojans to attack the Greeks, a far cry from the Jupiter of the concilium deorum who vowed his impartiality in ensuing encounters (quae cuique est fortuna hodie ... nullo discrimine habebo, 10.107-113). Vergil continues to build up the image of Homeric warrior by three Iliadic type similes: the cliff simile (10.693-5) adapted from Iliad 15.618-21, where the Greeks resisting Hector and the Trojans are compared to a rock standing firm when buffetted by lashing waves, a simile evocative of another Italian King, Latinus, likewise compared to a rock, in his endeavour to withstand pressure and go to war against the Trojans (7.586-590). Like Mezentius he too eventually crumbled and ceased to be effective. The second simile, that of the boar (10.707-18) defiant and standing at bay is modelled on Iliad 17.61-7; 11.414-420 and 13.471-7, describing respectively the heroes Menelaus, Odysseus and Idomeneus. Finally, the third simile, that of the hungry

lion (10.721-731), is based on Iliad 3.23-26; 12.299-308 and 17.61-69, describing Menelaus, Sarpedon and Menelaus yet again. Mezentius, archaic warrior, is further magnified in preparation for his final encounter with Aeneas by the Orion simile (10.762-8). He is turbidus, a monster of seething passions resembling Turnus (12.10), his weapons are enormous (vastis...armis, 10.768) an adjective frequently employed by Vergil to describe monsters or objects of tremendous size.[12] Further menacing undertones presaging Mezentius' end occur in the dying Orodes' response to the Etruscan King's haughty victory speech:

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

Ironically Mezentius, noted for behaviour generally associated with Etruscan pirates describes his enemy Aeneas as praedo (Aen. 10.774). Yet P. T. Eden notes that "in Roman law (Digest 49, 15, 24) the word designates not a person with whom there exists a formally declared state of war, but an enemy brigand."[13] Community raiding among the Etruscans was an accepted mode of behaviour procuring prestige for the successful. Eden considers the probable explanation might be that Etruscan praedones bound living persons to their dead to appease the spirit of the dead man should it be malevolent and that the Etruscan practice of slaying prisoners of war as part of the funeral rites of the aristocratic dead (Servius ad Aen. 10.519) probably developed

into gladiatoral combat, later to become a popular Etruscan import to Rome.[14]

Mezentius, magnificently barbaric, addresses his spear as his god (dextra mihi deus et telum, 10.773) impious, contemptor divum that he appears to be, aligning himself immediately with other notorious blasphemers, such as Parthenopaeus and Idas.[15] Eden, however, referring to a note by Servius on Aeneid 8.3 stating that it was ritual practice to shake the ancilia and spear of Mars in the sacrarium once war had been declared and the god's help required, considers that the spear in primitive societies was a taboo object in which the spirit of the god dwelt. This interpretation would support the Sacred Kingship theory and is further supported by Turnus' address to his spear (12.94-6) formerly the property of Actor the Auruncan, which he took from its shrine-like position (...quae mediis ingenti adnixa columnae/aedibus astabat, 12.93-4). Turnus dramatically shaking it cries:

> ...nunc, o numquam frustrata vocatus
> hasta meos, nunc tempus adest...

Like Mezentius, he too was preparing to challenge the Phrygian semivir.

Vergil having developed the contemptor divum, and powerful archaic warrior aspects of the Etruscan tyrant now subtly introduces the reader to the finer aspects of Mezentius' character: his patria pietas for Lausus, his nobility in death. Ironically he promises to dedicate Aeneas' spoils to his son Lausus, rather than offer them

to the gods as a trophy (...voveo praedonis corpore raptis/ indutum spoliis ipsum te, Lause, tropaeum/ Aeneae 10.774-6), a blasphemous promise which boded ill for both father and son.

Mezentius' speech of lamentation at the death of his son (10.846-856) stirs the reader's pity and admiration, for Lausus acting through pietas[16] checks Aeneas, thereby enabling his father, who is gravely wounded, to escape. News of Lausus' death reaches Mezentius bathing his wounds propped up against a tree. Isolated (stant lecti circum iuvenes, 10.837), aged (canitiem multo deformat pulvere, 10.844) he recalls to the reader Laertes (Odyssey 24.316-17) mourning Odysseus whom he believes dead and Vergil's Latinus (canitiem pulvere turpans, 12.611) who reacts with unexpected passion at the news of Amata's death. Both aged Kings uphold the dignity of grief for a son and a wife respectively. Ashamed at his son's sacrifice for so evil and undeserving a father, Mezentius nobly resolves to die (nunc vivo neque adhuc homines lucemque relinquo/sed linquam ... 10.855-6). Having affectionately addressed his loyal war-horse Rhaebus, his decus, his solamen (10.858, 859), the old warrior proudly defiant to the last (to Rhaebus occumbes pariter; neque enim, fortissime, credo,/ iussa aliena pati et dominos dignabere Teucros, 10.865-6) faces his sworn enemy, a seething mixture of emotions experienced likewise by Turnus in his final encounter with Aeneas (12.666-7).

...aestuat ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu.
(10.870-1)

Unlike Turnus, however, he expects no quarter but merely asks for burial next to his son, free from bodily mutilation.

hostis amare, quid increpitas mortemque minaris?
nullum in caede nefas, nec sic ad proelia veni,
nec tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus.
unum hoc per si qua est victis venia hostibus oro:
corpus humo patiare tegi. scio acerba meorum
circumstare odia: hunc, oro, defende furorem
et me consortem nati concede sepulcro.
(10.900-6)

Having spoken thus he deliberately offers his throat to his enemy's sword and perishes fearlessly as he had lived.

Mezentius' dying words are evocative of Hector's to Achilles, begging that his body be returned to the Trojans for burial (Iliad 22.338-43).

Hence it is with true dramatic irony that Aeneid 11 opens with Aeneas' setting up a trophy of his enemy Mezentius. Aeneas duly offers to Mars the exuviae of the contemptor divum, in accordance with ancient Greek practice. The dedication of spolia, a suit of armour set up on a stake or tree-trunk was formerly intended as a miraculous image of the Θεὸς τροπαῖος who had brought about the defeat of the enemy. A trophy marked the spot where the enemy had been routed -- as in the case of Mezentius -- but was also dedicated in the sanctuary of the deity to whom victory was ascribed. Trophies appear in art at the end of the sixth century B.C. Livy (I.10.6) describes Romulus'

dedication to Jupiter Feretrius of the spoils of the slain enemy leader: spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitoleum escendit ibique... "Iuppiter Feretri", inquit, "haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque ...dedico sedem opimis spoliis... " Spolia opima,[17] the arms taken by a Roman general from the commander of the enemy after having defeated him in single combat, were also won by Cossus (quis...tacitum...te, Cosse, relinquat? 6.841) who in 437 BC slew Lars Tolumnius, the Etruscan King and by Marcellus (insignis spoliis... opimis ingreditur, 6.855) for his victory over the Gaul Viridomarus in 222 BC. Prima spolia (spolia opima) were consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, secunda or tertia (spolia) to Mars and Quirinus respectively.[18] The trophy on the battlefield was often the trunk of an oak (ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis/constituit tumulo fulgentiaque induit arma, 11.5-6) draped with the armour (spolia, exuviae, primitiae) of the slain warrior, a practice referred to once more in the description of Pallas' pompa (indutosque iubet truncos hostilibus armis/ipsos ferre duces inimicaque nomina figi, 11.83-4) and described in similar terms by Tacitus in his account of the scene after a Roman victory over German tribes.[19] Pallas (10.421-3) prays to Father Tiber, clearly intending to dedicate the spoils of Halaesus according to heroic convention:

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

Turnus also refers to this practice (aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis/aut leto insigni, 10.449-50), a convention which was to cost Euryalus (10.365-6; 373-4)[20] and Camilla (11.778-9)[21] their lives.

Trophies must have had a ghoulish macabre effect even upon an ancient Roman. The draping of an oak in the battle-gear of a warrior probably had its origin in the tree worship common among Indo-European races. Primitive peoples considered trees and plants to be animate, although in time the tree was regarded merely as the abode of the tree-spirit which could enter and depart as it chose.[22] Penelope illustrates the idea that primitive man sprang from trees when she asks Odysseus in greeting whether he was sprung from oak or rock as told in ancient tales (Odyssey 19.163). Evander also informs Aeneas, as the two walk back together after the ceremonies at the altar of Hercules, that nymphs and fauns once inhabited those woodlands (gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata, 8.314-15). The Etruscans and Romans certainly worshipped trees. The Etruscans considered some maleficent and protected by infernal powers, such as the black fig and plants with black berries, and others beneficent and likely to bring good fortune. An example of this latter category was the laurel.[23] Vergil was well-versed in primitive beliefs. He refers, for example, to other Etruscan beliefs, such as

bees settling on the sacred laurel (7.59-67) and to the interpretation of nightmares (7.319-20). Among the Romans, the sacred fig tree of Romulus was worshipped until the beginning of the empire and the withering of its trunk was enough to spread consternation throughout the city. Equally esteemed was the cornel-tree on the slopes of the Palatine.[24] Possibly the Laurentes, dwelling between the Tiber and Ardea, were connected with the laurus. The tree decked with spolia seems generally to have been the oak (10.423; 11.5). The oak was especially associated by the Greeks and Romans with Jupiter, the great power connected with rain and fertility.[25] In Rome the triumphing general wore a crown of oak-leaves, sacred to the King of the gods, which he later surrendered to Capitoline Jupiter.[26] Hence one may perhaps conclude that the dedication of trophies originated from some primitive worship of the oak as the tree of Jupiter. Aeneas' erecting his trophy has not only a religious but a symbolic significance if taken with Vergil's eulogizing of Augustus' setting up a double trophy after his victory in the East and West (Georg. 3.32).

This grotesque trophy would have consisted of a tree dressed as a man, with grisly blood-stained crest, the darts which he had hurled at Aeneas (10.867-8) in their final encounter, his breastplate -- somewhat mysteriously perforated in twelve places (...et bis sex thoraca petitum/ perfossumque locis, 11.9-10),-- his shield and ivory sword.

The perforated breastplate poses something of an enigma since the reader is under the impression that Mezentius was quickly despatched by a stab in the neck by Aeneas (...iuguloque haud inscius accipit ensem, 10.907). G. Highet discusses the theory that Vergil usually expurgates Homeric cruelty, referring to Achilles as his example (Iliad. 22.367-375), who after slaying Hector, strips the body, whilst the triumphing Achaeans stab it.[27] Was Aeneas a second Achilles? Did he ignore the dying wish of his statuesque enemy? In view of the fact that Vergil has been anxious to bring Mezentius to heroic status and to reinstate Aeneas after his beserk behaviour in Aeneid 10.510ff -- Aeneas is magnanimus (10.771), pius (10.783,826), Troius heros (10.886), -- the thorax pierced in twelve places might very well imply a symbolic taking part in the hated King of Caere's death by the twelve Etruscan cities -- an eventuality hinted at by Mezentius in his dying speech (10.904-5). It is interesting to speculate that Camilla, who had so much in common with Mezentius, in her aristeia (11.664-724) felled twelve victims, possibly in retribution for the treatment of Mezentius

Aurora ushers in day (lux), a return to sanity (11.1). Coming directly after the tyrant's death, she too reflects the bereaved parent, her own son Memnon, ally of the Trojans, having been slain by Achilles (1.488-9). She thus provides

a strong link with Books 8, 9 and 10, with Evander, the mother of Euryalus, and Mezentius. Once more Aeneas is in despair (....et sociis dare tempus humandis/praecipitant curae turbataque funere mens est, 11.2-3)[28] as a result of the recent carnage; he has moved from chaos and bloodshed to pathos and pity. When reason is clouded the mind is tossed indiscriminately by the passions. In Vergil's poem attention is frequently focused upon the transformation of people or things into their opposites. As Mezentius was metamorphosed from brutal tyrant to hero (Books 8-10) so Aeneas, normally self-controlled, fell temporarily from grace, bitterly degrading himself and thereby earning the description of Phrygius...tyrannus (12.75). Absent now is that mad, overpowering lust for revenge. Instead Aeneas experiences guilt feelings and intense sorrow at the senseless slaying of so many comrades and especially of Pallas, son of Evander of Pallanteum. Not only were the two leaders tied by kinship (8.134-9) -- Aeneas being descended from Electra, Evander from Maia, both daughters of Atlas -- and hospitality (....ut te, fortissime Teucrum/accipio agnoscoque libens, 8.154ff)-- both concepts deemed of the highest importance in the ancient world[29] but Evander had even placed him in loco parentis entrusting to his care his only son Pallas, spes et solacia nostri (8.514), his sola et sera voluptas (8.581).

Pietas throughout the Aeneid has a wide range of implications. It involves a submission to the fates,[30] a stoical endurance and struggle for self-mastery,[31] a marked attention to the gods and religious observances[32] together with strong familial ties and loyalties, especially those of parent to child and child to parent.[33]

Vergil has formed a striking parallel between the behaviour of Aeneas and that of Mezentius, emphasizing that Mezentius' character consists of elements quite compatible with the furor and patria pietas of Aeneas. Both are mighty warriors, both raised armies (8.6-8, 585-7). As Mezentius was accompanied to war by Lausus, so Aeneas was accompanied by his surrogate son, Pallas. Vergil carefully forms parallels with Homer also. For example, the death of Pallas at the hands of Turnus and the stripping of the sword-belt, the impressum nefas (10.497), recalls Iliad 17.125. Pallas resembles Patroclus and Turnus evokes Hector as he strips Patroclus' corpse of the armour which will one day destroy him. Aeneas' consequent savagery (Dardanides contra furit.... 10.545; ...ductor Dardanius... furens, 10.602-4) recalls that of Achilles (Iliad 21.27ff) on the rampage after Patroclus' slaughter, when he seizes twelve young Trojan captives to pay the price for his friend's death. Vergil's hero mows down anyone in his path, captures eight Italian youths for human sacrifice (10.517-20; 11.81-82) -- behaviour not too far removed from Mezentius' binding together of living and dead -- ignores

Mago's plea for clementia not to mention his own father Anchises' earlier admonition (parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos, 6.853), and sacriligiously butchers a priest of Apollo and Diana (10.537ff), his shameful conduct emphasized by a contrast of black and white (10.539). Haemonides totus conlucens veste atque insignibus is overshadowed by Aeneas and his ingens umbra (10.541). This play of darkness and light is reminiscent of the Nisus and Euryalus episode in which lux is felix and totally opposed to nox.[34] As Mezentius disposed of Arcentis filius, so Aeneas with the same sang froid hacked to pieces Tarquitus, even kicking his warm trunk and begrudging him burial (10.557-60). Here too Vergil is indebted to Homer (Iliad 21.122ff), where Achilles likewise tells Lycaon that the fishes will lick his blood and his mother shall not lament for him on his bier. Both Greeks and Romans shared the belief that burial was of the utmost importance, otherwise the spirit could not enter the lower world and find peace (6.326-8).[35] The wretched fate of the unburied is illustrated by the story of Palinurus (5.854-71; 6.347-71) particularly by his plea (6.365-6):

> eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram
> inice ...

and again brought out in Aeneid 11.22-3.

> interea socios inhumataque corpora terrae
> mandemus, qui solus honos Acheronte sub imo est.

Aeneas is paralleled even further with Mezentius by being compared with Aegaeon (10.565ff), another name for

the hundred-handed Briareus, a giant symbolizing power and brutality, as the Etruscan King was with Orion.[36]

At this point, however, I feel that all comparison with Mezentius ends, although scholars differ in their opinions.[37] When Aeneas eventually meets Lausus, who through feelings of pietas, protects his father, I think that Aeneas' "cooling off" process has begun. Unlike Turnus, who signed his own death warrant by inhumanely seizing Pallas' balteus after impiously slaying him, Aeneas would seem to warn off his ill-matched foe (10.811-12)

> quo moriture ruis maioraque viribus audes?
> fallit te incautum pietas tua.

Death was indicated for both Pallas and Lausus, both royal youths with similar characteristics, yet on opposing sides (10.433-6).

> ....hinc Pallas instat et urget,
> hinc contra Lausus, nec multum discrepat aetas,
> egregii forma, sed quis Fortuna negaret
> in patriam reditus...

No excuse can be found for Turnus' behaviour towards Pallas, no ineffectual fighter himself (10.390ff). That the contest was an unfair one, from Pallas' point of view at any rate, is indicated by the simile of the lion (Turnus) leaping down upon a bull meditantem in proelia (10.454ff). Turnus (10.491-500) behaved in an unjustifiable and barbaric way after slaughtering his hot-headed yet courageous though inexperienced victim. Not only did he

speak arrogantly (iussa superba, 10.445), like Mezentius versus the son of Arcens and Aeneas versus Tarquitus, he showed a similar callous and unpardonable contempt for a father's feelings (qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto, 10.492), in addition to which he bestrode the dead body and stripped it of the ill-omened sword-belt, clearly deriving excessive pleasure in his triumph (quo nunc Turnus ovat spolio gaudetque potitus, 10.500). Vergil, at this point, draws the reader's attention to such inhumane behaviour and to the inability of Turnus (unlike Mezentius and Aeneas) to recognize virtus in an enemy, by making a rare comment (10.501-2):

> nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae
> et servare modum rebus sublata secundis

Here, I feel, the poet wishes to show up in sharp relief Aeneas' reluctance to take advantage of Lausus and the different treatment accorded to his corpse (10.830-2):

> ....increpat ultro
> cunctantis socios et terra sublevat ipsum
> sanguine turpantem comptos de more capillos

Thus by contrasting the behaviour of the two protagonists Vergil would seem to indicate that Aeneas' lapse was in the nature of a temporary black-out, brought about by circumstances of extreme pressure. He was jerked firmly back to reality when as Anchises' son (Anchisiades 10.822) he gazed upon the young face of his victim and recognized there the pietas he had once held so dearly:

> quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,
> quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum? (10.825-6)

Pallas, paralleled by Lausus, provides the stimulus, the goad via the infelix balteus for the eventual climax in the killing of Turnus by a progressive hero, self-controlled and balanced yet, if circumstances warrant it, also subject to furor and impietas (12.945-951):

> ille, oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris
> exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
> terribilis: 'tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
> eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
> immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'
> hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
> fervidus...

Religious obligations completed, Aeneas turns to the next tasks in hand (11.14-28). Crisply addressing his socios ovantis (11.12-13), on this occasion comprising Etruscan allies also, he delivers an abrupt and controlled speech of command (11.14-28) dismissing Mezentius as a rex superbus, -- a Turnus with his iussa superba (10.445), an Etruscan "Tarquinius Superbus" -- exhorting his men: we are victorious, let us attack Latinus' city but first let us bury our dead, our comrades who gave up their lives for their new patria and ensure their entry into the Underworld.[38] Acheron (11.23) a river of the Underworld was often used to refer to the Underworld itself. Juno, for example, in Aeneid 7.312, incensed at the Trojans' settling in Italy also used this term: flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo. The Etruscan Libri Acherontici[39]

part of the Libri Rituales, provided a guide to the after-life. Both Romans and Etruscans believed in the survival of the individual after death, optimistically thinking in terms of a rich and satisfying afterlife, like the amoena virecta of Vergil (6.638). Since they considered life after death to be a continuation of life on earth, they felt that their dead might consequently appreciate certain worldly amenities (....decorate supremis/muneribus, 11.25-6), such as food, goblets, weapons. Resignation and complete submission to divine will was also a fundamental Etruscan belief, hence the Trojan and Etruscan allies would only march against Latinus when the gods signified their assent. Vellere signa (11.19),[40] the pulling up of standards from the ground and the carrying of them forward only took place when the auspices were favourable.

Aeneas, in an effort to stifle his emotions merely refers to Pallas as one of the egregiae animae (11.24), describing him simply and strikingly as one non virtutis egentem (11.27), an example of litotes possibly taken from Ennius (Ann. 599). He concludes his brief discourse, with a line taken from the description of the souls of dead children (6.429):

abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.

Pallas, who died so young, is instantly connected with Camilla at this point, since Diana, in her discourse to Opis foretells her early death in similar terms (fatis urgetur acerbis, 11.585). Dies atri in the Roman Calendar were

unlucky, days marked in black, when no legal business might be transacted. Lucky days, on the other hand, were marked with white.[41]

Pathos is effectively achieved by the references to Aeneas' state of mind as a result of the previous day's fighting (11.2-3) as well as by the long build-up in the description of his arrival at the royal pavilion where Pallas' body has been laid out and by his first tearful speech over the body (11.29-59), watched over by Acoetes, Evander's former armour-bearer, lately squire to Pallas.

The laying out of the corpse (corpus ubi exanimi positum Pallantis Acoetes/servabat senior, 11.30-1) in the vestibule with feet pointing to the entrance (Aeneas recipitque ad limina gressum, 11.29) was a Homeric as well as an Italian tradition. The body of Patroclus slain by Hector was laid out in this way (Iliad 19.212 ἀνὰ πρόθυρον τετραγυῖνος), a custom preserved also by the Italians, who were somewhat fearful of the Manes. They considered the influence of the Manes to extend not only to the growth of crops and the well-being of the living, but feared that these spirits might return to the house they had once inhabited and become a hindrance to its present tenants. To counteract this fear the dead person was removed feet first from the house and purificatory rites were performed.[42] Vergil uses positus (-a, um) meaning "to lie in death", on two other occasions in the Aeneid: -

Anchises wishing to be left to die after the fall of Ilium cries to his family: sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus (2.644), and Anna upon seeing Dido who has just committed suicide likewise asks: ...vocavi/voce deos, sic te ut posita, crudelis, abessem? (4.680-1). The regia, in which Pallas is laid out, like foribus altis (11.36) seems rather grandiose in the context of a military encampment. It is possible that Vergil wishes to elaborate Pallas' surroundings in keeping with his royal status, just as he uses regia to refer to the straw-thatched casa Romuli in 8.654 (Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo) and to the temporary abode of Hercules, provided by Evander in 8.363 (Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit). The reader, nevertheless, experiences a feeling of chill and gloom in this description, since foris was also used to describe the ghoulish door-posts of the semivir Cacus with their decoration of decomposing heads (foribusque adfixa superbis ora virum, 8.196) and regia as a synonym for his cave (et specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens/regia, 8.242-3). In contrast to this dismal atmosphere and dark references (non felicibus aeque... auspiciis, 11.32-3; maestum crinem 11.35; ingentem gemitum, 11.37; maesto luctu, 11.38), the youthful innocence of Pallas, alumnus of Acoetes, illuminates the shadows like a shaft of clear sunlight. Pallas is described in the manner of a Hellenistic sculpture, such as the "Dying Gaul," or the Etruscan "Adonis"

sarcophagus (caput fultum, niveus, 11.39), his vulnus patens showing up starkly against the marble-like quality of his leve pectus (Plate I). Dido's wound (infixum stridet sub pectore vulnus, 4.689) creates the same poignant effect. The chiselled precision of Vergil's description evokes not only the dying youth figures of Etruscan Sepulchral art, but, in more modern terms, the pietà of another famous Etruscan, Michelangelo Buonarroti. Euryalus, another example of the Adonis type youth cut down in his prime, is similarly described. In his case the sword cut through his ribs and candida pectora (9.432). Lausus too is marked with death's pallor (ora modis... pallentia miris, 10.825), as are Dido (pallida morte futura, 4.644) and Camilla (....purpureus color ora reliquit, 11.819). Present at the bier are the Trojan women, the Iliades (11.35), whose main function, especially in Aeneid 11, would seem to be that of mourning (11.34-5, 146-7, 215-17, 876-8).[43] The horror and lamentation caused by the gallant Pallas' death would seem to have its Homeric counterpart in Iliad 22.370-1, where the Greek warriors gaze and marvel at the size and handsome looks of the slain Hector.

Struggling against his tears Aeneas addresses an apostrophe to the dead body of Pallas (11.42-58). To his feelings of sorrow are added feelings of guilt. He addresses the youth tenderly as miserande puer, a phrase

Plate 1:

THE DYING GAUL (Capitoline Museum, Rome)

THE DYING ADONIS (Vatican Museum, Rome)

uttered earlier by Anchises in tribute to the spirit of the young Marcellus (6.882) Miserandus (-a-um) was similarly applied by Aeneas to the unfortunate Lausus, when forced to run him through (10.825), to Cydon, who was almost cut down in his prime (10.327) and to the body of Camilla (11.593-4) in Diana's speech to Opis:

> post ego nube cava miserandae corpus et arma
> inspoliata feram tumulo patriaeque reponam.

Aeneas' self reproach (11.45-6), his consciousness that Evander's trust in him by placing Pallas in his care (8. 515-17) has been misplaced, reflects the love poem of Catullus (64.140-1), where Ariadne laments the departing Theseus:

> at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti
> voce mihi, non haec miserae sperare iubebas.

Ariadne had aided Theseus, a stranger to Crete, as Evander had supported Aeneas, a stranger to Italy, to overcome their own people. The feeling of depression here is strongly underlined by the alliteration in Aeneas' speech (victor vehere, 11.44; promissa parenti, 11.45; discedens dederam, 11.46; mitteret, magnum, metuens, moneret, 11.47). The phrase magnum imperium was also used in 6.812 by Anchises to describe the little city of Numa, whereas here it refers to the yet unbuilt city of Aeneas. The phrase has an Ennian ring and would have a solemn effect upon a Roman audience.[44] Aeneas' vision of the unsuspecting

Evander still offering prayers for his only son's safe-keeping has a Sophoclean ring[45] as bitterly he reflects that Pallas no longer owes the powers above anything at all (11.51-52).

> ...et nil iam caelestibus ullis
> debentem vano maesti comitamur honore.

Aeneas' intense sympathy for Evander is expressed by the tragic epithet infelix (11.53), a description extended to the wretched Acoetes (11.85) as he stumbles along in the funeral cortège. Infelix in Vergil would appear to have a three-fold application: to parents, including close relatives, friends and retainers, grieving at the untimely loss of their children,[46] to youths suffering untimely death[47] and to anyone frenziedly suffering the pangs of love yet frustrated, particularly in the desire to reproduce one's own kind.[48] Aeneas' feelings undergo a fleeting change, introduced by at (11.55-7), a change from guilt to pride, reminding the absent father Evander that Pallas died a glorious and heroic death, not a skulking, cowardly one, a death of which any father might be justly proud.[49] Once more overcome by guilt, Aeneas concludes his speech on a heart-rending note, stressing Pallas' courage and linking him with his own son Ascanius (11.57-8):

> ...hei mihi, quantum
> praesidium, Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule!

The solemn dignity of this concluding line recalls Ennius' apostrophe of Romulus (Annales 112):

qualem te patriae custodem di genuerunt!

There is a further subtle connection between Pallas and Iulus. Pallas was watched over and protected by Acoetes (11.30), Ascanius was guarded in battle by Apollo, disguised as Butes, former armour-bearer to his grandfather Anchises (9.649).

Aeneas' apostrophe over the dead Pallas has Homeric echoes as well as Ennian ones, comparing in a general way with that of Achilles over the dead body of Patroclus (Iliad 18.324-42). Both recall promises made to the dead heroes' fathers, both reflect how suddenly men's hopes may be dashed and disappear. Aeneas, however, unlike Achilles, does not vow to avenge Pallas' death. It is Evander (11.178-80) who demands that the Trojan leader slay Turnus in retribution. Aeneas' principal concern is the old King's paternal feelings; he is ever conscious of their ties of kinship and guest-friendship (11.45-52). Most of all he regrets the loss of so promising and gallant a youth to Italy and to Ascanius, who will one day succeed him.

Vergil's fondness for ritual and intense interest in Roman institutions and traditions is strikingly brought out in the passage dealing with Aeneas' arrangements for the pompa funebris of Pallas and his final farewell (11. 59-99).

The first four lines abound in funeral vocabulary: deflevit,[50] tolli miserabile corpus (11.59),[51] supremum honorem[52] (11.61), lacrimis, solacia luctus/exigua ingentis (11.62-3). Pathos is carefully built up by the delicate description of the bier (feretrum: 11.64-7), by the comparison of the lifeless yet beautiful Pallas with a flower newly-plucked by maiden fingers, its brightness and beauty still intact although no longer nourished by mother earth (11.68-71), by the reference to Sidonian Dido (11.74-5) thereby linking the tragedies of the two deaths, and by the echo of the Catullian lament at his brother's tomb (11.97-8). The whole scene is one of delicate coloring and of cinematographic effect.

After lamenting the dead Pallas (deflevit: 11.59), Aeneas selects one thousand men to accompany the corpse to Evander and at Pallanteum to pay their last respects. The body is placed on a rustic bier and covered with splendid robes. The description of the bier is delicately etched with striking simplicity (11.64-6)

> haud segnes alii cratis et molle feretrum
> arbuteis texunt virgis et vimine querno
> exstructosque toros obtentu frondis inumbrant.

This fragile wickerwork couch of wild strawberry shoots and oak twigs recalls Eclogue 5.30-1:

> instituit, Daphnis thiasos inducere Bacchi
> et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas.

A relief, (Plate 2), now in the Museum of Aquila, originally discovered at Amiternum, depicts a funeral procession, presumably of someone of consequence, since apart from eight bearers (four was the usual number according to Martial),[53] the deceased, clad in toga lying on a bier (feretrum), with his staff of office, was shaded by a canopy (obtentu: 11.66). The Amiternum relief is interesting since it belongs to the late Republic or early Augustan period and depicted two praeficae and three women mourners belonging to the dead man's family, all with dishevelled hair (et maestum Iliades crinem de more solutae 11.35). Such is the precision of Vergil's description, so striking the insertion of one outstanding detail, that the reader has the impression of having a frieze or a painting before his eyes.

The simile of the dead youth as a freshly-plucked flower (11.67-71) is strongly reminiscent of Catullus 62.42-8.

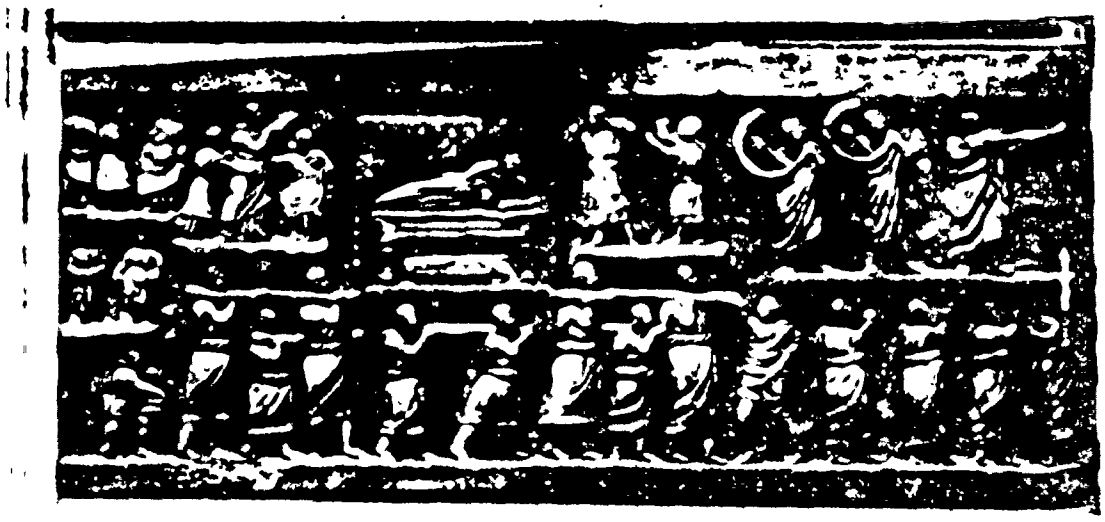
> ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,
> ignotus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,
> quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber
> multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:
> idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
> nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae.
> sic virgo...

and of Eclogue 6.53-4 where the bull of which Pasiphaë had become enamoured

> ... latus niveum molli fultus hyacintho
> ilice sub nigra pallentis ruminat herbas.

Plate 2:

Marble relief from Amiternum depicting a funeral procession. The deceased, lying on his funerary couch, is carried on a bier, preceded by hired mourners and musicians and followed by relations.



(J.M.C. Toynbee: Death and Burial in the Roman World Thames and Hudson, 1971. Plate 11)

Euryalus (9.435-7), cut down by Volcens, writhing in the final agonies of death is also described with the same Catullian echoes:

> purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
> languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
> demisere caput pluvia cum forte gravantur.

The limp, wilting flower motif, whose stalk can no longer adequately support the blossom, is touched upon briefly with regard to the death of Camilla (lentaque colla/et captum leto posuit caput ... 11.829-30). Like Euryalus she too

> labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto
> lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit
> (11.819-20)

Vergil frequently associates noble, unspoiled youth with nature, glowing colour and costly jewellery.[54]

The delicate rustic shades of Nature (Aen. 11.65 arbuteis virgis, 69. mollis violae, languentis hyacinthi) and Vergil's obvious affection for beautiful young people are now intensified as Aeneas spreads over Pallas two cloaks, elaborately embroidered by Sidonian Dido[55] (Aen. 11.72, vestis auroque ostroque rigentis). This reference to Dido strongly links Pallas' tragic death with the events of Aeneid 4. Contact with Aeneas would seem to mean death for those he loved. The cloaks are reminiscent of the purpureas... vestes (Aen. 6, 221) with which the corpse of Misenus was covered at his cremation.

Vergil's use of ostrum and purpureus evokes in the reader's mind the impressive state funerals which the poet must have witnessed and in which he may have played an intimate part. These would have included the cremations of Julius Caesar, of Hirtius and Pansa, and lately of the young Marcellus, marked out to be Augustus' successor, all of which took place amid great lamentation in the Campus Martius. Suetonius (Julius Caesar 84) describes Caesar's funeral pyre, in which was set "an ivory couch, spread with purple and gold." From a pillar at its head hung the toga which he had worn when he was assassinated, the twenty-three dagger thrusts there for all to see. Mezentius' cuirass, like Caesar's toga, was perforated in twelve places (11. 9-10); blood-stained plumes (sanguine cristas), a brazen cuirass (clipeum ex aere) and an ivory-hilted sword (ensem eburnum) adorned his trophy. Thus ivory, as well as rich colours, would seem to be associated with noble youth[56] and heroic death.[57]

As Aeneas places Dido's robes on the dead Pallas his anguished mind must have flashed back to happier times when the queen laeta laborum had first presented them to him. Fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro (11.75) is directly transposed from 4.264, where Mercury, sent by Jupiter to remind Aeneas of his destiny, first catches sight of the Trojan hero, helping Dido with the building of her new city (4. 261-4).

> ... atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva
> ensis erat Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
> demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido
> fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro.

Ironically, tragedy is brought once more emphatically to the forefront by the epithet Sidonia (11.74), reminding the reader of a happy occasion earlier involving a chlamys or hunting-cloak when Phrygians and Carthaginians waited before the palace gates for Dido to join that ill-fated hunting-party (4. 136-9):

> tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva
> Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;
> cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
> aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.

Rich, dazzlingly-coloured cloaks in Vergil would seem to be associated with impetuous, reckless, archaic-type young heroes. Among those ill-fated youths favouring this mode of dress, were Pallas, as he departed from Pallanteum wearing that very cloak presented by Anchises to Evander (8.167) and handed down to his son (... ipse agmine Pallas/ in medio, chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis, 8.587-8), the young son of Arcens (in egregiis ... armis/pictus chlamydem et ferrugine clarus Hibera, 9.581-2) whose head Mezentius split open with his sling, Chloreus, priest of Cybele (whose robes and accoutrements so attracted Camilla 11.775ff) eventual victim of Turnus (12.363) and Camilla herself as she first appears in the Catalogue of Italian Warriors

(... ut regius ostro/ velet honos levis umeros... 7.814ff) later assassinated by Arruns. Warfare , often a perversion of the hunt, leads to tragedy. Cruel and arbitrary behaviour, the result of impure motivation, cannot bring peace: it can only destroy. Irrationality on the part of the conqueror must be avoided. J. R. Dunkle[58] points out that Aeneas behaves in a responsible and civilizing manner (Aen I. 154-94) when he hunts to provide his dependents with food, yet in a frivolous and irresponsible way in the huntsman-simile (4.69-73) when his aimless shafts cause deep wounds in his victim who will be thus doomed to final tragedy. Ascanius, who hunts merely for pleasure, recklessly anxious to obtain glory, precipitates a conflict (7.496-7) and when later Aeneas' emotions prompt him to hunt Turnus, as one would a stag, his behaviour is definitely irrational (12.749-51). Vergil, with his references to warfare and hunting, would seem anxious to uphold the standards set by Anchises (parcere subiectis et debellare superbos, 6.853) and avoid that kind of "Roman" peace so forcefully condemned by the British chieftain Calgacus (auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium atque ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant. Tacitus Agricola, 30.6).

Apart from connotations of warfare and hunting the shroud has a Homeric ring (Iliad 24.500). Priam, having eventually succeeded in persuading Achilles to give him Hector's body waits while Achilles -- like Aeneas -- orders

the body to be prepared. Having accepted the ransom money. Achilles allowed two white mantles and a fine tunic to be left in Priam's waggon to wrap up the corpse.

Preliminaries completed, the actual funeral cortège forms and processes across the scene, evoking the Italian Catalogue (7.647ff) in which Lausus led one thousand men from Agylla (Caere) into battle. Now, as a result of warfare, Pallas is no more and one thousand men are given the duty of escorting him to his final resting place (11.61).

Following the body and escort are the spoils won by Pallas, the prizes he gained in his battle against Turnus and the Latin host (Laurentis praemia pugnae, 11.78). Vergil never uses Laurentum as the capital of King Latinus. Instead he uses the adjective Laurens to refer to the district south of the Tiber where the fighting had just taken place. Included too in this march-past were horses and weapons, a catalogue orchestrating the achievements of Pallas, whose aristeia (10.380-425) formed no inconsider-contribution to Trojan successes. Belief in the survival of a person's identity beyond the grave was firmly held by the Etruscans and Romans.[59] Linked with personal identity in the afterlife was the concept that a person's conduct and reputation on earth had some bearing on his destiny in the next life. Thus catalogues of achievements -- as here -- were intended to ensure not only an honourable place for the dead in the memories of those who survived

them but also some benefits in the afterlife for having exploited their talents to the full.[60]

Next to plod across the scene are the live captives, destined for human sacrifice (11.81-2), hands bound behind their backs, the four young sons of Sulmo and four reared by Ufens (10.517-20). A similar passage in Homer (Iliad 21.27ff) describes Achilles on the rampage after Patroclus' slaughter, seizing twelve young Trojans, their hands bound behind them "with the stout leather straps with which their own knitted tunics were equipped." In Iliad 23.171ff, Homer describes the funeral procession and cremation of Patroclus, whose body was covered not with richly ornamented robes, as in Pallas' case, but with locks of hair from the heads of his own men. For the ancient Greeks and Hebrews hair[61] had a religious significance, symbolizing strength and divine favour, a significance which persisted even in Vergil's day[62]. Achilles cast upon the funeral flames not only the twelve Trojan youths but also four horses and two of Patroclus' pet dogs. This barbaric act of immolation over Pallas' funeral pyre could easily have been omitted by Vergil who generally expurgates brutality. Its inclusion, as the reference to Mezentius' cuirass (bis sex thoraca petitum perfossumque locis. 11.9-10), must therefore have had a purpose -- possibly to underline the poet's aversion to unnecessary bloodshed.

Greek tragedy had many instances of human sacrifice, such as Iphigenia and Polyxena. Pallas was moreover, the son of Parrhasian Evander of Arcadia (11.31) where a priest had to offer Zeus Lykaios a child from his own family (Plato Republic 8.565). In Roman history in 228 B.C. and in 216 B.C. Gallic and Greek couples were buried alive at Rome. Dio Cassius (43.24, 3-4) claims that Julius Caesar had the pontifices and priest of Mars sacrifice three men in the Campus Martius and their heads exhibited near the Regia. Suetonius (Augustus 15) and Dio Cassius (48, 14, 3-4) record that Vergil's own Augustus, on capturing Perusia, an Etruscan city, sacrificed three hundred citizens at the altar of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March.

The doomed captives give place to a grotesque array of tree-trunks arrayed in hostile armour as trophies (11.83-4). These trophies, won by Pallas, were carried by the leaders with enemy names affixed.[63] The procession headed by Pallas in his rich coverings, with his army of one thousand men, prizes, trophies and live captives is reminiscent of a triumph rather than of a funeral procession, until Acoetes Pallas' old retainer, like a hired, ritual mourner, comes stumbling on to the scene (11.85). Beating his chest and scratching his face in acute distress (pectora nunc foedans pugnis, nunc unguibus ora 11.86) he recalls Vergil's descriptions of Anna at Dido's pyre (4.673) and of Juturna, incapable of averting Turnus' doom (unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis 12.871), as well as Achilles' behaviour at the

news of Patroclus' death when "in the depths of dark despair he poured dust upon his head, soiled his beautiful face with it and cast himself upon the earth, fouling his hair and tearing it out with his hands" (Iliad 18.22ff).

Acoetes is followed by chariots, stained with Rutulian blood, captured from the enemy (11.88), including that of Rhoeteus, dispatched by Pallas (curruque volutus/ caedit semianimis Rutulorum calcibus arva, 10.403-4), then by Aethon, Pallas' war-horse (11.89-90). The charger, his trappings discarded as a sign of mourning, was weeping great tears. Once more Vergil was indebted to Homer (Iliad 17.426ff), where the horses of Achilles wept hot tears upon hearing of Patroclus, their charioteer's death. Aethon ("blazing") was the name of one of Hector's horses (Iliad 8.185) as well as of one of the horses of the Sun (Ovid. Met. 2.153). Vergil has endowed an animal with human characteristics elsewhere in Aeneid 7.500-2, where Silvia's pet stag was accidentally pierced by Iulus:

> Saucius at quadripes nota intra tecta refugit
> successitque gemens stabulis, questuque cruentus
> atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat

The bond between horse and master was clearly very strong in the case of Mezentius and Rhaebus. About to engage in final combat with Aeneas, the tyrant is concerned that his horse in defeat should die with him (10.863-5):

> et caput Aeneae referes Lausique dolorum
> ultor eris mecum, aut aperit si nulla viam vis,
> occumbes pariter;

Suetonius (Julius 81) describes the horses of Caesar weeping at the prospect of his death, and Pliny (Nat Hist. 8.157) writes of horses: amissos lugent dominos, lacrimasque interdum desiderio fundunt. One may conclude from these examples that the story of a horse weeping in sympathy for its master was not as far-fetched for the ancient reader as for the modern reader. This attachment of master and pets might provide a reason for Achilles' slaying of horses and dogs at Patroclus' funeral pyre (Iliad 23.171-4). Aethon may well be in the funeral procession to be slain along with the fugitives and thus accompany his master to the lower world. Pliny also mentions that pet animals were sometimes killed at the pyre to accompany their owner's soul to the afterlife.[64]

Next to pass in procession are men bearing Pallas' spear and helmet, for Turnus had already taken his sword belt, that impressum nefas (10.497), followed by a phalanx (appropriate to the deaths of Hellenistic Kings) of grieving troops -- comprising Aeneas' Trojans, Tarchon's Etruscans and Evander's Arcadians -- with arms reversed (versis armis) a usual sign of mourning mentioned also by Tacitus (versi fasces: Annales 3.2) at Germanicus' funeral.

Some everyday scenes carved on the Certosa situla of the Etruscan era,[65] and on the Providence situla (Plates 3 and 4) would seem to have a certain resemblance to the scene depicted by Vergil. The occasion appears to be a funeral ceremony conducted with full military honours in which the spearmen carry their weapons point downwards (11.93).

Aeneas with the whole army escorts Pallas' funeral procession part of the way. When they have advanced some distance (longe), he halts with the main body of men, intending to return to camp. Here Aeneas resembles a Roman general paying the last respects to a dead man setting out on his final journey. Before returning to camp the Trojan leader poignantly salutes his comrade for the last time. Piously submissive to the horrida belli fata (11.96-7), he recalls that other difficulties (alias ad lacrimas) have yet to be encountered. The formulaic lines, salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla,/aeternumque vale (11.97-8), recall Catullus' famous lament at his brother's tomb (Cat. 101.10):

atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale,

as well as that of Achilles over Patroclus (Iliad 23.19):

χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδα δομοισι·

Unable to say more, Aeneas breaks off abruptly and returns within his own defences.

Plate 3:

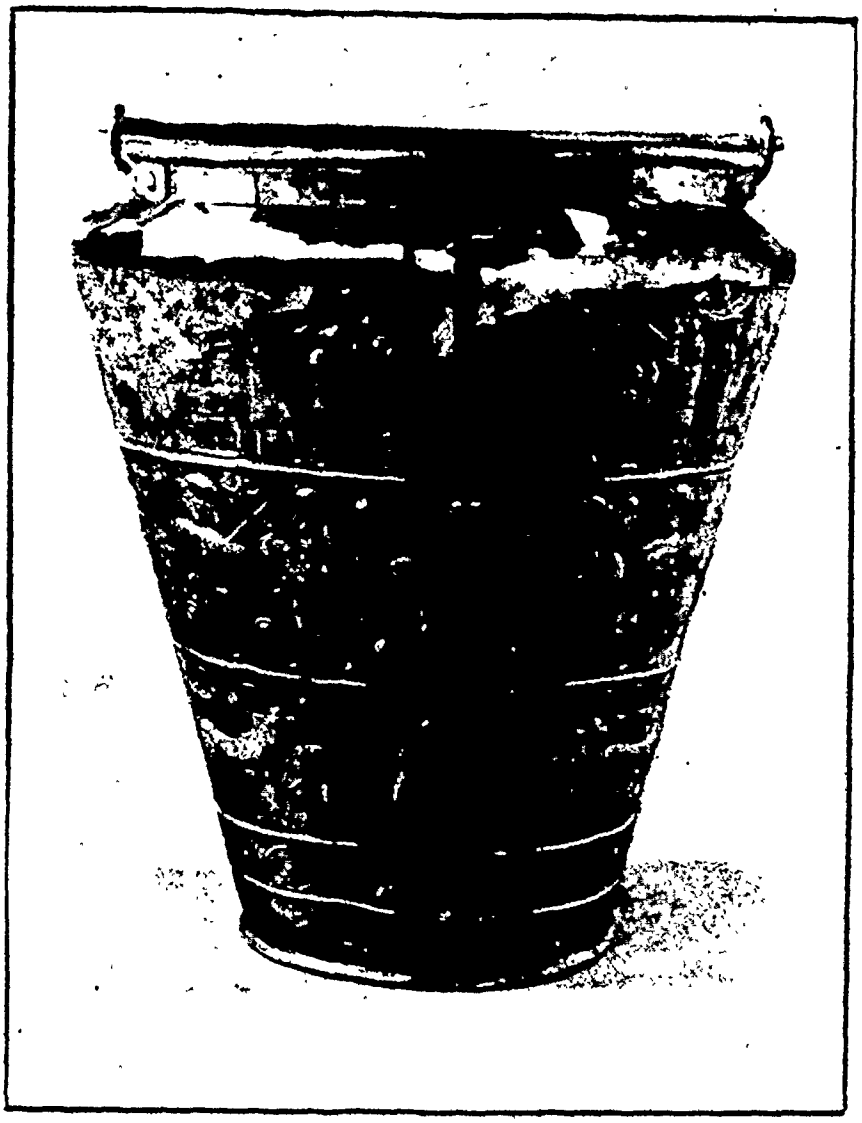
Relief on Etruscan Situla (c.500 B.C.)

A military procession conducted with full military honours. The spearmen bear their weapons point downwards as we should carry rifles reversed. Led by two mounted men (Plate I.), are five spearmen carrying oval shields and wearing helmets with protuberant knobs. Next to these (Plate 2) are four spearmen in crested helmets with quadrangular shields, then four more with round shields. Finally there are four men in conical helmets without shields, carrying a wide single axe on their shoulders.

(D. Randall-MacIver: The Etruscans. Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., New York. 1972. Plate I)

Plate 4

THE PROVIDENCE SITULA



Frieze 2 depicts fourteen warriors marching to the left, equipped with oval shields covering the body and heavy spears pointing down-wards. The first eight warriors wear "pot" hats, the rear six conical helmets.

Otis considers Aeneas' farewell to Pallas and the subsequent departure of the cortège as "one of the great scenes of the poem,"[66] comparing it with Aeneid 3.493-5 where Aeneas bids Helenus farewell. He contrasts the peace found by Helenus with the perils Aeneas will yet have to endure:

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

Equally moving in its simplicity is the dying speech of Camilla. Her last thoughts are those of a true warrior, her concern is for Turnus, not for herself (11.823-7):

> hactenus, Acca soror, potui; nunc vulnus acerbum
> conficit et haec Turno mandata novissima perfer:
> succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe
> iamque vale

Meanwhile lines 100-138 provide a break in the tension between the departure of the funeral cortège and its arrival at Evander's city of Pallanteum. Although Vergil does not describe the actual cremation of Pallas, the reader can visualize the final ceremony from his description of Misenus' end (6.223-4)

> .....pars ingenti subiere feretro,
> triste ministerium, et subiectam more parentum
> aversi tenuere facem.

Upon re-entering camp Aeneas receives a Latin embassy led by Drances. They plead for a truce in order to bury their dead.[67] This embassy is based on Iliad. 7. 381-420, but in Homer the requests are more complex, for Idaeus offers the Greeks unfavourable terms as well as asking for a truce to bury their dead. Agamemnon rejects

the first request but agrees to the second, although his response lacks the magnanimity of Aeneas' (bonus Aeneas 11.106). Aeneas' speech (11.108-119) recalls rather the magnanimous exordium of Diomedes to another Latin embassy sent to treat for aid against the Trojans (11.225-95). Diomedes (11.252-4) in the opening lines of his reply expresses sympathy for Aeneas and the Trojans, his former enemies, just as Aeneas expresses similar feelings towards the Latin people. Admiration for an enemy is also recorded by Livy 2.12.13 where Porsenna is impressed by the unflinching bravery of Mucius Scaevola (prope attonitus miraculo rex... inquit) and 2.13.9 where Porsenna not only protected Cloelia for her bravery but even honoured her (et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit). Livy (2.14.8) also relates the kindness of the Romans to their Etruscan enemy after the death of Arruns, their leader (Ibi benigne excepti divisique in hospitia).

The emphasis on hospitibus and soceris (11.105) may possibly contain a hint of reproach in the embassy's reference to the welcome accorded Aeneas by King Latinus. Aeneas nevertheless courteously grants them permission to pay the all important last respects to their dead and thus ensure their entry to Hades, expressing at the same time his hatred of war (... equidem et vivis concedere vellem 11.111) so effectively conveyed in the imagery of the preceeding episode. Hence fugiatis (109) implies that the

Trojans were justified in engaging in battle since the Latins had broken the truce, whilst gente and rex (113) emphasises his reluctance to fight the ordinary people whose King had left him no alternative. Aeneas finishes his speech by indicating his willingness to settle the matter once and for all by fighting a duel with Turnus, the cause of all the trouble (11.114-17). The embassy is speechless at Aeneas' humanitas -- that it was unexpected was implied by lines 104-5 (nullum cum victis certamen et aethere cassis;/ parceret hospitibus quondam socerisque vocatis) -- and his intense hatred of war, indicated by line 119 (nunc ite et miseris supponite civibus ignem), the epithet miseri conjuring up Lausus, Pallas -- and later -- Camilla, the noble innocent, who die wholeheartedly and courageously believing in a cause.

Drances, senior member of the Latin embassy and Turnus' inveterate enemy at home is highly delighted by Aeneas' proposal for a duel. His reply to Aeneas (11.121-131) is highly rhetorical, filled with flattery and praise and far too deferential to ring true. He gratefully (grati 127) accepts the truce putting forward, as Quinn states,[68] the right proposals for the wrong reasons. His exaggerated support of Aeneas here fore-shadows his tactics in the Latins' debate (11.343-75) where he strongly supports Latinus in order to weaken Turnus' position.

A twelve day truce is arranged during which wood-cutting activities prevail in order to construct funeral pyres (11.133-38). The wood-cutting scene here is highly reminiscent of the preparations for the construction of Misenus' pyre (6.179-82).

> itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum:
> procumbunt piceae; sonat icta securibus ilex;
> fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur
> scinditur; advolvunt ingentes montibus ornos.

Both Vergilian passages recall Ennius (Annales 187ff) and Homer. In Iliad 23.114ff Meriones and his Achaean wood-cutting party prepare logs, roping them onto mules and transporting them to the spot selected by Achilles for the construction of Patroclus' pyre.

The narrative now breaks off to revert to the scene at Pallanteum as the funeral procession of Pallas approaches (11.139-147). The scene opens with the arrival of Fama, harbinger of bad news (139), Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum (4.174),[69] who reports Pallas' untimely death to Evander. Snatching up torches in their traditional way, the Arcadians rush to escort the body into the city. The torchlight procession is powerfully etched by Vergil in one and a half lines (11.143-4).

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

The matres fill the city with their usual lamentation (147) recalling Aeneid 4.667-8 (lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu/tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether),

and the mother of Euryalus who evolat infelix et femineo ululatu ... caelum dehinc questibus implet (9.477-80).

Evander throws himself upon the body of his only son lacrimansque gemensque (150), the pathos of his speechlessness emphasised in line 151 by the alliteration of "v", the spondaic movement of the line and the elision of dolore est.

Evander's formal apostrophe over the dead Pallas (11.152-181), unlike that of Aeneas, is highly rhetorical and conventional and, therefore, somewhat less convincing. Both laments are extremely controlled, both laud Pallas for his courage.

Throughout Aeneid 8, Evander has much in common with various Homeric heroes. His speech of welcome to Aeneas (8.154-174) recalls the welcome of Telemachus by Helen and Menelaus (Odyssey 4.137-182); his hospitality reflects that of Pisistratus to Telemachus and Athene (Odyssey 3. 31-66), of Nestor to Telemachus (Odyssey 3) and of Eumaeus to Odysseus (Odyssey 14). Yet Evander's festive welcome to the Trojans (8.152-183), his entertainment of Aeneas (8. 184-369) and his speech entrusting his son Pallas to the Trojan leader's care (8.470-519) reflect more fully the welcome accorded Apollonius Rhodius' adventurers by King Lycus (Argonautica 2.752-814).[70] In his speech over the corpse of Pallas, however, Evander's reference to his old age (contra ego vivendo vici mea fata, superstes/restarem ut genitor, 11.160-1) has a lurking affinity with Homer's

Nestor who was reputed to have outlived two generations of mortal men (Iliad I.250ff) and regretted his lost youth (Iliad 7.132-158); yet his lamentation appears to be based on no extant model in Greek epic. It seems rather to recall the θρῆνοι of Greek tragedy, such as Peleus' mourning over the dead Neoptolemus (Euripides Andromache 1173-1183). Peleus, like Evander, regrets that he could not accompany his grandson in death, refers to his own wretchedness and the fact that no-one survives to carry on his line (cf. infelix 11.175), yet, unlike Evander, cannot find comfort in a glorious death in arms since his grandson was murdered by Orestes and the citizens of Delphi.

Evander's opening words of reproach non haec... dederas promissa petenti (11.152), like Aeneas' non haec Evandro de te promissa parenti/discedens dederam (11.45-6) re-echo Ariadne's when deserted by Theseus (Catullus 64. 139-40):

> at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti
> voce mihi.

He upbraids his son for over-indulging in the first-fruits of glory (primitiae invenis 11.156),[71] a fault which leads to recklessness and destruction. Unlike the apostrophe of Euryalus' mother (9.481-97), Evander's reproaches are gentler.[72] Like Euryalus' mother, Evander too dwells upon his own misery, mentioning on just this one occasion his Sabine wife, fortunately spared this dreadful sorrow by

death. He too would have chosen death (11.161-3) although his words are less dramatic than those of Euryalus' mother (conicite, O Rutuli, me primam absumite ferro, 9.494). He nobly absolves Aeneas and the Trojans from all blame (11. 164-5) because of their joining hands in guest-friendship (iunximus hospitio dextras), recalling Aeneas' words on another happy occasion when he and Anchises were welcomed by King Anius of Delos (iungemus hospitio dextras, 3.83).

Eventually the old King manages to console himself by dwelling upon the splendid deeds of Pallas (11.83-4, 172) which causes him to long to see Turnus' spoils decorating a tree. He finishes by calling for vengeance on Turnus and charges the guilt-ridden Aeneas with this task (11.175-81), thereby foreshadowing Turnus' end (Pallas to hoc vulnere, Pallas/immolat ... 12.948-9). He longs to bear the joyful tidings of Turnus' death to his son's soul (manis perferre subimos),[73] resembling, in his wish for death, Euryalus' mother (9.495-7), Mezentius (10.855-6) and Juturna (12. 879-80).

Pietas is therefore shown as being reciprocal, illustrating also the strong bonds between parents and children, between brother and sister. Pallas was for Evander spes et solacia nostri (8.514), mea sola et sera voluptas (8.581). So difficult was it for Evander to part from Pallas that the old King was carried by his servants. conlapsus in tecta (8.584), whereas the mother of Euryalus (sera meae requies 9.482) likewise collapsed upon hearing of her son's

tragic end and also had to be carried away (9.500-2). On a divine level, Venus too was concerned for her son's well-being (8.370-453), so much so that she persuaded Vulcan to make him the shield, citing other concerned parents such as Thetis (Iliad 18.426-67) who besought Hephaestus to forge armour for Achilles as did Aurora, wife of Tithonus (8. 384; 9.1), treated by Arctinus of Miletus in the eighth century B.C. in his now lost epic Aethiopis. The armour she acquired for her son Memnon would seem to be as famous as that of Achilles.

Once again the scene switches from Evander's grief back to the battlefield, where Trojans and Etruscans on one side and Latins on the other carry out their various funeral rites (11.182-224). The passage describing the Trojan and Etruscan rites is highly stylised, that depicting the Latins' much more muted.

At dawn pater Aeneas (he was pius Aeneas at Misenus' rites. 6.232) and Tarchon, the Etruscan King, each according to his own tradition, prepare the funeral pyres along the shore. Miseris mortalibus (11.182) recalls the pity for mortal suffering felt by the gods after a battle where losses were heavy on both sides (10.758-9):

> di Iovis in tectis viam miserantur inanem
> amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores.

The phrase mortalibus aegris is used in the simile where Aeneas, like the Dog-Star Sirius, upon his return to the

scene of battle is to bring suffering and destruction to his enemies (ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus aegris, 10.274) just as Achilles did (καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν Iliad 22.26ff). In Aeneid 12.850 the phrase is once more repeated when Jupiter summons the Dirae, Allecto and Tisiphone, who apparent acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris. Again the context is one of death, pestilence and war (si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex/molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes, 12.851-52).

Bodies are placed on the pyres (11.185), torches applied. The heavens are wreathed in murk. The tempo increases as the cavalry in shining armour ride three times around the kindled pyres; three times they ceremoniously circle the fire of death and give vent to cries of lamentation (11.188-90). These lines recall the Roman funus militare where soldiers killed on the battlefield were collectively cremated.[74] Lines 188-191 are filled with ritual terms: ter, decurrere, lustrare, spargere. Ter would appear to have been a sacred number to the Romans particularly connected with death and situations of danger.[75] Dido attempted to rise three times in death agonies (4.691), Corynaeus performed purificatory rites three times on his companions after the cremation of Misenus (6.229), and Aeneas called three times upon the shades of Deiphobus when erecting a cenotaph to him (6.506). Three times Aeneas tried to clasp the shade of Creusa (2.792), three times likewise he tried to embrace Anchises in the Underworld

(6.700). Hector's body was also dragged three times by Achilles around the walls of Troy (Aen. 1.483). Lustrare meaning "to circle" is often used in the religious sense of purificatory ritual.[76] Corynaeus performed this rite at Misenus' death (6.229-31):

> idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
> spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae,
> lustravit viros, dixitque novissima verba.

Tacitus and Livy use decurrere[77] for ritual procession as Vergil on this one occasion does here. Normally a general was honoured by a decursio around his pyre or centotaph, a custom which would have appeared to have existed in Homeric times too, for the Greeks at Patroclus' funeral circled three times on their horses, sprinkling the sand and armour with their tears, -- a description re-echoed fully in Aeneid 11.191 (spargitur et tellus lacrimis, sparguntur et arma), spargere being used of ritual sprinkling.[78] Shields and equipment snatched from the enemy are then hurled upon the pyres -- a custom, which according to Servius (ad Aeneid, 8.562), was originated by Etruscan Tarquinius Priscus. Sacrificial animals are then killed (Aen. 11.197). This blood-letting has the three elements of the suovetaurilia, the oxen, sows and sheep. Blood offerings are referred to at the tomb rites of Polydorus (3.66-7) and at the second parentatio of Anchises (5.78), although whether the offerings were made to the di inferi or the manes or to the spirits

of the individual dead is uncertain, since Vergil refers only loosely to Mors. Finally a long vigil over the burning bodies ensues until the episode is effectively brought to a close by the coming of night. The end is abrupt and effective: Vergil does not describe the vigil, merely the fact that the men could not be torn away (neque avelli possunt, 11.201). The description of night, ... nox umida donec/invertit caelum stellis ardentibus aptum is used in a death context in Aeneid 4.482, where Dido decrevit mori (4. 475) and describes in a similarly ornate passage the spot inhabited by the Aethiopians

> ... ubi maximus Atlas
> axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.

Vergil uses the phrase once again -- with a change of subject -- in Aeneid 6.796 -- this time with reference to caelifer Atlas.

The passage is extremely elaborate. Mors (197) personifies Death as Fama personifies Rumour (11.139). A striking effect is produced by the interplay of darkness and brightness. In tenebras, caligine (11.187) are sharply contrasted with accensos...rogos and fulgentibus armis (188-9), and umida nox (201) with stellis ardentibus (202).

The section dealing with the Latin funeral rites (11.203-224) is starker than that describing the Trojan-Etruscan practices. As in the former passage, the Latins too are miseri (203) ever emphasising war and death. Their pyres are innumerae (204), their slain multa (204), clearly

the majority since the rites continue for two days (tertia lux 210). As in the Trojan burial passage, the heavens are wreathed in shadow (210). Vergil is here describing the funeral practices of the early Latins, associating the pyre with the hearth (focis 212), thus correlating the cults of Vulcan and Vesta. These early people favoured both cremation (struxere pyras 204) and burial (multa...terrae infodiunt, 205). The majority, who came from a distance, were buried or cremated on the field, those from the surrounding area taken home to their villages or to the nearby city of Latinus to receive the last respects (205-6). Vergil conveys the pathos of the countless unhonoured dead, revealing yet again the hatred of war (11.207-9), felt so deeply by the Augustan poets.[79]

> cetera confusaeque ingentem caedis acervum
> nec numero nec honore cremant; tunc undique vasti
> certatim crebris conlucent ignibus agri.

The third dawn witnessed the completion of the rites; the piled-up bones were raked down (ruebant/ossa, 211-212) and while still warm covered with a barrow. Normal Roman ritual required after cremation that the ashes be drenched with wine and the bones gathered for preservation (6.226-8):

> postquam conlapsi cineres et flamma quievit,
> reliquas vino et bibulam lavere fauillam,
> ossaque lecta cado texit Corynaeus aeno.

The scene now focuses on the lamentation in the palace and city of Latinus (in tectis...urbe Latini, 11.213) forming a striking contrast to vasti...agri (209-10), where

grief, detestation of war and anger are the dominant emotions, typified by the mothers,[80] daughters-in-law, sisters and sons of the slain who resentfully curse Turnus and his marriage-plans (11.215-17). Drances, feeling the moment to be opportune, loses no time in putting about the story that Aeneas has challenged Turnus to a duel. Yet Turnus too has his supporters, chief of whom is queen Amata (Aen. 7.344-5; magnum nomen reginae obumbrat, 11.223). Obumbrare is found only twice in the Aeneid; here as a synonym for tuetur or defendit according to Servius[81] yet with a hint of menace if one considers Aeneid 10.541 (ingenti umbra tegit) and the consequent sacriligious slaughter of Haemonides, and a second time in Aeneid 12:578 (obumbrant aethera telis) where Aeneas' men concentrate their attack on the city of Latinus thus causing the infelix Amata (12.598) to abandon hope of Turnus' safety and commit suicide. The passage is brought to a smooth and unifying conclusion with the opening lines of Aeneid 11.7 by the reflection that Turnus' reputation rested also on the trophies (tropaeis 224) he had earned and a subtle link has thus been forged between Mezentius' end and the eventual doom of Turnus (Aeneas....dextramque repressit;/... infelix umero cum apparuit alto/balteus... 12.939-44).

Vergil's treatment of death and burial in Aeneid 11.1-225 has been dramatic, colourful and ritualistic, filled with Homeric, antiquarian and historical references. He

stresses pietas in the setting-up of the trophy of Mezentius to Mars, in Mezentius' and Evander's deep feelings for their sons and in Aeneas' for his surrogate son Pallas. The embassy scene, however, the truce, the moving mass-burials of the "unnumbered and unhonoured," the grief experienced by the loss of so many loved ones, the useless sacrifice of so many young lives could not fail to conjure up to the Roman mind unmistakable parallels in contemporary history (to be treated in Chapter 3), and thus underline the basic theme of Aeneid 11, the need for a national unity and an end to civil war.

CHAPTER II

The exploits and deaths of Camilla and Arruns (Aeneid 11: 498-868)

Camilla the warrior-queen offers to aid Turnus by engaging the enemy cavalry whilst he waits in ambush for Aeneas (11.498-531). Meanwhile Diana, perceiving Camilla's impending doom tells her nymph Opis the story of Camilla's life, instructing her to take vengeance on the warrior-maiden's assassin, whoever he may be (11.532-96). A cavalry battle, followed by Camilla's aristeia, ensues (11.597-724). Tarchon, at Jupiter's instigation, rallies the Etruscans whilst Arruns shadows Camilla waiting for his opportunity to kill her (11.725-67). Camilla, attracted by the finery and trappings of Chloreus, a priest of Cybele, is taken unawares by Arruns who in his turn is slain by Opis. Camilla's dying thoughts are for Turnus and the success of the battle (11.768-868).

The Camilla story is variously described by some scholars as an ἔκφρασις, by others as an ἐπύλλιον. Since no two critics agree on "what exactly constitutes an epyllion"[1] and some even deny its existence as a literary form equating narrative elegy and the epyllion,[2] one must

accordingly tread warily in attempting to affix a definite description.

C. J. Fordyce claims that the epyllion has no ancient authority and that Athenaeus once applied this description to a poem of Homer. He states furthermore that Ausonius merely used the term as a synonym for a short poem or versicle,[3] while R. D. Williams temporizes, describing the Camilla episode as "of epyllion type" comparing it with the story of Hercules and Cacus[4] (Aen. 8.184-279).

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

1. It is a short descriptive narrative poem (developed originally by the Alexandrians as a reaction to the long, involved epic: the epyllion's smaller scale is obtained by careful selection of episodes).
2. The emphasis is on the heroine rather than on the hero.
3. It is dramatic in form containing at least one lengthy speech.
4. It deals with heroes who are human or deities behaving in a human way.
5. It usually contains a digression -- a story within a story, the main subject often being the frame for this digression.
6. The language is learned, employing Alexandrian devices such as apostrophe, allusion and epic vocabulary.

Theocritus, Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes made important contributions to the development of the epyllion. Theocritus contributed the picturesque scene,

Callimachus, with his Hecate, a poem in hexameters dealing with Theseus, contributed the plot and a digression. Euphorion focused attention on the heroine; the Erotica Pathemata of Parthenius and the beautiful descriptions of Apollonius Rhodius made their contributions to the romantic aspect. His Medea was imitated by Vergil in the story of Dido which probably began as an epyllion but grew in its proportions.

The Neoterics introduced the miniature epic into Latin: Cinna with his Zmyrna, Calvus with Io and Cornificius with Glaucus. The most well-known, however, are the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis (Poem 64) of Catullus and the Aristaeus episode of Vergil (Georgics 4.315-558).

In the Catullian poem the arrival of the guests and their viewing of the coverlet counterbalanced by their satisfied departure and the final prediction of Achilles form the frame, serving to introduce the story of Theseus' abandoning Ariadne and a digression on his adventure in Crete which culminate in a dramatic lamentation by Ariadne. This poem had a profound influence on Vergil who borrowed frequently from it.

Of the Vergilian examples[5] the Aristaeus episode (Georgics 4) would seem to be notable. The Aristaeus story forms the frame within which is the Cyrene-Proteus episode with the story of Orpheus and Eurydice forming a further digression. This insert, warm and sympathetic in content,

forms a sharp contrast with the framing-story. All requisite ingredients for the epyllion are present -- elliptical narrative, language employing allusion and proper names, romance (involving magic, tragedy and death), emphasis on the heroine Eurydice who gives one short dramatic speech.

Since the majority of scholars would seem to describe these two examples as epyllia, on these grounds the Camilla story would qualify also for this description. The frame is formed by the battle involving Aeneas and Turnus (civilisation versus destructive nature). The heroic Camilla stressing the tragedy of war is vividly and sympathetically developed, the tragedy of human character flaw emphasised (amor habendi in Camilla's case) as with Theseus' betrayal and Orpheus' looking back. Diana the presiding deity (as Proteus in the Aristaeus episode) delivers a long narrative speech which includes a lament at the inevitable fate of her votary Camilla (comparable with Ariadne's lament at being abandoned by Theseus). Apart from Diana's address to Opis (Aen. 11.535-94) there is a dramatic address by Camilla to Ornytus (11.686-89) in the further digression formed by Camilla's aristeia, a prayer by Arruns to Apollo (11.785-793) and a dramatic farewell -- resembling that of Eurydice to Orpheus -- to Acca and her companions (the iamque vale being repeated: Georgics 4.497, Aeneid 11.827). Proper names too are frequently used. Vivid, colourful, swift-moving, the Camilla episode stands out sharply from

its framework of gloom and ambush with a depersonalized Turnus and absent Aeneas rather like a luxuriant oasis in a limitless desert.

Camilla makes her first appearance in Aeneid 7.803-17 as the thirteenth and final warrior in the Catalogue of Italian Heroes (Aen.7.641-817). Although the Catalogue was an established part of epic machinery from the time of Homer (Iliad 2.484ff) who enumerated a catalogue of Greek ships with that divina simplicitas so appreciated by Macrobius (Sat.5.15.6) and adopted by his successors, Vergil, in his highly elaborate and literary epic, made his catalogues functional by combining subject-matter with pictorial presentation. Thus his catalogue in Aeneid 7 serves as an ἔκφρασις which, like the descriptive panels in Dido's temple at Carthage (Aen. 1.453ff), integrates in manifold ways with the intention of the epic as a whole. In other words, Vergil's catalogue -- with its staggering line-up of Italian forces -- was clearly intended to emphasize that the Aeneid was a national epic, a poem of Italy and Rome alike.

The final passage of the cavalcade (7.803-17) concludes in a remarkable fashion, devoted as it is to Camilla, the warrior-maiden (bellatrix, 7.805), who, following upon Turnus and his Rutulians, provided a striking and fascinating climax to the pageant. Camilla would seem to be an original with Vergil; at any rate, her name does not appear in pre-Vergilian tradition.

Vergil, swiftly and effectively, portrays Camilla in the catalogue as a queen-shepherdess. Ethereal and swift of foot, she is nevertheless essentially a bellatrix. So light and fleet is she that she is capable of skimming lightly over a field of corn without crushing it and flying over the waves of the sea without touching their crests -- a description which recalls the mares of Homer's Erichthonius (Iliad.20.227). The reader is immediately struck by her likeness to Penthesilea, Queen of the Amazons, depicted on the walls of Juno's temple in Carthage (Aen 1. 490ff) and to Thracian Harpalyce (or Venus in disguise) in Aeneid 1.316ff:

> vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
> Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.

There appears to be no single source for Camilla. Vergil would seem to have created her story from his own inventions adorned with stories from Greek mythology -- such as those of Penthesilea, Harpalyce and perhaps Atalanta -- and possibly modelled in part on some popular heroine in Italian history or folk-lore. In Aeneid 11.662, he compares Camilla directly with Penthesilea, both being bellatrices (Aen 1.493; 7.805). In the catalogue he mentions her origin, comrades, swift-footedness, spectacular attire and simple arms. Her costume certainly recalls Diana's. Born Volsca de gente (7.803) Camilla is the leader of a cavalcade of squadrons (agmen equitum, 7.804) "aflower with bronze -- a description repeated in Aeneid 11.433:

agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas.

Unaccustomed to the domestic arts of Minerva (7.805-6), Camilla is trained to endure grim battles (7.806-7). Depicting alike the swiftness and ease of her powerful movements, Vergil exalts her to a magical and marvellous world, similar to that of Umbro. Umbro (7.750-60), with his ability to charm snakes and heal snake-bites, evokes the realm of the supernatural, a theme further reinforced by the idea of witch-craft associated with the Marsi (7.758). The sinister atmosphere of primitive Italy is emphasised even more by the arrival en scène of Virbius, son of Hippolytus, born in Diana's grove of Aricia, where the nymph Egeria instructed King Numa in religious truths (7.761ff). Chthonic associations are built up by reference to the rich shrine of Diana at Lake Nemi, where she was worshipped with Virbius (Hippolytus), son of Theseus and the Amazon Hippolyta, who was restored to life by Asclepius and Diana's love (7.769). These sinister implications are further heightened by the arrival of Turnus, who precedes Camilla in the catalogue. The arms adopted by Turnus -- the Chimaera on his helmet, breathing forth Etnaean flames together with the golden emblem of Io on his shield, the fire and water associated in his characterization -- represented to the ancients insanity and instability. Hence Allecto had merely to implant, not develop, the furor which was thus implicit in his nature.

At this point Camilla, who follows hos super (7.803), conveys in spite of her etherial qualities an idea of strength and superiority.[6] Indeed her very position bringing up the rear of the catalogue, is one of supreme importance, but so far Vergil stresses only her regal bearing (regius... honos, 7.814-15) -- the royal scarlet which veils her shoulders (ut... ostro velet levis umeros, 7.814-15), the golden broach which catches up her hair (7.815-16), -- instant reminders of the dress of Diana and of Dido (Aen. 4, 136-9). At the sight of so much royalty and beauty matrons and young men stream forth on all sides to gape in open-mouthed astonishment (7.813). Camilla's arms are simple: a Lycian quiver, betokening her skill at archery, and a shepherd's myrtle staff, yet a staff with a blade ominously set in its head. It is significant that Vergil ends the catalogue with this sinister reference to Camilla's staff, the symbol of paradoxical Italy, whose pastoral landscape has an underlying hint of menace. Camilla and her squadrons recall Amata and her matres on their Bacchic rout (Aeneid 7.394-6):

> deseruere domos, ventis dant colla comasque;
> ast aliae tremulis ululatibus aethera complent
> pampineasque gerunt incinctae pellibus hastas.

Thus in Aeneid 7, Camilla at her first appearance has been on the whole portrayed in a romantic light, in a fairy-tale, princess-like image. Yet negative and chthonic undertones have already been hinted at by her position with Umbro and Turnus in the catalogue, by the references to Virbius and Diana of Aricia, and by her unfortunate resemblance to Dido

(Aen. 4.136-9) and Amata both creatures possessed of furor. As Camilla is caught up in a web of mysterious associations, religious laws and strange taboos, the reader is involuntarily attuned for a tragic end.

The stage is now set for Camilla's major appearance in Aeneid 11. As the Latins are concluding an important debate with regard to the kind of action they should take (11.225-467), Aeneas brings the issue to a head by moving in to attack. Turnus furens (11.486) girds himself immediately for battle. Gold and glittering (fulgebat... aureus, 11.490) he streaks down from the citadels height eager to do battle (exsultatque animis et spe iam praecipit hostem, 11.491). Turnus, in the Council of Latins, had already revealed his intense admiration for the Volscian queen by declaring that even though Diomedes and the city of Arpi refused to aid the Latins all was not lost (11.429-32):

> at Messapus erit felixque Tolumnius et quos
> tot populi misere duces, nec parva sequetur
> gloria delectos Latio et Laurentibus agris.
> est et Volscorum egregia de gente Camilla
> agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas.

Camilla's first appearance in Book II is marked by the alliteration of "c" (obvia cui Volscorum acie comitante Camilla/occurrit... Aen.11.498-9). This outstanding Latin leader without further ado dismounts lightly displaying a bravura and self-confidence typical of Turnus himself. Decisively she takes control of the situation offering to meet the Etruscan cavalry in battle, meanwhile instructing a a somewhat static Turnus to defend the city-walls (11.506).

Turnus, who has undoubtedly met his match, is clearly impressed as he gazes upon this horrenda virgo (11.507),[7] this exquisite maiden with something of the monster about her, and deputising her to share in the leadership, reveals his plan to ambush Aeneas (11.515-16).

> furta paro belli convexo in tramite silvae,
> ut bivias armato obsidam milite fauces.

He thus leaves all the action to Camilla as though his fiducia had deserted him after Juno's spiriting him away from the battlefield (10.633-60), suggesting that she act in concert with Messapus (7.791ff; 11.429, 518) and the Tiburtine bands (7.761; 11.519).[8] Their stratagem decided, Turnus marches away towards Latinus' city through steep unguarded hill country.

Sinister undertones occur once more in Vergil's description of the glen where the ambush is supposed to take place (11.522-29) -- a valley, accomoda fraudi/armorumque dolis (11.522-23), hemmed in on both sides by slopes, dark with dense undergrowth, thereby conjuring up to the Roman mind a host of associations: -- the woods of the doomed through which Aeneas had to pass (6.139); the dark woods which became a prison for Nisus and Euryalus (9.380ff), who like Turnus and Camilla were noted for their cupido; the valley of Amsanctus, entrance to the Underworld for the returning Fury Allecto, with its sulphurous stench, breathing-holes, great eddying abyss where Acheron bursts through (7.565ff). Situated in the territory of the Hirpini densis

frondibus atrum urget utrumque latus, the description of Amsanctus coincides exactly with that of the intended ambush spot, the volcanic image, evoked by the description of the spot, entirely in keeping with the seething, unbridled passion of Turnus. The path leading to the place of ambush was ill-defined, the pass (fauces, 11.525) narrow, the approach forbidding, evocative of Livy's description of the Romans ambushed in 321 B.C. in the Caudine Forks (9.2.6). Above the pass, among the hill-tops, was a level plain which afforded cover, enabling attackers to take their victims by surprise or to roll down boulders upon them (11.527-9). This description causes further associations to come to mind:

1) the Wooden Horse, that monstrum infelix (2.245) described in Aeneid 2.18-20:

> huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim
> includunt caeco lateri penitusque cavernas
> ingentis uterumque armato milite complent.

2) the treacherous Sinon, who having escaped from his captors, lurked in a marshy lake, hidden by sedge (2.135-6):

> limosoque lacu per noctem obscurus in ulva
> delitui.....

3) Hercules' tearing-up of the high crag, thereby revealing the lurking-place of the monstrous Cacus (8.241-2):

> at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
> regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae.

4) the one-eyed giant of the Cyclopes, Polyphemus, hurling down boulders upon Odysseus (κορυφὴν ὄρεος μεγάλοιο Odyssey, 9.481). Servius (ad Aen. 4.131) defines silvae as "dens of darkness in which rage and lust hold sway" (nam per silvas tenebras et lustra significat, in quibus feritas et libido dominantur). This treacherous painting of Nature in Aeneid 11.522ff is further paralleled in Aeneid 6.201, where Venus' doves lead Aeneas in his quest for the golden bough ad fauces grave olentis Averni.

The introduction completed, the reader is transported from infernal darkness to Olympian brightness (11.532-96), where the goddess Diana in a narrative speech to her nymph Opis acquaints the reader with Camilla's far from normal upbringing and with her devotion to herself (11.535-85). She concludes with instructions to Opis to avenge her votary's death and with her own plans for Camilla's burial (11.586-96). Diana's utterance is one of three Italian myths in the Aeneid and compares with Evander's story of the overthrow of Cacus by Hercules (8.187-275) and with his narration of the founding of Latium (8.314-36). The goddess' speech serves to make Camilla the focal point of attention, detailing what was merely hinted at in the catalogue of Italian forces (7.803-17). It provides, in addition, a highly refreshing, if superficial, pastoral prelude to the savage battle-scenes that follow. The episode is a romantic one, reminiscent of that of Achaemenides, companion of Odysseus (3.599-606; 613-54).

In spite of the apparent peace and rustic tranquility of the woodland haven in which Camilla's childhood was spent, there are suggestions of latent violence, touched upon in the deceptive shepherd's crook (7.817). Although highly stylized this pastoral paradise[9] with an underlying hint of menace, nevertheless, reflects the granite-like harshness of primitive Italy -- a characteristic inherited by her children. The desire to hunt and kill is ever present, implicit in Camilla's upbringing in trackless glades, her nourishment consisting of the food of wild beasts, her playthings weapons of war, her clothes the skin of the tiger (11.570-80). In order to appreciate this aspect more fully, a scrutinizing look at Diana (nemorum cultrix, 11.557) and at Opis (unam ex virginibus sociis sacraque caterva, 11.533; nympha, 11.588) is required.

Of all Italian deities, Diana[10] would seem to be one of the most mysterious. As a woodland deity she had three principal shrines, all of which were set in oak-forests, at Mount Algidus in the Alban Hills, at Mount Tifata north of Capua,[11] and most famous of all, at Aricia in the Alban Hills, where she was worshipped as Diana Nemorensis, the shrine being located on Lake Nemi (7.516). This cult-centre was popularly known -- as noted by Servius -- as Dianae speculum.

Two lesser divinities were associated with Diana in her grove at Nemi, Egeria and Virbius. Egeria was the water-nymph who, according to tradition, instructed King Numa at their nocturnal meetings in the laws that he gave to the Romans.[12] Virbius was the young Greek hero Hippolytus, son

of Theseus and Hippolyta, companion of the goddess Diana (Artemis). Aphrodite, incensed by his scorn, inspired Phaedra his step-mother with love for him. Theseus, falsely believing him to have seduced Phaedra, invoked the vengeance of Poseidon upon Hippolytus and banished him. The monster, sent by Poseidon from the sea, so terrified Hippolytus' horses, as he drove in his chariot along the shores of the Saronic Gulf, that they bolted dragging Hippolytus under their hooves and killing him. But Diana hid her favourite in the grove of Egeria having restored him to life by the skill of Asclepius and her own love (Paeoniis revocatum herbis et amore Dianae, 7.769); thus in Roman legend he was known as Virbius (vir bis or twice-born). Horses were thereafter excluded from the grove (7.778-80) since they had been the direct cause of Hippolytus' death. Virbius, son of Hippolytus, undaunted by his father's fate, drove his fiery steeds to help the Latins in the war against Aeneas and the Trojans (7.761-82).

Another interesting tradition associated with Aricia was the custom whereby the priesthood of the grove was given to a runaway slave after he had plucked the branch from a certain tree there and slain his predecessor. This clearly originated with Virbius, founder of the sacred grove and first King of Nemi. These priests were thus bound up with a sacred tree, the embodiment of the goddess Diana, safe from attack whilst that tree was uninjured. Camilla in her devotion to Diana was entangled accordingly in a web of folk-lore and superstition.

Diana, the Italian spirit of groves and woods, became identified at an early date with the Greek goddess Artemis, sister of Apollo, a huntress armed with bow and arrows.[13] Diana became accordingly Moon Goddess, with her silver bow: she acquired chthonic associations with Hecate as well as the cult-title Trivia, from being worshipped, like Hecate, at the cross-roads. Bailey discusses the various aspects of Diana in Vergil. He concludes that she is the Greek Artemis at times, the Moon Goddess Luna or Selene, Trivia, a mere synonym for Apollo's sister -- particularly where Aeneas at Cumae refers to the temple, later built to Apollo on the Palatine by Augustus when the Palatine trio-Latona, Apollo and Diana -- were made guardians of art and culture (tum Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templum/ instituam ... 6.69-70) and Trivia as Hecate.[14] The pyre of Dido (ilice secta, 6.505), the holm-oak, associated with Diana's cult centres, is here in some mysterious way associated with death. Furthermore, Dido's priestess -- just as the Sibyl of Cumae in 6.247ff -- calls upon Erebus and Chaos tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae (4.510) once more stressing the infernal aspect of the dea triformis. In Aen. 4.609 Dido appeals to Hecate (nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes), in her capacity as goddess of the cross-roads (Theocritus. 2.36). Thus Vergil was on the whole discriminating in the use of Diana's functions. Nevertheless it is of interest to note that Nisus and Euryalus, who have

so much in common with Camilla, too, had a special devotion to Diana, for Nisus prays to Luna (Aen. 9.403-5).

> tu dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori
> astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos.

A further link with Camilla is maintained by the fact that Diana in the Camilla episode is twice addressed as Latona's daughter (11.534, 557).

The very name Artemis means "butcher" (ἀρτάρος). An example of her capacity in this direction is illustrated by her having Actaeon, changed into a stag, torn to pieces with his own pack of fifty hounds (Hyginus Fabula, 181; Pausanius, 9.2.3) and paralleled by the ability of her devotees, Nisus and Euryalus (9.314ff) and Camilla (11.648ff) to indulge in carnage and bloodshed. This aspect of Diana might serve to give some credence to a possible association with Bellona[15] and explain the Amazon-like Camilla's frenzy (at medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon, 11.648) and her indefatigable prowess with the bipennis (11.651) and securis (11.696), yet far more probable, I feel, is her association with Proserpina; in her connection with death (Triviae custos....Opis, 11.836).

Diana, in her association with Egeria, would seem to be the Italian Diana (7.774), for throughout Roman literature nymphs and goddesses were frequently entrusted with divine messages -- Numa, for example, was instructed in divine worship by Egeria, Arruns of Clusium learned of

Jupiter's decisions from Vegoia, Iris carried Juno's instructions to Turnus (9.5ff) and carried out the requirements of Dis and Proserpina with regard to Dido (4.693ff). Similarly Opis, Triviae custos, obeys Diana, her descriptions in Aeneid, 11.867 having a marked resemblance to that of Iris (...et in caelum paribus se sustulit alis, 9.14) and in 11.595-6 to that of Allecto (7.561-2) -- another employee of the gods (Juno) -- as well as to the Etruscan vanth, the goddess so often depicted with powerful wings, representing like her Greek counterpart, Μοῖρα , implacable fate. In Etruscan tomb art, these female spirits, generally fair to look upon (Opis is pulcherrima, 11.852), dressed like huntresses, went to meet and accompany the dead to Proserpina. In support of Diana's identification with Proserpina, there is a reference to Diana's counterpart Soractian Apollo (11.785). The shrine on Mount Soracte was shared by Soranus and Feronia, the Mantis and Mania of the Etruscans, identified with Dis and Proserpina. In addition Servius comments that Soranus was an epithet of Dis. Vergil throughout the Aeneid would seem to have a genuine affection for the old spirit gods of Italy,[16] a warmth he does not seem to extend to the anthropomorphic figures of the Graeco-Roman pantheon. Frazer puts forward an interesting theory: Virbius, the King of the Wood, identified with Diana, was a local form of Jupiter, and Jupiter and Juno, Dianus and Diana, Janus and Jana are mere duplicates of each other, varying with location and dialect.[17] This would account for an overlap

in functions. Juno and Diana were both fertility goddesses, deities of childbirth, both sooner or later identified with the Moon. This conclusion helps a great deal, I feel, in assessing Opis and Juturna.

Opis, like Diana, poses an enigma. T. T. Duke considers that Opis was derived from εὔοπις (fair-faced), which became abbreviated to ὄπις (vengeance) and finally to ὄψις (vision, sight).[18] He concludes that Opis might possibly be:

a) One of the Hyperborean maidens[19]

b) Artemis herself.[20]

c) A nymph associated with her.[21]

Other interpretations include Ops or Opis, wife of Saturn, a goddess of the harvest, identified by the Romans with the Greek Rhea and the "vision" theory of Köves-Zulauf, who stresses the fact that Opis, divine avenger of the virgin Camilla, differs from her fellow-votary inasmuch as she sees without being seen.[22] She is the ἐπόπτης. My own conclusion, however, is that Opis is derived from opes meaning aid or support, and that as such she parallels Juturna (iuvo-are-iuvi iutum). Her function is to aid Diana in watching over Camilla as Juturna's is to aid Juno by protecting Turnus. Both are nymphs (11.588; 12.142). Opis, according to Ovid (Met. 5.573) and Pausanius (5.7) was a nymph in the train of Diana, and is also mentioned as a naiad with Gyrene and Arethusa (Geor. 4.343ff) whereas she

(Fabulae, praef). Juturna was likewise associated with springs (tantum effata caput glauco contexit amictu/multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto, 12.855-6). If Frazer's theory of identifiable pairs of deities holds good, Vergil in Aeneid 11 and 12 has made two sets of perfect parallels: Opis, aids Diana, who can not change Soractian Apollo's death-sentence of Camilla (11.794-5), just as Juturna helps Juno, who is eventually forced to submit to Jupiter's will with regard to the death of Turnus (12.791ff). Likewise Camilla and Turnus have highly questionable deaths at the hands of Arruns and Aeneas. This theory of a parallellism might possibly explain Highet's concern that the goddess Diana should be so concerned as "to relate a long saga about a doomed girl" and his lack of conviction in what he takes to be Vergil's excuse (neque enim novus iste Dianae/venit amor, 11.537-8).[23]

Although Vergil had many themes at his disposal, it seems possible that his discovery of Metabus of Privernum, in Cato's Origines, actually triggered off the idea of a savage primitive father and daughter combination. Metabus would seem to be a Harpalycus all' italiana. Vergil is clearly highly aware, in this section of the Aeneid, of "the Etruscan control and exploitation of Latium and Campania,"[24] implicit in his use of Metabus of Privernum, Mezentius of Caere, Tarchon, Turnus of Ardea and Dercennus (11.850), as well as in the affinity between Camilla and Cloelia, so admired by Etruscan P

(so frequently mentioned in cavalry engagements, 11.429, 518-19), is the alter ego of Metabus and that both being forms of an Illyrian original relate to the eponymous hero of the Messapians, the founder of Metapontum.[25] Messapus, mentioned along with Ufens and Mezentius among the ductores primi (8.6), is given so marked a position in the catalogue (At Messapus, equum domitor, Nepturnia proles,/quem neque fas igni cuiquam nec sternere ferro, 7.691-2) that Williams considers that Vergil is anxious to pay tribute to his predecessor Ennius,[26] who -- so Servius states -- was descended from the eponymous hero of Southern Italy; by praising the quality of song in his followers, who bronze-clad, chanting marching-songs and moving rhythmically, are further compared with swans (7.698-705), an intricate epic description based on Homer (Iliad, 2.459ff) and accordingly befitting an ancestor of Ennius.

At the time of Metabus, the Volsci were descending from the spine of Italy towards the Western plain and swamps. Privernum[27] (modern Piperno), although a city of Latium in the territory of the Volsci, some forty miles south-east of Rome, has nevertheless an Etruscan-type name. Hence the city of Metabus may well have been a stronghold of the Etruscans to protect their communications with Capua and the South. Although the Privernates were Volscians, who spoke a sort of Umbrian, Metabus would appear to have been an Etruscan or one who ruled in Etruscan interests. This might explain his

Servius (11.567-8) considers him to have been a native of Privernum, whom the Volsci hated since they were resentful of Etruscan control. Duke proffers the theory that Metabus was expelled because he may have been a supporter of Mezentius of Caere or of Turnus of Ardea.[28] Such, however, was the entanglement in local legend that one can understand why Vergil reverses and moulds it at times to suit the purpose of his story. Köves-Zulauf in treating Metabus -- Camilla suggests that Vergil had in mind a local saga dealing with a Melanippe-type female, partner of the water-god Metabos.[29] It may be of some significance that Melanippe was the subject of two tragedies, one by Ennius,[30] the other by Attius.[31] Servius, somewhat ingeniously, suggests that Metabus may have come from the participle μετα βάς (μετα βαίνω), but this would seem like a gloss, as the "crossing over" was hardly significant to Metabus' career.[31]

Metabus, furiously pursued by his former subjects, the Privernates, escapes from them by a spectacular plunge into the flood-waters of the Amasenus (dat sese fluvio, 11. 565), resembling Turnus' escape from the Trojan camp by diving fearlessly into the Tiber (tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis/in fluvium dedit, 9.815-16), having previously saved the life of his infant daughter Camilla, by wrapping her in a protective covering of bark and tying her to his spear (11.552ff), which he hurled across the swollen waters after praying to the goddess Diana for her safety,

promising in return to make the child her famula (ipse pater famulam voveo, 11.588). Metabus' prayer (11.557-60), promising a favour in return, recalls the prayer of Nisus to Luna (9.404-9). Nisus beseeches her intercession by recalling past favours performed by his father Hyrtacus and himself to her in her capacity as Artemis, goddess of the hunt, before he hurls his spear at Sulmo with similar success. The reference to the flooding river brings to mind the story of Romulus and Remus (Aen.: 1.276-7; 8.630-34; Livy 1.4.3ff). Their mother was a vestal virgin (regina sacerdos, 1.273 (Camilla) virginitatis amorem/...colit, 11.583-4); they too were saved in a miraculous way from the flood-waters of the Tiber (Livy 1.4.4.). Furthermore, the wife of Faustulus, who looked after the boys, was Acca Larentia (Livy 1.4.7; Aen. 11.655, 820). Since immersion and river-crossings are symbolic of change, Camilla, bound to the spear, was symbolically associated with war-fare for life (correpta,,, militia, 11.584-5).

In composing such a highly impressionistic painting of a warrior-princess, Vergil's sources must have been many and varied. He may well have referred to the Aethiopis[33] as well as to the Iliad, particularly for the fighting scenes. Since Amazon-type females were reputed to inhabit Thrace and Anatolia, Vergil needed to mould his creation to conform somewhat with Italian tradition.

He was obviously influenced by Harpalyce (Aen. 1. 315-20), daughter of the legendary Harpalycus, King of Thrace as well as by Harpalyce, daughter of Clymenus of Arcadia. The former was trained in the art of hunting to become a female version of her father -- a robber-wolf. After her father, expelled by rebellious subjects had died, Harpalyce remained in the forest from which she emerged only to pillage the peasants in revenge. They however eventually caught her in a net and killed her, presenting annually at her grave a mock fight to gratify her resentful spirit -- which must have had much in common with the individual souls of both Camilla and Turnus (vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras, 11.831; 12;952). The other Harpalyce bore a son as the result of an incestuous union with her father, served the child as food to Clymenus and was slain and turned into a bird of prey. Camilla is likewise described as accipiter (11.721), whilst her companion Tulla (11.656) was notorious for her impiety and incestuous relations with her brother-in-law (Livy, 1.46-7). Köves-Zulauf states Camilla may originate from κάμνω which used transitively means "to work hard" and that in the sense of "the one who exerts herself" she may be equated with the young unmarried women bearing the name Valeria.[34]

Another possible influence on Vergil was the story of Atalanta, daughter of Iasus. Atalanta, like Camilla, had had an unusual childhood. Exposed as a babe on Mount Parthenius in Arcadia, she had been suckled by a she-bear --

somewhat in the manner of Camilla (11.570-2):

> hic natam in dumis interque horrentia lustra
> armentalis equae mammis et lacte ferino
> nutribat teneris immulgens ubera labris.

Atalanta was extremely swift of foot((Camilla) pernicibus ignea plantis/transit... 11.718ff)[35] and lived in the Arcadian hills as a huntress. Camilla is also a venatrix (11.780) and stresses primitive Italy by the description of her hunting-attire (tigridis exuviae per dorsum a vertice pendent, 11.577). Atalanta, moreover, led an adventurous life fighting the centaurs Hylaeus and Rhoeteus,[36] whereas Camilla is supported by Catillus and Coras, whose violent associations are underlined (ceu duo nubigenae Centauri, 7.674). Both were attracted by gold: Camilla at the sight of Chloreus' finery burned femineo praedae et spoliorum...amore (11.782), Atalanta, on the other hand, was distracted in her race with Milanion, who assessed her feminine psychology in similar terms by dropping the three golden apples.

Vergil was also well acquainted with the story of Medea, treated in Pindar's fourth Pythian Ode, the subject of Euripides' tragedy and of great importance in the second part of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica. Medea's crimes, like those of Camilla's band, included murder and fratricide; like Camilla, Medea had superhuman powers. Kőves-Zulauf refers to a Pacuvius fragment, comparing Camilla with the description of Medea on it: caelitum camilla exspectata

advenis; salve hospita (quae) exsul incerta vagat. Medea was a priestly camilla. Like Camilla she was a fugitive (exsilio comes, 11.542). In Medea's well-known story, as in Camilla's, the mother has no part but the father does.[37] Both have a romantic attraction that is at the same time unnatural (horrenda, 11.507).

There were also various Italian sources at Vergil's disposal. The heroic maiden Cloelia had much in common with Camilla, apart from the obvious similarity in name. A representative of primitive Italy, her courage was extolled even by Porsenna, her enemy. Both Cloelia and Camilla are decora: Cloelia virgo is among the feminae quoque ad publica decora excitatae (Livy, 2.13.6), Camilla is referred to by Turnus as decus Italiae virgo (11.508). Both were associated with rivers: Cloelia swam the Tiber to escape Porsenna with a band of hardy Amazonian-type maidens (dux agminis virginum... Tiberim tranavit, Livy, 2.13,6). Camilla, who had a miraculous escape across the Amasenus, tied to her father's spear (11. 547ff) headed a troop of Amazonian cavalry (agmen agens equitum, 7.804, 11.648ff). Porsenna guaranteed to send back the heroic maiden intactam inviolatamque (Livy, 2.13.8). Camilla was likewise intemerata (11.584). Cloelia, like Camilla, had an equestrian association (pace redintegrata Romani novam in femina virtutem novo genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere: in summa sacra via fuit posita virgo insidens equo, Livy, 2.13.11).

Camilla also had affinities with the Valeriae.[38]

One Valeria ("strong-one") caused the surrender of the Volscian city of Pometia. Like Camilla she also lived in the Pontine Marsh region, was a monstrous character, a girl who usurped the war-hardened role of men: similar to Camilla she was cast an infans out of a city only to return to a city (....miserandae corpus et arma/inspoliata feram tumulo patriaeque reponam, 11.593-4). A second Valeria was Valeria Luperca of Faliscan folk-lore. Aggressive in character like Camilla, she appears on Roman coins armed with spear, shield and helmet. Valeria Luperca belonged to the region from which Arruns originated (11.787-8). Köves-Zulauf points out that whereas virgins were regularly victimized for many years in Falerii, according to the sagas, the gods interfered when Valeria Luperca was slaughtered and her name was honoured, -- an example of the special treatment accorded a "strong" virgin when killed or wounded (sacrum corpus, 11.591). Since these figures appear in the anecdotes of Valerius Maximus their historicity affords some doubt yet Köves-Zulauf refers to Gagé's conclusions of the existence of an ancient class of armed virgines in central Italy in support of the Valeriae theory. In this category he includes Nerio (Martis) whose name means the "strong one" (ἀ-νηρ), supporter of the Amazons fighting on the side of Mars[39] (seu circum Hippolyten seu cum se Martia curru/Penthesilea refert...., 11.661-2).

Camilla is unique. Although one may detect various sources in her composition from mythology, folk-lore and history, Vergil has nevertheless lavished upon his Volscian queen (as upon his Carthaginian queen) the most subtle and varied resources of his art. He has presented her strengths and her weaknesses with an obvious admiration tempered with humanitas. Through Camilla he has constructed an everlasting memorial to the primitive Italian warrior-maiden, majestically barbaric, undefiled by contact with so-called civilization.

Carlo Goldoni, the eighteenth century Italian playwright, whose characters were largely drawn as a result of his sensitive observations on life and human behaviour in glittering Venice, also intuitively admired the straightforwardness of the primitive world, humanely regretting the barbarism of civilization, particularly in La Peruviana and La Bella Selvaggia -- the latter title containing an acutely concise description of Camilla. Eufemia, an Amazonian-type fore-runner of the feminine movement, vindicates the rights of women in Giustino (Act 3, Sc. 2)

> To him, who removed from us
> the use of the sword and put in our right hands
> the distaff and the spindle, I shall show
> the wrong he did to us; we lack only usage
> and not strength
> and if our sex were to reign, we should not see
> So many follies for which the world is so sad.

Scholars are concerned, however, about the name Camilla. Why was Vergil's heroine called Camilla? Does it represent a tradition or an invention? Servius (11.543)

considers it to be the feminine form of Camillus and to be Etruscan. Possibly Diana's protegée was connected with Camillus, national hero of ancient Roman history, member of of the gens Furia and conqueror of the Veii (c. 396B.C.). Page considers Aeneid 11.543 "to give a sense of etymological and antiquarian lore, but its meaning is not clear." He refers to a quotation from Varro (Casmilus nominatur deus quidam administer Dis Magnis, L.L.734) pointing to the possibility of equating camilla with famula (11.558)[40]. Bailey suggests that, if there was an older form Casmilla, as Vergil states (11.543), it might be derived from carmen and suggest a prophetic nymph associated with Diana of Nemi.[41] Although this theory is rejected by Duke,[42] Camilla had nevertheless, many of the characteristics associated with nymphs:[43] -- she was connected with water (11.547, 562) and trees (11.553, 667), she was airy, young and beautiful (7. 806ff), ever-moving (7.803ff; 11.498, 718); she could be formidable (11.664ff); she was not immortal (11.801ff).

Consensus of opinion, however, mentions the possible derivation from camillus, camilla, a noble child who attended the flamines and flaminicae,[44] yet Duke and Köves-Zulauf point out that, in this case, camilla was improperly used, since in Roman religious ceremonies the camillus-a had to have both parents alive, not be of marriageable age and the natural child -- as opposed to the adopted -- of a priestly couple who ad sacrificia praeministrabat . They also point

to the possibility of a semitic origin to the name since near-eastern children were often called "servant of god" (Kadmi'el). Duke would seem to favour this interpretation since newly discovered inscriptions at Pyrgi, the major Etruscan port frequented by Punic traders, demonstrate the presence of Canaan in Etruscan Italy. Hadas, too, mentions that Jewish beliefs were a matter of common knowledge. He claims that the Aeneid possesses the character of hagiographa.[45]

Vergil does, however, state three points clearly: Camilla's name was derived with, a slight change, from her mother's name Casmilla; Camilla was an acolyte of Diana; yet Camilla's main role was that of an Amazon bellatrix. Vergil, antiquarian that he was, must certainly have been aware of the near-Eastern and possible Etruscan associations in Casmilla.[46] Yet his heroine was Italian and an Amazon. His Camilla, in her secondary role as Diana's votary, has the nuances of a camilla, but since she is primarily a warrior-maiden, I feel that this is the aspect uppermost in her name. Vergil himself mentions her equals -- Hippolyte and Penthesilea -- in his simile of Camilla in battle (11.659-63). Since their names describe their principal function which is connected with their command of horses and squadrons, I feel that Camilla's name is on similar Greek lines (κάρνω - ἴλα) meaning she who "exerts her squadron", an almost exact translation of agmen agens equitum (Camilla/agmen agens equitum, 7.803-4) in Vergil's introduction to her. Her association with the camilla of Etruscan/Roman religion is

thus a secondary function, and one designated to make his heroine an Italian Amazon, unique on that account.

Had Camilla's devotion to Diana been primarily that of an acolyte and of a more priestly nature, she might have continued to live on unmolested in some sequestered Italian glade. As it was, she joined Turnus' standards and went to war not only as a representative of primitive Italy against a founder of cities but also -- as Diana ruefully admitted to Opis (11.585) -- because she could not resist war.

Meanwhile Diana charged Opis with avenging her favourite's death (11.590-94), inevitable since fatis urgetur acerbis (11.587). Diana declares her intention to convey the piteous body unspoiled and shrouded in a mist to Privernum for a tomb-burial -- reminiscent to the Roman reader of Zeus' instructions to Apollo to pay all proper tribute to Sarpedon (Iliad 16.667ff).

Now the cavalry battle outside Latinus' city intensifies on a grand scale, acting as an interlude between Camilla's sylvan upbringing and her aristeia (11.597-647). The whole scene is one of movement (fremit aequore toto, 11. 599) starting with the war-horses, which cavorting and prancing, are seething for action, yet are, nevertheless, restrained until the moment for attack is ripe (11.600-1). The imagery of the battle-field -- a bristling crop of drawn steel ranging far and wide as far as the eye can see -- recalls Aen. 7.525ff. Horret (horrescit)seges occurs in Georgics 2. 142, Aeneid 3.46 and 12.663 also, containing overtones from

Ennius (horrescit telis exercitus. Annales 393) and Homer (ἔφριξεν δὲ μάχη φθισίμβροτος ἐγχείῃσιν· Iliad 13.339).

Messapus, Catillus, Coras and Camilla head the Latin cavalry squadrons (7.670ff, 691ff, 803ff; 11.464-65, 517-19, 603-4). The urging of their beasts, the shower of weapons on all sides (11.610-11), all serve to intensify the atmosphere of battle-fever, the crebra nivis ritu once more reminding the reader of Homer (Iliad 12.156). This chillingly effective natural image of a snow-storm in the Appenines is quickly reinforced by a second simile (11.624-8), in which the alternations of battle are compared to the ebb and flow of the ocean, symbolizing the engulfing tide of Civil War. This second simile also would seem to have been inspired by a Homeric one (Iliad 11.305ff) where the waves roll on impelled by the mind, but the ebb and flow of battle theme is not present in the Homeric passage. The "s" sounds representing a surge (11.625-26) are contrasted with the liquid smoothness of the "l" and "r" sounds evocative of ebbing waters (11.627-8), the rhythm being maintained by the two elisions in 11.632. Twice the Etruscans prevail, twice the Latins. At their third encounter they interlock for close combat recalling the Homeric ἔνθα δ' ἀνὴρ ἕλεν ἄνδρα (Iliad 15. 328).

Orsilochus a Trojan (11.636) hurls a spear at Remulus' horse -- providing a visual flashback to Aeneas' unhorsing of Mezentius by the same method (10.891) and to Numanus, a contemptor likewise, similarly despatched by

Ascanius (9.598-620). Herminius, despatched by Catillus, recalls Horatius Cocles, who was so full of audacia and fiducia when defending the bridge to prevent Porsenna from entering Rome (ipso miraculo audaciae obstupefecit hostis Livy, 2.10.5) that he did not even resort to the normal means of defending his person (11.642-4):

> ...nudo cui vertice fulva
> caesaries nudique umeri; nec vulnera terrent,
> tantus in arma patet...

Camilla, at the beginning of her aristeia (11.648-724) is described -- at medias inter caedes exultat Amazon -- a characteristic shared by both Turnus and Lausus (10.813; 11.491). Vergil's description of Camilla in action (11.648-54) is evocative of the panel relief in Juno's temple at Carthage, depicting Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons (1.490-3)

> ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
> Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet,
> aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae,
> bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo.

As before Camilla bursts dramatically upon the scene (7.803ff; 11.498ff), dealing death all around her with an incredible swiftness and energy. Like Penthesilea, she is an Amazon; like Penthesilea her one breast is exposed for freedom in the fight; like Penthesilea she appears like a streak of gold in battle. This passage (11.648-63) is highly reminiscent of Aeneid 1.498-502, a simile, following closely upon the panel description of Penthesilea, in which Dido is compared to Diana: pharetrata Camilla (11.649) is balanced

by illa (Diana) pharetram fert umero (1.501); circum lectae comites (11.655) re-echoes magna iuvenum stipante caterva (1.497). Here the streams of the Thermodon are mentioned (11.659), there Diana leads her devotees along the banks of the Eurotas (1.498). As Camilla is dearer to Diana, than anyone else (cara mihi ante alias, 11.537) so Latona thrills at the sight of her daughter (Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus, 1.502). This Artemis-image is further emphasised by the identical descriptions of the crescent-shaped shields -- lunatae peltae (1.490; 11.663). The panel relief in Aeneid 1 engraved with the exploits of famous heroes who fought for Troy and suffered untimely deaths, heroes such as Rhesus, Memnon, Hector and Penthesilea, would seem to be a deliberate forecast of Camilla and other principals in Books 7 to 12, the Iliadic section of the Aeneid.

Camilla is ever conspicuous, ever seen (7.812ff; 11.498ff, 699, 800). She is decus (11.508, 657), a keyword in her characterization aligning her with deities and heroes.[47] Camilla is a glittering figure, the centre of admiration, a figure in royal scarlet and gold attended by her Volscian virgines "a flower with bronze" (7.803), recalling the aeratae acies of Messapus (7.703). Yet though decus to her allies, she is dedecus (11.789), a dira pestis (11.792) to her assassin, terms applied to Turnus and to the Dirae respectively.[48] This combination of opposites serves to underline her ambivalent nature veering from an ethereal purity to raging blood-lust.

The Volscian queen's attendants delighting in their ululante tumultu (11.662) present a horrifying picture, recalling the Hecate-aspect of Diana (nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbem, 4.609). The virgo Larina (11.655), Tulla, Tarpeia (11. 656) and Acca (11.820, 823, 897), a motley crowd, seem to be connected with shadowy underworld powers and treacherous unnatural characters in Roman History and folk-lore.

Larina, in the opinion of Kôves-Zulauf, might well be a cryptogram for Acca Larentina.[49] This would seem to be a logical conclusion since Acca fida ante alias (11.820) is omitted in 11.655-56 when the band is introduced. Camilla's fondness for Acca might well be expressed by the use of the diminutive Larina. Acca Larentina (Laurentina) was a shadowy Italian earth-goddess, worshipped at the Laurentalia on December 23rd. She was one of the Di Inferi and used as a kind of bogey to frighten children. She was also reputed to be the mother of the Fratres Arvales, whose college was revived by Angustus.[50] According to Livy (1.4.6.), Acca Larentina was a prostitute, a lupa, wife of Faustulus and foster-mother of Romulus and Remus. Here Acca ministers to Camilla at her death (resembling in this respect Anna, sister of Dido) and bears her final message to Turnus.

Tarpeia is also designated by Bailey as a shadowy underground deity, one of the Di Inferi.[51] According to Varro, Tarpeia was a Vestal Virgin to placate whose spirit libations were offered annually.[52] Livy (1.11.6ff) describes

how after the Rape of the Sabines organized by Romulus, Tarpeia, daughter of the commander of the Roman citadel, undertook to betray the citadel to the Sabines in return for the heavy golden bracelets which they wore on their left arms, but far from rewarding her for her treachery, they crushed her -- a Vestal virgin -- to death with their bucklers. As Camilla betrayed the Latins through a love of gain (femineo praedae et spoliorum amore, 11.782), so Tarpeia betrayed her people through cupido. Like Camilla, Tarpeia, a guilty Vestal, was killed by men and a sacrum corpus violated (11.593).

Tulla or Tullia, in Roman legend, was the daughter of King Servius Tullius. Livy (1.46.5ff) tells how Tullia of the violent nature killed her sister and seduced her sister's husband Lucius Tarquinius, whom she eventually married after disposing of her own husband Arruns. She and Lucius Tarquinius (later Tarquinius Superbus) ousted her father from the throne and when he lay murdered in the road, Tullia impiously caused her coachman to drive over his dead body. Like Camilla, Tullia was a prey to violentia, audacia, amor habendi. Like Camilla, she too rebelled against the role of uxor, -- not to mention those of soror and filia.

Thus Camilla's pack of Amazons have many of the ingredients used to form the Volscian queen's character. Acca and Tarpeia are associated with chthonic earth deities; all are passionate, unnatural, reckless, violent, lustful, full of self-confidence and daring: in short they are traitors to their roles in life, revolutionaries.

Camilla at this point has much in common with Romulus and Remus. Reared in a woodland retreat (11.567ff; Livy 1.4.7), not only did they track down wild beasts, they also hunted human prey (11.577-80, 648-724; Livy 1.4.9). Surrounded by a band of attendants (11.655ff; Livy 1.4.9), Camilla's woodland asylum takes on many of the characteristics of Romulus' (asylum aperit, Livy 1.8.6), attracting misfits in society, revolutionaries, a turba...avida novarum rerum. Even their deaths had a common factor: Camilla was enshrouded by a nube cava (11.593), Romulus by a denso nimbo (Livy 1.16.1). Both were assured of immortality (dia Camilla, 11.657; facta fide immortalitatis, Livy 1.16.8).

Camilla's wild aggressiveness is emphasised again and again. Her behaviour is extremely Homeric, her bravery unreflecting and direct. Exulting in warfare, she disposes of twelve victims with seemingly effortless ease; every tool of warfare is equally effective when wielded by Camilla. Her aristeia is effectively enlived by a series of small character sketches of her unfortunate victims listed in Homeric style. Harpalycus for instance indicates lycanthropy, an allusion further expanded by reference to another victim Ornytus, dressed in his strange garb of nature -- a wolf's cap and a bullock's skin. Ornytus, a hunter (venator, 11.678) had not yet adjusted to the role of warrior (pugnator, 11.680). Here one is reminded of Lycus, a victim of Turnus who taunts his young and inexperienced victim, doomed to Hades,

in a similar way (9.560-61). The assumption of a false nature ends in tragic doom; as the Trojans disguised in Greek armour (2.424ff) and Euryalus who donned Messapus' helmet (9.365) perished, so too did Ornytus (the bird). Camilla's arrogant taunt, so like that of Pyrrhus to Polites (2.529ff), of Turnus to Pandarus (9.741-2) and to Pallas (10.491-5), of Mezentius to Orodes (10.743-4), forcibly reminds the reader that Camilla's own life-span is drawing to a close.

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

Camilla's slaying of Butes[53] and Orsilochus is brief yet graphic: the former she ran through from behind (aversum cuspide fixit, 11.691), the later, slayer of Remulus, she eluded by swinging into a narrow orbit (eludit gyro interior, 11.695) until the pursued became the pursuer. The circular movement is a constantly recurring image throughout the Aeneid. Cruttwell describes the function of a labyrinth as that of a "defence against unauthorized penetration material or spiritual."[54]

Camilla, aspera (11.664), accensa (11.709), furens (11.709, 762), ignea (11.718), caeca (11.781), incauta (11.781) treats war as a stimulating hunt, her adversaries as human prey. Ingenuous, yet not to be crossed, she is furious at the deception practised by the last of her victims, the "crafty Ligurian" son of Aunus (11.715). His taunt to Camilla (iam nosces ventosa ferat cui gloria fraudem, 11.

708) provokes her just as that of the insinuating Drances angered Turnus (flatusque remittat, 11.346). Fugax (713), vanus (715), lubricus (716), fallax (717) the son of Aunus has much in common with the Latin ambassador (ventosa in lingua pedibusque fugacibus, 11.390). Overtaking him, Camilla tears him apart as a "sacred" falcon treats a dove, grasping it unmercifully with hooked talons and disembowelling it whilst blood and feathers pour from the sky (11.720-4).[55] This lust to destroy, unpardonable in Turnus' treatment of Pallas, in Mezentius' behaviour to Orodes is even more reprehensible and unnatural in a woman (femina, 11.734), placing Camilla instantly in the category of a Medea. The reader's mind immediately flashes back to Turnus' similar treatment of Lycus. Revelling in his victory over the poor demens (9.560) he is compared to an eagle of Jove pedibus uncis (9.560; 11.723) which harasses a hare or a snow-white swan, and in a second simile, to reinforce the pathos, to a wolf of Mars which has snatched a lamb sought after by its mother with many a bleat (9.563-66). Camilla, a true falcon, has a compulsion to swoop upon any flying creature (Ornytus, 11.677, columbam, 11.722),[56] for the female of this species is noted for her daring. She is likewise fascinated by Chloreus (χλωρίς being an epithet of the nightingale) and his horse caparisoned in a coat of mail whose decoration give an impression of plumage (quem pellis aenis/in plumam squamis auro conserta tegebat, 11.770-71) and pursues them caeca, incauta, femineo praedae et spoliorum...amore (11.781-82),

with that very singleness of purpose and determination for which this female bird of prey is noted.

At this point Camilla's prowess in battle is counterbalanced by the brief aristeia of her opposite number, Tarchon, the Etruscan commander, with whom (as in the case of Arruns, her assassin) she never comes face to face (11.725-67).[57] Tarchon, the normally serious leader, associated with Aeneas in an act of pietas in burying the slain (11.184) is here goaded to action by Jupiter (11.728). Addressing each man by name in Homeric fashion (Iliad 10. 68) in a speech of encouragement Tarchon reminds them that they were put to flight by a femina (734), recalling Venus' description of Dido's escape from Pygmalion (dux femina facti, 1.364). In a line reminiscent of the elegiac poets,[58] he sarcastically remarks that they were far from lazy in Venerem... nocturnaque bella (11.736). Tarchon's taunting reference to Bacchic revels (737) recalls the jeering remarks of Iarbas about the effeminate Trojans (4.206-18) and particularly those of Numanus Remulus who in addition accuses the Trojans of excelling in the wild orgies of Cybele rather than in warfare (9.617 ff). Bailey sees in Tarchon's upbraiding of the Etruscans a reference in Georgics 2.393ff to Graeco-Italian Bacchic ritual.[59] With a cutting ending to the effect that celebrations can occur only after success, Tarchon moriturus (741) and turbidus (742)[60] charges the Latin Venulus, with an impetuosity exhibited once before when beaching his ship (10.290-307) and sweeps the Latin spokesman

to Diomedes (11.242ff) from his horse onto his own beast disappearing -- a streak of lightning across the plain (volat igneus aequore Tarchon, 11.746) -- like an eagle which flies away clutching a writhing snake (11.751-56).[61] Thus Tarchon -- like Aeneas -- symbolizes piety with an occasional outburst of unrestrained vengeance. Arruns, likewise, noted for his pietas (787) displays a similar trait when he beseeches Soractian Apollo (789):

da, pater, hoc nostris aboleri dedecus armis,

Like Aeneas (10.827) he too desires no rewards: once what he considers to be his duty has been done he is content to return to his people inglorius (793). The scene is thus deliberately set for the entrance of Camilla's shadowy killer.

At this point the narrative halts dramatically in mid-line suddenly enabling the reader to catch a glimpse of Arruns the Etruscan, the man fatis debitus (11.759), destined not only to kill Camilla but to be killed himself (11.590-92). A somewhat sinister figure (improbus, 11.767) he stealthily stalks the virgo furens (762) unobtrusively and deliberately anticipating her movements (tacitus vestigia lustrat - 763; furtim celeris detorquet habenas - 765) yet all the time circling her on all sides (circuit 761). After eight and a half lines Arruns disappears from view. Vergil's reticence about so important a character, his vague clues about his identity and origins whet the reader's curiosity, effectively heightening the tension of the drama.

So far Camilla has had two aspects of her character stressed: her devotion to Diana and her overwhelming passion for warfare. At this point a third becomes apparent -- her cupido, her amor habendi (11.768-82). Attracted by the finery of Chloreus, warrior-priest of Cybele, a residual femininity,[62] or so Vergil claims, prompts her to attack him and despoil him of his apparel (11.782). Cupido for this Asiatic finery caused Camilla to swerve in her mission of co-operation with Turnus, just as a similar desire for spoils -- not to mention a thirst for blood -- deflected Nisus and Euryalus from their mission, namely to recall Aeneas to the besieged Trojan camp (9.365, 373). Turnus, like the other three, jeopardized others to a very marked extent by his erratic selfish behaviour throughout the epic, especially emphasised in Drances' speech (11.343-75). Amor habendi proved to be the direct cause of his death too. So intent was Camilla upon stalking her prey -- caeca being the equivalent of immemor,[63] applied to Euryalus (9.374) -- that she was completely unaware of Arruns.

Arruns was a prestige-laden Etruscan name.[64] It is possible that Arruns was a Hirpinus because in his prayer to Apollo (11.785-93) he refers to the rustic rite of treading the embers, a rite associated with the Hirpini.[65] Servius (11.787-8) claims that the Hirpini cheated by doctoring the soles of their feet with an analgesic lotion before stepping on the hot ashes. It is of interest to note, however, that Camilla's killer addresses Apollo, the god who favours Trojans (9.638-58), Apollo of the Palatine

triad, Augustus' own special deity.[66] Servius (11.785) also notes that hirpus is the sabine for "wolf." This would strengthen the identification of Apollo and Dis since the wolf is associated with Etruscan Hades,[67] and perhaps explain the strange simile (11.809-13) in which Arruns Apollo's devotee is compared to a cowardly wolf, since the wolf, in Vergil's three other wolf-similes, stresses savagery and is specifically the beast of Mars (Aen 2.355ff; 9.59ff, 565ff Martius...lupus).

At this point the drama has become a sacred one. Diva Camilla (11.657,[68] whose person is sacra (11.591) pursues her last and sacred opponent (sacer sacerdos, 11.768) and is herself killed by a devotee of Apollo (11.785-86). Death was an accepted part of the heroic code; it is the fact that Camilla has been ravished violata (violare vulnere, 11.591, 848) mutilated, (mulcata morte Camilla, 11.839) which is abhorrent to Diana. She therefore tries to preserve her protegée's decus (non tamen indecorem tua te regina reliquit/ extrema iam in morte, 11.845-46), for providing her arms remain undamaged her fame after death will be unquestioned (inspoliata, 11.594, 846-7). Unlike the treatment accorded to other young heroes who died prematurely, Camilla's actual wounding and exitus are separated (11.796-806, 816-831). Both Greeks and Romans were extremely casuistic about the death of virgins; they were killed but without their corporal integrity being touched by hand. Antigone was sealed up on Kreon's orders in a deserted cave with a small

supply of food so that Thebes might not incur the blood-guilt for her death (Sophocles. Antigone 773-5). Suetonius also refers to this practice, then shows that Tiberius in his cruelty allowed even this sacred law to be contravened (quia more tradito nefas esset virgines strangulari, vitiatae prius a carnifice, dein strangulatae. Tiberius 61.5).[69] Camilla by usurping the war monopoly of men was an androgynous character, a guilty virgin, for whom death was inevitable -- yet a death without defloration: hence Diana's deep concern (11.535-36), her awareness of Camilla's harsh destiny (fatis urgetur acerbis, 11.587) and Opis' words of sympathy (11. 841-2): The wounding sub exsertam papillam (11.803) and the shedding of her virgineum...cruorem (11.804) was nimium in the case of a virgo, symbolic of defloration. Camilla's vulnerability, when the lethal weapon fired by Arruns lodges in her ribs is emphasised by haesit (11.804) recalling the tragedy of another queen, Dido (tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus, 4.67) who like a stag wandered about desperately the arrow of death, carelessly implanted by the hunter Aeneas, stuck fast in her side (haeret lateri letalis harundo, 4.73).

Arruns, exhilarated yet apprehensive at having caught so formidable a female unawares (dedecus 780; dira pestis 792), skulks away like a cowardly wolf (11.809-13) conscious of the enormity of his deed (conscius audacis facti), suggestive, on a Homeric level, of the Trojan withdrawal from the Greek vessels (Iliad 16.367), their tails between their legs. The mixture of emotions experienced by Arruns

after he had wounded Camilla recalls Aeneas' feelings after his metaphorical wounding of Dido: duty had to come first. Arruns is exterritus...laetitia mixtoque metu (11.806-7). Dido leaves Aeneas multa metu cunctantem (4.390). Although multa gemens he nevertheless decides to obey Jupiter's commands and flee from the scene (4.395-96) of Dido's collapse (suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra...referunt, 4.391-92). Camilla's trepidae comites likewise rush up dominamque ruentem suscipiunt (4.805-6). Allusion has been made to Arruns' piety a few lines earlier (11.787). Aeneas' has also been mentioned (at pius Aeneas, 6.393). Vergil never uses pius or pietas lightly but always to stress some point of crisis in Aeneas' life, as noted by Austin.[70] Keppel too closely associates pietas with Aeneas.[71] In these two instances both Aeneas and Arruns are far from vengeful: they are acting thus to advance the cause of civilization. Lupus also has strong associations with both, for in Aeneid 2.355-56 Aeneas, forced by hunger becomes a lupus...raptor. Keppel finds many other parallels between the two characters, "rare in the work of a poet writing in the Hellenistic tradition" and therefore meaningful.[72] Arruns is fatis debitus (11.759), Aeneas is also in Jupiter's words to Juno (indigetem Aenean scis ipsa et scire fateris/deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli, 12.794-95). Similar phraseology is used in stalking their victims: Arruns vestigia lustrat (11.763); Aeneas challenges Turnus and vestigat lustrans

(12.466-67). Arruns tries to approach Camilla quae sit fortuna facillima (11.761); Aeneas preparing his final onslaught on Turnus marks his chance with careful eye (sortitus fortunam oculis, 12.920). Both are improbi (Arruns, 11.767; Aeneas, 4.386, 11.512, 12.261). Both are responsible for the death of major figures. If Aeneas can dispose of Mezentius and Turnus, with whom Camilla had so much in common, why should Camilla's death be at the hands of some mere passing religious fanatic? Since Vergil goes to such lengths to show parallelisms between Camilla and Turnus on one side (shared leadership, amor habendi, an identical death line vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras, 11.831, 12.952) and Arruns and Aeneas on the other, the suggestion is implicit that just as Arruns perishes shortly after killing Camilla, so Aeneas is doomed after slaying Turnus. Dido in her curse prays that Aeneas may endure warfare, banishment from his own territory, early death and lie unburied upon the sand (4.590-629), a curse which has added force from the allusions to Ariadne's curse (Catullus 64.202) which was quickly fulfilled. Aeneas' premature death was also prophesied by Anchises (6.763-6):

> Silvius, Albanum nomen tua postuma proles,
> quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx
> educet silvis regem regumque parentem,
> unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.

Meanwhile, after Arruns' skulking exit, the scene shifts to the exitus of Camilla, similarly rich in allusions to Dido's death. Acca is beside her to catch her last

breath (tum sic exspirans Accam....adloqitur, 11.820-21) just as Anna assisted Dido (4.684-5), both queens being victims to the destiny of Rome. Camilla's farewell speech (11.823-6) is impressive in its simplicity and brevity: unaware of any failing on her own part, indifferent to death, she is concerned only that Acca report the latest information to Turnus and that he should take her place. She speaks her own novissima verba (iamque vale 827), her spirit secures its own release from the imprisoning body (11.829). Compounds of solvere, illustrating the conception of liberating the spirit in death recall Dido's passing very vividly: Dido begs to be "freed" from her cares (accipite hanc animam meque his exsolvite curis, 4.652). Dido's obitus was, however, difficult requiring the services of Iris quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus (4.695), a service which the goddess performed on Proserpina's behalf[73] with the words teque isto corpore solvo (4.703). As regards Camilla's burial, Diana merely states that she will transport the pitiful corpse, unspoiled, for burial in her native city -- Privernum (11.593-96)

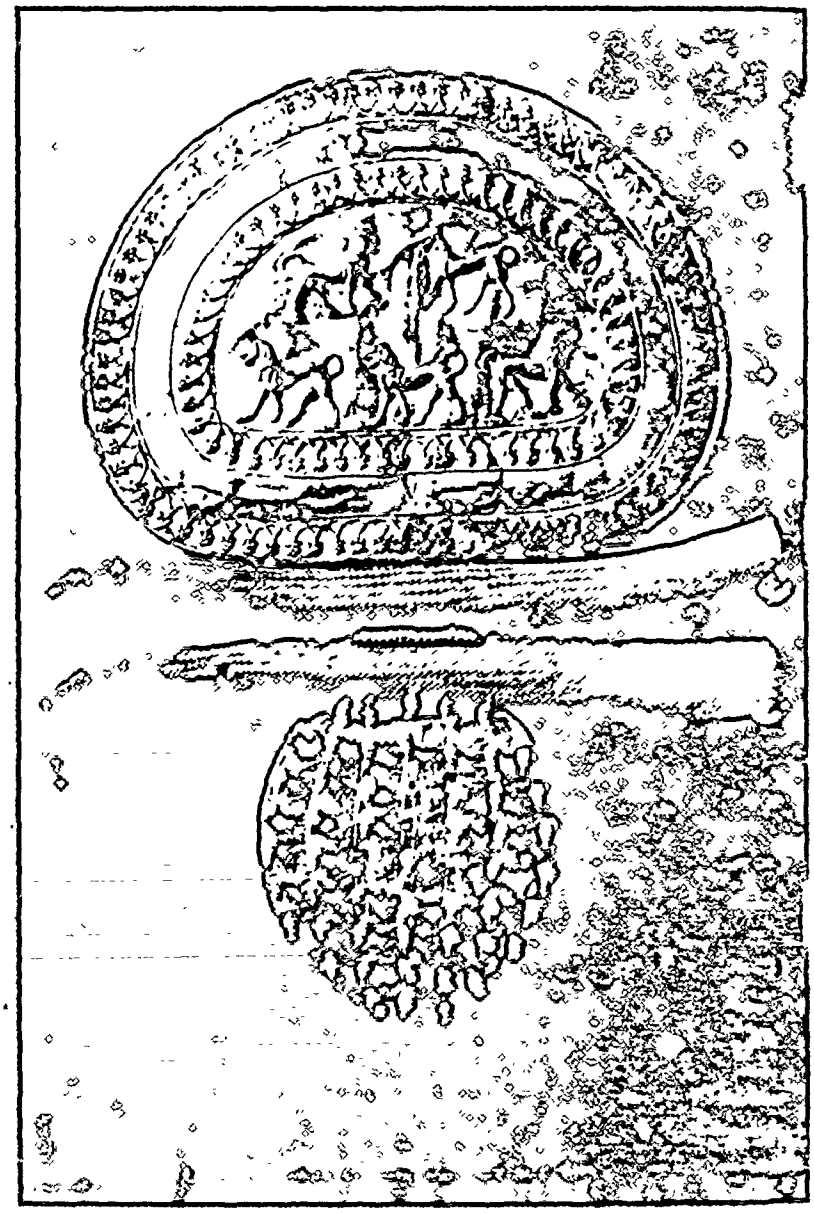
The burial of Camilla and the behaviour of her assassin recall, with Vergilian variations, Iliad 16.667ff where Sarpedon, beloved son of Zeus, doomed to be killed by Patroclus, on Juno's advice is "to fall in mortal combat... and Death and the sweet god of sleep... bring him to the broad realm of Lycia where his kinsmen and retainers will give him a burial with a barrow and monument that are a dead

man's rights." Early Etruscan burial habits may also be discerned. Camilla's projected burial would seem to resemble that of the Princess Larthia, whose luxury tomb (Plates 5 and 6) excavated in 1836, contained the skeleton of a woman, obviously of high rank, dressed in robes heavily embroidered in gold and wearing rich jewellery. Her breastplate, covered with repoussé ornamentation, her golden fibula recall the introduction to Camilla (7.814-16) as well as the description of Dido (4.137-39). The repoussé work and granulation techniques are likewise reflected in the clothes and accoutrements of Chloreus (11.768-777), so coveted by the Volscian princess.

In complete contrast to Camilla's death was the fate awarded to Arruns (11.836-67) at the bustum Dercenni with Opis as executioner. Vergil tells us that Dercennus was a King of Laurentum in ancient times. His tomb, where vengeance was to be taken, had an oak growing above it (bustum... opaca...ilice tectum, 11.850-51), recalling once more Dido's pyre ilice secta (4.505). Nothing is known of Dercennus: possibly it is derived from δέρκομαι (to see) -- as already mentioned -- or possibly it is a variation for Porsenna,[74] the location of whose impressive tomb, reputed to be under the city of Clusium, has never been discovered (Pliny, Nat. Hist., 36.91ff). Although anxious to give Arruns, now preening himself with self-satisfaction, his digna praemia (11.856-7), Opis yet begrudges him death

Plate 5:

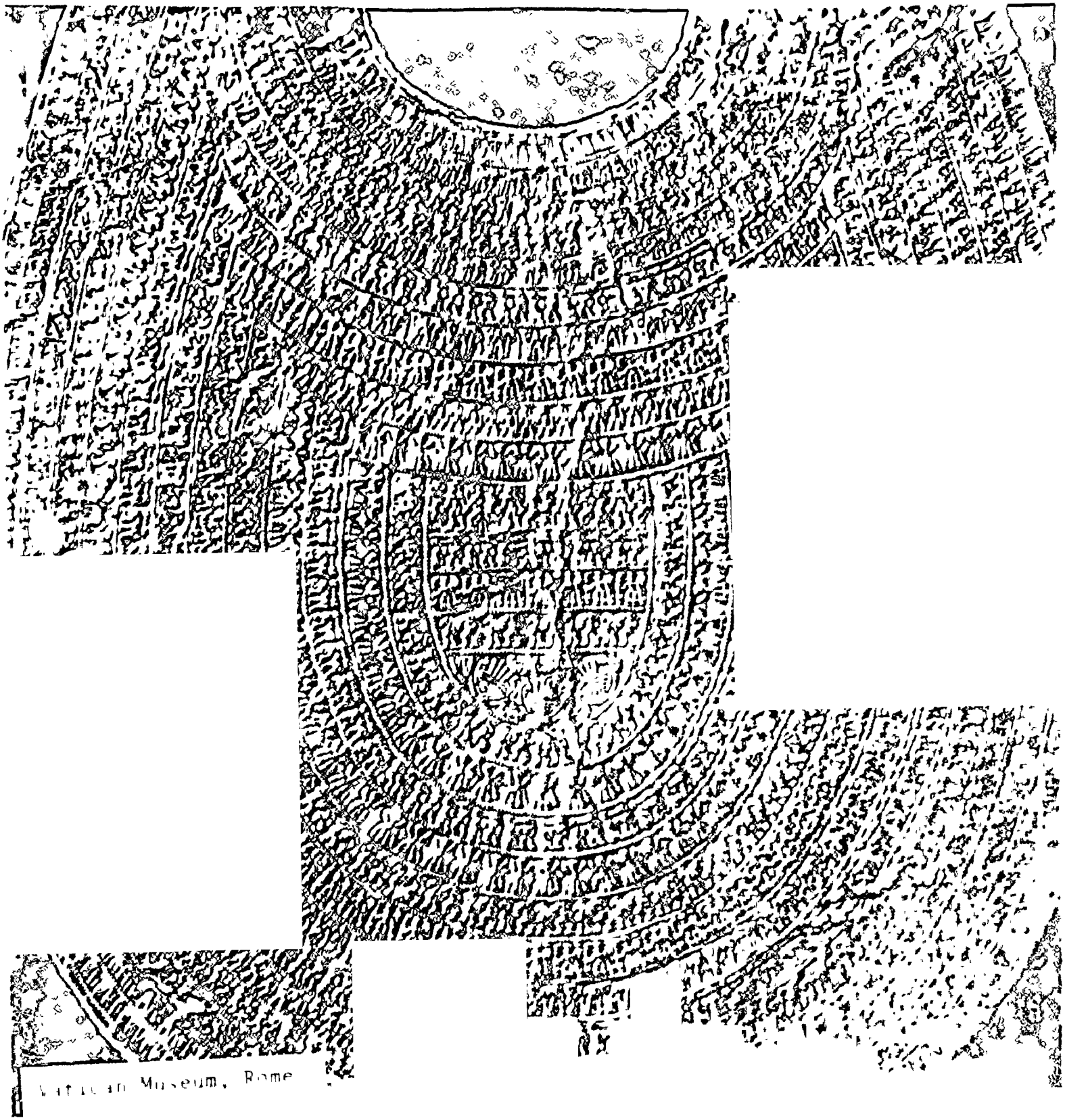
GOLD FIBULA FROM PRINCESS LARTHIA'S TOMB. Cerveteri. Seventh Century, B.C.



Vatican Museum, Rome.

Plate 6:

GOLD PECTORAL OF PRINCESS LARTHIA



Vatican Museum, Rome

by one of Diana's arrows (tune etiam telis moriere Dianae? 11.857). The description of the exact placing of the bow and of the string stretched to the correct tension before the unerring arrow is released is long-drawn out and deliberate focusing attention on the inevitability of his death and possibly blinding the reader to the question of its justice. Unlike Camilla, Arruns does hear the twang of the bow-string and feel the rush of air before the weapon hits him. Unlike Camilla, for whom a regal burial is destined, Arruns breathes his last alone, abandoned in an unknown spot -- unburied -- in the manner of Aeneas (by implication, 4. 619-20) of Priam (2.556-7), of Pompey the Great (Plutarch Pompey 80). Opis, on the other hand, mission accomplished, flies back to Olympus, in the manner of Iris (9.14).

Vergil throughout the Aeneid has portrayed many aspects of Roman funerary practices, which hinged upon two basic notions -- first, the importance of burial to avoid unpleasant repercussions for the departing spirit and secondly, the necessity for acts of purification on the part of the survivors. Palinurus illustrates the first point (per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli,/eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram/iniice ... aut tu ...da dextram misero ...ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam, 6.364-371).[75] Aeneas' scrupulous observance of this ritual is also referred to in the burial of his nurse Caieta (At pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis,/aggere composito tumuli... tendit iter..., 7.5-7). The second point -- the

circling around in purification -- occurs in Aeneid. 5.578 at the funeral games of Anchises (lustravere in equis), in Aeneid, 6.231 where Corynaeus after the cremation of Misenus lustravit viros and again at the mass cremations of Trojans and Etruscans in Aeneid, 11.190 (lustravere in equis).

Various rites took place before the obsequies. The loved ones gathered around the dying person with the idea of soothing the pains and giving comfort.[76] Anna complains to Dido comitemne sororem/sprevisti moriens (4.677-8). Acca and aequales likewise surround the dying Camilla (11.820). The nearest relative would give the last kiss to catch the soul which just before death was thought to hover in the nose or throat of the dying person.[77] Anna (4.684-5) cries et extremus si quis super halitus errat ore legam. Then the last farewell would take place (salve aeternum mihi, maxime Palla,/aeternumque vale, 11.97-8; iamque vale, 11.826)[78] and the next of kin would close the corpse's eyes (oculos premere). Euryalus' mother grievously laments her inability to perform this duty (nec te, tua funera mater/produxi pressive oculos, 9.486-7).[79] The corpse would then be called upon by name, to ensure that death had taken place (Anna per medios ruit ac morientem nomine clamat, 4.673)[80] and lamented at intervals until finally interred or cremated (cf. Dido, 4.665-68; Pallas, 11.29, 37-38; Amata, 12.604-11). Next the body was set on the ground and washed with warm water (date vulnera lymphis/abluam, 4.683-4; corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt, 6.219; nec te tua funere mater/produxi pressive

oculos aut vulnera lavi, 9.486-7), since "death brought a certain pollution to all connected with it which had to be removed by ritual washing."[81] The corpse, togaed if a man,[82] would then be covered in a shroud, a richly embroidered garment made by Dido's own hands in Pallas' case (11.72-7), a nuba cava in Camilla's (11.593). The elaborate purple coverings heaped upon Misenus (purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota, 6.220-22) perhaps reflected the funerals of members of the imperial household (funus imperatorium), such as those of Julius Caesar or of the young Marcellus. The mother of Euryalus regrets that her son would not take advantage of the shroud which she had prepared for him (veste tegens tibi quam noctes festina diesque/urgebam et tela curas solabar anilis, 9.488-9). A coin would be placed in the deceased person's mouth to pay his fare over the Styx in Charon's boat.[83] All was then ready for the lying in state (collocare). Pallas' exposition is described in Aeneid, 11.30-31 (corpus ubi exanimi positum Pallantis Acoetes/servabat senior...) and in 11.39-40 (ipse caput nivei fultum Pallantis et ora/ut vidit). Wealthy Romans were often embalmed beforehand, as in the case of Misenus, (corpus unguunt, 6.219), then placed on a lectus funebris with feet towards the entrance (11.29, Aeneas recipitque ad limina gressum).[84]

The Funeral Procession (Pompa Funebris) then took place after the corpse, if a member of the upper classes had lain in state for seven days.[85] Members of poorer classes

were burned the next day.[86] Relatives and friends dressed in black (lugubria) followed the corpse; hence the term exsequiae[87] (at pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis, 7.5) applied to the burial of Caieta, a rite in which the mother of Euryalus once again could take no part (nec te tua funere mater/produxi..., 9.486-87). The deceased was carried on a bier (feretrum),[88] a rustic bier in Pallas' case (haud segnes alii cratis et molle feretrum/arbuteis texunt virgis et vimine querno, 11.64-5), which was born by close relatives, friends or slaves,[89] their number determined by the deceased's status.[90] Vergil describes the raising of Misenus' bier (pars ingenti subiere feretro, 6, 222). Traditionally, as with Pallas, the funeral took place at night by torchlight[91] (Arcades...de more vetusto/funereas rapuere faces; lucet via longo/ordine flammarum..., 11.142-4). Of particular importance in the ordo (longo ordine, 6,754; omnis...comitum...ordo, 11.94) of a Roman aristocrat were the ancestral images[92] and the laudatio[93] or eulogy of the dead person and his famous ancestors. Burke points out that the ancestral procession would recall the show of heroes (6.760ff), the shield description (8.626ff), the catalogue of Latin forces (7.647ff) the catalogue of Etruscan ships (10.166ff)[94]. To this list, I feel, that the funeral procession of Pallas may be added (11.59-93). The imagines recalled the past, thereby acting as an inspiration for the present generation; the fact that many of the family represented in the pompa funebris were dead was of no importance whatsoever[95] ((Anchises) posset...

venientum discere vultus, 6.754-55). In Aeneid 6.756ff the laudatio in praise of the family and its ancestors is spoken by Anchises with reference to future generations.

> nunc age, Dardaniam prolem quae deinde sequatur
> gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,
> inlustres animas nostrumque in nomen ituras,
> expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo.

Aeneas pronounces the laudatio of Pallas (11.42-58) in his role of paterfamilias finishing upon a tragic note: hei mei, quantum/praesidium, Ausonia, et quantum tu perdis, Iule!

Burial or cremation took place by law outside the city.[96] If a cremation were taking place, the pyre would be piled high with offerings and some of the deceased's own possessions.[97] Dido elects to be burned with the exuviae of Aeneas (super exuvias ensemque relictum/effigiemque toro locat..., 4.507-8); upon Misenus' pyre are heaped offerings of incense and food, and mixing-bowls streaming with olive-oil (congesta cremantur/turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo, 6,224-5). Destined for Pallas' fires are live captives, horses, weapons and chariots (11.80ff). The pyre would then be kindled (aversi tenuere facem, 6.224; subiectis ignibus atris, 11.186), then the dead person's ashes collected by his family and placed in receptacles (ossaque lecta cado texit Corynaeus aeno, 6.228). In mass cremations the bones and ashes would be raked and covered with earth (maerentes altum cinerem et confusa ruebant/ossa focis tepidoque onerabant aggere terrae, 11.211-12). If, however, the body was extremely mutilated or lost a cenotaph (cenotaphium) was raised to provide the soul with a habitation. Aeneas assured Deiphobus

that he had completed his duties in this respect also (tunc egomet tumulum Rhoetes litore inanem/constitui et magna manes ter voce vocavi, 6.505-6). Presumably this would have happened to the decapitated Nisus and Euryalus particularly in view of Nisus' request to Ascanius, should his mission fail (Aen. 9.213-15):

> sit qui me raptum pugna pretiove redemptum
> mandet humo, solita aut si qua Fortuna vetabit,
> absenti ferat inferias decoretque sepulchro.

Post funeral purifactory rites were also laid down by regulation. One, performed by the family on their return, was a cleansing by fire and water -- suffitio[98] -- referred to after Misenus' cremation (Corynaeus...ter socios pura circumtulit unda, spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae, lustravitque viros...6,229-31).

The Roman cult of the dead ensured that the deceased would remain in the memories of relations and descendants and that his immortal spirit would never lack refreshment. The latter was ensured by the paving of attention to relics in the tomb. Two such ceremonies were the Rosalia or the scattering of roses over the dead person's remains,[99] a ceremony performed by Anchises over the young Marcellus' grave (manibus date lilia plenis/purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis/his Saltem adcumulem donis, et fungar inani munere, 6.883-86), and the Parentalia, an annual commemoration of the dead,[100] followed nine days later by public ceremonies, as laid down by Aeneas to his comrades to honour Anchises

(si nona diem mortalibus almum/Aurora extulerit... /prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis, 5.64-66).

Thus Aeneas in Book 11 is the antithesis of the hero depicted in a compromising light in Books 2, 4, 10 and 12. He is pius, inasmuch as religious duties take precedence over grief. He is a formidable warrior yet a man who takes responsibility for the many deaths -- especially that of Pallas (11.42-58; 96-8). He wins the respect of his former enemies -- of Drances and the Latin embassy, for his clementia[101] in granting a truce for burial of the dead (obstipuere silentes/conversique oculos inter se atque ora tenebant, 11.120-21), and of Diomedes of Arpi, a former leader of the Greeks in the Trojan War, who having had time to contemplate the error of his ways, compares his enemy Aeneas to Hector, with a slight advantage to Aeneas (ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis/hic pietate prior, 11.291-92). There have been some impious indications, nevertheless, in Aeneas' inclusion of live captives for sacrifice in Pallas' pompa, and in the unpredictable vengeful streak implicit in his similarity to Tarchon and Arruns, each of whom would seem to function as an alter ego in the Camilla episode.

CHAPTER III

Heroism and its relation to contemporary events

The theme of the Aeneid relates two different wars, the Fall of Troy and the conflict in Latium. Since Aeneas' heroic qualities and moral worth are ever emphasised, a resumé of his less desirable characteristics might not come amiss. I propose, therefore, to omit Book 4 - the Dido episode-and examine his compromising behaviour in battle in Aeneid 2, 10 and 12 in order to evaluate his worth against that of other major heroes throughout the Aeneid.

In Aeneid 2 which describes the destruction of Troy, Aeneas, full of indignation, plunges into battle, heedless of Hector's previous instructions to safeguard the Penates which the Trojan leader had entrusted to Aeneas' safe-keeping (2. 294-5). Aeneas is therefore immemor. As he gazes at the devastating fires of Troy, he becomes amens (2.314), furor and ira take over (2.316) and he longs for an honourable death in arms (pulchrumque mori sucurrit in armis, 2.317).[1] Aeneas and his companions are next likened to prowling wolves (lupi...raptores, 2.355-56) dealing out death and destruction. As a result of the impious treatment accorded Priam by Pyrrhus, Aeneas loses control, desiring revenge (ulcisci patriam, 2.

576) by killing Helen (exstinxisse nefas...laudabor, 2.585-6): here Aeneas has much in common with Arruns (da...nostris aboleri dedecus armis, 11.789). Passion overwhelms him (exarsere ignes animo, 2.575); Venus' intervention reminds him of his duty to his family (quid furis?...non aspicies Anchisen, superetne...Creusa Ascaniusque...? 2.595-8). After eventually rescuing them -- unaware that Creusa had fallen behind! -- he dashes back in a headstrong fashion, recklessly and ineffectually calling upon his wife by name (2.745ff).

In Aeneid 10, this time as a result of the impious slaughter of Pallas, Aeneas once again loses control of his emotions, indulging in a bout of indiscriminate carnage, in which pietas, his fundamental precept, is jettisoned completely (10.510-605; 791-832). Some of the highlights of his performance include the taking of live captives and the slaying of a priest (Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos), aligning him with Camilla, who was also attracted by beautiful vestments. Like Mezentius, Aeneas is also compared to a giant challenging Heaven's might (10.565ff). A halt is enforced only after his slaying of the guiltless Lausus, who went to his father's aid -- a travesty of pietas indeed!

Vindictiveness and vengeance and a complete rejection of clementia are the key-words in his slaying of Turnus, superbus now subiectus, in Aeneid 12, 945-51, a repetition of his killing of Mago in fact (10.523-36). Acer in armis (12.938), volvens oculos (12.939) furiis accensus et ira terribilis (12.946-7), in his unrestrained violence he resembles Turnus (12.9-10). On top of all that he has also shown himself

to be a destroyer of civilization (12.573), a complete reversal of his usual role.

Thus, Aeneas, the epitome of pietas and clementia throughout the greater part of the epic, is also shown to have much in common with other lesser heroes. In his reckless behaviour of Book 2 he resembles King Priam, who also indulged in useless heroics (2.509-11, 544-6), in his likeness to a wolf and his desire for vengeance on a woman -- nefas though she seemed -- he has much in common with Arruns. As a priest-slayer he rivals Camilla, yet in his furor and complete lack of self-control, in his desire to die in arms, he is Turnus. Camilla and Turnus, both representatives of primitive Italy, rejected civilization. To adjust the balance, however, it must be underlined that headstrong, impious and destructive behaviour, in Aeneas' case, was the exception rather than the rule, whereas it was the prevalent modus operandi in that of his adversaries. Unfortunately, as a result of Aeneas' occasional lapses, the reader is perhaps left with the feeling that his eventual victory and founding of Rome are questionable on account of the means employed.

Turnus, Aeneas' major opponent in the Iliadic Section of the Aeneid, first appears in the Catalogue (7. 783ff), although his handsome appearance was earlier referred to in the description of Lausus (quo pulchrior alter/non fuit excepto Laurentis corpore Turni, 7.649-50). His other distinguishing feature is his armour -- his helmet supporting a Chimaera breathing forth Etnaean flames and his shield

decorated with the story of Io -- the fire and water combination implying instability. Already, as a result of Allecto, he was angry (exarsit in iras, 7.445) and raging with the lust for battle (arma amens fremit, 7.46; Saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli, ira super, 7.461-2). In Aeneid 9, after receiving Juno's instructions via Iris to attack the Trojans, he prays (multa deos orans oneravit aethera votis, 9.24), only to contradict this impression later (nil me fatalia terrent, 9.133; non armis mihi Volcani, 9.148). Turbidus (9.57), restless (lustrat equo muros, 9.58) in his anxiety to attack he resembles a wolf lying in wait (lupus insidiatus) outside a sheepfold venting his fury on prey which are out of his reach (9.59-64). Asper, improbus ira he waits to pounce. Finally he attacks the fleet, his weapon a flaming pine-brand (atque manum pinu flagranti fervidus implet, 9.72). Self-confident (audaci...fiducia, 9.126) and boastful (non armis mihi Volcani, non mille carinis/ est opus in Teucros, 9.148-9) he rallies his shaken Rutulians with a speech of contempt for the Trojans (9.128-58) which is later re-echoed by Numanus Remulus (9.598-620). His cruel, arrogant treatment of Lycus recalls that of Jove's eagle when it catches a hare or a swan, or of a wolf of Mars when it has snatched a lamb (9.563-6). Cruelty and arrogance are the hall-marks of his behaviour to Pandarus in his aristeia in the Trojan camp (9.672-818). He likens himself to a second Achilles (9.742). He throws himself against his enemies, a

victim to furor...caedisque insana cupido (9.760); when cornered by Mnestheus and the Trojans he becomes a retreating lion harassed by hunters: he is asper, acerba tuens (9.794). His slow retreat resembles that of Ajax in Iliad 15 and 16. After killing Pallas in Book 9 he boastfully despoils him of his balteus, showing the reader his cupido, a weakness which would lead to his death (Turnus ovat spolio gaudetque politus, 10.500). Superbus caede nova (10.514-15) he is hunted down by Aeneas.

In Aeneid 11 he recalls Nisus and Euryalus (9.194-5) inasmuch as he is a braggart craving fame and rewards (11.384-6; 392 8; 408-9; 443-44). In his anxiety to proclaim his bravery to the whole world, he is motivated by sore pride, the result of Drances' accusations of cowardice and empty bravado (dum Troia temptat/castra fugae fidens et caelum territat armis, 11.350-51) rather than by duty. His seething emotions are stressed at the opening of Book 12, 1-10: implacabilis he resembles a wounded Carthaginian lion which impavidus... fremit ore cruento. He is turbidus and blazing with violence[2] (accenso gliscit violentia Turno). In battle Turnus kills aimlessly and barbarically, hanging his victims' heads from his chariot (12.509-12), thereby displaying a savagery comparable with that of Mezentius. Like Mezentius, however, he rises in stature in his encounter with Aeneas. He is no depersonalized hero; he accepts full responsibility for his actions (aestuat ingens/uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu/et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus, 12.666-68).

Like Mezentius he accepts death heroically and with dignity (...equidem merui nec deprecor... utere sorte tua, 12.931-2). Like Mezentius he also at the end exhibits an unsuspected pietas in asking either for quarter for his father's sake or else that his body be returned for burial to his own people -- considerations neither awarded to their own victims yet perfectly in keeping with the inconsistencies in their characters.

Turnus, although having much in common with Camilla and the younger heroes of the Aeneid, in his insatiable thirst for blood is rivalled mainly by Mezentius. The furor, violentia and irrational displays of audacia present in their characters are most effectively emphasized in Vergil by chthonic references (galea...Chimaeram/sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis, 7.875-6; Aegaeon qualis ...sic toto Aeneas desaevit in aequore, 10.565-70; quam magnus Orion... talis se vastis infert Mezentius armis, 10.763-8) and by wild animal similes. Turnus is twice depicted as a wolf (...lupus insidiatus ovili/...asper et improbus ira/saevit in absentis, 9.59-64; quaesitum aut matri multis balatibus agnum/Martius a stabulis rapuit lupus, 9.565-6). He figures three times in lion similes (ceu saevum turba leonem/cum telis premit infensis, 9.792-3; utque leo, specula cum vidit ab alta/stare procul campis meditantem in proelia taurum, 10.454-6; Poenorum qualis in arvis/saucius...leo/impavidus... fremit ore cruento, 12.4-8), Mezentius once (impastus...leo ceu.../conspexit

capream aut....cervum/gaudet hians immane...et haeret visceribus super incumbens; lavit improba taeter ora cruor, 10.723-8). Turnus' harsh treatment of swift Lycus is that of Jove's eagle soaring aloft with a hare or white swan clutched in its talons (qualis ubi aut leporem aut candenti corpore cycnum/sustulit alta petens pedibus Iovis armiger uncis, 9.563-4). Finally Turnus and Mezentius are compared respectively to a tiger among helpless cattle (immanem veluti pecora inter inertia tigrim, 9.730) and a boar pursued by hounds, harassed by nets, javelins and shouting (ac velut ille canum morsu.../actus aper...impavidus partis cunctatur in omnis/dentibus infrendens et tergo decutit hastas, 10.707-18).

To a less marked extent wild animal or birds of prey similes describe the ferocity of other heroes. Aeneas, to whom savagery is the exception rather than the rule, is compared along with his followers to lupi raptores (2.355); Arruns is a cowardly wolf (11.809-13) after killing Camilla; Nisus -- deflected from his mission by the impulse to kill and plunder -- behaves like a starving lion in a sheep-fold (9.339-41). Like Furor (1.296) and Turnus (12.4-8) this impastus leo also fremit ore cruento. Like Turnus both Camilla and Tarchon resemble birds of prey: Camilla is an accipiter sacer as she disembowels her Ligurian columba (11. 721-24), Tarchon's treatment of Venulus was that of a fulva aquila carrying off a raptus draco (11.751-56). Uncontrolled ferocity (vis consili expers) is further implied by the fact

that Aventinus enters in the catalogue swishing his gigantic lion-skin (7.666), Nisus is presented with the skin of a shaggy lion by Mnestheus (9.306) and Camilla, creature of the woods, was brought up on lacte ferino and dressed in tigridis exuviae (11.571-577).

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

All four "super" heroes have their aristeiai (9. 691ff, 10.570ff, 689ff; 11.532ff), based on Homeric battle scenes, their victims listed with just a touch of personality to keep the reader's interest alive. All are victims -- occasionally, in the case of Aeneas -- of furor (8.489; 11. 709, 901; 12.946). Camilla, together with her fellow-warriors Mezentius and Turnus, is among the primi ductores of the Latins. All are superbi (Turnus 10.514, Mezentius 10.852, Camilla -- via Metabus -- 11.539), asperi (7.647; 9.62; 11. 664), dashing and tireless, moving with effortless ease from one victim to the other. All three are representatives of wild, treacherous, primitive Italy, a land of harsh, rugged people (4.526; 5.734), whose rough and inconsistent personalities -- so well described in the speech of Numanus Remulus (9.598-620) reflect the landscape in which they were brought up. All three are associated with trees (9.72, 521-2,

11.667): indeed Camilla began her life tied to her father's oaken spear, whereas Mezentius ended his draping an oak. Thus all three were bound to wood and thus by extension to war-fare and hunting, two basic components of Italic life referred to in Remulus' speech. All were untramelled by civilization -- although occasionally Camilla showed an inexplicable taste for finery (7.814-17) -- and associated with fire (7.785-6; 9.522; 11.718) and water (10.557ff, 833-4; 11.547ff) and chthonic powers (7.785-6; 10.763; 11. 655-56). Fearless in facing death (10.901; 11.823; 12.932), Camilla, Turnus and Mezentius were capable of unexpected attachment to a person or a cause: Mezentius and Camilla were loyal to Lausus (10.846ff) and Turnus (...haec Turno mandata novissima perfer, 11.825) respectively; all three were devoted to expelling the Trojan invaders and their process of civilization.

Dante (Inferno 1.106-8) in his prediction of the restoration of the ideal Italy, so longed for by Vergil, wrote:

> ....quell umile Italia[3]
> per cui morì la vergine Cammilla,
> Eurialo e Turno, e Niso di ferute...

That Dante, himself a poet and self-confessed student of Vergil, who pored over the epic with lungo studio e grand' amore (Inferno 1.83), should speak in such laudatory terms of two sets of heroes on opposing sides deserves attention,

for-apart from a certain dashing bravery and heroic acceptance of death -- they, in conjunction with other youthful heroes, had certain detrimental qualities which occur repeatedly throughout the Aeneid: they were governed by superbia (Remulus 9.596-7; Turnus 10.445; Camilla 11. 686-9), by furor (Turnus 9.691; Pallas 10.386; Camilla 11. 762), by fiducia (Turnus 10.276; Camilla 11.502), by violentia (Turnus 12.9), by audacia (Pallas 8.110; Turnus 9.3; Nisus and Euryalus 9.320; Lausus 10.811; Camilla 11. 503), by caedis insana cupido (Nisus and Euryalus 9.354; Turnus 9.760; Pallas 10.398ff; Lausus 10.813; Camilla 11. 648) and by amor habendi (Euryalus 9.365; Turnus 10.500; Camilla 11.782) -- all défauts conducive of irresponsibility and blindness (immemores caecique 2.244). Each in the end through premature death was rendered infelix (Nisus and Euryalus 9.430; Lausus 10.850; Camilla 11.563) and miserandus (Lausus 10.825; Pallas 11.42; Camilla 11.593).

Thus, upon a close analysis, youth, with the potential of a full life, is seduced by misplaced values, the result of environmental circumstances.[4] The Nisus and Euryalus episode (9.176-502) clearly illustrates this point. In Aletes' eyes the restoration of Aeneas, slaughter and the capture of enemy spoils constituted the worthiest of traditional values (di patri.../non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis/cum talis animos invenum et tam certa tulistis pectora, 9.247-50). He promptly promises rewards for such

action (non immemor umquam, 9.256) in the approved way which Ascanius confirms (9.263-65). The youths, on the other hand, are anxious to prove themselves (aut pugnam aut aliquid iamdudum invadere magnum/mens agitat mihi, 9.186-7). Nisus is the older man, Eurvalus a mere boy (ora puer prima signans intonsa iuventa, 9.181), impressionable and uncritical (obstipuit, 9.197). He desires the laus proffered by Nisus (9.197) to such an extent that he would sacrifice his life without a second thought. These values had already been inculcated in Nisus by Opheltes, his father bellis adsuetus (9.203), and likewise in Camilla by Metabus. Frequently in the Aeneid, a patriotic epic on the surface, it is the way things are said, the choice of language and symbolic motifs, which reveal the real meanings. Dante, in his praise of heroic youth on opposing sides, must, therefore, have been assessing the situation from an idealistic rather than a critical point of view, in terms of national unity, from the point of view of an Italian rather than of a Roman or an Etruscan.

Although the Nisus and Eurvalus episode is based on Homer, on the attack of Sarpedon and Glaucus in Iliad 12 in Rabel's opinion,[5] yet derived from the night-raid of Odysseus and Diomedes in Iliad 10 in Lee's,[6] Vergil's grieved attitude to youthful heroism and defeat would seem to have definite homosexual elements. Lee suggests that these elements may well have been modelled on the Greek erastes

who trained the younger eromenos in warfare anxious at the same time for the younger man's adulation, or a result of Hellenistic literary tradition in the Eclogues since homosexuality is markedly present in Eclogues 2 and 10. Vergil does show however a tenderness towards Lycus, who -- after his friend Helenus primaevus (9.545) like a trapped animal throws himself where the weapons are thickest -- is compared to a hare or shining white swan (leporem aut candenti corpore cycnum, 9.563) and in a second simile emphasises his vulnerability still more by comparing him with a lamb (9.565). Cydon, infelix (9.325), also has his sympathy, as he pursues Clytius flaventem prima lanugine malas (10.324) for although narrowly escaping Aeneas through the aid of Phorcus' sons, death would nevertheless have freed him from the anxious love of youth (securus amorum/qui iuvenum tibi semper erant, miserande iaceres, 10.326-7). The swan motif occurs again in the story of Cycnus (10.186-93) who was changed into a swan as he grieved for his beloved Phaethon (luctu....Phaethontis amati, 10.189). This passage is highly reminiscent of the elegists, crimen Amor vestrum (10.188) recalling crimen amoris (Propertius 1.11.30), the whole effect emphasised by dum.... maestum musa solatur amorem (10.191). If one considers that Aeneas awards the prize to Euryalus in spite of Nisus' cheating to ensure it (tutatur favor Euryalum lacrimaeque decorae/gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus, 5. 343-4), the tender descriptions of youths, alluded to in Chapter 1, Vergil's address to Nisus and Euryalus (fortunati

ambo!... nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo, 9.446-47) and frequent homosexual references throughout the Eclogues -- such as meus ignis Amyntas (Ecl.3.66) and quid prodest... Amynta/si dum tu sectaris apros, ego retia servo? (Ecl.3. 74-5)[7] -- one is forced to the conclusion that Vergil's grief may not simply be the result of civil war losses but that he is showing an attitude of approval to homosexual attachments.

Camilla, apart from having much in common with the heroes of the Aeneid has an even stronger link with the heroines. All three are reginae (4.1; 7.405; 11.499). Dido, when introduced, makes a stately, impressive entrance into Juno's temple at Carthage (regina ad templum forma pulcherrima Dido/incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva, 1.496-7), just as Camilla impressively brings up the rear of the Italian Catalogue in Aeneid 7.803 (hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla/agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas). Amata, like Dido, proceeds in an equally majestic way to the temple of Minerva to beg for victory against the Phrygius praedo (nec non ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces/ subvehitur magna matrum regina caterva/dona ferens, 11.477-9). Thus all with their attendants endeavour to do their duty. Dido in stature and bearing resembles the goddess Diana and her nymphs (1.498-503); like Camilla, she is a huntress (fert umero, 1.501; progreditur; Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo; pharetra ex ciuro, 4.136-40). Camilla is also elaborately described (...regius ostro/velet honos levis umeros....pharetram; 11.780; venatrix, 7.814-17). All three

have connections with underworld fertility deities: Dido, with Juno and Diana (1.494ff); she calls upon Erebus, Chaos and three-fold Hecate who is Diana of the three faces (4. 510-11), she sacrifices to Juno, Ceres, Apollo and Bacchus (4.57-59), in her frenzy she even resembles a Bacchanal (4.301-2); in the end she is helped by Juno who sends Iris to cut off a lock of hair, a task which Prosperpina (Iuno inferna) normally performed (4.693ff). Camilla is likewise Diana's famula and special care (11.558). Amata, as an excuse for her frenzy, assumes the appearance of a Bacchanal (simulato numine Bacchi, 7.385; euhoe Bacche fremens, 7.389). Camilla's crook resembles a Bacchic thyrsus (et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum, 7.817) like those carried by Amata and her matres (7.395-6). ululare (4.609; 7.395; 11.662) is used of the ritual cries in the cult of Hecate/Diana; of the warcries of Amazons in battle bearing their crescent-shaped shields, votaries of Diana (Luna) and of the cries made by the followers of Bacchus, a cult which according to Servius (Ecl. 5.29) was re-introduced by Julius Caesar on his return from the East.[8] All three queens are androgynous in character: Dido, following Roman custom, beneath the temple's high vault, hedged in by arms issues laws and dispenses justice to her subjects (1.505-7) in her newly-founded city (urbem quam statuo vestra est, 1.573); Camilla is devoted to warfare (correpta....militia, 11.584-5); Amata and her matres urge on the war against the Trojans (undique collecti coeunt Martemque fatigant, 7.582). Dido followed by companions who

hated and feared the tyrant Pygmalion who had slain Dido's husband Sychaeus (1.360ff) is as effective as a dux (dux femina facti, 1.364) as Camilla is to her virgines or Amata to her matres. All three because of their passions betrayed someone: Dido her vow to remain faithful to Sychaeus' memory (1.24-29), Camilla her devotion to Diana on account of her insatiable love of warfare (11.584-85) and cupido (11.782); Amata was untrue to her role as queen, wife and mother (7.344-45; 373-404; 580-82). All were the victims of amor in some form or another. Dido and Aeneas as a result of their love lost their sense of responsibility to their peoples (nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere/ regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos, 4.193-94), Amata had an "unnatural" love for Turnus, her intended son-in-law (miro properabat amore, 7.57); Camilla's amor was her attachment to weapons of war (medias inter caedes exsultat... Camilla, 11.650-51) and to finery (femineo praedae et spoliarum ardebat amore, 11.782). So absorbed were they in indulging their passions that Dido is immemor (4.194), Camilla caeca (11.781): both are incautae (4.70; 11.781). Mercury alerts Aeneas to the fact that Dido is planning a dirum nefas, now that she is desperate and resolved to die (certa mori, 4.564); Amata actually commits a nefas in hiding Lavinia (7.386). All are doomed to destruction: Dido pesti devota futurae (1.712) burns with love for Cupid/Ascanius; Amata is infected by Allecto's snake (ac dum prima lues udo sublapsa veneno/pertemptat sensus, 7.354-55); Camilla in her

assassin's eyes, is a dira pestis (11.792). Whereas Camilla and Dido -- clearly admired by Vergil -- are miseranda (11.593) and misera (4.20), each of the three queens is infelix (1.712; 7.376; 11.563). Dementia (4.78; 12.601) and furor (4.69; 7.350; 11.762) succeed as dominant emotions. Dido saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem/bacchatur (4.300-1), strongly evoking Vergil's graphic description of Amata who immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem (7.377); both are determined to die (moritura, 4.519; 12.602).

All three queens have a background of violence, murder and fratricide: Dido's brother killed his brother-in-law Sychaeus (4.21); Camilla's virgines were violent, revolutionary types (11.655ff), Amata's matres unnaturally abandoned their families for war (7.580ff). Of the three queens with so much in common, Amata is the one of whom Vergil disapproves most strongly. He has endowed Camilla and Dido with heroic names (Elissa, 4.335, 610; 5.3 meaning an heroic maiden) yet bestowed upon Amata a name of ill-repute in Italian folklore.[9] Burke points out that in Amata's speech to Turnus -- a speech reflecting the Homeric models of Hecuba to Hector (Iliad 22.108-10) and Andromache to Hector (Iliad 6.407-439) she assumes not only the role of mother (mater 12.55) but also that of wife.[10] She also shows a complete disregard for her daughter's feelings by showing her passion for Turnus (accepit vocem lacrimis Lavinia matris/flagrantis perfusa genas, 12.64-5).

Dido's love was a pure love, her death planned to save her self respect and dignity -- as Diana planned Camilla's. Amata, on the contrary, was distraught and hysterical (mentem turbata dolore, 12.599) with no such elevated motives. Hence Vergil gave Dido, whose death was purificatory through feelings of guilt towards Sychaeus (non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo, 4.552), and Camilla, each a letum nobile with companions and divine intervention, but to Amata, who conforms to the theme of incestuous love, he gave a letum informe (12.603) which precluded burial.[11] Thaniel produces a "background of illustrious women hanging themselves for being implicated, directly or indirectly, in some grave error," which includes Epicasta (Odyssey 11.278), Jocasta (Sophocles Oedipus Rex, 1234-1264), Antigone (Sophocles Antigone, 1221-1222), Phaedra (Euripides Hippolytus 777), Leda (Euripides Helen, 134-6, 200-203, 686-687), Cleite (Apollonius Argonautica 1.1063-1065) and Erigone (Apollod. Bibl. 3.14.7; Hyg. Fab. 130)[12]. Finally all three queens are duly mourned by the matres (4.666-68; 11.876-78; 12.606-8), their untimely deaths being occasioned directly or indirectly by Aeneas. Thus Dido and Camilla, treated with humanitas, in spite of their many failings, and Amata, clearly censured, with so many parallels and common factors, would seem to be facets of the same person -- Horace's Cleopatra (Odes 1.37) just as Tarchon and Arruns, aspects of Aeneas, have much in common with Augustus.

Duckworth shows a clear relationship between the poetry of Horace and Vergil who, with Maecenas as friend to both, were the spokesmen for the Augustan régime.[13] Horace's strong affection for Vergil is indicated by his description -- animae dimidium meae (Odes 1.3.8). Although of vastly different backgrounds, with maturity they came to complement each other's views on politics, philosophy and religion. Eclogue 4 has a clear connection with Epode 16, the former optimistically prophesizing a Golden Age, the latter pessimistic about Rome's future after the Civil Wars. Since my purpose is merely to establish links between the two poets the question of priority of the two poems, so disputed by scholars, may be left aside.[14] In Odes 3.3.15 Romulus -- the cause of civil strife in Epode 7.17-20 -- is the symbol of virtus as in Vergil's Aeneid 1.292-3. Promise of country life in Georgics 2:458ff and Epode 2 is very similar. Both poets imply the divinity of Octavian: Vergil in Eclogue 1.7 (deus) and Georgics 1.24-42, 503-504, Horace in Odes 1.2.25ff. In Aeneid 6.777-805 Augustus follows Romulus in the procession of heroes; Horace in Odes 3.3.9-16 refers to Augustus in Heaven in company with Pollux, Hercules, Bacchus and Romulus. Horace's Roman Odes 3 and 4 are the most Vergilian: Augustus' association with Hercules and Romulus and Juno's speech on the future greatness of Rome provided Troy is not rebuilt in Odes 3.3, reflect the theme of the latter part of the Aeneid. In Odes 3.4, the vis temperata, favoured by the gods and prevalent over the vis consili expers

favoured by the Giants, is paralleled in the conflict between the clementia of Aeneas and the violentia of Turnus. Octavian's religious and moral programmes are stressed by both poets. As Minerva, Vulcan, Juno and Apollo support Jupiter against the giants (Odes 3.4.57-64), so Neptune, Venus, Minerva, Mars and Apollo fight with Octavian against Cleopatra and her barbaric deities depicted on the shield in Aeneid 8.694-705. Horace's Carmen Saeculare (51-2) bellante prior, iacentem lenis in hostem reflects Anchises' (Aen.4.853) parcere subiectis et debellare superbos, both using Aeneas as symbol of the princeps. Finally both write of Apollo, Augustus' favourite deity (Carmen Saeculare 1-8, 33-6, 61-72, and Actius...Apollo, Aeneid 8.704). Galinsky supports this link between Horace and Vergil and demonstrates that by applying J. V. Luce's definition of monstrum (Horace Odes 1.37.21), a natura varia et multiplex, expressing horror mingled with admiration and thus summing up the complexities and contradictions in Cleopatra's character, Horace portrays Cleopatra with sympathy referring to her weaknesses and her virtues in just the same way as Vergil portrays Turnus with his amazing mixture of character traits (12.666-68). He also parallels violence which falls by its own weight sua mole (Horace, Odes 3.4.65) with Cacus who magna se mole ferebat (Aen. 8.199) and with the ships of Antony destroyed by tanta mole (Aen. 8.693).[15] Finally J. M. Benario notes the resemblance between Vergil's Dido

and Horace's Cleopatra in choice of words and expression, a similarity "too striking to be entirely coincidental."[16] Thus in view of the similarities noted by the above mentioned scholars, I feel that a comparison between Vergil's triptych portrait and Horace's Cleopatra may well be valid.

Although Horace's "Cleopatra Ode" is a relatively short lyric and Vergil's poem a national epic, there are many common factors in the treatment of their reginae (Odes 1.37.7; Aen. 4.1 et passim; 7.405; 8.696; 11.499). Both poems were clearly written after the battle of Actium, after Augustus' peace settlement about 30 B.C., an event which afforded a great deal of stimulus to the Augustan poets.[17] Nowhere is Cleopatra named by the Augustan writers: she is usually regina,[18] a word which in that era had a connotation worse than rex to a Roman, for it was even worse to be enslaved by a woman (emancipatus feminae. Epode 9.12). Hence when Vergil wrote about Dido, Camilla and Amata as reginae and feminae (4.570; 7.345; 11.782), and even when he was praising Dido (dux femina facti, 1.364) and Horace Cleopatra (nec muliebriter/expavit ensem, Odes 1.37.22-23) they were possibly involuntarily reflecting the Augustan propoganda machine against the foreign furiosa. Vergil's Dido/Camilla/Amata, as already noted, all have echoes from Greek tragedy. Horace's Cleopatra is likewise highly dramatic. Demens (Odes 1.37.7. dementis ruinas; 4.78 (Dido), 12.601 (Amata)),

furens (Odes 1.37.12; 4.69 (Dido); 7.350 (Amata); 11.762 (Camilla), inops animi (4.300), male sana (4.8), impotens (Odes 1.37.10), ebria (Odes 1.37.12), bacchatur (4.301), lymphata (Odes 1.37.14; 12.377) are all part of the "madness" terminology applied to enemies of Rome,[19] whereas the lack of restraint implied in bacchatur and lymphata are to be found together in Catullus (lymphata mente furebant/ euhoe bacchantes 64.254ff), powerfully connecting Dido and Amata with Horace's Cleopatra. The illicit attraction Cleopatra had for Antony, the luxury and immorality of the Egyptian court (contaminato cum grege turpium/morbo virorum, Odes 1. 37.9-10), so abhorrent to Roman eyes, may well be reflected in the unnatural passion of Amata for her future son-in-law and in the matres and virgines whose behaviour was so contrary to nature. Horace's Cleopatra, to begin with, would appear to be chiefly Amata ("the one who has been loved"), responsible for firing the conflict in Latium as Cleopatra was instigator of the war against Rome, with mere nuances of Dido and Camilla, whereas in the second part of the Ode, the tone of censure changes to one of admiration, in which the nobility of character in Dido and Camilla are reflected. Caesar redegit in veros timores (Odes 1.37.15) Cleopatra in much the same way as Aeneas destroyed Dido's sanity (solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem/impulit 4.22-3). Horace's simile of the accipiter (Caesar) chasing the mollis columbas or leporem, a venator anxious to enchain the fatale monstrum

(Odes 1.37.15-21), has many Vergilian links:[20] the most obvious one is the stag simile (4.69-73) where infelix Dido is compared to a cerva stricken by a heedless shepherd agens telis, in much the same way as Octavian pursues Cleopatra remis adsurgens (Odes 1.37-17), both images depicting the hunter in an unflattering light and thereby arousing sympathy for the victim, weak and incapable of escaping death. The originally Homeric simile of the hawk and the dove (Iliad 22.139ff) is directly reflected in the Camilla episode yet with a clever twist -- here Camilla is the accipiter and the crafty Ligurian the columba (11.721-24). Lepus in the sense of feeble and ill-matched is also used of Turnus' victim Lycus, in the simile of the eagle who captures a hare or a swan (9.563-4). Horace's Haemonian fields (in campis/ Haemoniae, Odes 1.37.19-20) are used for colour and vividness in much the same way as nemora inter Cresia and saltus Dictaeos in the Dido simile (4.70, 72-73).[21] Both Horace's Cleopatra and Vergil's Amata, Dido and Camilla, have (as already noted in the case of the three queens) monstrous associations: Horace's Cleopatra is fatale monstrum (Odes 1.37.21), Vergil's is supported in the Actium conflict by all kinds of monstrous gods and the barking Anubis, all of whom pit their strength against the powers of Olympus (8.698ff). Horace, however, in the last three stanzas of the ode exhibits a humanitas comparable with Vergil's. Both, although clearly affected by political propaganda, are yet able to admire dignity and

nobility in an enemy. Cleopatra accepted death in the approved Roman manner -- stoically and with pride (generosius, nec muliebriter, vultu sereno, non humilis mulier, Odes 1.37.21, 22, 26, 32), as did Dido and Camilla. Amata's ignoble death would have been more in keeping with the disrespect shown to the Egyptian queen by the Roman public at large and the less humane (cf. bracchia spectavi sacris admorsa colubris, Propertius, 3.11.53). Both Horace and Vergil follow the official party-line as to the manner of Cleopatra's death: Horace refers to the asperas serpentis and the drinking in of atrum venenum (Odes 1.37.26-28), Vergil too mentions snakes (necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit angues, 8.697). Yet the manner of her death was veiled in mystery, as the suicides of Dido and Amata and the assassination of Camilla might imply, for, as Nisbet and Hubbard point out, she had to die, and even though Octavian claimed that he wished to have Cleopatra paraded at his triumph (invidens...deduci superbo triumpho, Odes 1.37.30-32) no undue precautions were taken to prevent her suicide not to mention the apportune deaths of Iras and Charmion who attended her.[22] Horace's deliberata morte ferocior (Odes 1.37.29) has the same resolve implied in the moritura of Dido (4.519, 604) and Amata (12.602). Vergil also connects Dido with the Cleopatra on Aeneas' shield: Dido is pallida morte futura (4.644), the Egyptian queen is pallentem morte futura (8.709). Vergil graciously describes her defeat in terms of sympathy similar to those of Horace:

Vulcan depicted it as follows (Aen. 8.711-13):

> contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
> pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
> caeruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina victos

Thus Vergil's three queens -- his Cleopatra -- and Horace's Cleopatra are drawn accurately and sympathetically by two poets who were not sympathetic to their causes, yet who were able to make allowances for their deficiencies and able to appreciate the nobler aspects of their characters which rendered them worthy opponents of Rome. The similarity of feeling and expression common to Vergil and Horace is therefore, in my opinion, too striking to be coincidental.

Duckworth gives an excellent and concise definition of allegory and symbolism:[23] "In allegory, a must equal x and only x and usually in all its details; in symbolism a may suggest x and also y and perhaps z. Allegory confines; symbolism liberates and allows the poet several levels of meaning simultaneously." Vergil's frequent references throughout the epic to Homer, to the Greek tragedians, to Roman folk-lore, customs and history, preclude, unequivocally, any definite indentification with contemporary personalities of the Augustan era. Vergil's poem, though not allegorical, is nevertheless highly allusive. Louis de Bonald the French Restoration theorist of the nineteenth century subscribes to the view of the inevitability of allusion in writers, stating that reflections from contemporary society are inevitable.[24]

Turnus as Mark Antony, Aeneas as Augustus -- such identifications have long been made.[25] Bailey writes -- with reference to Aeneid 6.69-74, where Aeneas promises to build a temple to Apollo and transfer there the Sibylline Books -- "Aeneas, if not an allegory, is the prototype of Augustus and it is impossible to doubt that Vergil intended the reference."[26] Camps declares that there is little doubt "that the narrative of the Aeneid is at some points coloured by reminiscence of events in the career of Octavian."[27] Undoubtedly this is true, yet Vergil is primarily a poet and as such had the freedom to use details, to change them or even to drop them completely. He frequently highlights one aspect of character. Galinsky, for instance, considers that Aeneas symbolizes Augustus in his devotion to Hercules, whereas Hercules in his furor towards Cacus resembles Turnus in Aeneid 10.28. Far from always reflecting Augustus, Aeneas in his dalliance with Dido, would seem to have much in common with Julius Caesar -- who, like Augustus and unlike Antony, was a cool planner, a man who was quite able to calculate his own interests. His only apparent affaire du coeur seems to have been with the young Cleopatra who supported him at the siege of Alexandria and with whom he stayed from October 48 B.C. to March 47 B.C. after which he severed relations and returned to Rome. Dido's absorption in the young Ascanius (expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo/Phoenissa, et pariter puero donisque movetur, 1.713-14) might reflect Ptolemy

Caesarion, allegedly her son by Julius Caesar. Amata also had much in common with the Egyptian Queen: she allegedly killed her sons and was illicitly in love with Turnus, her own family counting for nothing. Cleopatra was sedulously blackened by the Romans for similar behaviour -- the daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, possible product of a brother and sister union, she was a femme fatale, highly intelligent, who disposed of her brother and sister to become sole ruler. Antony, whose name is mentioned on the shield (ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis, 8.685), ruler of the Eastern half of the world had irresponsibly fallen under the spell of a foreign furiosa, whose interests he placed before those of Octavian and Rome. The effeminacy and imperial luxury of the Egyptian court (ope barbarica) utterly disgusted the Romans (Odes 1.37.9-10; (Romanus) spadonibus servire rigosis potest Epode 9.13ff). Vergil, like Horace, reflects similar feelings (ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu, 4.215ff; 9.614-16). Florus (2.21.3) also stresses this aspect, in his description of Antony's dress, censuring his irresponsibility towards Rome, the result of his liaison with "that monster" (patriae, nominis, togae, fascium oblitus totus in monstrum illud ut mente ita amictu cultuque desciverat aureum in manu baculum, in latere acinaces, purpurea vestis ingentibus obstricta gemmis), a description with a remarkable resemblance to Aeneas in Carthage, robed in purple and gold and wearing a jasper-hilted sword (4.261-64). At Actium, Cleopatra fearlessly took part in the sea-battle -- her courage resembling that of

Camilla, her description (pallentem morte futura, 8.709) evoking that of Dido (4.644). As Camilla was defeated by Arruns, votary of Soractian Apollo, so Cleopatra was conquered by Octavian and Actian Apollo (8.704). Actium -- the scene of the West challenging the East -- might be reflected in Aeneas' challenge of Turnus (vestigat lustrans 12.466-7) and in Arruns' tactics to ensnare Camilla (circuit vestigia lustrat 11.761, 763). Defeated Antony and Cleopatra escaped only to be pursued relentlessly by Octavian, a "cat and mouse" game, reflected in Juno's spiriting-away of Turnus on a boat to his home, a dispirited and broken man, undecided whether to return to the fight or commit suicide (10.633-89). His enemy Aeneas presses after him, a hunting dog, fervidus in pursuit of a harmless stag (12.748-51). Mark Antony's fate was inevitable. Similar imagery is employed in Arruns' relentless pursuit of Camilla: like Octavian, he was always in the background, pulling the strings and manipulating his victim like a puppet (furtim celeris detorquet habenas, 11. 765), saving his final pounce for the opportune moment.

Antony and Cleopatra could not escape; they were a menace to Octavian: (1) on account of Ptolemy Caesarion, whom Antony declared to be Julius Caesar's son by Cleopatra; (2) because Antony in 33 B.C. had become Cleopatra's Prince consort by Greek dynastic law, and divorced Octavia (a personal affront to Octavian) in 32, and (3) because in the publication of Antony's will in 32, he had voiced his intention to be buried at the side of Cleopatra. Their death-warrant, whether

by suicide or murder, was thus signed.

Caesar not only forced Antony's death (ad mortem adegit) but he actually viewed the corpse (viditque mortuum. Suetonius Aug. 17.7). Suetonius goes on to relate how Octavian permitted the lovers an honourable burial in the same tomb -- their unity in death being suggested by a repetition of Camilla and Turnus' death line (vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras, 11.831; 12.952) -- and ensured that the Mausoleum in Alexandria was completed (tumulum ab ipsis incohatum perfici iussit), a magnanimous final gesture indeed! The Mausoleum burial would have been in accordance with Diana's plan for Camilla (11.590-95) and the wound suffered by Cleopatra -- the goddess Isis, according to Egyptian tradition,who ruled with her consort Osiris (a fertility god identified with Bacchus by Tibullus 1.7.27ff and Antony's special deity) -- might well be symbolized by quicumque sacrum violarit vulnera corpus (11.591). Turnus' death, brought about by the impressum nefas -- (as well as the desire for vengeance) -- the ill-omened sword belt on which was engraved the unholy marriage of the sons of Aegyptus and the daughters of his brother Daunus, might well reflect the marriage of Antony and Cleopatra, an equally impious affair in Roman eyes. The Bacchic theme traceable throughout the Dido, Amata and Camilla episodes is also associated with Cleopatra on the shield of Aeneas (regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro, 8.696).

Camps quotes Seneca on Augustus: "He was a merciful ruler if one considers his career from the beginning of his principate," and also "as a young man he was subject to fits of angry passion and did many things which it pained him later to recall."[29] Vergil, no sycophant, appreciated the princeps for his good qualities yet was fully aware of his excesses. Augustus' restoration of peace after years of Civil War caused Vergil to associate him with Evander (servati facimus, 8.189)[30] as well as with Hercules -- in the honours paid to the god at the Ara Maxima (8.190ff), since the princeps' name was inserted into the ancient hymn of the Salii after Actium. Augustus tried to introduce a moral legislation in 28 B.C. and undertook the restoration of the temples in Rome. To impress his ideals upon the populace he set up, in 27 B.C., a golden shield in the Curia Julia commemorating his virtus, clementia, iustitia and pietas (talia per clipeum Volcani.../miratur... /attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum, 8.729-31). Aeneas, as he leads his Etruscan forces stans celsa in puppi (10.261ff), crest blazing, flames streaming from his plumed crown, his golden shield beaming like the sinister blood-red glow of a comet or the Dog-star Sirius that brings thirst and disaster to suffering humanity -- a description, evocative not only of the Turnus with his Chimaera and Io combination (7.785-92) but practically repeated in the depiction of Augustus on the shield (stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammas/laeta

vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus, 8.680-81) -- is thereby connected directly with the princeps, and the uncontrollable vengeance which he dealt out to all he encountered after Pallas' death symbolizes the mode of conduct Augustus was to adopt to avenge Julius Caesar's murder. This theme of vengeance (Aeneas' taking vengeance for Pallas death, Tarchon's and Arruns' retributive behaviour towards Venulus and Camilla respectively) is particularly prevalent in Aeneid 11 and was "a very important idea of the religion of antiquity, from Homer on, certainly at Rome...." The idea of Apollo Vindex and Mars Ultor was an Augustan idea.[31] The ruthlessness of Octavian's proscriptions, particularly with regard to Quintus Cicero and son, each begging to be slain first and killed simultaneously by their assassins (Appian Civil Wars 4.20) with a complete disregard for the concept of pietas is paralleled by Aeneas' treatment of Mago (10.521-36); the Egnatii, father and son, whose heads were lopped off while they embraced (Appian Civil Wars 4.21) reflect the inhumanitas of Aeneas to Tarquitus (10. 550-60); Octavian's response to a captive after Philippi, who requested burial, to the effect that the birds of the air would make short work of his body (Suetonius Augustus 13) finds a direct parallel again in Aeneas' words over Tarquitus' corpse (alitibus linquere feris, aut gurgite mersum/unda feret piscesque impasti vulnera lambent, 10.559-60). Augustus' alleged treatment of crowds of prisoners after the siege of

Perusia in 40 B.C., where, according to Suetonius (Augustus 15), he selected three hundred of Equestrian or Senatorial rank to be offered on the Ides of March as live sacrifices to the deified Julius, corresponds to Aeneas' taking of live captives for sacrifice at Pallas' pyre (10. 517-20; 11.81-2), Octavian exacting revenge for the death of his adopted father, Aeneas for his surrogate son.[33] On the other hand, in order to adjust the balance, Suetonius (Augustus 15) comments on Augustus' clementia, stating that to supply a full list would be tedious: -- Augustus merely fined Junius Novatus for damaging libel; he only exiled Cassius Patavinus, a would-be assassin; he made a joking remark about Aemilius Aelianus, accused of vilifying him, and dropped the whole case. He was quite unconcerned at being the butt of lampoons (Suetonius, Augustus 55). Furthermore in defence of Augustus' clementia one cannot overlook the merciful treatment accorded the instigators of the Perusian revolt: Fulvia was permitted to rejoin Antony;[34] Lucius Antonius was exiled to Spain where he died shortly afterwards (Appian, Civil War 5.54). Augustus refers to his own clementia (Res Gestae 3.1) -- subtly linking himself with Caesar who pardoned most of his enemies -- bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi, victorque omnibus veniam petentibus peperci. This slight distortion of facts might well be indicative of a desire on

the princeps' part to eradicate some of the excesses of his earlier years.

Of the other major characters requiring comment in Aeneid 11, there remain Pallas, Drances and Mezentius. Pallas' death on analogy with that of Patroclus, Achilles' dearly-beloved friend, would seem to represent one of the many young heroes, about whose deaths Vergil felt so deeply, youths, such as Marcellus, whose death affected the princeps so directly, although Camps considers Pallas an allusion to Julius Caesar, basing his opinion on Augustus' regret at not being present to save his comrade-in-arms and commander (Appian Civil War 3.3)[35] and concluding that Caesar the father is represented by Anchises and Caesar the friend by Pallas.

Drances -- unwarlike, of unexceptional birth, a skilled and slippery politician (11.336-42) -- symbolic of Homer's Thersites and Polydamas[36] -- has been thought to allude also to Cicero.[37] Highet considers that o fama ingens, ingentior armis (11.124), his address to Aeneas, might have been adapted from the lost eulogy of Cato the Younger in Cicero's Cato (contingebat in eo...ut maiora omnia re quam fama viderentur. Macrobius 6.2.33). Vergil is silent on the subject of Cicero, although if one considers Augustus' cool indifference ("A man skilled in words, my boy, a man who had a way with words yet loved his country" Plutarch Cicero 49.3) and Pollio's open hostility (infestissumus famae Ciceronis. Seneca. Suas. 6.14), since these were among

Vergil's closest friends, one can hardly be surprised if Drances' speech to the Council of Latins (11.343-75) reflects to a certain extent Cicero's attack on Antony, especially in the Second Philippic where he posed as a Demosthenes for liberty over a military dictatorship.

Mezentius, the most outstanding of Aeneas' enemies after Turnus, would seem to have much in common with both Catiline and Sextus Pompeius, notorious outlaws of Vergil's era. Like Mezentius, Catiline was an aristocrat, a despot, no respecter of the gods,[38] a killer -- in fact a monstrum (Cicero Cat. 2.1.1.). Catiline's contemptor deum aspect may be seen in his treatment of a Vestal Virgin and in his washing his hands -- blood-stained from having just committed a murder -- in the lustral water's of Apollo's temple. Catiline, a revolutionary, bitterly opposed by Cicero who executed some of his fellow-conspirators, was eventually killed in Etruria which harboured so many veterans of the Marian and Sullan wars. Drew favours the connection of Mezentius with Sextus Pompeius.[39] An enemy of Rome, proscribed by the triumvirate in 43 B.C. Sextus Pompeius, like Mezentius, was cruel, reputed to have offered human sacrifice to Neptune. Moreover he was piratical like Mezentius, ravaging the coast of Italy and threatening to cut off the corn supply from Egypt. When news of Sextus Pompeius' defeat in 36 became known Etruscan opposition to Octavian died down (Dio 49.15.1).

CONCLUSION

Aeneid 11 is very Etruscan in character: funeral practices, Etruscan names -- notably Mezentius, Tarchon, Arruns and Turnus -- religious observances, are all to be found. The Etruscans emerge as strongly as the Romans, their heroism matching that of their conquerors, so much so that one suspects that this was the result of design rather than mere chance. Augustus might well have been anxious to ensure a united Italy by closing the division between Rome and Etruria. That he was himself an Etruscan scholar is evidenced by his deciphering the dedicatory inscription of Cossus and his correcting Livy on a point of constitutional detail (Livy 4.20.6). As part of a possible "up-grade" programme, there were prominent Etruscans at Augustus' court, such as Gaius Maecenas, who was connected through his mother with a noble Etruscan family, the Cilnii of Arretium. Volaterrae produced the satirist Aulus Persius Flaccus, the area around Perusia produced Propertius (1.21), whilst the neighbourhood of Mantua gave birth to Vergil.[40] This tendency to highlight the Etruscans may also have had some bearing on Vergil's choice of hero for his epic, since the Aeneas story, as attested by evidence on funerary urns, was Etruscan before it became Roman, developing from the basic Eteocles-Polynices legend into the combat between Aeneas and Turnus.[41] The city of Arretium also became famous during Augustus's reign for the manufacture of pottery -- coral in colour and decorated with scenes of hunting, banqueting

and love-making, all of which themes occur in Vergil's Aeneid. A contributing factor in reconciling any dissident elements after the Perusian revolt may well have been the impressive public-building programme in Etruscan cities in the Augustan era; -- at Lucus Feroniae, Sutrium, Castrum Norum, Caere, Falerii, Ferentium, Volsinii and Rusellae in Southern Etruria, and at Volaterrae, Faesulae, Florentia, Pisae and Luna in Northern Etruria.[42]

The Aeneid would, in conclusion, appear to be no mere replica of Homer's epic, no mere piece of Augustan propaganda. Vergil's poem, motivated by a deep desire for national unity, is a sensitive and artistic combination of Greek mythology and tragedy with Roman folk-lore, history and tradition, resembling an elaborate and intricately-stitched tapestry with every subtle variation of texture and hue. Far from extolling Rome's history, the Aeneid interprets it; far from sedulously lauding Augustus' achievements, it judges them critically, finely yet firmly urging vis temperata rather than vis consili expers. It speaks strongly for the princeps' far-sightedness and magnitudo animi -- for it would be unrealistic to consider him to have been so insensitive as to have been unaware of his friend's underlying admonitions -- that he not only permitted but insisted upon the publishing of Vergil's epic, aware, no doubt, that through Vergil's poetry, he would have a lasting tribute to his res gestae, a monument more enduring than bronze (monumentum aere perennius. Horace Odes 3.30.1).

NOTES

CHAPTER I

[1]Vergil refers to Mars or Mavors, the old Italian god of war (11.389), as a personification of war (11.152, 373, 389, 899) and as a poetical synonym for bellum or pugna (11.110).

[2]P. T. Eden. "Mezentius and the Etruscans in the Aeneid" Proc. Vergil Society (1966) 31-40.

[3]Cato ap Macrob. Sat 3.5.10; Varro ap Pliny N. H. 14.88; Dion Hal. 1.65.2; Ovid Fasti 4.877-900.

[4]P. F. Burke Jr., "Mezentius and the First Fruits." Vergilius 20 (1974) 28-9.

[5]P. T. Eden, op.cit., pp. 34-36.

[6]Sir J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1951, 205.

[7]P. T. Eden, op.cit., p. 36, quotes a practice ascribed to the Etruscans by Cicero (a citation from the lost Hortensius, in Augustine contra Pel 4):

> qui quondam in praedonum Etruscorum manus incidissent, crudelitate excogitata necabantur, quorum corpora viva cum mortuis, adversa adversis accomodata quam aptissime (v.l. artissime) colligabantur.

[8]P. F. Burke, "The role of Mezentius in the Aeneid." CJ 69 (1974) 202-9. note 6. Lovers touch hands (Ovid A.A. 1.167, 578; Tibullus 1.1.60, 1.6.26,60); the mille basia of Catullus surely establish kissing as Roman amatory behaviour.

[9]P. F. Burke, op.cit., p. 204.

[10]Excluding Camilla, Mezentius and Polyphemus horrendus (-a, -um) is applied to four other figures in the Aeneid: to Fama (4.181), to the Sibyl (6.10), to Charon (6.298) and to Allecto (7.323), thereby emphasizing the monstrous, infernal associations of the epithet.

[11]Justin Glenn. "Mezentius and Polyphemus" AJP 92 (1971) 129-55.

[12]Vastis is applied by Vergil to the Cyclops' cave (3.617), to the Cyclops himself (3.647), to his vast bulk (vasta mole Polyphemum, 3.655) and to the monster Charybdis (7.302).

[13]Scholars referring to the Etruscans as piratical include: J. Heurgon Daily Life of the Etruscans. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1964. 12,42; W. Keller, The Etruscans, Lowe & Brydone Ltd., Norfolk 1975, 67-9, 73, 155, 160, 226, 286, 301, 304; Massimo Pallotino The Etruscans, Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1975, 82-3; E. Richardson, The Etruscans. Their Art and Civilization, University of Chicago Press, 1964 17, and H. H. Scullard. The Etruscan Cities and Rome, Thames and Hudson, London, 1967, 178. The appellation "pirate" is defined by P. E. Eden, op.cit., p. 36.

[14]P. T. Eden, op.cit., pp. 36-38 states that the first gladiatorial combat in Rome took place in the Forum Boarium where Gallic and Greek substitute pairs were buried in 228 B.C. and again in 216 B.C., to gain the good will of the gods at the burning alive of a Vestal Virgin guilty of incest. The theory of Cichorius (Röm. Studien 1923) that it was basically a magical war ritual, the victims representing nations whose destruction might be advantageous, eliminates the problem of the mode of slaughter of the Gallic and Greek pairs and of their nationality.

[15]P. T. Eden, op.cit., p. 38. Parthenopaeus (Aeschylus: Septem Contra Thebas 529ff) swears to revere his spear more than any god. Idas (Apollonius of Rhodes, Argonautica 1.467ff) claims his spear helps him more than Zeus.

[16]Cf. Cicero (Pro Plancio 33.80).

quid est pietas nisi voluntas grata in parentes?

[17]Ref. Sir Paul Harvey: The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature. Clarendon Press, 1937, spolia opima.

[18]Aeneas (11.6-8) dedicated the secunda spolia of Mezentius to Mars, Marcellus (6.855-59) tertia spolia to Quirinus. Eden (op.cit., p. 39) points out that "Quirinus, often identified with Mars, owes his name to quiris = a spear."

[19]Cf. Tacitus (Annales 2.18) writes: - miles in loco proelii Tiberium imperatorem salutavit struxitque aggerem et in modum tropaeum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nominibus imposuit.

[20]Aen. 9.365-6: tum galeam Messapi habilem cristisque decoram induit...

Aen. 9.373-4: et galea Euryalum sublustri noctis in umbra
prodidit immemorem radiisque adversa refulsit.

[21]Aen. 11.778-9: ...sive ut templis praefigeret arma Troia, captivo sive ut se ferret in auro

[22]Sir J. G. Frazer, op.cit., p. 135.

[23]Jacques Heurgon. Daily Life of the Etruscans. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1964, 224.

[24]Sir J. G. Frazer, op.cit., p. 128.

[25]Sir J. G. Frazer, op.cit., p. 184.

[26]Sir J. G. Frazer, op.cit., p. 171-2.

[27]Gilbert Highet, The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid. Princeton University Press, 1972, 208.

[28]Cf. Aeneid 8.19: magno curarum....aestu; Aeneid 8.29: tristi turbatus pectora bello.

[29]Evander (8.366-9) led Aeneas into a simple hut with a bed made from foliis et pelle Libystridis ursae, a forcible reminder of the hospitality afforded by Eumaeus to Odysseus in Odyssey 14.

[30]Aen. 11.96-7: nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli/fata vocant...

[31]Aen. 4.395-6: (Pius Aeneas) multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore/iussa tamen divum exsequitur...

[32]Aeneas is pius when he buries Misenus in accordance with the Sibyl's instructions (6.232). Likewise Aeneid 7.5. at pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis - at Caieta's burial.

[33]Aen. 5.80-1: salve, sancte parens, iterum: salvete, recepti
nequiquam cineres, animaeque umbraeque paternae.

Aen. 10.800: dum genitor nati parma protectus abiret

Cf. Cicero. De Inventione (2.22.6) defines pietas as a quality: quae erga patriam aut parentes aut alios sanguine coniunctos officium conservare moneat.

[34]Nisus and Euryalus flee into a dark wood at night (ilice nigra horrida, 9.381-2) where scarcely a path shows up (rara per occultos lucebat semita callis, 9.383).

[35]The Sibyl of Cumae is clearly horrified at the thought of an unburied person crossing the Styx (desine fata deum flecti sperare precando, 6.376), but Aeneas, ever marked in his attention to ritual and to doing what is just, comforts his helmsman with the assurances of a cenotaph (6.380) and the promise that the spot shall ever bear the name of Palinurus (6.381).

[36]Horace (Odes 3.4) depicts the violence of the Giants (vis consili expers) in contrast with the control favoured by the gods (vis temperata).

[37]B. Otis, Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry. Oxford 1964, 359 and W. S. Anderson, The Art of the Aeneid. Eaglewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1969, 85, interpret Aeneid 10. 811-12 as indicating humanitas and trying to warn off Lausus. G. Highet, op.cit., p. 33 refers to Aeneas' "generous warning," yet in his appendices describes these lines as a "taunt, challenge, threat." P. F. Burke "The role of Mezentius in the Aeneid," CJ 69 (1974) 202-9 considers that they were not meant in a kindly way as moriture implies certain death rather than the likelihood of it. He feels that Aeneas cools off only at Anchisiades (10.822).

[38]Patria was used by Aeneas when he and his companions shortly after landing in Latium had consumed wheaten cakes heaped with produce of the countryside, the plates carrying out the function of tables. Ascanius' comment, that they had even consumed their tables, brought to mind the prophecy of Calaeno the Harpy (3.250ff) -- incorrectly attributed to Anchises -- that this happening would prove they were in their destined land. Aeneas thus cries out: hic domus, haec patria est (7.122).

[39]For libri Acherontici refer, W. Keller, op.cit., p. 82 and J. Heurgon, op.cit., p. 224.

[40]Livy (3.50.11) uses the same expression: ut vellerent signa et Roman proficiscerentur.

[41]Cf. Catullus 68.148: quem lapide illa diem candidiore notat.

[42]At the festival of the Lemures the paterfamilias drove the Manes away from their former home with charms and the formula Manes exite paterni (Ovid. Fasti 5.443).

[43]They also appear in 3.62-5 at the funeral of Polydorus (arae stant), in 4.667 indirectly at the death of Dido (femineo ululatu) and in 2.766-7 after the loss of Creusa, Aeneas finds on his return from the ruins of Troy:

> ...pueri et pavidae longo ordine matres
> stant circum.

[44]Cf. Ennius, Annales 515 magnis animis, 541 templum magnum.

[45]Cf. Sophocles Antigone 1072-1073:

> ὧν οὔτε σοὶ μέτεστιν οὔτε τοῖς ἄνω
> θεοῖσιν....

[46]Tereus (Ecl 6.81), Priam (Aen 3.50), Brutus (Aen 4.822), Euryalus' mother (Aen 9.477), Mezentius (Aen 10.850), Evander (Aen 11.53, 175) Acoetes (Aen 11.85), Juturna, sister of Turnus (Aen 12.870).

[47]Troilus (Aen 1.475), Coroebus (2.345), Elissa/Dido (5.3), Euryalus (9.390, 430), Acron (10.730), Antores (10.781), Lausus (10.829) and Camilla (11.563).

[48]Cf. Amata (6.376, 401; 12.598), Dido (1.712, 749; 4.68, 301, 450, 529, 596; 6.456).

[49]Similar sentiments are expressed in Horace Odes 3.2.13: dulce et decorum est pro patria mori and Odes 3.5.

[50]Cf. Aen 4.220 ...tum membra toro defleta reponunt at the cremation of Misenus; Lucretius De lerum Natura 3.907 cinefactum te prope busto/insatiabiliter deflevimus. Thus deflere would seem the technical term for "lamenting the dead".

[51]Cf. Aen 6.222 ...pars ingenti subiere feretro.

[52]Cf. suprema funera (Ovid. Met. 3.137) oscula (id. ib 6.278) tori (id. Fasti 6.668), ignis (id. Am I.15. 41), officia (Tac. Ann 5.2).

[53]Martial Epigr 8.75.9: quattuor inscripti portabant vile cadaver.

[54]Anchises wishes to scatter lilies and bright-hued flowers over Marcellus' remains (Aen 6.882ff); Ascanius is described as an exquisite jewel in a precious setting (Aen 10.134-7); Lavinia's blush resembles a rare work of art or a softly-blushing flower (Aen 12.65-9); Nature participated in the grief at Daphnis' passing (Ecl 5.20-8) and at Gallus' (Ecl 10.13ff).

[55]Other gifts of Dido are referred to in Aen 5.571ff (where Ascanius rides a horse, quem candida Dido/esse sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris) and in 9.266 (where Ascanius promises Nisus as a reward a bowl quem dat Sidonia Dido).

[56]Aeneas (1.592-3), Iulus (10.134-7) and Lavinia (12.67-9) are each described as radiant and costly works of art.

[57]Ivory associated with heroes: 6.647. Orpheus, in the Homes of the Blest, strikes his melody with an ivory quill; 9.305. The infelix Euryalus is presented by Ascanius with a gold-plated sword in an ivory scabbard; 11.11. Mezentius' ivory-hilted sword decorates his trophy; 11.333. Latinus suggests sending ivory, gold, a throne and purple cloak as peace-offerings to Aeneas and his Trojans.

[58]J. R. Dunkle, "The Hunter and Hunting in the Aeneid." Ramus 2 (1973) 127-42.

[59]Cicero (Tusc. 1.12.27) attests this concept: itaque unum illud erat insitum priscis illis, quos cascos appellat Ennius, esse in morte sensum neque excessu vitae si deleri hominem ut funditus interiret

Livy (3.58.11) write of manes Verginiae

Vergil (6.743) declares quisque suos patimur manes. All use manes with reference to the souls of individuals.

[60]Propertius (4.11.99-102) lists the virtues of Cornelia, deceased wife of Lucius Aemilius Paullus, censor of 22 B.C.:

> causa perorata est flentes me surgite, testes,
> dum pretium vitae grata rependit humus.
> moribus et caelum patuit: sim digna merendo,
> cuius honoratis ossa vehantur avis.

[61]Ref. Herodotus 7.208, where the Spartans braided their hair at Thermopylae, and Judges 16.4-21, where Delilah, bribed by the Philistines, wheedled from Samson the secret of his strength then betrayed him to his enemies.

[62]Ref. Aeneid 1.319, 403, where Venus was arrayed as a huntress dederatque comam diffundere ventis, hair which breathed forth divine fragrance.

Aeneid 2.684; 7.75, where flame, symbolic of celestial favour, licks the hair of Ascanius and of Lavinia.

[63]Nomina or tituli were normally inscribed on trophies and memorial statues. Cf. Tacitus Annales 2.18 in modum tropaeorum arma subscriptis victarum gentium nominibus imposuit.

[64]Pliny Epist 4.2. habebat puer mannulos multos... habebat canes maiores minoresque, habebat luscinias, psittacos, merulas: omnes Regulus circa rogum trucidavit.

[65]D. Randall-MacIver, The Etruscans Cooper Square Publishers Inc., New York, 1972, 19-20.

[66]B. Otis, Virgil, a Study in Civilized Poetry, Oxford, 1963, 364.

[67]Burial was the most important rite in the ancient world. The importance of burial was recognized by Homer Iliad 23.65ff; Sophocles Aias 1064ff; Ant passim: by Pliny Nat Hist. 19.6; by Catullus 64.153; by Cicero de Div 2.20; by Horace Odes 1.28.23-6; by Vergil Georg. 4.86-7; Aeneid 2.557-8; 5.871; 6.325-330, 365-6; 10.557-60; 11.103, 211-12, 866; Cir 442.

[68]K. Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid. A Critical Description. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1968, 235.

[69]Fama: Refer Aeneid 4.181ff:

> monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,
> tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
> tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.

cf. description of the Cyclops (monstrum horrendum informe ingens, 3.658). Tragedy is deeply underscored by the mention of Fama, based on Lucretius' scientific picture of a falling thunderbolt (de Rerum Natura 6.340ff) and Homer's picture of strife (Iliad 4.442ff). Fear (parva metu primo, 4.176) is Vergil's own addition. Fama, restrained at first grows dramatically later through confidence; cf. Beaumarchais' Le Barbier de Seville Act 2, Scene 8, where la calomnie ranges from pianissimo to crescendo. Fama, first the scandalmonger, (tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri, 4.188) brought news to Iarbas about Dido's passion for Aeneas, Fama (concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem, 4.666) was first with the report of Dido's untimely death. Fama (9. 473-5) reported the tragic end of Nisus and Euryalus to the latter's mother. Ovid refers to Fama as a scandalmonger (conscia mens recti famae mendacia risit, Fasti 4.311) and also personalizes her (Fama loquax vestras si iam pervenit ad/aures, Epistulae ex Ponto 3.1.46).

[70]Lycus even relates Hercules' visit to his father's court when he was a youth, just as Evander refers to Anchises' visit in the same terms (Argonautica 2.774-791; Aeneid 8.157-168).

[71]Primitiae links Pallas with Mezentius (de rege superbo/primitiae 11.15-16) Vergil uses primitiae on these two occasions only.

[72]As Euryalus' mother refers to her son as crudelis (Aen 9.483) for leaving her alone, so Anna refers to Dido with equal bitterness (Aeneid 4.680-1) for not allowing her to join her in death.

[73]Manes has a variety of meanings. C. Bailey Religion in Virgil, Barnes and Noble, New York, 1935, 257-62; points out that manes can mean a mass of dead spirits, the realm of the dead, family dead (Di Parentes), spirits of the lower world (Di Inferi) and individual spirits, as here. It is used in this latter sense in Aeneid 3.63, 303; 4.34, 427; 6.119, 506; 10.524. The Reversal of the Natural Order theme is found in Georgics 4.475-7 and Aeneid 6.308-10 where Aeneas sees youths laid on funeral pyres by their parents.

[74]Cf. Livy 27.2.9. congestos in unum locum (Romani) cremavere suos.

[75]Ter used in situations of danger often leading to death: Aen 1.116; 3.421, 566; 7.141; 8.232, 566; 9.587; 10.685, 885.

[76]Lustrare in purificatory sense: Aen 3.279; 6.231; 8.193; 11.190.

77. Cf. Tacitus Ann 2.7. honori patris princeps ipse decucurrit. Also Livy 25.17.5.

[78]Spargere a ritual sprinkling is used in 4.512, 635 in chthonic worship by Dido and of the priestess, in 6.230 at the cremation of Misenus and in 6.636 where Aeneas enters the Homes of the Blessed.

[79]Cf. Horace Odes 2.7.15-16, addressing a fellow-soldier who eventually returned from Philippi:

te rursus in bellum resorbens
unda fretis tulit aestuosis.

[80]Cf. Horace Odes 1.1.24-5 bellaque matribus detestata.

[81]Cf. Livy's similar use of umbra 7.30.18: itaque umbra vestri auxilii, Romani, tegi possumus.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

[1]M. M. Crump, The Epyllion from Theocritus to Ovid Blackwell, Oxford, 1931, 217.

[2]W. Allen, The Epyllion: a chapter in the History of Literary Criticism, TAPA 71 (1940) 1-26. He refers (p. 25) to R. Heinze (Ovids elegische Erzählung) in support of his point of view.

[3]C. J. Fordyce, Catullus, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1961, 272.

[4]R. D. Williams, Virgil, Aeneid 7-12, Macmillan England, 1973, 416.

[5]Vergilian examples include the Culex, Ciris, Aristaeus episode (Geor. 4) and possibly some episodes in the Aeneid.

[6]R. D. Williams. "The function and structure of Virgil's Catalogue," CQ 11 (1961) 146-153, considers Camilla as a mere "pendant" to the Catalogue of Latin Warriors.

[7]Horrendus in the Aeneid would seem to be filled with chthonic negative implications, applied as it is to Charybdis (Aeneid 3.559), to Polyphemus (3.658), to Fama (4.181), to the Sibyl of Apollo (6.10, 99), to the beast of Lerna and other monstrous hybrids (6.228), to Charon (6.298), to the river-banks of the dead (6.327), to Lavinia afire -- a portent of war (7.78), to the awesome palace of Picus (7.172), to Juno when summoning Allecto (7.323), to the Underworld entrance (7.568), to Mezentius (9.521), to Turnus' scaly armour (11.488) and to the maiden Camilla (11.507).

[8]Tiburtus, referred to in the Catalogue of Latin warriors (7.671), was the brother of the twins Catillus and Coras (7.672), variously described as acer, Argiva, ceu duo nubigenae Centauri (7.672, 674) as they gallop down from the mountain-tops crashing through woods and undergrowth, creating for the modern reader an overpowering Wagnerian effect, yet associated for the Roman with the idea of avalanche and lustful violence.

[9]Cf. Polyphemus and the Cyclopes (Odyssey 9).

[10]Diana was of political importance at Rome. A temple on the Aventine outside the pomerium was constructed for her, ascribed to the reign of King Servius Tullius: here she was associated with slaves and the plebeian class -- Servius perpulit tandem, ut Romae fanum Dianae populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent (Livy 1.45.2) issues a tacit yet forceful reminder that the transference of Diana's cult to Rome stressed Rome's position as caput rerum and head of the Latin League.

[11]Mount Tifata (modern Monte Maddaloni) is referred to by Livy 7.29.6; 23.36.1; 26.5.4; Vell. 2.25.4; Sil. 12.487; 13.219. Tifata means iliceta or grove of holm-oaks (Lewis and Short, p. 1871).

[12]Ref. Livy 1.19.5 (Egeria) quae acceptissima deis essent sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficere.

[13]Ref. Callimachus, Hymn to Artemis; Catullus, Poem 34 Hymn to Diana for her various functions.

[14]C. Bailey, Religion in Virgil, Barnes and Noble New York, 1935, 157-61. For Diana as Artemis, refer Aen 1.329, 498ff; 7.305-6; 10.215, as Luna 9.403ff; as Trivia, sister of Apollo , 6.13, 35, 69; 7.774; 10.537; as Hecate/Trivia, 4.510-11, 609; 6.116-17, 247, 251ff, 564-5.

[15]Bellona was a combination of the old Italian goddess of War Nerio and the Cappadocian goddess Ma, whose worship was introduced by Sulla into Rome in 92 B.C. It was an orgiastic cult whose followers (bellonarii) gashed their arms in ecstasy. Tibullus alone refers to a priestess (1.6.44. magna sacerdos). She appears with Mars on the Shield of Aeneas (8.703). Horace (aut fanaticus error et iracunda Diana; Ars Poetica 454) equates Bellona with Diana. Cf ut fanaticus oestro percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat (Juvenal 4.123). Diana, like Mars, was associated with gladiators, who were slaves and prisoners of war.

[16]He refers to Picus (7.48, 187), Saturn (8.375), Pilumnus (10.76, 619; 12.82), Venilia (10.76).

[17]Sir J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1951, 190-92.

[18]T. T. Duke, "Metabus of Privernum", Virgilius 23.1977, 34-38 note 23.

[19]The Hyperborean maidens Opis and Arge accompanied Leto (Latona) and her children to Delos, where they were held in great honour and later buried in the sacred precint of Artemis.

[20]Possibly ...tune etiam telis moriere Dianae? (11. 857) could give the impression that Opis was Diana herself. Frazer, moreover (op.cit., p. 190) states that "Egeria at Nemi appears to have been merely a form of Diana." If one applies this rule, Juturna could likewise be identified with Juno (Diuturna).

[21]Opis is mentioned as an attendant of Diana (Callimachus. Hymn to Diana, 292).

[22]Thomas Köves-Zulauf "Camilla" Gymnasium 85 (1978) 183-205 -- Opis is invisible before descending to earth (nigro circumdata turbine corpus, 11.596). Opis is onlooker at the battles (spectatque interrita pugnas, 11.837). Opis trails Arruns with her eyes (speculatur, 11.853). Even her place of watching, the tumulus of Dercennus (11. 850, 853) is connected with seeing (δέρκομαι).

[23]G. Highet, op.cit., p. 108.

[24]T. T. Duke, op.cit., p. 34.

[25]T. T. Duke, op.cit., pp. 34-5.

[26]R. D. Williams, op.cit., pp. 218-19.

[27]Privernum incurred the vengeance of Rome by making repeated incursions on her colonies of Setia and Norba (Livy 7.15). The Romans, appreciating the spirit of the inhabitants, eventually admitted the Privernates to the rights of Roman citizenship (Livy 8.1; Val. Max. 6.2.). The town, in the Pontine Marsh region, far from centres of communication, was important for the cultivation of vines and olives.

[28]T. T. Duke, op.cit., p. 35.

[29]Thomas Köves-Zulauf "Camilla II" Gymnasium 85 (1978) 408.

[30]Gell. 5.11.12; Juv. 8.229.

[31]Varro, L.L.7.3; Cic. Off 1.31.114

[32]Characterization through name does, however, occur in Vergil. e.g. Opis and Juturna -- previously discussed; Drances, smooth-tongued, insinuating Latin ambassader with a capacity to avoid any actual fighting (11.378-391), may also reflect nuances from δράκων (serpent) and δρᾶναι (to run)

[33]The Aethiopis, a lost poem of Arctinus of Miletus was intended as a sequel to the Iliad. It contained the tale of the coming to Ilium of Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, as well as the advent of Memnon.

[34]Thomas Köves-Zulauf, op.cit., p. 434.

[35]Cf. Propertius 1.1.15 ergo velocem potuit domuisse puellam.

[36]Propertius 1.1.13.

[37]Thomas Köves-Zulauf, op.cit., p. 424.

[38]Thomas Köves-Zulauf, op.cit., pp. 430-32.

[39]Thomas Köves-Zulauf, op.cit., p. 432.
It is of interest to note the connection of Nerio with Camilla. Since Camilla, Diana's votary, correpta...militia, appears in the image and likeness of Diana, this point made by Köves-Zulauf might strengthen the association of Bellona and Diana.

[40]T. E. Page, The Aeneid of Vergil 7-12, Macmillan London, 1914, 393.

[41]C. Bailey, op.cit., pp. 159-60.

[42]T. T. Duke, op.cit., p. 36.

[43]Sir Paul Harvey, The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, Clarendon Press, 1937, 289.

[44]R. D. Williams, op.cit., p. 227; T. T. Duke op. cit., p. 35; T. Köves-Zulauf, op.cit., pp. 421-425.

[45]M. Hadas "Aeneas as a national Hero" AJP 69 (1948) 408-414. He comments (p. 414) that "if Horace assumes that Jewish credulity is a matter of common knowledge (credat Judaeus Apella, non ego. Serm. 1.5.100), Virgil is the type of mind which would investigate the objects of that credulity".

[46]Vergil's use of Elissa is somewhat similar. A. S. Pease (Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft Darmstadt 1965) in his discussion of Elissa (p. 300) mentions that the El- shows its Semitic origin and is equivalent to θεός , yet Servius (Aen 4.36; 4.674) declares that in the Phoenician tongue Elissa means virago (heroic maiden).

[47]Decus is also applied to: -- Aeneas (4.150; 6.546), to Turnus (7.473; 12.58), to Hercules (8.301), to Iris (9.18), to Diana (9.405), to Pallas (10.507), to Juturna (12.142).

[48]Dedecus is applied also to Turnus (10.681, 12.641); pestis to the Dirae (12.845).

[49]Thomas Köves-Zulauf, op.cit., p. 409.

[50]Ref. Oxford Classical Dictionary under Acca.

[51]C. Bailey, op.cit., p. 250.

[52]Ref. Oxford Companion to Classical Literature under Tarpeia.

[53]Possibly the Butes whose appearance Apollo assumed (9.647ff), the Squire of Anchises.

[54]R. W. Cruttwell. Virgil's Mind at Work: An Analysis of the Symbolism of the Aeneid. Cooper Square, New York, 1969, 83.

Circles: The Symbol of defence in the Aeneid is the shield depicting Rome's triumphs (8.625-728) and the games of Ascanius, the Ludus Troiae (5.545-603) revived by Julius Caesar and Augustus. The seven-fold pattern of the shield (ingentem clipeum informant...septenosque

orbibus orbis impediunt, 8.447-49) recalls the convolutionary pattern of Anchises' defensive snake (septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit, 5.85). Troy was defended by encirclements (1.483ff); similarly the Underworld was guarded by the Cocytus, river of Hades (sinu labens circumvenit atro, 6.132). Circles also describe a dance of death notion. In Homer (Iliad 22.208) Achilles chases Hector three times around the walls of Ilium; Mezentius circles Aeneas ingenti gyro trying to penetrate his defences (10.884); Arruns circles Camilla, spear poised, waiting to pounce (11.759-67); Aeneas and Turnus circle around in their final life and death struggle (quinque orbis explent cursu totidemque retexunt/huc illuc... 12.763-4). As an image of enclosure the circle is particularly prevalent. Amata lymphata throws herself about in the manner of a top which spins magno in gyro within the confines of a hall in response to the boys' lashes (7.328ff). Similarly Turnus runs in aimless circles (nunc huc ...implicat orbis, 12.743) enclosed by a vasta palus on one side and ardua moenia on the other, a trapped stag (inclusum...cervum... saeptum) pursued by a hunting dog, whose prey only just evades him (iam iamque tenet, 12.754).

[55]In Homer (Odyssey 15.526) the hawk is described as "swift messenger of Apollo," and considered a happy omen coming as it did from the right.

[56]Encyclopedia Britannica under Falcon, 1970.

[57]Tarchon (Strabo 5.2.1.) was the eponymous founder of the Etruscan town Tarquinii. He also founded Mantua (dedicated to Mantus, Etruscan god of death) and eleven other cities, thereby founding a confederation of Etruscan cities in Cisalpine areas, similar to those in Etruria proper. Vergil, however, would seem to adhere to a different tradition in Aeneid 10.198, claiming that Mantua -- his own city -- was founded by Ocnus, whom Servius identifies with Bianor (sepulchrum....Bianoris, Eclogue 9.59-60). Tarchon (possibly ὁ Ἄρχων , the first magistrate) was in Etruscan tradition a ruler and a priest. The Roman Kings called the elder son Tarquinius, the younger one Arruns.

[58]Cf. Propertius 2.1.45; 3.8.32; Ovid Amores 1.9. 15-16; Tibullus 1.10.53; Horace Odes 3.26.1-8.

[59]C. Bailey, op.cit., p. 149. "therefore with due rites we will pay Bacchus his honour in the hymn of our own country; we will bear platters and cakes and led by the horn the sacred goat shall stand at the altar and we will roast his fat entrails on spits of hazel."

[60]*morituros*: cf. Dido (4.519), Amata (12.55, 602), *turbidus*: cf. Arruns (11.814), Turnus (12.10).

[61]The eagle and snake, symbolic of vengeance, was thus depicted in a painting in the *Curia Iulia*.

[62]Obvious traces of anti-feminism may be observed with reference to Dido (*varium et mutabile semper/femina* 4.570-71), to Amata (*femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant*, 7.345), and to Camilla (*femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore*, 11.782). Anti-feminist traces may also be discerned in Horace, *Odes* 3.26.12; Propertius 1.16.9; Tibullus 1.10.53-4; Ovid *Amores* I.9.19.

[63]Cf. Aeneid 2.244: *instamus tamen immemores caecique furore*.

[64]There were various famous Arruns:
1) *Arruns of Clusium*, the *lacumo*, who - according to Livy (5.33.3) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (13.14ff) - was responsible for enticing the Gauls to cross the Alps and invade Italy, luring them with the delights of fruit and wine, in order to take revenge on his ward for seducing his wife. He was frequently depicted on Etruscan carvings with the old Italic deity Cacus.
2) *Arruns, son of Porsenna*, a prince of Clusium (Livy 2.14), killed by the Cumaeans under Aristodemus.
3) *Arruns Tarquinius*, brother of Lucius Tarquinius (Tarquinius Superbus), husband of the matriarchal *ferox* Tullia (Livy 1.46.5), a youth of gentle disposition (*mitis ingenii invenem*), whose death was brought about by his wife and brother.
4) *Arruns, son of Tarquinius Superbus*, killed in mortal combat with Brutus when attempting to recover Rome (Livy 2. 6.6-10).

[65]Ref. Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 72.19: haud procul urbe Roma in Faliscorum agro familiae sunt paucae, quae vocantur Hirpi; hae sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soractem Apollini, super combustam ligni struem ambulantes non aduruntur.

[66]Apollo is especially associated with the Trojans and Augustus in *Aeneid* 5.545-603; 8.704-720; 9.638-63.

[67]For evidence of an identification of Apollo and Dis, refer to previous discussion of Diana and Chapter 2, Note 14. For Diana as Trivia/Hecate refer to Aeneid 4.510-11, 609; 6.116-17, 247, 251ff. 564-5. Aeneas (6.69-70) vows a temple to Phoebus and Trivia.
The shrine of Apollo on Mount Soracte was shared by Soranus and Feronia, the Mantis and Mania of the Etruscans.
The Valley of Amsanctus, entrance to the Underworld, through which the Fury Allecto returned (7.565f) is situated in the territory of the Hirpini. In the Tomba dell'Orco at Tarquinia Proserpina is depicted wearing two snakes and Dis wearing a wolf's head when presiding at a funeral banquet.

[68]Cf. Homer, Iliad 5.334 where Venus, another divum corpus was wounded by Diomedes.

[69]Cf. Dio 58.11.5; Tacitus Ann. 5.9.2.

[70]R. G. Austin, P. Virgili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1955, 121-22, categorizes pius under three headings:
a) in passages of ordeal or of thoughts and acts of devotion towards a loved one: 1.220, 305; 5.26; 6.9.176, 232; 7.5.
b) when offering up a prayer: 5.685; 8.84; 12.175, 311.
c) in complex settings to obtain a particular effect: 10.591, 783; also pietas 10.824.

[71]L. R. Keppel, "Arruns and the death of Aeneas" AJP (1976) 344-60, note 6, lists occurrences of pietas in the ablative case in references to a specific person: to Aeneas (1.10.544-45; 3.480; 6.403; 11.291-92; 12.839), to Anchises (2.690) and Silvius Aeneas (6.769), to Arruns. (11.787).

[72]L. R. Keppel, op.cit., pp. 344-60.

[73]R. G. Austin, op.cit., p. 200 notes that mortals who die at their appointed time have a lock of hair cut off by Proserpina as a first fruit (cf. Horace Odes 1.28. 19ff), but since Dido's death was untimely, out of special compassion for Dido, Iris was sent to cut off the lock. Bailey (op. cit., p. 246) considers the conception of Proserpina's powerlessness in such a case to be Vergil's own.

[74]Confusion with Etruscan titles and names would seem to be frequent. J. Heurgon Daily Life of the Etruscans, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London 1964, 42, states that the Romans sometimes took the generic title to refer to the name of an individual. Servius (Aen 2.128) tells us that lucumo was King in the Etruscan language, whereas in reference to an ally of Romulus in his war against the Sabines, Cicero adopts the name Lucumo (de Rep 2.14), Propertius uses the form Lygmon (4.1.29). Lucumo was also the name given by Livy to Tarquin the Elder before his removal to Rome where he became Lucius Tarquinius Priscus (Livy 1.34.10).

[75]The sprinkling of earth thrice over the dead constituted technical burial. Cf. Horace Odes 1.28.36 iniecto ter pulvere.

[76]Tibullus, ill at Corfu, illustrates the necessity of dying surrounded by loved ones (1.3.5-8)

> ...non hic mihi mater
> quae legat in maestos ossa perusta sinus
> non soror, Assyrios cineri quae dedat odores
> et fleat, effusis ante sepulchra comis.

[77]Pease, op.cit., p. 524 quotes anima in faucibus (Querolus p. 46.5 Peiper); in primis labris animam habere (Sen. N. Q. 3 praef. 16); anima in naso (Petron. 62.5). Cicero (Verr. 5.118) describes mothers spending the night outside prison to catch the final breath of their condemned children: nihil aliud orabant nisi ut filiorum suorum postremum spiritum ore excipere liceret.

[78]Cf. Catullus (101.10) atque in perpetuum frater ave atque vale.

[79]Cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist. 11.150.

[80]Cf. Propertius (1.17.19-24). He visualizes the honours Cynthia would have paid him in death had he remained with her: illa meum extremo clamasset pulvere nomen. A relic of this custom survives to this present day when the pope, on his death-bed is tapped three times on the brow and called three times by his baptismal name.

[81]Pease op.cit., p. 524 ad 4.683 comments that the washing of the body before burial was a Greek custom, quoting Euripides Alcestis 158-60 and Plato Phaedo p. 115A.

[82]Cf. Juvenal 3.171-72. pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua/nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus.

[83]Cf. Juvenal 3.267. nec habet quam porrigat ore trientem. For a description of Charon refer Aeneid 6.298-304. Charon, together with the Vanth, was one of the two figures in Etruscan religion symbolic of death. He is represented as a semi-bestial figure, armed with a heavy hammer -- a deformation of the ancient squalid Greek Charon of Aristophanes' Frogs and Vergil's Aeneid 6.

[84]Cf. Perseus 3.103-5, tandemque beatulus alto/ compositus lecto crassique lutatus amomis/in portam rigidas calces extendit.

[85]Servius ad Aen 6.218: servabantur cadavera septum diebus.

[86]Cicero, Pro Cluentio 9.27, puer....ante noctem mortuus et postridie, antequam luceret, combustus est.

[87]Cicero, Pro Cluentio, 71.202, mater exsequias illius funeris prosecuta.

[88]Varro, Lingua Latina 5.166, ubi lectus mortui fertur dicebant feretrum nostri.

[89]Perseus 3.105-6 at illum/hesterni capite induto subiere Quirites.

[90]Martial Epigr. 8.75.9. quattuor inscripti portabant vile cadaver.

[91]Servius ad Aeneid 6.224: facem de fune, ut Varro dicit, unde et funus dictum est, per noctem autem urebantur.

[92]Sallust, Jugurtha 4.5-6 tells of the imagines maiorum kept on display in the houses of Roman nobility; also Polybius 6.53.1-54.5 and Pliny the Elder Nat. Hist. 35.2.6-8.

[93]Cicero de Oratore 2.84.341; Quintilian 3.7.2; 11.3.153.

[94]Paul F. Burke, "Roman Rites for the Dead and Aeneid 6" CJ 74 (1979) 220-28.

[95]Paul F. Burke, op.cit., p. 222, note 15, quotes Pliny Nat.Hist. 35.2.6., semperque defuncto aliquo totus aderat familiae eius qui umquam fuerat populus.

[96]Cicero Leg. 2.23.58, hominem mortuum ...in urbe neve sepelito neve urito.

[97]Pliny, Epist. 4.2. lists a young boy's pets.

[98]Festus, p. 3. funus prosecuti redeuntes ignem supergradiebantur aqua aspersi: quod purgationis genus vocabant suffitionem.

[99]Cf. Propertius 1.17.22. (Cynthia) molliter et tenera poneret ossa rosa.

[100]Ovid Fasti 2.533-70 describes the rites and traditions of the Parentalia.

[101]Clementia, a highly desirable virtue, is defined as follows:
Cicero (De Inventione 2.54.164): per quam animi temere in odium alicuius concitati comitate retinentur.
Vergil Aen. 6.853. parcere subiectis. Horace Odes 3.4.66. vis temperata.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

[1]Cf. Horace Odes 3.2.13 dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

[2]Cf. Horace Odes 3.4.65, vis consili expers.

[3]N. Sapegno Dante Alighieri, La Divina Commedia La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1955, 13, states that umile Italia is a translation of Aeneid 3.522-23 -- cum procul obscuros colles humilemque videmus/Italiam -- and indicated for Vergil the lower beach of Latium which Aeneas and his friends had just sighted. For Dante, umile is merely equivalent to misera (poor), decaduta (decayed), as when he speaks of Italy in Purgatorio 6.76, Ahi, serva Italia di dolore ostello and 85-6 Cerca, misera,....le tue marine...

[4]G. J. Fitzgerald, "Nisus and Euryalus: A Paradigm of Futile Behaviour and the Tragedy of Youth." Cicero and Virgil: Studies in Honour of Harold Hunt (Amsterdam 1972) ed. J. R. C. Martyn 114-37.

[5]R. J. Rabel, "The Iliadic Nature of Aeneid 9", Vergilius 24 (1978) 37-44.

[6]M. Owen Lee, Fathers and Sons in Virgil's Aeneid. State University of New York Press, Albany, New York, 1979. 109-12.

[7]Cf. Tibullus 1.4.49-50, nec, velit insidiis altas si claudere valles,/dum placeas, umeri retia ferre negent. Watching the nets was a menial task performed as a sign of devotion to the beloved who hunted the quarry.

[8]Romans were in general opposed to the frenzied behaviour of participants in Bacchic rites, which were restricted in 186 B.C. Livy (39.13) shows his disgust of these rites: nihil ibi facinoris, nihil flagitii praetermissum.

[9]P. Burke, Characterization in the Aeneid, Ph.D. Ann Arbor, 1971. 100-101 notes that Servius (Aen. 8.51) records that Amata had two sons whom she either killed or blinded because they supported their father in favouring Lavinia's marriage with Aeneas. Fabius Pictor (H. W. G. Peter Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae (Leipzig) 1914 1.112) records that Amata committed suicide by starving herself.

[10]P. Burke, op.cit., p. 110.

[11]G. Thaniel, "Nodum informis leti" Acta Classica 19.L976. 75-81.

[12]G. Thaniel, op.cit., pp. 79-81.

[13]G. E. Duckworth, Animae Dimidium Meae: Two Poets of Rome. TAPA 87 (1956) pp. 281-316 Presidential Address.

[14]H. C. Gotoff: "On the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil" Philologus 3 (1967) 66-79, and H. J. Rose, The Eclogues of Vergil, Berkeley 1942, 206ff consider the priority question to be incapable of solution, Duckworth op.cit. p. 290, slightly favours the priority of Horace.

[15]G. K. Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus episode in Aeneid 8," AJPh 87 (1966) 18-51, note 6, quotes J. V. Luce, "Cleopatra as Fatale Monstrum" CQ 13 (1963) 251-57.

[16]J. M. Benario, "Dido and Cleopatra." Vergilius 16 (1970) 2-6.

[17]Cf. Horace Epode 9 and Propertius 4.6.85ff where both poets celebrate the outcome of Actium with carousal.

[18]Cf. Cicero Att.15.15.2. reginam odi; Horace Odes 1.37.7; Vergil Aen 8.696, 707.

[19]For furor: in political terminology Cf. Caesar B.G. 1.40.4; Livy 21.41.3. ebrius: Cf. Cicero Phil. 2.74ff (of Antony).

[20]Similar imagery is used of Turnus versus Lycus (9.563-66); of Tarchon and Venulus (11.751-57).

[21]For similar picturesque effect cf. Vergil Eclogue 10.59-60: libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu/spicula and Horace Odes 1.15.17: hastas et calami spicula Gnosii/ vitabis...

[22]R. G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard: A Commentary on Horace: Odes. Book 1, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1970, 409.

[23]G. E. Duckworth, op.cit., p. 306.

[24]Maria Corti e Cesare Segre. I metodi attuali della critica in Italia. Edizione Rai, 1970, 25. "Vedendo la letteratura di un popolo di cui non si conoscesse la storia, si potrebbe dire quel che è stato, e leggendo la storia di un popolo di cui non si conoscesse la letteratura, si potrebbe egualmente dire con certezza quel che avrebbe dovuto essere il carattere dominante di quella letteratura."

[25]Sainte-Beuve, Étude sur Virgile, Paris, 1857, 63; D. L. Drew, The Allegory of the Aeneid, Oxford, 1927; W. A. Camps, An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid, Oxford, 1969, 95-104; R. G. Tanner "Some Problems in Aeneid 7-12, PVS 10 (1970-71) 34-44.

[26]C. Bailey, Religion in Virgil, Barnes and Noble, New York, 1935, 195, note 3.

[27]W. A. Camps, op.cit., p. 137.

[28]G. K. Galinsky, op.cit., pp. 18-51.

[29]W. A. Camps, op.cit., p. 138 quoting Seneca Clementia 1.9.1 and 11.1.

[30]Cf. Propertius 4.6.37 mundi servator.

[31]M. Owen Lee, op. cit., p. 186 quoting V. Pöschl C.W. 66. (1972) 65-75.

[32]M. Owen Lee, op.cit., p. 14ff.

[33]Velleius Paterculus 2.74 claims that after the siege of Perusia, Augustus pardoned most citizens.

[34]Fulvia was coldly received by Antony in Greece and died through chagrin and wounded pride at Sicyon (Vell. Paterc.2.74; Plut Vit.Ant. and Vit.Cic).

[35]W. A. Camps, op.cit., p. 142.

[36]P. Burke, Characterization in the Aeneid, Ph.D. Ann Arbor, 1971, 34, notes 46 and 48.

[37]G. Highet, The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid, Princeton University Press, 1972, 141-42.

[38]Ref., Oxford Classical Dictionary and Anthon's Dictionary under Catiline.

[39]D. L. Drew, The Allegory of the Aeneid, Garland Publishing, New York, 1978, 90.

[40]Cf. Vergil, Eclogue 9.27-9; Georgics 2.198, 3.12; Aeneid 10.198.

[41]J. P. Small, "Aeneas and Turnus on Late Etruscan Funerary Urns." AJA 78 (1974) 49-54.

[42]W. V. Harris, Rome in Etruria and Umbria, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971, 316 quoting Rostovtzeff (Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire, Oxford, 1957, 58-71).

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