FULFILMENT IN THE EIGHTH BOOK OF THE AENEID OF VIRGIL

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

It may well be assumed that the idea of the Aeneid was first conceived by Virgil on the news of the outcome of the battle of Actium: here, thought the poet, was the battle "to end all wars." In it he saw the culmination of Rome's glorious history. In the poem, Virgil seems convinced that the emergence of Augustus as sole ruler heralded an end of civil and international wars, that a golden age was born for Rome. It is fitting, then, that in the great national epic depicting the rich heritage of the Roman people, the battle of Actium should stand at the climax; and the hero of Actium must be given a position of pre-eminence.

The new age under Augustus was seen as the answer to all the far-reaching hopes of earlier generations. Book Eight of the Aeneid, featuring the arrival at the promised land, on which the future Rome is built in a great imaginary pyramid before us, with Actium at its summit, represents the fulfilment of the hopes, yearnings, and promises of the previous books. The site of Rome is the goal for Aeneas, the prototype of Augustus in the story; Crete, Carthage and Cumae are signposts on the way.

The object of this work is to discover in Book Eight this element of fulfilment, that is the feeling of completion and accord, in their broad sense. A close examination will

be made of the first six books, with particular emphasis on Book Six. Many elements of incompletion and discord will be found: questions left unanswered, desires unsated, ills unchecked. There will be evidence of fear, insecurity, wandering, frustration, though there will always be hope. In Book Eight will be found the answers to many of these dissonant elements, answers manifest in the degree of resolution and harmony that there makes itself felt.

This fulfilment will be consciously perceived in the content of the book. But the subconscious effect on the Roman reader is even more important. To bridge the gap of two thousand years, one must study closely the symbolism employed.

> Easily the most satisfactory definition of literary symbolism can be gained from Stéphane Mallarmé's Enquête sur l'Evolution Littéraire, which is in general the following: to name an object is to suppress three parts of the enjoyment of a poem, an enjoyment which consists in gradually guessing at its meaning. To suggest it, that is its dreamlike function. The perfect unfolding of the mystery constitutes the symbol[1].

Though Virgil is not consciously a "symboliste", his poetry is strongly symbolic; there is no doubt that in the course of the Aeneid he truly succeeds in "the perfect unfolding of the mystery".

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1 Joyce Mitchell, "Symbolism in Music and Poetry" (Dissertation), Philadelphia, 1944, p. 30.

Now, it will be necessary to examine thoroughly the phraseology in order to arrive at its true and full meaning. Recurring words and phrases should especially be observed. Thus we may approach a little closer to feeling the impressions intended by the poet, to experiencing the imagery through which the poet "endeavours to convey his sense of the inner unity and quality of an object as embracing and transcending what is given in sense"[2].

Many a familiar concept, such as light or fate, must be investigated with care. Answers to several questions should be sought regarding it: What did the concept mean to the Romans? to Virgil? Does it have any meaning beyond the more obvious one expressed in the word? How does Virgil employ it in his poem, and to what extent? With what other concepts or things is it associated and what effect is thereby derived? From the answers to these questions will emerge notable similarities and differences between Books 1-6 and Book 8. The extent to which Book Eight fulfills or completes the former books can then be ascertained.

An examination of Virgilian bibliography will reveal a disheartening lack of material on Book Eight.

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2 D. G. James, Scepticism and Poetry, London, 1937, p. 30.

W. W. Fowler's Aeneas at the Site of Rome[3], written in 1917, is devoted solely to the book and contributes much to its understanding. But there is need of a deeper study to unearth the full worth of the book. One must turn to modern scholars for a systematic and analytical approach to such a study, scholars who, though they have not treated Book Eight specifically, have done much to further understanding of the Aeneid as a whole or some other book in particular. Such a scholar is Robert Cruttwell. Mr. Cruttwell's Virgil's Mind at Work[4] notes recurring images in Virgil, a study of which affords an insight into Virgilian symbolism. V. Poeschl's Die Dichtkunst Virgile, Bild und Symbol in der Aeneis[5] is another splendid book on imagery in the Aeneid. It is particularly enlightening in treating aspects of colouring and shading in the poem.

Other authors have proved helpful in certain parts of this thesis. W. F. Knight in Cumaean Gates[6] deals with the Labyrinth and its implications in Book Six. His approach is somewhat adapted, in this thesis, to the study of enigma

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3 W. W. Fowler, Aeneas at the Site of Rome, Oxford, 1917.

4 R. Cruttwell, Virgil's Mind at Work, Oxford, 1946.

5 V. Poeschl, Die Dichtkunst Virgile, Bild und Symbol in der Aeneis, Vienna, 1950.

6 W. F. Knight, Cumaean Gates, Oxford, 1936.

in Book Eight of the Aeneid. L. R. Taylor's The Divinity of the Roman Emperor[7] is helpful in revealing the attitude to religion in the time of Augustus, and so also is H. J. Rose's Religion in Greece and Rome[8], in ascertaining the role of Juno to the Romans. Works on particular books of the poem reveal much by their treatment. Examples are B. Fenik's "Theme and Imagery in Aeneid 2 and 4" and B. M. W. Knox's "The Serpent and the Flame", both articles occurring in the American Journal of Philology[9].

The first four chapters of the thesis are mostly of a general nature. They deal with the stage setting of Book Eight, and treat of the atmosphere, colouring and tone. Chapters Five and Six show the implications of the arrival of the Trojan race in general, while the remaining are more specific, involving the person of Aeneas and his role as leader.

It is generally accepted that Book Six is the climax of the Aeneid, the architectural structure of the poem being like that of a pyramid with Book Six at the summit. The writer feels, however, that Book Eight is at least of equal

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7 L. R. Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor, Middleton, Conn., 1931.

8 H. J. Rose, Religion in Greece and Rome, New York 1959.

9 B. Fenik, "Theme and Imagery in Aeneid 2 and 4", American Journal of Philology, Vol. 71, 1950, p.1-30.

significance, that Virgil deliberately planned similarity of material and structure for Books Six and Eight, that in fact they complement each other. The architecture of the Aeneid, then, may be conceived rather like that of a Gothic cathedral with twin spires that represent the position of pre-eminence held by the two great books of the poem.

B. M. W. Knox,"The Serpent and the Flame", American Journal of Philology, Vol. 71, 1950, p. 379-400.

CHAPTER ONE

DARKNESS AND LIGHT

Until the arrival at Elysium, the journey of Aeneas through the Underworld is made in an all-pervading gloom. Death is ever close at hand; for this journey the passing of Misenus prepared the stage. Avernus is a place without life[1], and a mantle of darkness clothes the regions inhabited by so many evil spirits[2]. Charon himself calls it the land of shadows[3]. Tartarus, the abode of the damned, appears as the lowest depth in the sea of gloom[4].

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1 spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu
scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
tendere iter pinnis; talis sese halitus atris
faucibus effundens super ad convexa ferebat
(Aen., 6, 237-241).

2 Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram
perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna,
quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem
(Aen., 6, 268-272).

3 umbrarum hic locus est, Somni noctisque soporae
(Aen., 6, 390).

4 tum Tartarus ipse
bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras
quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum
(Aen., 6, 577-579).
The comparison is significant; F. R. Sullivan, S.J., in "Spiritual Itinerary of Virgil's Aeneas", American Journal of Philology, Vol. 80, April 1959, p. 157, writes: "At Cumae (Aeneas) reaches the promised land and the Way of Light through a dark Underworld." Cf. p. 34-36.

As Aeneas crosses the threshold of Elysium, the reader feels a tremendous sense of relief after the stifling atmosphere preceding[5].

Some similarity to the description of Elysium is to be found in the account of the grove of Silvanus at the site of Rome. There is the same ample atmosphere, and a sensation of freshness pervades it, with its dark-green fir trees hemming it in, and the cool waters of Caere flowing by. And here too the warriors of Aeneas come to refresh their steeds and weary frames[6]. In the particular framework of the epic, Elysium is the training-ground for Rome: there souls are tempered and made ready for life in the

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5 His demum exactis, perfecto munere divae
devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta
Fortunatorum Nemorum sedesque beatas.
largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt (AEN 6, 637-641).
Arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis;
stant terra defixae hastae, passimque soluti
per campum pascuntur equi; quae gratia currum
armorum fuit vivis, quae cura nitentis
pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.
conspicit ecce alios dextra laevaque per herbam
vescentis laetumque choro paeana canentis
inter odoratum lauri nemus, unde superne
plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis (AEN 6, 651-659).

6 Est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem
religione patrum late sacer; undique colles
inclusere cavi et nigra nemus abiete cingunt.
Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos,
arvorum pecorisque deo, lucumque diemque,
qui primi finis aliquando habuere Latinos.
haud procul hinc Tarcho et Tyrrheni tuta tenebant
castra locis, celsoque omnis et colle videri
iam poterat legio et latis tendebat in arvis.

future Rome. It is as if the waters flowing from the Underworld to emerge in the full flood of the Eridanus (Aen., 6, 659) symbolise the migration of souls from Elysium to future life in Italy.

The first glimpse of Anchises, deep in a green vale in the Elysian Fields, finds him rapt in the future of the imprisoned souls who are to pass to the light above[7]. When Aeneas sees these souls, he is astonished at their plight: quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?[8] The answer of Anchises is noteworthy: the soul of man is essentially a part of the anima mundi, which is of the nature of fire and divine in origin. Former contact of the particular souls in question with the human body had dulled them, and a taint remains even after the separation of soul and body. This taint is removed in various ways through a period of purgation after which the souls will return again to bring life to new bodies[9]. Note the description of the sorry plight of

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huc pater Aeneas et bello lecta iuventus
succedunt, fessique et equos et corpora curant.
(Aen., 8, 597-607.)

7 At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti
inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras
lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum
forte recensebat numerum carosque nepotes
fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.
(Aen., 6, 679-683.)

8 Aen., 6, 721.

9 Aen., 6, 724-751.

the soul in its former base alliance with the body:

neque auras
despiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco[10]:

the soul has been shut in a dungeon of darkness; but of itself, when all taint is removed, there is left the pure flame of spirit:

aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem[11].

It can be seen that the association of goodness with light and evil with darkness is a device constantly employed by the poet[12]. We become particularly aware of this in the course of Book Eight, in which we have an increasing use of words and phrases expressive of light[13]. And light, along with related ideas - in colour, white, gold; in place, the sky, the heavens - is again and again linked with the

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10 Aen., 6, 733-734.

11 Aen., 6, 747.

12 A. Gillingham, "Viktor Poeschl's Die Dichtkunst Virgils," Vergilius, Number 5, Fall 1959, p. 27: "Poeschl takes a general view of the entire poem. The colouring of Book One he views as dark-light-dark: Book Seven, in contrast, light-dark-light. Books 1-4 are dark, with the sea-storm, death of Dido, and the hero's reversals; Books 5-8 are light, with the games, Rome's future greatness, and the glorification of Italy; Books 9-12, dark, with the varying fortunes of war. The rhythm of the entire poem, therefore, is dark-light-dark." See "Reality and Unreality," note 1.

13 T. J. Haarhoff, Vergil, Prophet of Peace, Exeter, 1956, p. 14: "Vergil has the conception of light: o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum, 2, 281". He refers to the"increased and increasing use of words meaning 'light' in Book 8, a book which points to the realisation of Aeneas' promised land."

forces of good and the abode which is destined to be theirs.

In no other book does Virgil make the reader so aware of the time with respect to night and day. It is clear that the action starts at night and ends in the day-time, a factor in itself perhaps symbolising the victory of good over evil. The hero's despondency in the first night is to be replaced by glorious hope on the second day.

The book opens in the night:

nox erat (Aen., 8, 26)

The forces of darkness and war are strongly in evidence[14]:

Ut belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
extulit et rauco strepuerunt cornua cantu (Aen., 8, 1-2).

Against this background the thoughts of Aeneas appear bright and sublime:

sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aenis
sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae
omnia pervolitat late loca iamque sub auras
erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti (Aen., 8, 22-25).

The god Tiberinus appears and, being neither of Heaven nor of Hell, in neutral shade (glauco amictu, Aen., 8, 33). He promises the sow and her young (sus...alba...albi...nati, Aen., 8, 43-45) that prefigure the glorious city of Alba that Ascanius was to found:

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14 The poet later associates the madness of war with a race of "duller hue" than those of the Golden Age:

decolor aetas
et belli rabies....successit. (Aen., 8, 326-327.)

clari...cognomis Albam (Aen., 8, 48).

Such are the words of Tiberinus, who is pleasing to Heaven (caelo gratissimus, Aen., 8, 64), though his home is in the earth (lacu...alto, Aen., 8, 66).

The night of despondency and care leaves Aeneas:

nox Aeneas somnusque reliquit (Aen., 8, 67).

He sets his gaze towards the "eastern beams of the celestial sun" and prays to Heaven:

surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis
lumina rite cavis undam de flumine palmis
sustinet et talis effundit ad aethera voces (Aen., 8, 68-70).

The first arrival at the site of Rome - a minor climax in the book - is auspiciously greeted by the noon-day sun:

sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem (Aen., 8, 97).

And the poet adds a brief glimpse of the future Rome, with a further association with Heaven, in his reference to the humble buildings:

quae nunc Romana potentia caelo
aequavit (Aen., 8, 99-100).

Later, the poet looks back to a common ancestor of Aeneas and Evander in these terms:

Atlas, caeli qui sidera tollit (Aen., 8, 140).

The Hercules - Cacus incident is related on the first day. The use of imagery of darkness and light is very powerful here; and when we consider that there is a correspondence between Aeneas and Hercules, we realise how meaningful the victory of Hercules is (Cf. p. 17-18).

The den of Cacus is deep in the bowels of the earth:

hic spelunca fuit, vasto summota recessu (Aen., 8, 193).

The sun's rays have never penetrated it:

solis inaccessam radiis (Aen., 8, 195).

The idea of darkness is reiterated:

saxo opaco (Aen., 8, 211); vastoque...antro (Aen., 8, 217).

The contrasting notion of sublimity is associated with Hercules:

aerii cursu petit ardua montis (Aen., 8, 221).

When Hercules displays his might, the heavens thunder their support, while the earth recoils:

impulit, impulsu quo maximus intonat aether,
dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis
(Aen., 8, 239-240).

By his hand the den of Cacus is laid open so that light is let in:

At specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
regia et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae(Aen.,8,241-242).

The simile that follows makes the correspondence of the darkness with the forces of evil explicit:

non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens
infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat
pallida, dis invisa, superque immane barathrum
cernatur, trepident immisso lumine Manes (Aen.,8,243-246).

Through Hercules, then, light has been brought into contact with Cacus, the embodiment of Evil:

immisso lumine...insperata...luce (Aen., 8, 246-247).

Cacus fights back with darkness:

faucibus ingentem fumum, mirabile dictu,
evomit involvitque domum caligine caeca,
prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque sub antro
fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris (Aen., 8, 252-5)

nebulaque ingens specus aestuat atra (Aen., 8, 258).

Cacus is slain; his dark den is exposed, the plunder within being "shown to heaven":

panditur extemplo foribus domus atra revolsis
abstractaeque boves abiurataeque rapinae
caelo ostenduntur (Aen., 8, 262-264).

Aeneas and his followers arrive at the house of Evander in the forum. It is the second night:

nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis (Aen.,8,369).

The darkness of this night is relieved by the persons of Venus and Vulcan, as they plan the shield of Aeneas. Notice these phrases associated with the goddess:

thalamoque...aureo (Aen., 8, 372); niveis...lacertis (Aen., 8, 387); flammam (Aen., 8, 389).

The flame of her love is described as follows:

non secus atque olim, tonitru cum rupta corusco
ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos (Aen., 8, 391-2).

It is important to notice that Vulcan cuts short the night in order to achieve an outstanding good, viz. the making of the shield. This is implied in the simile of the housewife, who intrudes lamplight into the night for the greater good of her household:

noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo
exercet penso, castum ut servare cubile
coniugis et possit parvos educere natos
(Aen., 8, 411-413).

Again the element of contrast occurs. The smithy of Vulcan, the products of which are mainly destructive[15], is seen in the black depths of the earth: (Cf. p. 29-30.)

antra Aetnaea tonant (Aen., 8, 419).

But the special product of the smithy, the brilliant arms of Aeneas, appears in the "serene expanse of heaven," to gladden the hearts of Aeneas and his companion: no longer is their gaze now fixed on the ground:

defixique ora tenebant
Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates
multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant,
ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto.
namque improviso vibratus ab aethere fulgor
cum sonitu venit et ruere omnia visa repente
Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.
suscipiunt: iterum atque iterum fragor increpat ingens;
arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena
per sudum rutilare vident et pulsa tonare
(Aen., 8, 520-529)[16].

In the preparations for battle, Aeneas and Pallas are conspicuous in their splendour. The horse of Aeneas is described thus:

quem fulva leonis
pellis obit totum, praefulgens unguibus aureis
(Aen., 8, 552-553).

And Pallas is remarked for his youthful beauty:

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15 Vulcan is the father of Cacus (Aen., 8, 198).

16 F. A. Sullivan, S.J., Ibid, p. 159, sees as a result of this sign from Heaven that "Aeneas is inwardly transformed". On Book Two he wrote (p. 153): "The night of Troy's fall was for Aeneas a spiritual dark night of the soul. He sorely needed light with which to pierce beyond appearances to the truth of things." Cf. p. 63-64.

Chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis,
qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis,
extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit.
(Aen., 8, 588-591.)

Pallas is the embodiment of youthful innocence. His untimely death is later to be avenged by Aeneas. Cf. p. 65-67. Against the background of Caere's dark wood (nigra nemus abiete, Aen., 8, 599) the arms are presented. Venus appears:

at Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos
dona ferens aderat. (Aen., 8, 608-609.)

The arms are bathed in dazzling light:

arma sub adversa posuit radiantia quercu.
ille deae donis et tanto laetus honore,
expleri nequit atque oculos per singula volvit,
miraturque interque manus et bracchia versat
terribilem cristis galeam flammasque vomentem,
fatiferumque ensem, loricam ex aere rigentem,
sanguineam, ingentem, qualis cum caerula nubes
solis inardescit radiis longeque refulget;
tum levis ocreas electro auroque recocto,
hastamque et clipei non enarrabile textum.
(Aen., 8, 616-625.)

Amid the various scenes on the shield, the sea is depicted thus:

haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago,
aurea, sed fluctu spumabat caerula cano,
et circum argento clari delphines in orbem
aequora verrebant caudis aestumque secabant.
(Aen., 8, 671-674.)

The scene of the battle of Actium, in which good prevails, stands out in its brightness:

in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella,
cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte videres
fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus.
(Aen., 8, 675-677.)

And the hero of Actium is noted in the midst of the battle:

> geminas cui tempora flammas
> laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.
> (Aen., 8, 680-681.)

Later we see him in triumph, sitting on the snowy threshold of the Lord of Light himself:

> ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi. (Aen. 8, 720.)

It becomes abundantly clear through the phraseology of Book Eight, then, that the site of Rome is indeed the promised land. Here is the light for which the souls in the Underworld yearned:

> quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?[8]

Here they can find their fulfilment; and here the forces of good will prevail. Let us recall the words concerning Anchises as he ponders deeply the future of his descendants:

> inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras
> lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum
> forte recensebat numerum carosque nepotes
> fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.
> (Aen., 6, 680-683.)

These words find glorious fulfilment at the site of Rome, particularly in Aeneas' reaction to the shield. A faint echo in the phraseology is noticeable:

> talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
> miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet,
> attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.
> (Aen., 8, 729-731).

CHAPTER TWO

ENIGMA

Virgil's Underworld is a maze. Explicit reference at the beginning of Book Six to the Labyrinth built by Daedalus prepares us for this. There is a general atmosphere of wonder and puzzlement. The person of the Sibyl is constantly surrounded by mystery. Her abode is a maze in itself[1]. Her behaviour strikes anyone in her presence with awe, while her words, when they can be received[2], are wrapped in mystery[3]. The Sibyl's words regarding the descent to the Underworld suggest that it is a kind of labyrinth: the descent is easy, but few can return[4]. Aeneas' search for the golden bough poses an immense personal problem just as an introduction[5]; it leads him to expect that in the journey ahead he

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1 Excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum,
quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum,
unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllae.
(Aen., 6, 42-44.)

2 Note Aeneas' plea: foliis tantum ne carmina manda
ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis
ipsa canas oro. (Aen., 6, 74-76.)

3 talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla
horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit
obscuris vera involvens. (Aen., 6, 98-100.)

4 facilis descensus Averno:
noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;
sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
hoc opus, hic labor est. (Aen., 6, 126-129.)

5 atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat
aspectans silvam immensam, et sic forte precatur

will have many an obstacle to overcome. And as the journey progresses, we become increasingly aware that the Underworld of Virgil is a maze, which might have been impossible to penetrate without the guiding hand of the priestess of Apollo. A thorough study of the phraseology will reveal this.

In the description of the cavalry parade in Book Five, the interweaving circular movements of the youths on horseback are compared to the intricate paths of the Cretan Labyrinth:

> inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus
> adversi spatiis, alternosque orbibus orbis
> impediunt, pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis;
> et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula vertunt
> infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.
> ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alta
> parietibus textum caecis iter ancipitemque
> mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
> frangeret indeprensus et inremeabilis error.
> (Aen., 5, 583-591.)

"Among Virgil's recurrent images are circular and labyrinthine movements," writes W. F. Jackson Knight in his book "Roman Virgil"[6]. Elsewhere he writes that the underlying significance of all labyrinths whether curvilinear or rectilinear is that of a shield or defence against some unauthorised penetration material or spiritual[7]. A study of the

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> si nunc se nobis ille aureas arbore ramus
> ostentat nemore in tanto! (Aen., 6, 185-188.)

6 W. F. Jackson Knight, Roman Virgil, London, 1944, 2nd. Ed., p. 167.

7 Ibid., Cumaean Gates, Oxford, 1936, p. 173. See also R. Cruttwell, Virgil's Mind At Work, p. 83.

passage above (Aen., 5, 583-591) will show that the circle, by implication (alternos orbibus orbis), is a predominant figure in the labyrinthine pattern, but there are other characteristics. The pattern, for example, is irregular and difficult to trace (caecis, ancipitem, dolum, indeprensus et enremeabilis error). Multiplication and reduplication are involved (alternos, nunc...nunc, recursus, mille viis). It is characterised by a closeness or tightness suggestive of a tangle or knot as on a rope (impediunt, textum)[8].

The phraseology of the labyrinth applied to the Underworld is all-pervasive; it does not refer to the idea of place only, but insinuates itself into the total imagery. However, let us examine its application to place first. The River Cocytus flows in circular movements, as the following verse indicates:

Cocytusque sinu labens circumvenit atro (Aen. 6, 132).

The circular motions of the river Acheron, with its seething whirlpools, iterate the idea:

turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges
aestuat, atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.
(Aen., 6, 296-297)

And the river Styx imprisons many souls "with its ninefold

---

8 Virgil explicitly uses the metaphor of a knot in alluding to the stout resistance of Abas before the onslaught of Lausus; it suggests a person difficult to overcome

primus Abantem
oppositum interimit, pugnae nodumque moramque.
(Aen., 10, 427-428)

circles": et noviens Styx interfusa coercet(*Aen.*,6, 439).
Aeneas needs the guidance of the Sibyl on the cross-roads leading to Elysium:

partis ubi se via findit in ambas(*Aen.*,6, 540).

Aeneas, looking back, observes the triple wall surrounding Tartarus with its encircling flames:

triplici circumdata muro,
quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,
Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.
(Aen., 6, 549-551.)

The journey of Aeneas and his guide is compared to one on a forest path under the grudging light of an inconstant moon; it is dim and uncertain:

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram
perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna,
quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.
(Aen., 6, 268-272.)

The phraseology of the labyrinth is extended to other aspects of the journey, so that we feel that the hero is beset completely. Particular examples may be observed in the savage Discordia with her "snaky locks entwined with bloody fillets" (Discordia demens

viperum crinem vittis innexa cruentis,*Aen.*,6, 280-281); in the multiple forms of some of the creatures (Scyllaeque biformes,*Aen.*,6, 286; centumgeminus Briareus,*Aen.*6, 287; forma tricorporis umbrae,*Aen.*6, 289); in Charon with his unkempt hair, his dishevelled garb hanging from a knot

(cui plurima mento

canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma,
sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus. (Aen., 6, 299-301.)

The great numbers of the graveless (Aen., 6, 309-312) in their disorder move the hero (motusque tumultu, Aen., 6, 317). The description of their wandering reiterates the pattern:

centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum.
(Aen., 6, 329)

As Cerberus, the watch-dog of Hades, first confronts his mortal visitors, we notice his crouching position (recubans, Aen., 6, 418), his neck bristling with snakes (horrere...colla colubris, Aen., 6, 419). Even a confusion of sound, caused by the triple-throated barking (latratu...trifauci, Aen., 6, 417) is included in the image. Note the difference in phraseology when he takes the drugged cake: he opens his triple throat (pandens, Aen., 6, 421); he relaxes his frame (resolvit, Aen., 6, 422), stretching his bulk over all the den (totoque ingens extenditur antro, Aen., 6, 423), in contrast to his former defensive crouching position. That another step in the Underworld maze is overcome is thus indicated.

Aeneas, on begging admittance to the Underworld, links his name specifically with Theseus, the hero of the Labyrinth, and Hercules[9]. Charon repeats the correspondence when he exclaims that bringing Hercules, Theseus and Pirithous

---

9 quid Thesea magnum,
quid memorem Alciden? - et mi genus ab Iove summo.
(Aen., 6, 122-123.)

over brought him no joy either[10].

Let us explore this Theseus-Hercules-Aeneas correspondence. Each is a saviour of his people, an avenger of wrong. Theseus risked his life for the seven Athenian victims demanded annually[11]. Single-handed he faced the cruel monster of the Labyrinth[12]. With the aid of Daedalus, he was guided to victory[13].

When Hercules came on the site of Rome, the countryside was in dread of the evil monster, Cacus. Like the Minotaur, only human slaughter would satiate him[14]. The mighty hero was confronted with a puzzle of some intricacy, too, as he encountered Cacus. Aspects of the phraseology of the labyrinth are again in evidence: the hoof-marks of the

---

10 nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem
accepisse lacu nec Thesea Pirithoumque,
dis quamquam geniti atque inviti viribus essent.
(Aen., 6, 392-394.)

11 tum pendere poenas
Cecropidae iussi, miserum! septena quotannis
corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.
(Aen., 6, 20-22.)

12 hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto
Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis
Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandae.
(Aen., 6, 24-26.)

13 magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem
Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,
caeca regens filo vestigia. (Aen., 6, 28-30.)

14 semperque recenti
caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.
(Aen., 8, 195-197.)

stolen cattle lead away from the monster's hideout:

> atque hos, ne qua forent pedibus vestigia rectis,
> cauda in speluncam tractos versisque viarum
> indiciis raptos saxo occultabat opaco.
> (Aen., 8, 209-211.)

At the approach of Hercules, the monster locks himself tightly in:

> ut sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis
> deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna
> pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postis.
> (Aen., 8, 225-227.)

In a similar vein is the phrase "inclusumque cavo" (Aen. 8, 248). There is repetition in the expression of Hercules' movements as he seeks in vain to solve the dilemma. Observe the terms denoting multiplication:

> accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc
> dentibus infrendens. ter totum fervidus ira
> lustrat Aventini montem, ter saxea temptat
> limina nequiquam, ter fessus valle resedit.
> (Aen., 8, 228-232.)

As Hercules solves his dilemma, we find contrasting epithets suggestive of openness[15]:

> dissultant ripae (Aen., 8, 240);
>
> at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens (Aen., 8, 241);
>
> patuere cavernae (Aen., 8, 242);
>
> infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat terra dehiscens (Aen. 8, 243-244);
>
> panditur extemplo foribus domus atra revolsis (Aen., 8, 262).

---

15 A similar phraseology is seen in the description of Daedalus as he "unwound the deceptive tangle" of

Each of the heroes, Theseus and Hercules, is the prototype of Aeneas. Now, Aeneas goes through the labyrinth of the Underworld for the purpose of learning what lies before him[16] - a glorious destiny. At the site of Rome he completes his association with Theseus and Hercules, justifies his claim to be linked with them[9], when he accepts the command against Mezentius. Mezentius is no less a monster than Cacus himself, or the Minotaur, as the phraseology suggests. The blood-thirsty fondness of Mezentius for physical tortures bears a faint echo from the cave of Cacus:

> quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni
> effera? di capite ipsius generique reservent!
> 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.
> (Aen., 8, 483-488.)

Recall that the ground of Cacus' den ever "reeked with fresh blood" (caede, Aen. 8, 196), and there the "faces of men hung pallid in ghastly decay" (ora virum...pendebat...tabo, Aen. 8.197). The word "tyranni" (Aen. 8, 483) might remind us of the lordly demanding attitude of the Minotaur, that "record of monstrous love" (Veneris monumenta nefandae, Aen. 6, 26; cf. infandas

---

the Labyrinth: Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit. (Aen., 6, 29.)

16 The vision of Anchises discloses his destiny:
> nunc age, Dardaniam prolem quae deinde sequatur
> gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,
> inlustris animas nostrumque in nomen ituras
> expediam dictis et te tua fata docebo. (Aen., 6,756-759.)

W. F. Jackson Knight, Vergil's Troy, Oxford, 1932, p. 96

caedes, Aen. 8, 483), whose victims are depicted on the doors (in foribus, Aen. 6, 20) of the temple of Phoebus. The victims of Cacus are nailed to the doors of his den (foribusque adfixa superbis, Aen. 8, 196)[17]. But most important in the correspondence of these three monsters is the fear that each instilled in so many people. Mezentius, we are told, ruled his subjects with cruel arms (saevis armis, Aen. 8, 482), a reign perhaps not unlike the reign of terror at the time when Cacus roamed the country-side (saevis periclis, Aen. 8, 188).

So Aeneas, in accepting the leadership against Mezentius, takes on the role of saviour of his people, avenger of wrong, as Theseus and Hercules before him. Once again evil is destined to be overcome by good. The "contemptor divum" (Aen. 8, 7) is to be slain by the good Aeneas, just as Cacus, the embodiment of Evil, was overcome by Hercules.

Furthermore, Daedalus and Vulcan play similar roles. Each had been a cause of evil, Daedalus in designing the Cretan Labyrinth that housed the Minotaur, Vulcan in begetting the destructive-fire monster, Cacus (Aen. 8, 198). Each in turn proves himself a force for good: Daedalus guided Theseus

---

refers to the "common symbolism by which a maze represents the state of doubt and confusion that frequently precedes a revelation of divine truth."

17 Incidentally, too, both Cacus and the Minotaur were half-human (semihominis Caci, Aen. 8, 194; prolesque biformis, Aen. 6, 25). The reference to bulls in the Hercules-Cacus incident helps the correspondence, though only in an indirect way.

through the Labyrinth, and Vulcan devised the shield with his constructive fire to bring the downfall of Turnus and Mezentius. (Cf. pp. 29-31.) This brings us to what might be called the Counter-Labyrinth.

In Book Eight the labyrinthine pattern is taken up by the forces of good to confuse and destroy the forces of evil. When Hercules, for example, seizes Cacus to throttle him, his embrace is like a knot:

corripit in nodum complexus (*Aen.*, 8, 260).

The great shield of Aeneas is devised by Vulcan to confound and overthrow the enemies of Aeneas[18]. Observe the explicit labyrinthine patterns in the account of the manufacture:

septenosque orbibus orbis
impediunt. (*Aen.*, 8, 448-449).

textum (*Aen.*, 8, 625)[19]

Also, in the design of the shield, the pattern is interwoven between the various scenes:

et circum argento clari delphines in orbem
aequora verrebant caudis aestumque secabant.
(*Aen.*, 8, 673-674)

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18 Recall the exclamation evoked from Aeneas by the apparition of the arms:

heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!
(*Aen.*, 8, 537.)

19 R. Cruttwell, *Virgil's Mind At Work*, p. 83: "Virgil applies the same terms "orbibus orbis impediunt" to the 'Roman' shield and to 'Iulius' 'Trojan' game (8, 448-449; 5, 584-585) in the dynamic shaping and 'impediunt texuntque' (5, 593) and 'textum' (8, 625; 5, 589) in the weaving process"

This passage re-echoes the simile of the dolphins (in Book Five) which is directly associated with the cavalry parade, indirectly with the Cretan Labyrinth:

> delphinum similes qui per maria umida nando
> Carpathium Libycumque secant luduntque per undas[20].
> (Aen., 5, 594-595.)

Looking farther ahead, we observe the movements of Aeneas on horseback as he closes in on his prey, Mezentius: circular motions (ingenti gyro, Aen., 10, 884; circum...in orbis, Aen., 10, 885; circumfert, Aen., 10, 887); reduplication and repetitions (aliud...aliud; ter...ter; inde...inde, Aen., 10, 883-888); closeness, knot-like tangle (tegmine; urgetur...congressus; implicat...incumbit, Aen., 10, 887-894). In the account of the death of Turnus, a like phraseology is employed[21].

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20 Idem, Ibid., p. 96: Cruttwell notes the phraseology of this passage, and its relation with the defensive mechanism of the shield.

21 Idem, Ibid., p. 88: Cruttwell observes this too. He writes of the defence symbolism of the shield branching out into the foot manoeuvres of Aeneas (quinque orbis, Aen., 12, 763), reminiscent of the horse manoeuvres of Iulus (Aen., 5, 674), reminiscent in turn of the maze of Minos (Aen., 6, 27-29).

CHAPTER THREE

DESTRUCTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE FIRE

The dual role of fire in the Aeneid is an interesting aspect: it may be seen in the sharp contrasts of destructive and constructive fires.

Aeneas in his address to the Sibyl refers to the destructive fires of Troy from which he saved Anchises[1]. Destructive fires predominated at Troy. This is graphically set forth in the appearance of Helen at the shrine of Vesta, seen in the light of the bright fires of destructive Vulcan[2]. The victory of destructive fire soon became obvious to Aeneas[3]. His father, Anchises, wishing to fall with his native city, bemoaned his fate, alluding to the destructive fires of Jupiter[4]. He

---

1 illum ego per flammas et mille sequentia tela
eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi.
(Aen., 6, 110-111)

2 Iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae
servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem
Tyndarida aspicio; dant clara incendia lucem
erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti.
(Aen., 2, 567-570.)
It should be noted that the Vestal fires are protective.

3 Tum vero omne mihi visum considere in ignis
Ilium. (Aen., 2, 624-625.)
Bernard Fenik, "Theme and Imagery in Aeneid 2 and 4", American Journal of Philology, Vol 80, 1, Jan. 1959, pp. 12-13: "Fire is a dominant image in each of the two books, and is used both as a positive and a negative symbol. The flames that sonsume Troy and the torch used to signal the Greek ship (...)fall on the negative side. (...) Two omens appear, both encouraging and both in the form of fire."

4 me divum pater atque hominum rex
fulminis adflavit ventis et contigit igni.
(Aen., 2, 648-649.)

was encouraged to move on by the flame on the head of Iulus "harmless to the touch"[5]. This would signify that Iulus was destined for future greatness[6]. The omen was confirmed by the fiery trail of a shooting star[7]. Such a star would suggest fulfilment of that greatness - a place among the gods; and so Anchises worships it as a holy star[8]. This expression of bright hope was immediately followed by the roar of the fiery flood as it rushed relentlessly on[9]. Thus is indicated by sharp contrast, underlined by juxtaposition, the victory of destructive fire at Troy[10].

---

5 tactuque innoxia (Aen., 2, 683.)

6 This prefigures the greatness destined for Augustus. Cf. p. 31.

7
subitoque fragore
intonuit laevum, et de caelo lapsa per umbras
stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit.
illam, summa super labentem culmina tecti,
cernimus Idaea claram se condere silva
signantemque vias; tum longo limite sulcus
dat lucem, et late circum loca sulpure fumant.
(Aen., 2, 692-698.)

8 sanctum sidus. (Aen., 2, 700.)

9
iam per moenia clarior ignis
auditur propiusque aestus incendia volvunt.
(Aen., 2, 705-706.)

10 B. M. W. Knox, "The Serpent and the Flame," American Journal of Philology, vol. 71, 1950, p. 379. Knox sees the serpent as the predominant symbol of the overwhelming destructive element in Book Two. He writes:

> Among tremendous images of destruction there is one which by its emphatic recurrence comes to dominate all the rest. This is the image of the serpent. The ferocity of the attackers, their deceit, and the

The omens of the flame and the shooting star focus the attention on Iulus at the end of Book Two. But after the voyage of Aeneas, Iulus recedes for a time into the background. In Book Eight Pallas emerges as it were to replace him. Pallas, in effect, becomes the foster-son of Aeneas[11], who thus signifies that his responsibilities will embrace the larger family of the newly-united tribes. Pallas comes into prominence so conspicuously that we find ourselves looking to him as the one marked for greatness. The description of him in the midst of the cavalry parade is remarkable (see "Darkness and Light", page 9):

> Iamque adeo exierat portis equitatus apertis,
> Aeneas inter primos et fidus Achates,
> inde alii Troiae proceres, ipse agmine Pallas
> in medio, chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis,
> qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
> quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis,
> extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit. [12]

---

flames which crown their work are time after time compared, sometimes explicitly but more often by combinations of subdued metaphor, verbal echo, and parallel situation, to the action of the serpent.

11 hunc tibi praeterea, spes et solacia nostri,
Pallanta adiungam; sub te tolerare magistro
militiam et grave Martis opus, tua cernere facta
adsuescat, primis et miretur ab annis.
(Aen., 8, 514-517.)

12 Aen., 8, 585-591. The scarf that contributes to his splendour was originally presented by Anchises (Aen., 8, 166-168), for whom Heaven granted the signs of future glory in relation to Iulus that occurred in Book Two. In this relation, too, the star perhaps foretokens future glory for Pallas. The mention of Venus, too, seems to strengthen the ties of Pallas with Aeneas' family. Evander, incidentally,

But this youthful splendour is foredoomed. Moreover, Evander has instinctively foreseen this doom. Observe the fateful words of the Arcadian king before his collapse, which resulted from the thought of losing his son:

> si numina vestra
> incolumen Pallanta mihi, si fata reservant,
> si visurus eum vivo et venturus in unum,
> vitam oro; patior quemvis durare laborem.
> sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,
> nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere vitam,
> dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri,
> dum te, care puer, mea sera et sola voluptas,
> complexu teneo, gravior neu nuntius auris
> volneret. haec genitor digressu dicta supremo
> fundebat; famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant. [13]

These last words of Evander bring to mind the picture of the young Marcellus at the end of the vision of Anchises. He, too, is a figure of youthful beauty:

> egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis; [14]

and he was to be doomed by fate:

> ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
> esse sinent. [15]

---

reminds one of Anchises in some respects: his feelings towards his people, his son, and his native town, his complaints (to Jupiter) regarding old age (8, 560), his wish to die (Aen., 8, 579).

13 Aen., 8, 574-584.

14 Aen. 6, 861.

15 Aen. 6, 869-870.

Remember the hopeless condition uttered by Anchises regarding Marcellus:

> heu! miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas[16].

It is re-echoed in the words of Evander regarding Pallas:

> sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,
> nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere vitam.[17]

But the frustration of Marcellus was accompanied, in the vision of Anchises, by the glorification of Augustus, the foster-father of Marcellus. So, too, the frustration of Pallas is accompanied by, and in fact begets, the great destiny of his "foster-father", Aeneas.(Cf. p. 65.) The glorification of Augustus, the counterpart of Aeneas, on the shield assures Aeneas of this destiny in a picture that recalls the omens connected with Iulus in Book Two. (See note 29.)

The implications of fire in its double role, a major aspect of Book Two, are extended into Book Four. On the Dido Episode, B. Fenik writes:

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16 Aen., 6, 882. See "Reality and Unreality" p. 41.

17 Aen., 8, 578-579.

> The image of fire centres chiefly around Dido, where it possesses a three-fold significance. It represents, first, her love for Aeneas, then her subsequent hatred, real or imagined, and finally reaches, through the interplay of these two extended metaphors, its climax in the queen's burning pyre. (...) At the same time the pyre is a positive image. When the pyre goes up in flames, the second danger has been passed - Aeneas has successfully undergone the second trial as he did the first, and the flames which now consume the body of Dido symbolise, cruel as it may be, his success in the face of his second ordeal and (...) the power of the forces that are moving behind him[18].

In Sicily the fires that flared up on the arrow of Acestes were an omen of some great future event[19]. Here again, the reference to the shooting star suggests immortality. Perhaps Marcellus is indicated, the conqueror of Syracuse, who stood before all in the vision of Anchises as a man who had reached the destiny denied to the less fortunate, the

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18 Bernard Fenik, "Theme and Imagery in Aeneid 2 and 4", American Journal of Philology, Vol. 80, 1, Jan. 1959, pp. 13, 15.

19 hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum
augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens
seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates.
namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo
signavitque viam flammis tenuisque recessit
consumpta in ventos, caelo ceu saepe refixa
transcurrunt crinemque volantia sidera ducunt.
(Aen., 5, 522-528.)

H. Rushton Fairclough, on this passage remarks: "Some great event of later days is referred to here, perhaps the Punic Wars, in which Sicily played so great a part. When the event occurred, seers explained it as a fulfilment of the portent here described".

young Marcellus in particular[20]. The fall of Syracuse would be another phase in the struggle between Rome and her enemies to the south and east, looking ahead to the final conflict of Actium. The omen surrounding the person of Acestes was shortly followed by the engulfing of the Trojan fleet in flames[21]. As in Book Two, Destructive Vulcan was taking over, spurred on, of course, by Juno.

The triumph of constructive fires is realised at the site of Rome. Vulcan takes on the role of builder when he constructs the Shield of Rome. The destructive element in the book is found in the person of Vulcan's son, Cacus, who belches forth black fires[22]. His deadly flames are quenched by Hercules, becoming "vain fires"[23] in the presence of the mighty hero.

The change of role on the part of Vulcan is contrived by Venus. She reminds her husband of the past destruction

---

20 "aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis.
hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu,
sistet eques, sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,
tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino."

21 furit immissis Volcanus habenis
transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppis.
(Aen., 5, 662-663)

22 atros / ore vomens ignis,
(Aen., 8, 198-199).

23 incendia vana, (Aen., 8, 259.)

he wrought against her son[24]. Then, with the miraculous flame of her love, his frame is melted[25], and the course of his purpose is altered. The change brought about in Vulcan is indicated by the remarkable simile that follows. The fear-inspiring God of Fire is compared to a simple housewife wakening the slumbering fires on the hearth:

> Inde ubi prima quies medio iam noctis abactae
> curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
> cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva
> impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignis,
> noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo
> exercet penso, castum ut servare cubile
> coniugis et possit parvos educere natos:
> haud secus Ignipotens nec tempore segnior illo
> mollibus et stratis opera ad fabrilia surgit.[26]

With the dawn of this new day a new fire was to be born - the constructive fire of Vulcan, linked, through the simile of the housewife, with the fires of Vesta, protectress of the hearth.

Vulcan enters his vast workshop. At his orders all the instruments of warfare and destruction are put

---

24 Casurasque inimicis ignibus arces,
(Aen., 8, 375).

25 Dixerat et niveis hinc atque hinc diva lacertis
cunctantem amplexu molli fovet. ille repente
accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas
intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit,
non secus atque olim, tonitru cum rupta corrusco,
ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos.
(Aen., 8, 387-392.)

26 Aen., 8. 407-415

aside[27] to make way for the giant shield, the symbol of the defence of future Rome[28]. And in the centre of the shield is the virtual fulfilment of the promise held out in the omen of the flame on the head of Iulus - a promise held out from the depths of the despair of Troy. It is the picture of Augustus; as he stands on deck, victorius, at Actium, "his joyous brows pour forth a double flame":

> hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
> cum patribus populoque, Penatibus et magnis dis,
> stans celsa in puppi, gemina cui tempora flammas
> laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.[29]

The two omens on the site of Troy's ruins are ultimately fulfilled in this picture, as it contains the essential elements of each, the flame to indicate a mark of greatness, the star to indicate apotheosis. What is designated for Augustus, the future counterpart of Aeneas, would be reserved for Aeneas himself[30].

---

27 "tollite cuncta", inquit, coeptosque auferte labores (Aen., 8, 439). This verse follows the description of awful death-dealing weapons, being made in the workshop of the Cyclopes.

28
> fluit aes rivis aurique metallum
> volnificusque chalybs vasta fornace liquescit.
> ingentem clipeum informant unum omnia contra
> tela Latinorum septenosque orbibus orbis
> impediunt. (Aen., 8, 445-449.)

29 Aen., 8, 678-681.

30 B. M. W. Knox, Op. cit. p. 398, note 41. Knox has an interesting comment on this picture on the shield:
> On the shield of Aeneas, where the twin serpents appear behind Cleopatra as a sign of her eventual destruction, 8. 679, the opposing figure of Augustus is seen with

Aeneas' renewed sacrifice to Hercules at the sight of the shield links him with Vesta[31], as protector of the home - the homes of the Trojans and in addition those of the Italians whom he was sworn to defend[32]. He is to defend the homes of the latter against such as Mezentius, who "inflames with righteous wrath"[33] by his heinous crimes amd who has escaped the righteous fires of his people[34]. Mezentius will not escape the fury of Aeneas.

---

twin flames at his temples, 8. 680-1. The serpent and the flame, which at the end of Aeneid 2 are united as a double symbol of Troy's rebirth, are on the shield separated and opposed.

31 Haec ubi dicta dedit, solio se tollit ab alto
et primum Herculeis sopitos ignibus aras
excitat hesternumque Larem parvos que Penates
laetus adit. (Aen., 8, 541-544.)
This link is elaborated by R. Cruttwell, Virgil's Mind At Work, pp. 100-101:"Aeneas' visual recognition of Vulcan's weapons (8.535) immediately results in Aeneas' ritual coupling of Evander's cult of Vesta with Evander's cult of Hercules (8. 542-544), (...)terms re-echoing 'cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignis' (8.410), as applied to Ignipotens for rendering Aeneas' shield no less invictus (10. 242-243) than Hercules himself in relation to Cacus. The simile of the housewife, combined with associations in 5. 743, 8. 410, points to the domestic fires of Rome's Caca-Vesta with mythical fires of Cacus-Vulcan, which Virgil associates with similar phraseology (8. 542-543) of Hercules Invictus who was also worshipped as Domesticus."

32 ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime
ductor (Aen., 8, 513).

33 merita accendit Mezentius ira. (Aen., 8, 501.)

34 at fessi tandem cives infanda furentem
armati circumsistunt ipsumque domumque
obtruncant socios, ignem ad fastigia iactant.
(Aen., 8, 489-491.)

CHAPTER FOUR

REALITY AND UNREALITY
(Books Six and Eight Compared)

In comparing the two great books of the Aeneid, Book Six and Book Eight, it can be seen that there are marked elements of contrast. Book Six is characterised by unreality, whereas reality prevails in the latter[1]. The degree in which the poet has clothed the legendary story of Aeneas arriving at the site of Rome in circumstances real and familiar for the Roman reader makes Book Eight unique in the whole poem. Indeed it is likely to have ranked high in popularity at Rome. This reality strengthens the faith of the reader in the happenings of the Book, and enlists his sympathy for its sentiments.

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1 The inter-relation of the books of the Aeneid has been the subject of much discussion among modern Vergilian scholars. R.S. Conway, "Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age", Cambridge, Mass., 1928, p. 141, writes:"The books with odd numbers show what we may call the lighter or Odyssean type; the books with the even numbers reflect the graver colours of the Iliad".
Geo. E. Duckworth, "The Architecture of the Aeneid,"American Journal ofPhilology, Vol.75, 1954, pp. 8-9, discusses Perret who links Books 7 and 8 together, as they are books of negotiations and embassies, and as 7 ends with a picture of pre-Trojan Italy, so Book 8 ends with a picture of Roman Italy. "One must suggest, however, that the conclusion of 8 is balanced far better by the description of Roman heroes in 6", remarks Duckworth. Perret also links 8 and 10: both concern Aeneas' allies; the departure of Aeneas in 8 and the return in 10 are both accompanied by prodigies; Hercules of the Ara Maxima in 8 mourns Pallas in 10.

It will suffice, in the case of Book Six, to examine the circumstances which surround the Underworld to realise the aura of unreality with which it is vested. Mystery and death precede the journey into the depths. Mystery is seen in the personage of the Sibyl[2], in her abode[3], in her prophetic utterances[4]. The untimely death of Misenus[5] and the extensive funeral rites in his honour prepare us for the entrance to the abode of death. Death acts as the causeway between the concrete reality of life and the mysterious unreality of the afterlife.

The place of entrance to the Underworld is marvellously construed:

> spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu,
> scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
> quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
> tendere iter pinnis: talis sese halitus atris
> faucibus effundens super ad convexa ferebat.[6]

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2 cui talia fanti
ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus
non comptae mansere comae, sed pectus anhelum,
et rabie fera corda tument, maiorque videri
nec mortale sonans, adflata est numine quando
iam propiore dei. (Aen., 6, 46-51.)

3 horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,
antrum immane. (Aen., 6, 10-11.)

4 horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit,
obscuris vera involvens. (Aen., 6, 99-100.)

5 atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,
ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum,
Misenum Aeoliden. (Aen., 6, 162-164.)

6 Aen., 6, 237-241

Avernus, with its vast deep cave, its dark lake and gloomy wood, its vapourous atmosphere, serves as a thin, filmy link between the world of reality - already undermined - and the world of unreality. And as the ground quivers underfoot[7], the last vestiges of the real world are shattered. The stage is set: "sit numine vestro," the poet begs, "pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas"[8].

The exit of Aeneas from the Underworld is also associated with death and mystery. The glorious prophecy of Anchises is overshadowed by the prediction of the death of Marcellus, which evokes words of pity and pathos from Anchises[9]. (Cf. p. 75.) . . Anchises escorts his son and dismisses him by the ivory gate of false dreams[10]. It

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7 ecce autem primi sub limina solis et ortus
sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri
silvarum. (Aen., 6, 255-257.)

8 Aen., 6, 266-267.

9 heu! miseranda puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
tu Marcellus eris! manibus date lilia plenis,
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
munere. (Aen., 6, 882-886.)

10 sunt geminae Somni portae; quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,
altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.
his ubi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna.
(Aen.,6, 893-898.)

C.M. Bowra, From Virgil to Milton, London, 1948, pp. 82-83: "Even after the vision of Elysium which answers so many doubts and means so much to Aeneas, Virgil mysteriously

should be remembered that to the ancients there was something mysterious about sleep; it was akin to death, "death's counterfeit" (Shakespeare). So the reference to the ivory gate is particularly forceful.

How contrasting Book Eight must have been to the Roman reader. At the first we find the hero lying on the bank of the beloved Tiber[11], against the background of the raging sounds of racial war - sounds only too familiar to the Roman at the time of Augustus.

A pleasant journey on the morrow brings them to the site of Rome. (Cf. p. 48.) As they disembark, the poet informs us that celebrations are being held in honour of Hercules[12], and that this is a yearly occurrence[13]. The rites connected with the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium, annually held in Rome on August 12 and 13, come to mind. (Cf. Note 17, p. 83.) Many other associations

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brings his hero from the Underworld by the ivory gate through which false dreams come to men. Some think that this is simply an indication of time, for after midnight the gate of true dreams is closed. Yet the ordinary reader surely feels the suggestion that what Aeneas has seen is something like a dream, even if not a false dream."

11 cum pater in ripa gelidique sub aetheris axe
Aeneas, tristi turbatus pectora bello,
procubuit seramque dedit per membra quietem.
(Aen., 8, 28-30.)

12 forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem
Amphitryoniadae magno divisque ferebat
ante urbem in luco. (Aen., 8, 102-104.)

13 sacra haec.../annua, (Aen., 8, 172-173).

concerning the festivities strengthen the tie between the legendary past and the factual present:

iamque sacerdotes primusque Potitius ibant:[14]

The inclusion of Potitius, the head of the great family dedicated to the worship of Jupiter, is effective. Livy writes that the worship of the Ara Maxima was originally a family worship of the gentes Potitii and Pinarii; Potitii acted as priests, Pinarii as attendants[15]. Virgil gives them a prominent part in the rites[16].

Macrobius notes the propriety of the word "sedili" (Aen. 8. 176) in sacrificial feasts to Hercules[17]. Servius notes the appropriateness of "lecti" (Aen. 8. 179) as the attempt of Appius Claudius to employ slaves in the service of the Ara Maxima was so horribly frustrated. And writing on 8. 278, he notes that the "scyphus" was proper to the rites of Hercules[18]. Macrobius mentions why the Salii, priests of

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14 Aen., 8, 281.

15 Livy, 1.7; 9.29. Macrobius, Sat. 3.6: "Asper κατα διαστολήν, inquit "Potitiorum, qui ab Appio Claudio praemio corrupti sacra servis publicis prodiderunt.'"

16 ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores
servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor
et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri. (Aen., 8, 268-270.)

17 Macrobius, Sat. 3.6: "Nam propria observatio est, in Herculis sacris epulari sedentes. Et Cornelius Balbus ἐξηγητικῶν libro octavodecimo ait, apud aram maximam observatum, ne lectisternium fiat."

18 Servius records that Hercules brought to Italy a scyphus of great size. Preserved in pitch, it was used

Mars, are introduced in connexion with Hercules (8. 285): the two gods were apparently indentified by the pontiffs[19]. The procession and the method of sacrifice would also have had a familiar ring for the Roman reader[20], not forgetting, of course, the well-known stories of the deeds of mighty Hercules[21].

Evander then conducts Aeneas to the centre of the site of Rome, pointing out objects and places of interest strange to the hero but familiar to the Roman reader of Virgil's time[22]. Each is invested with associations with

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by the praetor in making a libation once a year.

19 Macrobius, 3.12: "Salios autem Herculi ubertate doctrinae altioris assignat: quia is deus et apud pontifices idem, qui et Mars habetur. Et sane ita Menippea Varronis affirmat, quae inscribitur Ἅλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς. In qua cum de Hercule multa loqueretur, eundum esse at Martem, probavit. Chaldaei quoque stellam Herculis vocant, quam reliqui omnes Martis appellant."

20 Aen., 8. 281-288. Cf. page 84,

21 Aen., 8. 288-300.

22. W. Warde Fowler, Aeneas at the Site of Rome, pp. 71-72: "It was a great stroke of the poet to bring Aeneas up the Tiber, for he knew that by the river alone he could land him exactly where, almost at a glance, he could see every essential feature of the site, every spot most hallowed by antiquity in the mind of a Roman of Virgil's day. The walk that follows comprised the whole site of the heart and life of the city as it was to be, all that lay under the steep sides of the three almost isolated hills, the Capitoline, Palatine, and Aventine. The poet knew that he need not extend it to the other so-called hills (...). Densely populated as those were in his own days, they were not essential organs of social and political life; the pulse of Rome was to be felt beating most strongly in the space between them and the river, where, too, the oldest and most

the legendary past that are awe-inspiring. There is the Carmental Gate, tribute to the nymph Carmentis[23], who prophesied the future greatness of the sons of Aeneas. Then there is the vast grove where Romulus restored an asylum[24], then the Lupercal and the Wood of holy Argiletum[25], named it is assumed, after Argus, a guest of Evander. All these are well-known places that are surrounded with an aura of awe and glory[26]. Aeneas then sees the Tarpeian House and the Capitol, where Jove himself was seen by the Arcadians[27],

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cherished associations of the Roman people, mythical and historical, were fixed. (...) Evander himself dwelt in the very heart of the Rome that was to be, and just where Augustus had taken up his abode in Vergil's own time, on the north-west edge of the Palatine, where it sloped to the Sacred Way leading down to the Forum Romanum."

23 cecinit quae prima futuros
Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum. (Aen., 8. 340-341)

24 hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer Asylum
rettulit. (Aen., 8. 342-343.)

25 et gelida monstrat sub ripe Lupercal,
Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.
nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti
testaturque locum et letum docet hospitis Argi.
(Aen., 8. 343-346.)
Virgil is particularly vivid in this passage; note the concrete impression in "gelida...sub rupe" (8.343). He is determined, too, that the names will instill awe into the reader: observe the powerful spondaic linear endings: nemus Argĭlētī, 8.345; nobile Pallanteum, 8.341.

26 religio.../dira loci, (Aen., 8. 349-350).

27 Arcades ipsum
credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem
aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret. (Aen.,8,352-4)
In the preceding lines, note the powerful effect of the repetition: iam tum...iam tum - even then the people were

the future site of the temple of Jupiter. Then, passing the forts of Janus (the Janiculum) and Saturn, they reach the Roman Forum[28].

The minds of his readers now firmly anchored in the real and factual, the poet subtly introduces the supernatural elements leading up to the shield, grafting them to the real. (Book Six, as we have noted, lacks such links between the real and the unreal.) This may be seen in the following device: the lord of fire, Vulcan, as he sets out for the work-shop, is compared to a housewife beginning the ordinary humble tasks of the day[29]. The poet firmly establishes the position of Vulcan's smithy, deep in the bowels of Mount Etna[30]. But once inside, the reader finds his mind soaring to lofty heights, borne by the imaginative pen of the poet[31].

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filled with awe and terror at the spot:

iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant. (Aen., 8, 349-350)

28 Aen., 8, 355-361.

29 Aen., 8, 407-415. Cf. pages 29-30.

30 Aen., 8, 416-419.

31 Observe, for example, the treatment in the description of the making of the thunderbolt - a splendidly imaginative passage:

tris imbris torti radios, tris nubis aquosae
addiderant, rutili tris ignis et alitis Austri.
fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque metumque
miscebant operi flammisque sequacibus iras.
(Aen., 8. 429-432.)

On the lines 429ff., Donatus writes: "Omnibus istarum specierum descriptio non inaniter posita est; inde enim

The description reaches a climax in the making of the shield[32], for which mighty task the thunderbolt of Jupiter, the chariot of Mars, and the armour of Minerva must be put aside[33].

The focal points in Book Six and Book Eight are respectively the vision of Anchises and the shield of Aeneas. (For a detailed comparison of them, cf. page 73 below). Before the vision of Anchises, Aeneas reached out to embrace his father (through whom the vision is interpreted). The spirit eluded his grasp[34]. Let us make a comparison with the scene just before the presentation of the arms to Aeneas. Notice that it is Venus (through whom the arms come) who seeks her son's embrace:

amplexus nati Cytherea petivit. (Aen., 8, 615.)

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crescit Aeneae meritum, cum ipsi necessaria divinis praeponuntur operibus, et inde maior eius gloria est, cum ipsius primo perficienda mandantur tantorum speciebus sine aliqua perfectione reiectis."

32 Aen., 8, 443-453. Cf. pp. 30-31.

33 Aen., 8, 433-440. On these lines Donatus writes "Iubentur omnia removeri nec saltem persona Iovis excipitur qui deorum omnium retentat imperium."

34 Aen., 6, 700-702. The wording is exactly similar in the passage where Aeneas tried to embrace his wife Creusa in one of his worst moments of despair and frustration:

ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum,
ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.
(Aen., 2. 792-794;
Aen., 6. 700-702.)

Then the poet impresses on us the reality of the arms, by showing how they come quite definitely into contact with the senses of the hero - his sight and his touch:

> oculos per singula volvit
> miraturque interque manus et bracchia versat
> terribilem cristis galeam...
> (Aen., 8. 618-620.)

CHAPTER FIVE

"CERTA DOMUS"

The longing for home is a recurring theme in the Aeneid. The references to home appear as milestones in the progress of the Trojan fortunes: "direpta domus" (Aen., 2, 563), "domus labentis" (Aen., 4, 318), "nulli certa domus" (Aen., 6, 673), "certa domus" (Aen., 8, 39).

In Troy their home has collapsed; it is like a giant tree uptorn[1]. There is no hope of return[2]. In Carthage, their home, built on an unholy alliance, without Heaven's approval, rests on a shaky foundation[3]. They must move on. In the Underworld Aeneas finds that even for the dead there is as yet no fixed abode[4]. There he first meets the souls of the unburied, who are condemned to wander about for a long time on the shores of the River Styx[5].

But it is in Elysium that Musaeus, as spokesman for those around him, remarks that no one has a fixed abode[4]. Aeneas is perplexed that souls in such a happy state are still obsessed by a certain restlessness and yearning. The

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1 direpta domus, (Aen., 2, 563).

2 nec spes opis ulla dabatur, (Aen., 2, 803).

3 domus labantis, (Aen., 4, 318).

4 nulli certa domus, (Aen., 6, 673).

5 centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum (Aen., 6, 329).

epithet "miseris" is even applied to them - a paradox surely.[6] They have yet to reach the home in which they can find their fulfilment.

In Book Eight the promised land is reached. "Here is your fixed abode"[7], Aeneas is informed by Tiberinus, "the very god of the place"[8]. Here is the place for which all Trojan heroes, both dead and alive, were ultimately longing. Those dead would undergo a period of purgatory, drink of the waters of Lethe and emerge as "magnanimi heroes", to play their part in making Rome a greater city than Troy ever was.

It may seem strange that the pledge of security and fixity is put into the mouth of the River Tiber. There is a permanence, however, in the constant motion of a mighty river, a fact recognised by poets throughout the ages[9]. An interesting allusion occurs in the Georgics to the might of

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6 o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est
sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reverti
corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?
(Aen., 6, 719-721.)
See "Darkness and Light", page 3.

7 hic tibi certa domus, (Aen., 8, 39).

8 deus ipse loci, (Aen., 8, 31).

9 Cf. Tennyson's "The Brook":
"Men may come and men may go
But I go on forever."
Wordsworth conceived the idea nicely when he wrote of the "stationary blast of waterfalls".

certain rivers, the River Tiber included[10]. The Eridanus stands out in the account, with the horns of a bull symbolising its mighty force. Now, when Aeneas asks Father Tiber to shield him from perils[11], it becomes clear that the hero is basing his confidence on the power associated with the river, "lord of Hesperian waters". The symbol of the horns is again employed:

> corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.[12]

Three times in his welcoming speech Tiberinus uses the word "certus": "certa domus... certi..Penates...requies ..certa"[13]. His other promises, for example regarding the sow, are soon realised, giving added strength to his promise of security. The speech ends on a strong note in reference to his palace:

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10 ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum
omnia sub magna labentia flumina terra
spectabat diversa locis, Phasimque Lycumque
et caput, unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus
unde pater Tiberinus et unde Aniena fluenta
saxosusque sonans Hypanis Mysusque Caicus,
et gemina auratus taurino cornua voltu
Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguia culta
in mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis.
(Geor., 4, 365-373.)

11 accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis
(Aen., 8, 73).

12 Aen., 8, 77.

13 Aen., 8, 39-46. On line 39 Donatus writes: "Qui speratus venisse dictus est magis magisque securior redditur, quod illic habiturus sedes, illic penatis conlocaturus.

hic mihi magna domus, celsis caput urbibus exit.[14]

The word "caput" is here pregnant with meaning, with its various connotations expressive of durability, power, permanence. Of a river "caput" means source, fountain-head, origin; of a city it means chief, first, capital. Virgil fuses the two notions, giving us a concept of great power. Rome was to be the "caput orbis terrarum" (Livy)[15].

From the fall of Troy, Aeneas and his Trojan followers have an intense longing for a mother-land[16]. The seashore of Libya is as a welcoming mother to the weary sons of Troy[17]. Aeneas receives the assurance of having arrived at his mother-land in the words of Tiberinus regarding the mother-sow and in the apparition of the sow and her brood on

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14 Aen., 8, 65.

15 W.W. Fowler, Aeneas at the Site of Rome, p. 41: "'Caput belli' in Livy (26.7) is the city that gives life and power to a confederacy. In Lucretius, 'caput amnibus' is the head or power of water, which, continually renewed, gives life and power to the water system of the world. In Lucretius, (5. 293), 'lucis caput' is the spring or fount of light. Pliny uses the word of the Pontus, noting the opinion of some geographers that it acts as a reservoir for the whole Mediterranean (Nat. Hist. 4.93). To the Roman the word had strong connotations referring to what was dearest to him - his person, his life, his citizenship, as is evident in such expressions as: iudicium capitis, capitis minor, capite diminui, etc." See Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Vol.III pp. 384-427.

16 magno telluris amore, (Aen., 1, 171).

17 Sternimur optatae gremio telluris ad undam. (Aen., 3,509.) This is a remarkable line suggesting the desire for land as like that of a child for its mother's bosom,

the river bank. (Cf. page 90 below)

We know the poet's depth of feeling with regard to Mother Earth and his realisation of the deep need in man for roots in her soil. To Virgil wandering was a curse. Witness the words of the shepherd, Meliboeus, in the first Eclogue, one deprived of his lands, exiled:

> at nos hinc alii sitentis ibimus Afros
> pars Scythiam et rapidum Cretae veniemus Oaxen
> et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.
> en umquam patrios longo post tempore finis,
> pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen [18]
> post aliquot, mea regna videns, mirabor aristas?

Such is Aeneas, exiled and wandering, as he sets foot at Cumae. The Sibyl addresses him thus:

> o tandem magni pelagi defuncte periclis [19].

How great was his escape is brought vividly before us in the apparition of Palinurus, a victim of the treacherous sea [20]. His plight, it so appears, is as great a disaster as could have happened to Aeneas; for the aimless wandering of the body of Palinurus over the deep [21] is extended to the wandering of his soul, without the hope of solace, his body not

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with the hint of weakness and passivity in "sternimur".

18 Ecl., 1, 64-69.

19 Aen., 6, 83.

20 ecce gubernator sese Palinurus agebat,
qui Libyco nuper cursu, dum sidera servat,
exciderat puppi mediis effusus in undis. (Aen.,6,337-339.)

21 tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes
vexit me violentus aqua. (Aen., 6, 355-356.)

having received burial. Palinurus earnestly implores the handfuls of earth that will bring an end to his wandering:

> eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram
> inice.[22]

The River Tiber is clearly associated with earth. Remember the promise of Creusa that, after ploughing the vast seas, Aeneas would come at last to the rich ploughed lands that the Tiber washed:

> longa tibi exsilia, et vastum maris aequor arandum;
> et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
> inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.
> (Aen., 2, 780-782.)

Tiberinus himself speaks in similar tones:

> ego sum, pleno quem flumine cernis
> stringentem ripas et pinguia culta secantem.
> (Aen., 8, 62-63.)

And the phrase "quocumque solo" (Aen., 8, 75), uttered by Aeneas, reiterates the idea.

Together with this there is an aura of pleasantness surrounding the river, and this pleasantness is repeatedly alluded to:

> fluvio amoeno (Aen., 8, 31);
> caelo gratissimus amnis (Aen., 8, 64);
> pulcherrimus (Aen., 8. 75);[23]
> caeruleus (Aen., 8, 64).

Furthermore the promises made by Father Tiberinus

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22 Aen., 6, 365-366.

23 Cf. Horace, Od., 1.2.13: "flavum".

are expeditely fulfilled, and they culminate in the beautiful passage in which the River-god causes the waters to flow back to aid the Trojans:

> Thybris ea fluvium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem
> leniit et tacita refluens ita substitit unda,
> mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis
> sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.
> (Aen., 8, 86-89.)

The depth of meaning of this passage can only be fully comprehended in the context of the poem as a whole, the hero of which has been constantly buffetted about on land and on sea: multum ille et terris iactatus et alto. (Aen., 1, 3.) The "dreamful ease" of these verses is suggested by the assonance and the splendid arrangement of liquid consonants, ending in the gentle lapping effect in "remo ut luctamen abesset", again repeated in "labitur uncta vadis abies(Aen.8.91).

Aeneas finds consolation in this new land, and rest from his travails:

> miserantem incommoda nostra(Aen.8.74).

His plea for protection[11] seems to be answered, also, in the following notable verses:

> variisque teguntur
> arboribus viridisque secant placido aequore silvas.
> (Aen., 8, 95-96.)

The covering of trees may at least symbolise the protection that the river will offer and, perhaps, the country in general.

CHAPTER SIX

THE WRATH OF JUNO

Juno is a "symbol", as Poeschl expresses it, "of demonic forces"[1], the forces that prey upon Aeneas and the Trojan race. Her unforgiving wrath is given in the theme of the poem as the cause for Trojan fears and perils:

> saevae[a] memorem Iunonis ob iram.[2]

The idea recurs often[3]. It is made clear, however, early in the poem, that the hatred of Juno is directed against the Trojan race. Aeneas comes under fire as their leader, not for any personal reasons. The poet expresses this nicely in bringing the goodness of the man into juxtaposition with the anger of the goddess:

> musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso
> quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
> insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
> impulerit.[4]

This is why Carthage, Juno's beloved city, is featured so early in the poem, along with deep-seated causes of her

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1 Allan Gillingham, "Viktor Poeschl's Die Dichtknust Virgils", Vergilius, Fall 1959, p. 19.

2 Aen., 1, 4.

3 tantae ne ...irae (Aen. 1.11);
causae irarum saevique dolores (Aen. 1. 25);
cum Iuno, aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus (Aen. 1, 36);
flammato ... corde (Aen. 1, 50); et cetera.

4 Aen., 1, 8-11.

enmity toward the Trojan race[5]. In her own words the Trojan's were to her a "gens inimica"[6], whom she was sworn to destroy. Her worst moods were displayed at the sack of Troy[7].

The storm at sea, brought about at the command of Juno, may be seen, perhaps, as the blackest hour for Aeneas. It sets the tone of the poem, affording us a grim foretaste of the powerful forces that are at the beck and call of Juno[8].

The Sibyl's prophecy holds out no relief in sight; Juno will continue to harass the Trojans in Italy, as she had done at Troy, at Carthage, and on the seas:

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5 progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci
audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;
hinc populum late regem belloque superbum
[illegible]ventum excidio Libyae.
(Aen., 1, 19-22.)
manet alta mente repostum
iudicium Paridis spretae iniuria formae,
et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores.
(Aen., 1, 26-28.)

6 Aen., 1, 67.

7 hic Iuno Scaeas saevissima portas
prima tenet sociumque furens a navibus agmen
ferro accinta vocat. (Aen., 2, 612-614.)

8 A Gillingham, Ibid., pp. 18-19: "In Chapter One Poeschl first considers l. 8-296 as a symbolic anticipation of the entire Aeneid. The storm at sea is, as it were, the motif for the tragedy, passion and fate of the poem...the flood that will beat against Rome's destiny, wave following wave until Augustus tames them all, with empire stretching to the limit of ocean, with fame bounded by the stars."

nec Teucris addita Iuno
usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis 9
quas gentes Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!

Indeed her cruel purpose seems not to have abated in the least in Italy. Through Electa she spreads her message of hate for the newly-arrived race[10]. Through Iris she renews the conflict in Book Nine[11]. In Book Ten she stubbornly pleads her cause in Heaven[12].

A hint of change in the attitude of Juno can be detected here. We have already been prepared for a change in attitude in Jupiter's great speech in Book One:

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9 Aen., 6, 90-92.

10 tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres
atque odiis versare domos, tu verbera tectis
funereasque inferre faces, tibi nomina mille,
mille nocendi artes. fecundum concute pectus,
disice compositam pacem, sere crimina belli;
arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus.
(Aen., 7, 335-340.)

11 Atque ea diversa penitus dum parte geruntur,
Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
audacem ad Turnum. (Aen., 9, 1-3.)

12 indignum est Italos Troiam circumdare flammis
nascentem et patria Turnum consistere terra,
cui Pilumnus avus, cui diva Venilia mater:
quid face Troianos atra vim ferre Latinis,
arva aliena iugo premere atque avertere praedas?
quid soceros legere et gremiis abducere pactas,
pacem orare manu, praefigere puppibus arma?
(Aen., 10, 74-80.)

at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno),
triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
transferet, et longam multa vi muniet Albam.
hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos
Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet
moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.
his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
imperium sine fine dedi. quin aspera Iuno,
quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam. [13]

Toward the end of the poem Juno, being won over, yields:

illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur,
pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum:
cum iam conubiis pacem felicibus, esto,
component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent,
ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos
neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari
aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem.
sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,
sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago;
occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia [14].

Her words make it clear that her main objection is that Trojans be accepted into Italy on a superior basis. That they should intermarry on an equal basis to form a new race, namely the Roman race, would be acceptable to her.

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13 Aen., 1, 267-282.

14 Aen., 12, 819-828.

Juno thus emerges gradually as protectress of Rome[15].

The speech of Tiberinus at the beginning of Book Eight should be studied in this light. But first it should be realised what Juno meant to the Romans. H.J. Rose, writes:

> She is closely connected with the life of women, like the Greek Hera, with whom she was indentified. (...) As Juno Lucina, she watched over the entry of the baby to the light from the darkness of the womb. As Sororia, she cared for girls attaining maturity (sororiare is used of the swelling breasts of an adolescent girl). As goddess of marriage, she was Iuno Iuga, Juno of the Yoke (...). Certainly the sanctity of marriage was in her charge. (...) Women both bond and free joined in a sacrifice to Juno; (...) they had a sham fight with each other, apparently armed with switches of fig-wood.(...) They used, in their contest, in other words in a rite of mutual beating, rods from that tree which is employed to fertilise the cultivated fig.(...) They thus knocked fertility into each other, much as the Luperci struck it into any whom they met with their similar magical implements. (...)
>
> Juno had a further development, which she shares with several deities connected with the life and functions of women. The sexual rhythm of their bodies tends to fall into periods about equal in length to a lunar month, and this tendancy was strongly recognised by the Romans, for instance in their computation of the full time of a normal pregnancy, ten lunar months. Hence the goddess took on a secondary association with the moon.[16]

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15 Horace puts these words in the mouth of Juno:

protinus et graves
iras et invisum nepotem,
Troica quem peperit sacerdos,
Marti redonabo; illum ego lucidas
inire sedes, decere nectaris
sucos et adscribi quietis
ordinibus patiar deorum.
dum longus inter saeviat Ilion
Romamque pontus, qualibet exsules
in parte regnanto beati;
dum Priami Paridisque busto
insulet armentum et catulos ferae

The words of Tiberinus point quite explicitly to the role of Juno for the future Rome. The fears of Aeneas, instilled by the Sibyl in her predictions of "bella, horrida bella"[17], are first allayed:

> neu belli terrere minis; tumor omnis et irae
> concessere deum[18].

The phrase "irae deum" obviously refers to Juno, the word "ira" having often been employed in connection with her: see notes 2, 3, 23. Then, to add assurance, Tiberinus utters the following promise:

> iamque tibi, ne vana putes haec fingere somnum,
> litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus
> triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
> alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.
> (hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.)
> ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
> Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.
> haud incerta cano[19].

The prolific mother-sow giving birth to thirty youngsters suggests the favourable presence of Juno Lucina

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> celant inultae, stet Capitolium
> fulgens triumphatisque possit
> Roma ferox dare iura Medis. Od., 3, 3, 30-44

See also Ovid, Met., 14, 581-584

> Iamque deos omnes ipsamque Aeneia virtus
> Iunonem veteres finire coegerat iras,
> cum, bene fundatis opibus crescentis Iuli,
> tempestivus erat caelo Cythereius heros.

16 H.J. Rose, Religion in Greece and Rome, New York, 1959, pp. 216-219.

17 Aen., 6, 86.

18 Aen., 8, 40-41.

19 Aen., 8, 42-49.

who will favour the growth of the new Roman race, i.e. the generation after Aeneas. Remember that she makes it clear in her last speech of the poem[20] that she will not oppose the Lords of Alba or the Roman stock. The figure thirty is associated with the sow, a fertility symbol. It is roughly the number of days in a lunar month, which, as H.J. Rose points out[21], suggests the period of sexual rhythm in a woman's body, and is therefore a number associated with Juno. Simultaneously the figure thirty is linked with the founding of Alba Longa[22]. A similar association was expressed in Jupiter's speech in Book One[23], even more strongly hinting at the notion of fertility, with the word "mensibus" added. Thus, through a subtle fusion of ideas and symbols, there is assurance that the future Rome will increase and prosper.

Now, when Tiberinus discloses the first step in the right direction, it is obvious that the move is meant to thwart Juno in her present attitude:

> nunc qua ratione quod instat
> expedias victor, paucis, adverte, docebo.
> Arcadas his oris, genus a Pallante profectum,
> qui regem Evandrum comites, qui signa secuti,
> delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem
> Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum.
> hi bellum adsidue ducunt cum gente Latina;
> hos castris adhibe socios et foedera iunge.[24]

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20 Aen., 12, 819-828.

21 H. J. Rose, Ibid., p. 216-219. Cf. p. 54.

22 Aen., 8, 42-49. Cf. p. 55.

23 Aen., 1, 267-282. Cf. p. 53.

24 Aen., 8, 49-56.

Thus, union with the Arcadians will be the first step towards forming a new race, the step that will help to lead eventually to change the attitude of Juno[25]. Here, also, the pessimistic words of the Sibyl are virtually answered[26]. But before proceeding, Aeneas is advised to make appeals to the goddess that her wrath may be deflected:

> surge age, nate dea, primisque cadentibus astris
> Iunoni fer rite preces iramque minasque
> supplicibus supera votis.[27]

Aeneas does more than simply make appeals. He offers the sow and her brood to Juno, the goddess of fertility herself, thus assuring the fertility of his son and descendants[28]. At the same time he justifies the optimism of Tiberinus towards Aeneas himself:

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25 This occurs in the symbolic handshake of Aeneas and Evander: iuncta est mihi foedera dextra, (Aen., 8, 169). Here are fulfilled the words of Aeneas to Helenus:

> si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva
> intraro gentique meae data moenia cernam,
> cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos,
> Epiro, Hesperia, quibus idem Dardanus auctor
> atque idem casus, unam faciemus utramque
> Troiam animis; maneat nostros ea cura nepotes.
> (Aen., 3, 500-505.)

26

> nec Teucris addita Iuno
> usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis
> quas gentes Italum aut quas oraveris urbes!
> causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris
> externique iterum thalami. (Aen., 6, 90-94.)

27 Aen., 8, 59-61.

28 Aen., 8, 81-85.

persolves,[29] mihi victor honorem

This promise, it might be added, immediately followed the request for prayers to Juno; hence it seems to imply that the goddess will be propitious.

The silver goose of Juno depicted prominently at the top of the shield of Aeneas seems to give further assurance of her future protection[30].

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29 Aen., 8, 61-62.

30 Aen., 8, 655-656.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE NEW AENEAS

"The fundamental idea of the poem, Augustus' 'pax Romana', is given in the poem's greatest symbol, the binding of 'Furor impius' in a prominent position at the end of Jupiter's speech (1, 294-296)"[1], according to Poeschl. Later he writes of Turnus as the embodiment of "Furor impius"[2], stating that "in his essential qualities Turnus is the Achilles of the Aeneid".

The prophecy of the Sibyl expressly refers to Turnus as a second Achilles, in terms reminiscent of Troy:

> bella, horrida bella
> et Thymbrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.
> non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra
> defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,
> natus et ipse dea.[3]

The name of Achilles, the greatest of the Greek heroes, and the other associations of the vanquished Troy instilled dread into the heart of Aeneas. But the memory of Troy in general and of the dreaded Achilles in particular has haunted the hero from time to time.

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1 Allan Gillingham, "Viktor Poeschl's Die Dichtkunst Virgils" in Vergilius, No. 5, Fall, 1959, p. 19.

2 Idem, Ibid., p. 24.

3 Aen., 6, 86-90. The phraseology re-echoes the despondent thoughts of Aeneas in Book 1; see note 4.

In perhaps his blackest hour, in the midst of the storm stirred up by Juno, the picture of Hector at the feet of Achilles looms up before him[4]. The same picture is depicted on the temple of Carthage[5].

The Sibyl's prediction of a second Achilles is immediately followed by the news of the death of Misenus. It is recalled for us that Misenus had been Hector's comrade in battle. After Hector's death he had joined the company of Aeneas[6]. So his death at this time is ominous. The spirit of Aeneas sinks low, and he resorts to prayer:

> atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat,
> aspectans silvam immensam, et sic forte precatur:
> "si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus
> ostendat nemore in tanto! quando omnia vere
> heu nimium de te vates, Misene, locuta est."
> vix ea fatus erat, geminae cum forte columbae
> ipsa sub ora viri caelo venere volantes
> et viridi sedere solo. tum maximus heros
> maternas agnovit avis laetusque precatur.[7]

---

4 mene Iliacis occumbere campis
non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens
Sarpedon, ubi tot simois correpta sub undis
scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit!
(Aen., 1, 97-101.)

5 ter circum Iliacos raptaverat Hectora muros
exanimumque auro corpus vendebat Achilles.
(Aen., 1, 483-484.)

6 Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum
et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta.
postquam illum vita victor spoliavit Achilles,
Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros
addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus. (Aen. 6, 166-170.)

7 Aen., 6, 185-193.

The immense forest stretched out in front of the hero seems to symbolise the mighty enigma of the personal struggles before him. He prays for the golden bough to shine through the deep forest, a symbolic representation of the divine help of which he is so sorely in need.

In Book Seven the forces of Turnus prepare for war. The description "builds up to the simile of the storm (Aen. 7, 528-530), a crescendo of force, an accelerando of action", mounting in "passionate intensity", and ending with the gathering of the Italian host[8]. Turnus emerges great in stature, leading "a cloud of infantry" (Aen. 7, 783-794)[8]. W. Warde Fowler suggests that at the end of the seventh book Turnus is moving in the region of the supernatural. He recalls that his helmet is a supernatural one in that it carried a Chimaera that breathed out flame like Etna[9].

Such is the background for the beginning of Book Eight. Commenting on line three of this book, John Conington suggests that Virgil is representing Turnus as a

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8 Allan Gillingham, Ibid., pp. 20-21.

9 W.W. Fowler, Aeneas at the Site of Rome, p. 34. He adds that later he is the god of war himself (Aen. 12, 323-340), idealised, for the time at least a superman.

roused war-god, his fiery spirit kindling the spirits of others. At this point once again the spirit of Aeneas reaches a low ebb:

> quae Laomedontius heros
> cuncta videns magno curarum fluctuat aestu
> atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc
> in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat [10]

The words rather resemble the account of the reaction to the predictions of the Sibyl[11]. Later in the book Evander relates the joining of forces, Mezentius with Turnus, in alliance against Aeneas, and, adding his own inability to handle the situation (due to his old age) he hands over the leadership to Aeneas, together with the personal protection of Pallas[12]. The antithesis evident in the cruelty of Mezentius and the innocence of Pallas adds powerfully to the dilemna of Aeneas. Once again the spirits of Aeneas sink to a low level.

Then, with startling suddenness a new Aeneas is revealed to us:

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10 Aen., 8, 18-21

11 Aeneas maesto defixus lumina voltu
ingreditur, linquens antrum, caecosque volutat
eventus animo secum. cui fidus Achates
it comes et paribus curis vestigia figit.
multa inter sese vario sermone serebant.
(Aen., 6, 156-160)

12 Aen., 8, 470-519.

Vix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant
Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates
multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant,
ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto.
namque improviso vibratus ad aethere fulgor
cum sonitu venit et ruere omnia visa repente
Tyrrhenusque tubae mugire per aethera clangor.
suspiciunt: iterum atque iterum fragor increpat ingens;
arma inter nubem caeli in regione serena
per sudum rutilare vident et pulsa tonare.
obstipuere animis alii, sed Troius heros
adgnovit sonitum et divae promissa parentis.
tum memorat, "ne vero, hospes, ne quaere profecto,
quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor Olympo;
hoc signum cecinit missuram diva creatrix,
si bellum ingrueret, Volcaniaque arma per auras
laturam auxilio.
heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!
quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub undas
scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volves,
Thybri pater! poscant acies et foedera rumpant."[13]

The reaction to Evander's heart-rending speech re-echoes once again the despondency following the Sibyl's prophecies. The phraseology is explicit; compare

maesto defixus lumina voltu(*Aen.*,6, 156);

defixique ora tenebat(*Aen.*,8, 520).

"Fidus Achates"(*Aen.*6, 158; 8, 521) is present each time. Compare also

atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat(*Aen.*,6, 185);

multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant(*Aen*,8, 522).

The words "ni signum caelo"(*Aen.*8, 523) are the pivot on which Aeneas' emotional curve reverses into an upward swing. And with the sentence "ego poscor Olympo"(*Aen.*,8, 533) the hero

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13 *Aen.*, 8, 520-540.

has come to the full realisation of the power that is with him. Here again parallels can be seen between Books Six and Eight. In each case it is an act of divine intervention that instills courage into the hero's heart. In each event Venus is the benefactress. Indeed the golden bough that helped Aeneas to penetrate the enigma of the Underworld seems to prefigure the brilliant arms that are to confound his enemies. (Cf. p. 21.)

The psychological effect of the appearance of the arms of Vulcan is very great. Aeneas attains the stature of a great epic hero. His attitude changes from one of passive indecision to one of decisive action. He seems almost to delight now in the prospect of those "horrida bella" (Aen. 6, 86) which he was agin and again reminded that he was obliged to fight and which have hitherto been such a source of fear and trepidation.

What a ring of confidence is sounded in these words:

> heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!
> quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub undas
> scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volves,
> Thybri pater! poscant acies et foedera rumpant. [14]

It is clear that it re-echoes the prophetic utterances of the Sibyl[3], proclaiming that there will be a Tiber flowing with blood. And now it is evident who will have the upper

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14 Aen., 8, 537-540.

hand[15]. There is an echo, too, from the depths of the storm in Book One: Compare

> tot Simois correpta sub undis
> scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit.
> (Aen., 1, 99-100.)

> quam multa sub undas
> scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volves,
> Thybri pater. (Aen., 8, 538-540.)

But in the latter we feel sure that the battle on the banks of the Tiber will be for the Trojans what the siege of Troy was for the Greeks.

At this point, in effect, it is Aeneas who becomes the second Achilles[16]. Achilles, it may be recalled, had been presented by Thetis, his mother, with invulnerable

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15 W.S. Anderson in "Vergil's Second Iliad", Vergilius, No. 5, Fall 1959, p. 13, writes: "The true significance of the Sibyl's words is revealed when the role of the Trojans gradually changes from that of the defeated to that of the victors, thus making them parallel to the triumphant Greeks of Homer."

16 L.A. MacKay, "Achilles as a Model for Aeneas", Vergilius, No. 5, Fall 1959, p. 13: "In the character of Aeneas we find echoes of Odysseus and of Hector, but it is really Achilles that he resembles most....Aeneas is far from being a mere carbon copy of his prototype. They differ in that Aeneas' mission is a public one, not private as that of Achilles, and that Aeneas is older in years and emotional experience when he undertakes his task than Achilles was when he died. They are alike in that each, conscious of his divine parentage, carries an aura of separation from his companions, an impenetrable barrier between a human being and a semi-divinity, that each pursues his mission with singular devotion, and that each eventually achieves his purpose."

armour[17]; the arms of Aeneas are presented by Venus. Moreover, Hephaestus, the Greek counterpart of Vulcan, had been the maker of the armour of the Homeric hero. In a defiant speech in Book Eleven, Turnus implies that Aeneas may be compared in two respects with Achilles, viz. in his courage and in his armour[18].

At the apparition of the arms, then, in Book Eight, Aeneas may be said to don the role of a second Achilles. Furthermore, remember that, immediately prior to this, the young Pallas is placed under the protection of Aeneas; he is to become his constant companion[19]. Patroclus had been the constant companion of Achilles. In the Trojan War Achilles had been goaded into ruthless revenge by the death of his closest friend, Patroclus; so too Aeneas, in an irrational state of mind, reaches the greatest depths of cruelty following the death of Pallas; he then becomes

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17 Virgil explicitly refers to the incident:

te filia Nerei,
te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx.
(Aen., 8, 383-384.)

18 ibo animis contra, vel magnum praestet Achillem
factaque Volcani manibus paria induat arma
ille licet. (Aen., 11, 438-440.)

19 This is one of the reasons for the despondency of Aeneas (Aen. 8, 520-522); see page 62) as he realizes the great personal burden on his shoulders; it is also one of the reasons for the Achilles-like defiant tones of Aeneas' next speech (Aen. 8, 532-540); see page 63).

guilty of his only real acts of barbarism[20]. The death of Pallas sealed the doom of Turnus as surely as the death of Patroclus sealed that of Hector. Aeneas on seeing his enemy wearing the belt of Pallas no longer hesitates to slay him[21]. So was slain Hector, too, wearing the spoils of Patroclus.

Thus a new Aeneas emerges in Book Eight - a second Achilles. He is the man who in his victory will wipe out the stain of Troy. "Vergil shows Aeneas as the hero who, having atoned for the guilt of the Trojans in the Iliad, erases the last reminder of the tragic career of Troy. With the last vestige of Troy and its associated guilt gone, Rome can be born."[22]

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20 See, for example, the human sacrifice of the four sons of Sulmo (Aen., 10, 517-520).

21 Aen., 12, 940-949.

22 W.S. Anderson, "Vergil's Second Iliad", Vergilius, No. 5, Fall 1939, p. 14. "Actually Vergil has united the personalities of Achilles, Agamemnon, and Menelaus in Aeneas", he writes, "so that the supreme moral justifications are on the side of the Trojan leader; in Turnus he combines the characters of Paris and Hector so that the death of Turnus removes the need for war." pp. 13-14.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FATA

> The actors of the story either oppose the irresistible tendancy of things and suffer defeat (...) or, with gradually increasing knowledge, they cooperate with and become the instruments of this tendancy [1].

The idea of fate[2] in the Aeneid is very strong, so strong as almost to destroy the dramatic force of the epic. From the start we are aware of the "irresistible tendancy" which drives the hero on - "fato profugus"[3]. The significance and power of the Fata are gradually realised. They may be indentified with the will of Heaven, a power so compelling that no individual god can successfully oppose it. It even seems that the person of Jupiter must yield, as he admits in the council of Heaven over the international strife[4].

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1 W.Y. Sellar, Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, p. 341.

2 E.Vernon Arnold, Roman Stoicism, London, 1911, p. 202: "Fate is but another name for the Logos or World-reason".

3. Aen., 1, 2.

4 fata viam invenient, (Aen., 10, 113). Servius on Aen., 2, 291 remarks: contra fata venire neminem posse. However, Seneca, N.Q. 2, 45, writes of Jupiter as "rectorem custodemque universi, animum ac spiritum mundi. (...) Vis illum fatum vocare, non errabis". C.M. Bowra, From Virgil to Milton, London, 1948, pp. 77-78: "Much ado has been made about the ambiguity of Jupiter's relation to the Fates, and Virgil sometimes seems to indicate that they are more powerful than he, but that is his

Furthermore, the Fata are associated with what is ultimately good and right, that which must ultimately prevail[5]. The cause of the Trojans is good, therefore the fates are ultimately with them; their cause cannot fail. As Jupiter ensures Venus, their patroness, "manent immota tuorum fata tibi"[6]. At this point a further look at the opening of the poem will be enlightening: Aeneas was driven out by fate and we are soon to know the purpose that

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mythological way of presenting drama in Heaven. In the last analysis Jupiter and the fates are one; for what Jupiter wills is fate, as he himself says: 10, 111-113. The idea was not new. The Fate which is called Zeus by Cleanthes, is Divine Providence, the πρόνοια, which directs events in the world and which is now called Jupiter, now Fate, now the fates, now the will of the gods. This Providence, which rules the universe is also its mind and its nature, the universal law and the creative force of all existence. It is not antropomorphic, not a person in any real sense, but a divine power which can only be presented to the human understanding in symbols and analogies. Virgil himself believes in it, and when he comes to stating the core of his disbelief, he abandons his mythology and speaks of a universal mind: 6, 724-727."

5 The word "fas" in the description of the River Styx has the same force: (Aen., 6, 438-439)

fas obstat tristisque palus inamabilis undae
alligat et noviens Styx interfusa coercet.

6 Aen., 1, 257-258.
M.L. Clarke, The Roman Mind, London, 1956, pp. 117-118: "Fate is not on the side of Cato, and Lucan chooses the losing side. In the days of Augustus it had been possible for Virgil, surveying the whole course of Roman History, to see in it the fulfilment of Destiny; but the optimism of Virgil's day had passed away, and now Fate seemed more maleficent than beneficent."

the fates have in mind[7]. Mention of the foundation of the city in Latium points to the site of Rome as the fated future home of the Trojans. Again and again the reader is reminded of this. Remember the encouraging words of Aeneas to his followers:

> per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
> tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas
> ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae. [8]

Now, the story of the wanderings of the Trojans is the story of their conflict with apparently hostile fates - let us emphasise this, apparently hostile. When we consider the final goal, it becomes clear that their hostility is only temporary, short-lived; they have a far-reaching good in mind. When Sinon was protected by the fates[9], the evil accruing was short-lived only: Troy was to fall so that a greater "Troy" would arise. Again, the death of Creusa[10] -

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7 dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio.
(Aen., 1, 5-6.)

8 Aen., 1, 204-206. Note that the close identity of "fata" and "fas" is kept before us.
C.M. Bowra, Op. cit., p. 78, writes: "When such a power decides that Rome shall rule the world, it is not a personal whim, like the support which Homer's gods give to Troy, but something deep in the nature of things, a natural inevitable process, whose reasons are not to be descerned, but which is real and therefore right. Any attempt to oppose it is not so much wrong as foolish; for it cannot be frustrated. The mission which Virgil believed to be Rome's was a natural development whose causes lay in the divine nature of the universe."

9 fatisque deum defensus iniquis, (Aen., 2, 257).

10 Aen., 2, 738.

"fato erepta" - made way for the future royal bride[11]. Time and again we are told of Aeneas' mistreatment at the hands of the fates; Anchises addresses him as the one much tried by fate[12]. The hero's words to Helenus manifest how sorely tried he is[13]. He is not long at Carthage before he realises he is pursuing a course contrary to the fates, as he is informed through Mercury of the wish of Heaven[14]. Aeneas' explanation to Dido is startling: he is not entirely a free man; to a great extent he is a mere instrument of the fates[15].

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11 non haec sine numine divum
eveniunt; nec te comitem hinc portare Creusam
fas aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.
(Aen., 2, 777-779.)
Note the expressions used for fate here: numen divum, fas.

12 exercite fatis, (Aen., 3, 182.)

13 vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta
iam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur.
vobis parta quies: nullum maris aequor arandum,
arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro
quaerenda.
(Aen., 3, 493-497.)

14 vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pinnis
Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine qui nunc
exspectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes,
adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.
(Aen., 4, 223-226.)
Even Jupiter appears at times as an instrument of the fates.

15 me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam
auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,
urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum
reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent
et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.
(Aen., 4, 340-344.)

On his arrival in Italy, Aeneas senses that here indeed he is entering on his true destiny. This is the turning point. The fates that had so long proved harsh how turn kind and favourable[16]. The ill-fortune of Troy will beget the good fortune of Rome.

In the Underworld the hero comes to a realisation of the mighty power which has harassed him so long. But at least the living could oppose this power for a while; the dead have no choice but to yield. Palinurus is warned of his hopeless position:

> desine fata deum flecti sperare precando.[17]

In Hades there is resolution only for the few. The great majority are chained down by the mighty compelling force of fate[5]. There is no need to consider the many souls undergoing punishment in Tartarus, or to visit the Fields of Mourning. Even in Elysium are to be found many who have not yet attained the freedom; their lives have not been full or complete[18]; therefore in some way they have not attained their fulfilment[19]. Then, in the presence of Aeneas,

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16 Cf. Aeneas' wish, Aen., 6, 61-62.
17 Aen., 6, 376.

18 It is significant that their number includes many who had died in defence of Troy and yet have not attained their fulfilment.

19 horrescit visu subito causasque requirit
inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro,
quive viri tanto complerint agmine ripas.
tum pater Anchises: animae, quibus altera fato
corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam

Anchises proceeds to enumerate the many souls who are destined by fate to return to the upper world, to achieve their ultimate end by playing their part in building the Roman Empire. (See "Darkness and Light", page 2)

At the site of Rome Aeneas enters upon his own glorious destiny. The fate of Hercules, his prototype, who takes his place among the gods, gives an indication of this. He, too, bore a thousand toils by the doom of cruel Juno[20]. Hercules accepted every challenge destined for him, the slaying of Cacus being especially worthy to be celebrated. Evander also shows himself a similar instrument of the fates (to Aeneas)[21]. He steps down, however, at the coming of Aeneas and declares, in effect, that his coming is an answer to an ancient prophecy[22]. He thereby entrusts Aeneas with the leadership against Mezentius, thus bringing his destined

---

securos latices et longa oblivia potant.
Has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram
iampridem hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum,
quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta.
(Aen., 6, 710-718.)

20 ut duros mille labores
rege sub Eurystheo fatis Iunonis iniquae
pertulerit. (Aen., 8, 291-293.)

21 me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum.
(Aen., 8, 333-334.)

22 retinet longaevus haruspex
fata canens: 'o Maeoniae delecta iuventus,
flos veterum virtusque virum, quos iustus in hostem
fert dolor et merita accendit Mezentius ira
nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem:

role in line with that of the deified Hercules[23]. He is to be the destined defender of the Trojans and Italians, both.

Aeneas at first hesitates to take up the challenge, but immediately a sign from Heaven confirms his purpose, and he boldly accepts. The call of the fates, issued from the mouth of Evander, is actually answered when Aeneas later proclaims: "ego poscor Olympo"[24]. (Cf. page 63.)

On the shield of Aeneas are portrayed the destinies of the descendants of the hero. Both the vision of Anchises and the shield of Aeneas are, in fact, identified with the fates[25]. They are rather similar in content, each offering glimpses of historic personages featured in Roman history from Aeneas to Augustus. But the treatment is considerably different. A study of the treatment will reveal the greater impression created by the shield in depicting the destinies of the descendants of Aeneas.

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externos optate duces'. (Aen., 8, 498-503.)

23 tu, cui[m] et annis
et generi fata indulgent, quem numina poscunt,
ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime ductor.
(Aen., 8, 511-513.)
Notice "fata" and "numina" again expressed as synonymous.

24 Aen., 8, 533.

25 At the beginning of the vision Anchises informs his son: te tua fata docebo, (Aen., 6,759); and as Aeneas lifts the shield, he is said to be lifting the fates of his descendants:
attolens umero famamque et fata nepotum.
(Aen., 8, 731.)

Contrast the atmosphere surrounding each of the descriptions, the reality of the Underworld with the reality of the site of Rome. (See "Reality and Unreality", p. 41) Another consideration is the lack of order to be found in the vision of Anchises. The historical characters do not come in chronological order as they do on the shield. There is lack of continuity, too, as the speech of Anchises is twice broken off to show Aeneas' reaction (Aen. 6, 854 and 860). The use of interpolation adds to the disconnected effect, for example lines 832-835.

There are striking differences in structure and rhythm. The shield is remarkable in design. First come the lesser scenes around the side of it, not more than five or six lines devoted to each. Then at the top is featured the defence of the Capitol of 390 B.C. to which eleven lines are devoted. Other lesser scenes are added with Hades presumably at the bottom, as the words "hinc procul" (Aen. 8, 666) suggest. Finally at the centre is shown the vast scene featuring Augustus (54 lines).

The vision of Anchises, on the other hand, seems to lack order. Presumably the principal personage therein is Caesar Augustus, the description of whom is a splendid passage (Aen. 6, 791-807), weakened however by its position; it is eclipsed by the pathetic account of the young Marcellus who is given the longest treatment and holds a most prominent position.

The characters in the vision file past in procession while Anchises speaks of their future greatness. On the shield the characters are seen depicted in action - action in the defence of the future Rome. It is through action that they achieve their glorious destiny. It is on the shield, then, that they are seen fulfilling their destinies.

Frustration and discord mar the vision of Anchises. Discord characterises the account of the kings (*Aen.* 6, 812-823) and that of the civil war between Pompey and Caesar (*Aen.* 6, 826-835). A strong note of frustration is evident in the description of the young Marcellus. After mention of his wondrous beauty, Anchises adds:

> sed mox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra, (*Aen.* 6, 866).

The complete flowering of his character is cut off by the fates:

> ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
> esse sinent. (*Aen.* 6, 869-870.)

The last words of Anchises were: fungar inani munere (*Aen.* 6, 885-886). This note of frustration occurring at the end of the speech inevitably affects the whole impression. But the account of the shield ends on a note of triumph (*Aen.* 8, 714-728). The shield makes a more vivid and colourful impression. Especially colourful is the description of the Gauls (*Aen.* 8, 657-662), the naval battle (*Aen.* 8, 691-695), the triumph (*Aen.* 8, 714-723) and the design of dolphins throughout (*Aen.* 8, 671-674).

It may be observed that the vision of Anchises has many of the aspects of a dream, (see "Reality and Unreality"

page 35) in its unreal atmosphere, in its lack of order and continuity and, above all, in the element of frustration. The poet perhaps felt the need for the more real and concrete presentation of the shield in Book Eight to balance and complement the vision in Book Six. Moreover, there is very little overlapping in the historical content, a factor also suggesting that the shield may have been intended as a complement to the vision.

The shield, contains a portrayal of heroes in action. And through action in the defence of Rome those heroes will attain the fulfilment promised for them in the Underworld. And Aeneas, uplifting the shield on his shoulders, virtually fulfils his own destiny: he identifies his own cause with that of his descendants:

> attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum. gaudet [26].

At last he can find joy in doing the Will of Heaven. Only at the site of Rome are the Will of Heaven and the will of Aeneas in complete accord[27]. (Cf. page 63.)

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26 Aen., 8, 730-731.

27 A hint of this harmony has already been afforded in the following verses:

> sed mea me virtus et sancta oracula divum,
> cognatique patres, tua terris didita famam
> coniunxere tibi et fatis egere volentem.
> (Aen., 8, 131-133.)

CHAPTER NINE

SACRIFICE

Many sacrifices take place in the course of the wanderings of Aeneas. They are mainly of two kinds: 1) asking a favour of the gods, and 2) expiation of an evil. To the first group may be attributed the sacrifice of Aeneas on Thracian soil when he asked the gods to bless his enterprise[1]. And Helenus, sacrificing steers, "craves the grace of heaven" to inspire him in his prophecy[2]. On sight of Italy, father Anchises wreathes a bowl, fills it with wine, and standing on the lofty stern calls on the gods, not in thanksgiving but for the favouring breath of the wind[3]. And the eager vow of Cloanthus at the exciting

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1 Sacra Dionaeae matri divisque ferebam
auspicibus coeptorum operum, superoque nitentem
caelicolum regi mactabam in litore taurum.
(Aen., 3, 19-21.)

2 hic Helenus, caesis primum de more iuvencis
exorat pacem divum vittasque resolvit
sacrati capitis meque ad tua limina, Phoebe,
ipse manu multo suspensum numine ducit,
atque haec deinde canit divino ex ore sacerdos.
(Aen., 3, 369-373.)

3 tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
induit implevitque mero divosque vocavit
stans celsa in puppi:
di maris et terrae tempestatumque potentes,
ferte viam vento facilem et spirate secundi.
(Aen., 3, 525-529.)

finish of the boat-race[4] is yet another example of an invocation to the gods for some special favour.

Examples of sacrifices of expiation are still more numerous. They are more elaborate on the whole and they are treated in a more serious and solemn fashion. The ceremonies attached to funeral rites could be included in this group. Dreadful portents demanded that fresh funeral rites should be solemnised for Polydorus[5]. At Sicily the funeral rites of Anchises were renewed[6]. The death of Misenus near the entrance of the Underworld brings before the mind of Aeneas the proximity of death. The rites are performed with due solemnity[7].

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4 di quibus imperium est pelagi quorum aequora curro
vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum
constituam ante aras voti reus, extaque salsos
porriciam in fluctus et vina liquentia fundam.
(Aen., 5, 235-238.)

5 inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte
sanguinis et sacri pateras, animamque sepulchro
condimus et magna supremum voce ciemus.
(Aen., 3, 66-68.)

6 hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,
purpureosque iacit flores. (Aen., 5, 77-79.)

7 congesta cremantur
turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo
postquam conlapsi cineres et flamma quievit,
reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam,
ossaque lecta cado texit Corynaeus aeno.
idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
lustravitque viros, dixitque novissima verba.
(Aen., 6, 224-231.)

Other sacrifices are made to ward off evils. The horror of the harpies and the prophecy of Celaeno prompted the proclamation of a sacrifice by Anchises[8]. At the advice of Helenus an offering to Juno is made to frustrate the omen of war in the appearance of the four white steeds[9]. And on the shores of Africa, King Iarbas offers to Jupiter the blood of beasts and the blooms of many garlands to offset the news of the wedding of Aeneas and Dido[10].

The fears of the Underworld, fully comprehended by the Sibyl alone of mortals, prompted a mighty effort to appease the powers of darkness. The timing and place of the sacrifice would indeed evoke awe and dread: it takes place after the funeral of Misenus, who had suddenly been

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8 et pater Anchises passis de litore palmis
numina magna vocat meritosque indicit honores:
di, prohibete minas, di, talem avertite casum
et placidi servate pios. (Aen., 3, 263-266.)

9 tum numina sancta precamur
Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ovantis
et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu,
praeceptis Heleni, dederat quae maxima, rite
Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores.
(Aen., 3, 543-547.)

10 hic Hammone satus, rapta Garamantide Nympha,
templa Iovi centum latis immania regnis,
centum aras posuit vigilemque sacraverat ignem,
excubias divum aeternas; pecudumque cruore
pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis.
isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro
dicitur ante aras media inter numina divum
multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis.
(Aen., 4, 198-205.)

cut off by fate in the midst of life; and the atmosphere surrounding Avernus is mysterious and uncanny. As the Sibyl invokes the powerful Hecate, "supreme both in heaven and in Hell", we realise that Aeneas is participating in his greatest sacrifice of expiation; his severest trials are ahead of him[11].

The sacrifice to Hercules at the site of Rome is considerably different in nature than those preceding. The sacrifices so far mentioned all look forward - to attracting some future good, to repelling some future evil. The rites of Hercules, however, look backwards to something already completed, and in this the essential difference becomes clear: it is a sacrifice of thanksgiving. In King Evander's words:

> saevis, hospes Troiane, periclis
> servati facimus meritosque novamus honores.[12]

Hercules had conquered and his people are called upon to

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11 quattuor hic primum nigrantis terga iuvencos
constituit, frontique invergit vina sacerdos,
et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas
ignibus imponit sacris, libamina prima,
voce vocans Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem.
supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem
succipiunt pateris. ipse atri velleris agnam
Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaeque sorori
ense ferit sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam.
tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras
et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis,
pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.
(Aen., 6, 243-254.)

12 Aen., 8, 188-189.

rejoice in the glorious deeds[13]. In previous sacrifices the position of Aeneas is one of hope, in this it is one of fulfilment: his victory over Mezentius is virtually an accomplished fact.

Aeneas sees the figure of Augustus on the shield, dedicating, in his victory over Antony, temples to the gods, in which sacrifices of thanksgiving are offered; "the streets rang with gladness and games and shouting."[14]

The assurance of Aeneas is therefore two-edged. By the past victory of Hercules as related by Evander and the future victory of Augustus, as depicted by Vulcan, "not unversed in prophecy"[15], the immediate victory of Aeneas is assured. The joyful emotion displayed by Aeneas as he renews the sacrifice to Hercules after the first glimpse of

---

13 quare agite, o iuvenes, tantarum in munere laudum
cingite fronde comas et pocula porgite dextris
communemque vocate deum et date vina volentes.
(Aen., 8, 273-275.)

14 at Caesar, triplici invectus Romana triumpho
moenia, dis Italis votum immortale sacrabat,
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem,
laetitia ludisque viae plaususque fremebant;
omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;
ante aras terram caesi stravere iuvenci.
(Aen., 8, 714-719.)

15 haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi.
(Aen., 8, 627.)

the arms is thereby soon to be justified[16].

An examination of the form of the sacrifice to Hercules shows it to be a firmly established state cult, on quite elaborate lines. In this respect it differs from previous sacrifices, which are characterised by their spontaneity, their lack of formality, their simplicity.

We know, for example, from the words of Evander that the sacrifice to Hercules took place annually:

sacra haec...annua, (Aen., 8, 172-173).

That a special day was fixed seems to be suggested:[17]

quae differre nefas, (Aen., 8, 173);

forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem
Amphitryoniadae magno divisque ferebat. (Aen., 8, 102-103.)

"Die illo", employed instead of the usual "eo die", suggests a great day is at hand; "sollemnem" enclosed by these words gives a hint to the religious significance of the day. The words "sociorum adsuescite mensis" (Aen., 8, 174) imply that special foods have been agreed on.

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16 solio se tollit ab alto
et primum Herculeis sopitas ignibus aras
excitat hesternumque Larem parvosque Penates
laetus adit; mactant lectas de more bidentis
Evandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuventus.
(Aen., 8, 541-545.)

17 R. Cruttwell, Virgil's Mind At Work, p. 98: "As Invictus, Hercules was commemorated Aug. 12 and 13 under the priesthood of the two Patrician families, Pototii and Pinarii. The victory over Cacus was celebrated at the Ara Maxima and Aedes Herculis. Aeneas' visit to the site of Rome covers just two days - Aug. 12 and 13 ?"

An altar has been consecrated for the celebrations, the permanent nature of which is stressed [18]:

> hanc aram luco statuit, quae Maxima semper
> dicetur nobis et erit quae maxima semper. (*Aen.* 8, 271-272.)

A special priesthood has been ordained in connection with the rite: domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri. (*Aen.* 8, 270.)

(Cf. page 37.)

The elaborate form of the ceremonies is evident in the attire of the celebrants, in the torch-light precession, in the presence of the Salii, who sing hymns and, perhaps dance around the kindled altars, and in the formal repetitions of certain aspects of the rite. The time taken alone is noteworthy: the arrival of the Trojans interrupted the ceremonies at noon, and the rites continued until after dark:

> Devexo interea proprior fit Vesper Olympo,
> iamque sacerdotes primusque Potitius ibant,
> pellibus in morem cincti, flammasque ferebant.
> instaurant epulas et mensae grata secundae
> dona ferunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.
> tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum
> populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis,
> hic iuvenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmine laudes
> Herculeas et facta ferunt. (*Aen.*, 8, 280-288.)

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18 *Ibid.*, p. 100: R. Crutwell refers to the "ara maxima, 179, 186, 271-272, 'in a grove before the city', 104, clearly the site of the forum Boarium whose cattle stray from their own market up the Velabrum into the forum Romanum, 360-361, these two central markets being flanked by the Capitoline, 347, and Palatine, 341, Mills."
See page 36.

Aeneas' part in the ceremonies is unique: he presides over them, sitting on a maple throne:

> praecipuumque toro et villosi pelle leonis
> accipit Aenean solioque invitat acerno. (Aen., 8, 177-183.)

At the same time he takes an active part:

> celebrate faventes nobiscum, (Aen., 8, 173-174.)
>
> vescitur Aeneas simul et Troiana iuventus
> perpetui tergo bovis et lustralibus extis. (Aen., 8, 182-183.)

In the course of the first six books of the Aeneid there is no such instance of a public or communal religious ceremony. Hitherto the sacrifices were spontaneous actions of individuals or of the wandering Trojans, who had not yet found a home for their gods. Religion could not be established anew until Aeneas "should build a city and bring his gods to Latium"[19]. The ceremonies associated with Hercules at the site of Rome offer to Aeneas and his followers a foretaste of the established society that is in store for their descendants.

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19 dum conderet urbem / inferretque deos Latio. (Aen., 1, 5,6.)

CHAPTER TEN

THE ROLE OF APOLLO

The prominence of the god Apollo throughout the Aeneid deserves careful study. The number of references to him, under his various titles, is very numerous. He ranks with Venus, in fact, as the special protector of Aeneas, who constantly seeks advice and direction from him.

So we find the hero, early in his voyage, making for the island of Delos, birthplace of the god. He pays homage to Apollo and entreats his direction[1]. When his counsel is misunderstood, the god, of his own accord, sends the Penates to the rescue of the Trojans[2], making it clear that Italy is the goal[3]. The Harpy, Celaeno, repeats the prophecy in the name of Phoebus Apollo[4]. Further guidance

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1 da propriam, Thymbraee, domum, da moenia fessis
et genus et mansuram urbem; serva altera Troiae
Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli.
quem sequimur? quove ire iubes? ubi ponere sedes?
da, pater, augurium atque animis inlabere nostris.
(Aen., 3, 85-89.)

2 quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est,
hic canit et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit.
(Aen., 3, 154-155.)

3 est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt,
terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae;
Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem.
hae nobis propriae sedes...
(Aen., 3, 163-167.)

4 Aen., 3, 247-257.

from Apollo is sought through Helenus[5].

On the direction of Helenus, Aeneas, on reaching Cumae, seeks first the temple of Apollo and the cave of the dreaded Sibyl,

> magnam cui mentem animumque
> Delius inspirat vates aperitque futura.[6]

Aeneas prays to the god through her that the Trojans may rest in Latium[7]. And again, he asks of the priestess of Apollo access to the Netherworld to learn more about his future from his father, Anchises[8]. Anchises, too, had shown special devotion to Apollo, as the words of his son testify[9].

The site of Rome is the place designated by Apollo in his prophecies. Specific mention of Italy is found in

---

5 Troiugena, interpres divum, qui numina Phoebi,
qui tripodas, Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis
et volucrum linguas et praepetis omnia pinnae,
fare age... quae prima pericula vito?
(Aen., 3, 359-362, 367.)

6 Aen., 6, 11-12.

7 tuque, o sanctissima vates
praescia venturi, da (non indebita posco
regna meis fatis) Latio considere Teucros
errantisque deos agitataque numina Troiae.
(Aen., 6, 65-68.)

8 ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora
contingat; doceas iter et sacra ostia pandas.
(Aen., 6, 109-109.)

9 quin, ut te supplex peterem et tua limina adirem,
idem orans mandata dabat.
(Aen., 6, 115-116.)

the words of the Penates[3]. Helenus - interpres Phoebi(Aen.3, 474) is more specific still in directing the Trojans to Cumae[10]. At Cumae, the Sibyl - Phœbi sacerdos(Aen.6, 35) - points to Lavinium and the Tiber, thus making clear the hero's goal[11].

All these are clear prophecies fulfilled when Aeneas is welcomed to the site of Rome by the god Tiberinus. But many of the sayings of the god Apollo are fraught with ambiguity; in the utterances of the Sibyl, for example, he speaks to the hero, "wrapping truth in darkness"[12]. As on other occasions, Aeneas is kept guessing and wondering. Now, these veiled promises also are afforded resolution at the Tiber bank; and the mystery in which they have been shrouded tends to highlight the deep sense of personal satisfaction that is felt as the mystery is unveiled for the hero.

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10 sic denique victor
Trinacria finis Italos mittēre relicta
huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem
divinos que lacus et Averna sonantia silvis.
(Aen., 3, 439-442.)

11 in regna Lavini
Dardanidae venient (mitte hanc de pectore curam)
sed non et venisse volent. bella, horrida bella
et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.
(Aen., 6, 85-87.)

12 obscuris vera involvens.
(Aen., 6, 100.)

The first prophecy of Apollo remains a mystery until the Eighth Book:

> Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentem
> prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto
> accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem.
> hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,
> et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis. [13]

The idea of returning home must have perplexed the Trojans. How paradoxical! How could they return home by going to a land other than Troy? Now note the first words of the god Tiberinus:

> o sate gente deum, Troianam ex hostibus urbem
> qui revehis nobis aeternaque Pergama servas,
> expectate...[14]

The idea of the prophecy is re-echoed in the word "revehis". Notice also the imagery of these two speeches. The references in the prophecy of Apollo to "stirpe", "ubere", "Matrem" - ideas of motherhood linked with those of mother-country - are particularly forceful when spoken to a lonely man who has lost all ties with family and country. He desperately tried to set up a home in Crete, but he was frustrated:

> subito cum tabida membris,
> corrupto caeli tractu, miserandaque venit
> arboribus satisque lues et letifer annus.
> linquebant dulcis animas aut aegra trahebant
> corpora; cum sterilis exurere Sirius agros;
> arebant herbae et victum seges aegra negabat. [15]

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13 Aen., 3, 94-98.

14 Aen., 8, 36-38.

15 Aen., 3, 137-142.

Notice the antithesis in the imagery of the two passages. The words "tabida", "corrupto", "lues", "letifer", "aegra", "sterilis" are suggestive of barrenness. But at the site of Rome the imagery of fruitful motherhood is reiterated by the words of the Tiber-god regarding the appearance of the snow-white sow:

> litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus
> triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
> alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.
> ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
> Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.
> haud incerta cano. [16]

and so the resolution is complete. We perceive the deep-rooted satisfaction which the hero would experience in the fusion of the associations of fertility. The river-god's welcoming words and the mother-sow lying on the river bank may be coupled to suggest the welcome home of the mother-land for her wandering son. (Cf. note 55.) And the fertility promised by Apollo is seen in the large brood of the sow[16].

Another veiled promise of the god Apollo occurs in the Sibyl's utterances. The Sibyl has just foretold the wars that the Trojans must wage. Her prophecy ends in a single ray of hope, but in words that Aeneas cannot understand:

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16 Aen., 8, 43-45, 47-49. Cf. page 57.

via prima salutis,
quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.[17]

This is also resolved near the site of Rome in the welcome extended to the hero by Evander and the latter's pledge of assistance:

iuncta est mihi foedera dextra,
et, lux cum primum terris se crastina reddet,
auxilio laetos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.[18]

Tiberinus had previously made mention of Evander and his city of Pallanteum[19]. The meeting with Evander, then, constitutes the "first path of safety"[17], promised by Apollo. (Cf, page 53.)

The picture of Apollo on the shield of Aeneas is an item of great importance. The battle of Actium is in progress and the god is bending his bow against the enemies of Augustus[20]. In previous references to the god, we find him acting through various agents - King Anius[21], the Penates, Helenus, the Sibyl. Here he is directly assisting Augustus

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17 Aen., 6, 96-97.

18 Aen., 8, 169-171.

19 Arcades his oris, genus a Pallante profectum,
qui regem Evandrum comites, qui signa secuti,
delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem
Pallantis proavi de nomine Pallanteum. (Aen., 8, 51-54.)

20 Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
desuper: omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.
(Aen., 8, 704-706.)

21 Aen., 3, 80.

at the battle of Actium. Fully to understand the significance of this, we must study the attitude towards the god Apollo in the time of Augustus.

Apollo was adopted as the patron god of Augustus.

> The popular belief that Apollo showed special favour to Octavian had been greatly strengthened by the fact that victory over Antony had been won in sight of the great temple of Actian Apollo[22].

Augustus encouraged this belief. He dedicated in the year 28 a magnificent temple to the god. The temple was built on the site once planned for Octavian's house[22]. The god had already been enshrined as the divinity of his private household. Ovid so addresses him as Phoebus domesticus, mentioning him, along with Vesta, as special protector[23].

> The story that Octavian was Apollo's son probably found favour at Rome with many of the Asiatic Greeks[24]. Octavian gave encouragement to the legend by allowing a colossal statue of Apollo with his own features to be erected in one of the porticoes attached to the temple[25].

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22 L.R. Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor, Middletown, Conn., 1931, p. 154.

23 et cum Caesarea tu, Phoebe domestice, Vesta. Met., 15, 866.

24 An inscription in Alabanda in Caria refers to Augustus: Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐλευθερίου Σεβαστοῦ. See L.R. Taylor, Ibid., p. 154.

25 L.R. Taylor, Ibid., p. 154.

Servius makes a reference to this statue[26]. This purposeful identification with the god Apollo was not sought on the part of Augustus merely for the sake of self-glorification. Suetonius relates how he had statues of himself melted down in order to have the golden tables of Apollo made[27]. The insignia of the god, too, were adopted. The laurel of Apollo became the symbol of permanent triumph. Ovid puts these words into the mouth of Apollo, addressing the laurel:

> postibus Augustis eadem fidissima custos
> ante fores stabis mediamque tuebere quercum.[28]

The new prominence of Apollo as protector of the empire is attested by other writers of the time:

> quem vocet divom populus ruentis
> imperi rebus? [29]

asks Horace; and the first god he mentions is Apollo. He prays:

> tandem venias, precamur,
> nube candentis umeros amictus
> augur Apollo.[30]

The Carmen Saeculare of Horace was written especially for

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26 Servius, on Virg. Ecl. 4. 10: "cui (Augusto) simulacrum factum est cum Apollinis cunctis insignibus." Schol. Cruq. to Hor. Epist. 1. 3. 17: "Caesar sibi in bibliotheca statuam posuerat ad habitum et staturum Apollinis."

27 Suetonius, Aug. 52: "Atque etiam argenteas statuas olim sibi positas conflavit omnis exque iis aureas cortinas Apollinis Palatino dedicavit."

28 Met. 1. 562-563
The laurel appeared on a coin of the year 27.

29 Hor. Od. 1. 2. 25-26

30 Hor. Od. 1. 2. 30-32

the dedication of the secular games when they were transferred to Apollo and his sister, Diana[31].

The role of Apollo in the Aeneid is in line with the purpose of the poem. The god had hardly been mentioned at all in the Georgics, and yet we see so many references to him in the course of the Aeneid. As already remarked, page 86, Apollo's position as guardian of Aeneas and his followers is important; Aeneas is the prototype of Augustus. The tone of the treatment given by the poet should be noted too. The god is at once, as it were, distant and close - distant in the sense that his name inspires awe (especially to be noted in the presence of the Sibyl, as in the exclamation: deus, ecce, deus, Aen. 6, 46), and close in the sense that he is the friendly guardian (especially felt during the course of the voyage)[32].

Now the importance of the picture of Apollo with Augustus on the shield of Aeneas becomes clear. To examine this further, let us return to Book Six and the poet's account of the origin of the temple of Apollo at Cumae:

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31 Apollo is invoked as special protector of the new age:

> augur et fulgente decorus arcu
> Phoebus acceptusque novem Camenis...
> remque Romanam Latiumque felix
> alterum in lustrum meliusque semper
> proroget aevum. C.S. 61-62, 66-68.

32 Cf. page 87.

> Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna,
> praepetibus pinnis ausus se credere caelo,
> insuetum per iter gelidas enavit ad Arctos
> Chalcidicaque levis tandem super adstitit arce.
> redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe, sacravit
> remigium alarum posuitque immania templa. [33]

Daedalus had accomplished a great feat, and, in thanksgiving for his success, he dedicated the "oarage of his wings" and built a temple to the god, Apollo. This, it may be considered, prefigures the promise of Aeneas:

> tum Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templum
> instituam festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.
> te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris.
> hic ego namque tuas sortis arcanaque fata
> dicta meae genti ponam, lectosque sacrabo,
> alma, viros. [34]

This promise is made on condition that a favour be received:[35]

> da (non indebita posco
> regna meis fatis) Latio considere Teucros [36]
> errantisque deos agitataque numina Troiae.

The fulfilment of this promise finds expression on the shield, in the picture of Augustus seated by the completed temple of Apollo:

> ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi. [37]

Herein lies a guarantee of security for the Trojans, backed by the power of Apollo: the words "Latio considere Teucros"

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33 Aen., 6, 14-19.

34 Aen., 6, 69-74.

35 The word "tum" is a key-word (Aen. 6, 69) suggesting this.

36 Aen., 6, 66-68

37 Aen., 8, 720

(Aen. 6,67) now become a reality. As Daedalus dedicated a temple to Apollo, having completed his journey on wings, so the depicting of the dedication of the temple on the Palatine to Apollo represents the virtual accomplishment of Aeneas' promise; the task was so great that the actual accomplishment was not to take place until the time of Augustus.

The guiding hand of Apollo is to be maintained, we are assured, from the time of Aeneas to that of Augustus. The actions depicted on the shield are all taken in mighty defence against the powers hostile to Rome, from its foundation to Augustan times. Swimming amidst these scenes are dolphins[38], symbol of the protective power of Apollo Delphinius. Under this title, the god was worshipped at Actium. Just before the description of Actium, we are given a brief glimpse of Hades, in which Catiline, the law-breaker, and Cato, the law-giver - embodying good and evil - are to be seen[39]. The great battle is between the forces of good

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38 haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago,
aurea, sed fluctu spumabat caerula cano,
et circum argento clari delphines in orbem
aequora verrebant caudis aestumque secabant.
(Aen., 8, 671-674.)

39 hinc procul addit
Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,
et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem;
secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem.
(Aen., 8, 666-670.)

and evil; Apollo bends his bow in favour of Augustus[40]. The barbarian nations are routed, and the vanquished Cleopatra is singled out as she makes her way, bound for the mourning Nile[41]. (Cf. page 31.) . . . Coupled with the building of the temple of Apollo, this perhaps symbolises the recession of Alexandria as centre of learning and the rise of Rome in its stead[42].

A personal compliment to Augustus is also therein contained. Unlike Julius Caesar and Antony[43], he had not become involved with Cleopatra; in fact it appears that he despised her, thus dooming Egypt for good as an independant

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40 Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo desuper. Aen., 8, 704-705

41 omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.
ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis
vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis.
illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura
fecerat Ignipotens undis et Iapyge ferri,
contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
caeruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina victos.
Aen., 8, 705-713

42 A great library was built in the temple, in which were placed the famous Sibylline books, containing the prophetic utterances of Apollo. Virgil mentions this in Aeneas' promise: see note 34.

43 sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx.
Aen., 8, 688
A.M. Guillemin, Virgile, Poète, Artiste et Penseur, Paris, 1951: "Elle (Cleopatra) est devenue pour les poètes un motif littéraire; elle incarne les vices asiatiques et cependant une ode d'Horace témoigne de l'admiration que l'intrépidité de sa mort a inspirée à ses contemporains." Dio Cassius, 50. 5: "Eadem cum Antonio in forum prodibat,

power. Egypt becomes a Roman dominion. It is at the same time a compliment to Aeneas, the prototype of Augustus. He, too, was almost ensnared by the charms of a foreign queen, and only for his escape from such a fate, Carthage might have ruled the World. In a sense, we have here the far-reaching justification for the apparent selfishness of the hero in the Dido episode. Individual feelings were sacrificed for the greater good. It is, perhaps, worth recalling that before the brief union of Dido and Aeneas, the hero was likened to the god Apollo[44]. This not only underlines the

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cum eo ludos curababt, cum eo iudicia obibat, cum eo equitabat: in urbibus ipsa portabatur in sella, Antonius pedester cum eunûchis eam sequabatur: idem praetorium suum, regiam nominabat: aliquando acinace se accingebat, peregrinoque vestitu utebatur." 50.4: "Haec tantam indignationem apud omnes excitarunt, ut reliqua etiam, quae vulgo iactabantur, vera esse crederent; nempe Antonium, si rerum potitius foret, Romam Cleopatrae dono daturum, ac imperium in Aegyptum translaturum." Dio Cassius puts these words into the mouth of Augustus (50. 27): "Therefore let no man count him a Roman, but rather an Egyptian, nor call him Antony, but rather Serapion. (...) It is impossible for one who leads a life of royal luxury, and coddles himself like a woman, to have a manly thought or do a manly deed". 50:3.
"tum vero offensi nonnihil Titius Plancusque ea re, vel etiam Cleopatrae odio adducti, ad Caesarem perfugerunt: qui eos libentissime recepit."
Horace: Romanus, ehue! posteri negabitis,
Emancipatus feminae,
Fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus
servire rugosis potest!
Interque signa turpe militaria
Sol adspicit conopeum. Epode 9, 11-16

44 infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iunxit.
qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xantique fluenta
deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo.
(Aen., 4, 142-144.)

F.A. Sullivan, S.J., American Journal of Philology, Vol.80.2,

"Spiritual Itinerary ofVirgil's Aeneas",

the guiding role of the god, but also serves to strengthen the link between Aeneas and Augustus.

It was considered that in time of war Apollo was equipped with his bow, and in time of peace he would lay aside his bow and take up his lyre[45]. The god of the arts of war who prophesied dire conflicts for the Trojan race[11] through the mouth of the Sibyl, and who was to help them and their descendants, from Hector at Troy to Augustus at Actium, dons a new role. He is now the god of the arts of peace[46]. As Augustus hangs the gifts of the subject nations on the portals of the temple[47] (recalling for us the

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April 1959, p. 158: "At Carthage, Aeneas had been surrounded by oriental comforts and luxury, and had yielded to their spell, (1, 695ff., 4, 261 ff). At Pallanteum, he will be initiated into lessons of poverty and simplicity by pauper Evander. Aeneas is a prince from the East and his foes taunt him with being a soft effeminate oriental (4, 215 ff; 9, 614 ff; 12, 97). He must be purified of the taint of his Eastern origin and filled with a Roman contempt for luxuria. (...) Hercules had had his choice between the Way of Pleasure and the Way of Virtue. (...) Evander leads him to his humble palace on the Palatine and invites him to enter, in words which unite the two themes of simplicity and Herculean virtue (8, 361-365)."

45 Horace: neque semper arcum
tendit Apollo. Od. 2, 11, 19-20
But at a later time he seems to despair of a lasting peace:
numquam umero positurus arcum. Od. 3, 4, 6.

46 That the Augustan Age was a great age in Literature cannot be denied. See also notes 34, 42.

47 dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
postibus. (Aen., 8, 721-722)
In Book Eight, this passage appears as the antithesis of the description of Cacus, the embodiment of evil, as he gloated in his conquests. The good-and-evil conflict is once again

offerings of Daedalus[32]), we see the new dual role of Apollo with reference to 1) Rome itself and 2) the territories beyond. For we see at Rome rejoicing in the streets[48]; and let us recall that at Athens Apollo was worshipped as Agyieus, the god of streets. Remember, too, that as Delphinius, Apollo was worshipped as the protector of colonies[49]; we are reminded of this as we note the final portrayal on the shield: the newly-conquered peoples in procession before Augustus[50]. Perhaps now it may be said that Apollo reigns: "Now is come the last age of the song of Cumae; (...) the reign of Saturn returns; now a new generation descends from heaven on high. (...) Thine own Apollo now is king!"[51]

It may be noted, too, that in the Eighth Book, the emergence into prominence of Apollo, the god of light and

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highlighted by a remarkable similarity in the phraseology:

foribus adfixa superbis
ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo. (Aen., 8,196-197)

48 laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant.
(Aen., 8, 717.)

49 And Actium's being a centre of this worship adds to the significance. See reference to the dolphins, note 38.

50 incedunt victae longo ordine gentes
quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis.
hic Nomadum genus et destinctos Mulciber Afros,
hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos
finxerat; Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis,
extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis,
indomitique Dahae, et pontem indignatus Araxes.
(Aen., 8, 722-728.)

51 Ecl., 4, 4-10.

truth, is accompanied by a more enlightened relationship between the Trojans and other races. The Roman adoption of the Greek god may symbolise this. There is a refreshing change from the narrowness and clannishness that characterise the previous books. The vindictiveness of the Trojans over their defeat at the hands of the Greeks was carried over even into Hades[52]. That even the gods were clannish at Troy[53] is borne out by Homer. What a difference there is at the Site of Rome! The hands of Eneas and Evander clasped in friednship[54] symbolise the lack of provincialism that will make the descendants of the Trojans leaders among men. The Sibyl foresaw the beginnings of this (Cf. note 17.) ... And the picture of Augustus leading the Italian peoples[55]

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52 Anchises prophesies vengeance in these words:

ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho
victor eget currum, caesis insignis Achivis;
eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenas
ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli,
ultus avos Troiae, templa et temerata Minervae.
(Aen., 6, 836-840.)

53 Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti
fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem
eruit. (Aen., 2, 610-612.)

54 iuncta est mihi foedere dextra. (Aen., 8, 169.)

55 hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar.
(Aen., 8, 678.)
That Virgil perceived Italy's need for a saviour may be seen when Aeneas, the prototype of Augustus, is addressed thus: exspectate solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis (8, 38). Donatus, Interpretationes Vergilianae, wrote on this line: "Olim te sperabat Italia, tenet praesentem et optatis amplexibus fovet. Haec dicendo magnam spem futuris temporibus pollicetur (Tiberinus)."

is a reiteration of the same sentiment. With Apollo at Actium are the gods Neptune[53], Venus and Minerva[56], arrayed against the forces of darkness. There is no petty rivalry now; for good and evil are at war. (And even Juno's attitude may be changing; cf page 53 above). The Poet's noble treatment of the vanquished Cleopatra[41], with its ring of pathos, also bespeaks the magnanimity that prevails in the description of the shield - a magnanimity, the poet implies, that those must possess who are destined to rule the World,

parcere subiectis et debellare superbos[57].

Although the element of fulfilment on the shield is far-reaching in that it embraces the history of Rome to the Augustan Age, it directly concerns Aeneas himself. Aeneas is the prototype of Augustus. Aeneas had seen his spirit, had heard his name, and had observed the role he would play, during the vision of Anchises (Aen., 6, 791-795). The

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Horace wrote in a similar vein, in citing Italy's need for the return of Augustus:

ut mater iuvenem, quem Notus invido
flatu Carpathii trans maris aequora
cunctatem spatio longius annuo
dulci distinet a domo,
votis omnibusque et precibus vocat,
curvo nec faciem litore demovet:
sic desideriis icta fidelibus
quaerit patria Caesarem.
(Od., 4, 5, 9-16.)

56 omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam
tela tenent. (Aen., 8, 698-700.)

57 Aen., 6, 853.

guarantee of prosperity for Augustus and the Roman Empire must presuppose that Aeneas and his people will prevail. And the guarantee is branded on the shield of Aeneas by the Lord of Fire himself, Vulcan, the husband of Aeneas' mother. Vulcan, we are assured, had the power of prophecy[58].

58 Aen., 8, 627.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The first six books of the Aeneid are complemented in different ways in Book Eight. The insecurity of the wandering tribe of the first and third books gives way to security at the site of Rome. The death of Troy depicted in the Second Book generates the birth of Rome. The relation of Book Four to Book Eight is like the relation of Carthage to Rome in the Punic Wars; for failure is the key-note in the former, prosperity in the latter. Shadow and mystery characterise the sixth book, and find their complement in the realism associated with the site of Rome.

Book Eight is a climax of the poem. The site of Rome is the goal of the Trojans' journey, the fulfilment of their hopes, the only place in which their spirits can rest. Besides, the subsequent books look back to Book Eight; the action is largely predetermined, and the fate of the actors is already sealed at the Tiber Bank.

The shield of Aeneas plays an important part in these considerations. In that it mirrors most clearly the future greatness of Rome, it raises Book Eight to a pre-eminent position in the Aeneid, the purpose of which is, after all, the glorification of Rome. Looking at the poem on the historical level, Book Eight is the true end of the story. The reason for its place in the poem may be due to the poet's preoccupation with design; it enabled the

greatest books, Four, Six, and Eight, to be placed centrally. Furthermore, the chronological beginning of the story does not coincide with the beginning of the poem, but occurs in Book Two.

Underlying the fulfilment afforded the Trojan race and their descendants is the personal triumph of Aeneas himself. It is at the site of Rome that he solves the enigma of his individual struggles. He becomes a new man, confident and enlightened. No longer is there doubt and indecision. The hero recognises his destiny and shoulders the responsibilities of leadership with a clear purpose. Heaven now beckons him to greatness, and he accepts the challenge.

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RESUME OF THESIS

FULFILMENT IN THE EIGHTH BOOK OF THE AENEID OF VIRGIL

The first six books of the Aeneid are complemented in different ways in Book Eight. The insecurity of the roaming travellers of the first and third books gives way to security at the site of Rome. The death of Troy depicted in the second book generates the birth of Rome. The relation of Book Four to Book Eight is like the relation of Carthage to Rome in the Punic Wars; for failure is the keynote in the former, prosperity in the latter. Shadow and mystery characterise the sixth book and find their complement in the realism surrounding the site of Rome.

Book Eight is a climax of the poem. The site of Rome is the goal of the Trojans' journey, the fulfilment of their hopes, the only place in which their spirits can rest. Besides, the subsequent books look back to Book Eight. The action is largely predetermined, and the fate of the actors is already sealed at the Tiber bank.

The object of this thesis is to discover in Book Eight this element of fulfilment or completion. A close study is made of the first six books of the poem, with particular emphasis on Book Six. Many examples of incompletion and discord are found: questions left unanswered, desires unsated, ills unchecked. There is evidence of fear, insecurity, frustration, though there is always hope. In Book Eight is to be found the answer to many of these dissonant elements, an answer manifest in the degree of resolution and harmony that there makes itself felt.

The subject is explored under the following chapter headings:

1. Darkness and Light.
2. Enigma.
3. Destructive and Constructive Fire.
4. Reality and Unreality.
5. "Certa Domus".
6. The Wrath of Juno.
7. The New Aeneas.
8. Fata.
9. Sacrifice.
10. The Role of Apollo.

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