Inflamed by the Furies:
The Role of Emotion in the Imperial Destiny of the *Aeneid*

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the role that *furor* and other negative emotional states have on Aeneas' mission in the *Aeneid*. The role of the Fates is to enact change on a large scale, and this is achieved through destruction, which is caused by mortal and immortal agents manipulated by emotion. While Aeneas is trained to control his desires in the first half of the epic, in the second his rage and passions are spurred by supernatural forces.

This study will discuss the major plot points where emotion and rage interact with the main goal of Aeneas and the Fates. Included is a linguistic analysis wherein key prototypical terms - f*atum*, a*mor*, and *furor* – are arranged visually on graphs that show their placements line-by-line and locations relative to each other. The contention is that at various points, f*atum* causes a*mor* which leads to *furor*, which leads to change, and thus f*atum*.

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Introduction

The impact of the *Aeneid* on Western civilization is incalculable. Today it is a staple of Latin curricula around the globe, and it is often required reading in Roman history or classical civilizations courses. It has been the subject of countless works of art in the early modern period, and was itself the primary model for poetry when vernacular literature grew to fruition during the Renaissance. Vergil's poems were some of the few pre-Christian texts that did not need to be rediscovered, and he was even reimagined as a Christian or proto-Christian poet. Christian writers of Late Anquity like St. Augustine felt the need to integrate the *Aeneid* into discussions of morality. Throughout the Imperial period of Rome, the *Aeneid* was a common cultural touchstone for all who possessed or aspired to a Roman identity - it was the subject of personal household decorations as well as graffiti, and writers of subsequent generations created their work in a post-Vergil world, either borrowing or consciously deviating from his example.

The *Aeneid* is a national epic, commissioned by the victorious first emperor Augustus to extol the Roman people and their place in history, and consequently, extol his own newly-minted rule. The legend of Aeneas pre-dates the epic, mostly likely as a means of enhancing the growing Roman civilization with the pedigree of the Greek world. Aeneas, a few generations before Romulus and Remus, survived the siege of Troy and was guided by his mother Venus to his new home in Italy. After many *Odyssey*-like adventures en route, including a love affair with Queen Dido of Carthage, he pacified the local Latin tribes in Italy through war so that his Trojan gods and culture could intermingle with the indigenous peoples. It is this mix which will give rise to Romulus and Remus, and thus to the Roman people, destined to rule the world with strength and justice.

What we must remember in discussions of the *Aeneid*'s reception in different periods is that it was an instant smash-hit when it was first published. Its surpassing artistry and promotion of the Principate explain some of its original appeal, but cannot suffice *per se*. Vergil must have consciously tried to appeal to the audience that existed at the time of his work, tapping into the zeitgeist of a people who had just experienced bloody civil wars and over one hundred years of upheaval. It is not in the scope of this study to argue about whether the *Aeneid* is a celebration of the new regime or is a subversive work whose nature somehow escaped the notice of Augustan partisans. However, what will become clear throughout is that Vergil is at least speaking to the hope of a populace that wanted to believe the wars were worth the effort, as well as to the anxieties they would have after witnessing how the new age was purchased. While the epic is overtly about Rome's greatness and slightly-less-overtly about the new regime, a mere encomium does not fully explain the depth of the appeal, nor would a text that questions the value of recent sacrifices. In fact, the ambiguity and treatment of the evils of war are how he supports the new regime – by talking about the necessity of those things in the achievement of something better.

Part of the appeal comes from the treatment of rage, and although the idea that Vergil is praising violence is absurd, it is also insufficient to say that he is condemning it – again, too many Romans had engaged in acts of rage themselves, without which the new peace would not have been possible. The ideas of rage and also of passion are part of why the poem seems so Stoic to many scholars. This study concedes the existence of Stoic as well as Epicurean themes, but rejects the notion that the *Aeneid* is a philosophical entreaty. Rather, those philosophical schools of thought were of great interest to everyone at this time precisely because of the zeitgeist described above. Vergil takes the Stoic-influenced themes of passion, rage, and – most of all – fate to create a bittersweet contemplation on the role of negative emotions in achieving destiny. Vergil shares the aversion to emotional disturbance as well as to violence, but seems to retroactively justify them in instances where changes are necessary or inevitable, such as the supposed dawning of a new age thanks to the efforts of Augustus. Fate has a plan for history and the Romans most of all, but accomplishes these goals chiefly through the emotions of human agents, emotions which, when kindled, manifest themselves in destructive outbursts. Much of this manipulation is by the gods, themselves emotionally manipulated by Jupiter, who himself mainly operates through selective dissemination of his superior knowledge of fate. This study will show that almost all motivation and plot-dependent actions are the result of emotions, which are often explicitly inflamed by supernatural forces with ties that lead indirectly to Jupiter, and therefore the Fates. In short, Fate kindles passions which lead to rage, and the resulting destruction clears the path for the designs of Fate. Vergil asks the reader to consider that one's negative emotions may be inescapable while on earth, but that piety and sacrifice will ensure that the world emerges from these catastrophes better than when it started.

There are many points of scholarly contention that must be addressed, although a thorough analysis of any one of them would require more time and space than this study allows. I hope it will suffice to establish my own assumptions so that we may move forward, with the caveat that these issues are far more controversial and complicated than is revealed by their treatment here.

The first of these is the nature of the gods in Vergil, particularly their roles as either metaphors for natural phenomena or characters who happen to be deities. I contend that they must be treated as the latter, if only because they behave like characters: they have emotions, which can be affected and effected, and these in turn have a direct impact on the plot. This latter point will be made clear by this study. D.C. Feeney points out that by mentioning the emotions of the gods in the opening lines, Vergil is directly addressing a pre-existing controversy about whether the gods can have emotions.[1] Feeney also shows how the juxtaposition of this question with the appearance of fate[2] in the opening lines brings the controversy into greater focus. Fate is seemingly inescapable, but the gods have limitations associated with humans. Vergil may be betraying his Epicurean leanings by implying that gods who are involved with the lives of mortals make no sense, but he is not espousing it any more than his portrayal of all-powerful Fate amounts to evangelizing Stoicism. He does not necessarily have a programmatic intent on these issues, but is rather asking the reader to engage in them while contemplating the themes of destiny, violence, and emotion.

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[1] Feeney (1991) 130.

[2] Feeney specifies this as "general fate." When I am doing the same, I will use the lower-case F. The upper-case will be used when referring to the involved cosmic force, which will be interchangeable with "the Fates."

Similarly, the question of free will naturally arises whenever there is a discussion of fate. According to my reading, Vergil is not saying that all actions are ordained by Fate, simply certain larger events, like the siege of Troy. Most of the occurrances of *fatum* are connected with the imperial destiny that is the focus of the epic. The majority of the remaining uses involve the generic sense that often connotes death. I see no evidence that Vergil is claiming, at least in the story, that all actions are inescapable.[3] Rather, interference in free will seems to occur whenever there is resistance to actions that are necessary for the imperial destiny to be fulfilled.[4] Much of the first half of the epic involves Aeneas' hesitation, and we see him manipulated and trained by divine forces so that he is willing and capable of doing his duty. As we will see in Chapter VII, even the antagonist Turnus resists the calls to war, but is directly inflamed by a Fury so that he assumes his own role. The deaths of Nisus and Euryalus seem to have had no input from Fate, but merely occurred because of their own human failings.[5] My contention in this study is that the manipulation of emotions is precisely how the Fates interfere with free will, and rather than a Stoic message that one should resist, Vergil is saying that resistance is futile in certain circumstances, and that this may be a necessary evil in the grand scheme of things.

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[3] Gould (1974) explains that to the Stoics, all actions could not have happened otherwise. I do not think Vergil is going so far, but he is definitely playing with the idea of inescapable actions.

[4] Edwards (1960), outlining the Stoic ideas in the *Aeneid* brings up Chryssippus' metaphor that man is bound by fate like a dog is bound to a cart. Vergil could easily have been thinking in such a way: whenever a man resists his bondage, Fate uses emotion to pull him back on the proper path.

[5] Duckworth (1956) 359 agrees that the deaths "result not so much from the working of Fate as from the action or wrongdoing of the individual himself," although he includes other characters, such as Turnus, whom I contend had little choice in their destinies.

One problem that will not be solved is that of Jupiter's relationship with fate. While he speaks, has goals, and shows emotions, it is not possible to separate him from fate itself, and so the Stoic conception of Jupiter as the all-powerful embodiment of fate is not contradicted. However, one cannot definitively equate him with fate, either. Feeney addresses this issue, too, showing that Jupiter "is in the narrative and reacts for his own reasons (as god of Rome, husband of Juno, father of Venus)," and that this "means that even his perspective is unavailable as a netural, dispassionate vantage-point."[6] I also feel that we cannot trust Jupiter's own words about his limitations, as they are also necessary to manipulate the other gods, particularly Juno. At the very least, I would say that Jupiter is the most knowledgeable and capable agent of the Fates, and unlike the other deities, seems to be aware of his role in their designs.[7] Jupiter and his role will be explored in depth in this study, perhaps illuminated, but will not be firmly settled; one may get the impression that this is as Vergil intended.

My methods for this study will be to investigate the major plot points where emotion and rage interact with the main goal - Aeneas' successful settlement and the subsequent development of the Roman people. Since I am examining such key concepts and how they interact, I am also including a philological analysis that charts key terms across the entire poem. I start with what I believe are the three prototypical terms, especially in regard to their frequency and obvious poignancy: *fatum*, *amor*, and *furor*. My contention is that at various points, *fatum* causes *amor* which leads to *furor*, which leads to change, and thus *fatum*. *Furor* and *amor* are so closely associated that they may seem to be synonymous, but at least in the *Aeneid*, *furor* is almost always associated with violent action, whereas *amor* is associated with the hidden feeling that quite often leads to such actions. The *amor* may already exist in a character, but the Fates require that it be inflamed to the point of outward raging.

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[6] Feeney (1991) 154-155.

[7] Coleman (1982) 157-158 agrees that "Jupiter administers the operations of Fate," and "is represented as the active collaborator with Fate or even as its agent."

I have managed to arrange every instance of each word and their cognates visually on a graph that shows their placements line-by-line, and locations relative to each other. The result is a series of patterns and clusters that reinforce the pattern I am arguing for in the thematic, plot-specific analysis. A value of 1 indicates that a form of that term occurs at that line. A value of 1.5 means that another term occurs at that line as well, and 1.25 indicates the special status of a term, such as a reference to an actual Fury. A value of 2 indicates two instances of the same term on a line, but that only occurs twice. I then add in a second layer of density for a second chart, in which I take the next most common equivalents of two of the prototypical terms: *cupido* and *ira* for *amor*, and *saevo* and *fremo* for *furor*. The choices for the second layer are judgement calls on my part - for my argument, *ira* makes more sense associated with *amor*, because it is more of an internal feeling that may lead to violent action, whereas *saevio* is much more explicitly action-related, as I contend with *furor*. I could go deeper in density, but each layer would add more white noise that distorts the patterns that, for the most part, are maintained at the second layer, and which are usually recognizable as the same patterns from the first layer. For the purposes of this study, all cognates of these terms are considered to be equivalent. For example, both *furit* and *furias* will be recorded as an instance of *furor*. I will also draw attention to other terms, such as words that have to do with burning and/or being disturbed or beaten (-*turb*-, -*cuss*-), using William Sadler Bonds' dissertation *Joy and Desire in the Aeneid* as a guide to terms of signifance to Roman Stoics.[8] I will trace these terms through all 12 books of the epic in an attempt to establish that the grand designs of the Fates are achieved through emotional manipulation.

While the philological charts are supplemental to this study, added for clarity, the methods I employed are useful for any inquiries which revolve around specific terms, or themes which could be instructively distilled into a manageable list of terms. Especially for a large work, such as the *Aeneid*, it is instructive to have a visual representation of the repetition of words as they relate to the narrative progression. The best way to read this study is to keep the charts for each chapter readily available – sometimes you will be instructed to refer to a chart, but those are not the only occasions on which you should consult the Appendix. This method makes it easier to look at the big picture, as far as word usage is concerned, while at the same time allowing for a more organized approach to close-readings. Having the visual as well as the underlying data makes it significantly easier to locate words, compare usage, and calculate statistics. As an example, the point I make about the word *fatalis* was first noticed because of the focused attention to these words, and any questions that arose were easily addressed. All of the frequency percentages in this study were cobbled together in a matter of minutes. These and perhaps other uses will become clear as you read this work, keeping the relevant charts close at hand.

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[8] Bonds (1978) 27-52. Hahn (1931) was also instructive.

Chapter I - The Wrath of Juno

While the theme of rage naturally increases in prevalence toward the end of the poem and its violence-laden climax, the first book of the epic contains all of the verbal and contextual clues we need to know Vergil's intent. While much ink has been and will continue to be spilled over *arma virumque cano*, and indeed acts of weapons and the singular man are the major focus, Vergil also signals that he is going to show us that the man will engage in feats of arms to achieve Rome's destiny, and that this will entail much emotional manipulation.

Aeneas, as yet unnamed, is *fato profugus*,[9] which is certainly a fitting initial description. This ablative singular is also quite rare in the *Aeneid*: although *fatum* or non-speech-related cognates number 146, *fato* is only used a total of 9 times, or 6.16% of the total; the ablative plural *fatis* is significantly more common, comprising just over one fourth of the total, perhaps drawing the reader's attention to the personification of *fatum* as "the Fates." The introductory 33 lines mention *fatum* three times and the Parcae once. The destiny of Aeneas to establish a city and import gods that will develop into what the reader knows to be Rome is established from the outset in lines 5-7. Fate has determined that this will happen, and we all know that it will. The only real conflict here seems to be his obstacles, and Vergil makes no equivocation about the fact that this stems from Juno, and more specifically, her anger.

If we look at a second-level density chart, which adds the words related to the prototype terms (Chart 1.2), there is something even more striking: two lines that use secondary *amor* and *furor* terms. The first immediately states that

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[9] "a fugitive by fate."

Aeneas, while exiled by Fate, suffers specifically on account of the *memorem iram* of "savage Juno" (1.5). The second reinforces the same theme, that the causes of Juno's wrath and *saevae dolores* have not yet left her mind (1.25-26). In between these two is a solo instance of *irae,* which asks if such anger could exist in heavenly minds (1.11). The wrath of the gods is the major problem, true, but even more, it is the wrath *staying* in Juno's mind. Aeneas, while his fate to settle in Latium is assured, must contend with Juno's anger until it is gone from her mind.

Scholars have plenty of room to quibble about where the exact end to Vergil's introduction may lie, but for me it must end at line 33. The background on Juno's hatred of Troy and fear for Carthage is not merely there as an explanation of her, but of what must be assuaged before Aeneas' *labor* can be finished. This background is separated from Juno's actual entrance as a character by the clearly emphatic single line sentence: *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem* ("such a burden it was to found the Roman race," 1.33). The preceding tidbits of anger all pile up to comprise Aeneas' true burden. Fratantuono also believes that Juno "is framing the poem with the image of her wrath and its quelling. [...] In one sense, Virgil's epic is the story of the metamorphosis of Juno's wrath from these opening scenes of Book 1 through well into the twelfth and last book."[10]

A final point on the proem is that Vergil makes explicit that the Fates (*Parcas*, 1.22) have ordained that Aeneas' effort will lead to the destruction of

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[10] Fratantuono (2007) 3

Carthage. Juno knows this for certain, and inexplicably and irrationally wishes to avert it, and definitely at least cause as much pain for Aeneas and his Trojans despite their lack of complicity. One must ask how she got this knowledge, but if she received it from Jupiter or from some other source, it is clear that she was meant to have this knowledge in order for her to be angry. Juno holds the Trojans back from Italy because she is *his accensa*, "inflamed by these things," but Vergil takes pains to remind us that the Trojans will wander because they are *acti fatis* ("driven by the Fates," 1.32), not strictly because Juno hates them. Juno's anger and the will of the Fates, despite Juno's desires, go hand-in-hand.

After Juno enlists the help of Aeolus, notably utilizing *amor* to seduce him, we are given an immediate display of what Juno's wrath will be like: violent, chaotic, and something that must be weathered, rather than defeated. Our first picture of Aeneas gives credence to the notion that the *Aeneid*, or at least the first half, will be a story of the main character learning to control his emotions. He is frozen with fear, lamenting that he had not already died at Troy (a desire that will be a major theme in Book 2, and clearly had not been improved much through the events of Books 2 and 3). After over 50 lines of the violent storm, the Trojans are saved by Neptune, who is given a salient simile, the first of the entire epic:

> Ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
> seditio, saevitque animis ignobile volgus,
> iamque faces et saxa volant—furor arma ministrat;
> tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
> conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant;
> ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet. (1.148-153)
>
> And just as when sedition often arises in a large populace, and the base crowd rages in their hearts, and soon brands and rocks fly—rage provides weapons; then if by chance they espy some man serious with piety and

> merit, they fall silent, and stand still with pricked-up ears; that one rules their hearts with words, and calms their chests.[11]

This simile must indeed take on a special meaning for readers who have lived through the civil wars and at least heard or read about the preceding 80 years of civil unrest. The idea that *furor arma ministrat* is not merely a side-note about the ad-hoc nature of the riots, but an underlying theme of the entire poem. Rage is what causes violence, and there is no other way to achieve this. Further, men who are "weighty with *pietas*" are needed to quell this rage - this may be meant as a goal for Aeneas, and a reference to Augustus, but it is notable to what degree the former fails to attain this ideal.

The Trojans escape danger by making it to the shores of Carthage, disembarking *magno telluris amore* ("with a great love for the land," 1.71) - desire in this case was powerful motivator. That night Aeneas does his best to suppress his own misgivings in order to calm and reassure his men, stating that the Fates show them calm homes in Italy. He is sick with huge worries, *curisque ingentibus aeger*, and suppresses his grief deep in his heart (1.208-209). For the first time, but certainly not the last, Vergil refers to mental disruption as a sickness, and by suppressing it he is curing himself, as well as being a strong leader by trying to cure his men.

The first appearance of Jupiter is important to understanding his role in the *Aeneid*. He is watching over everything, including and especially the unfolding events surrounding Aeneas, and is *talis iactantem pectore curas* ("tossing such worries in his heart"). While it is unspoken, it is reasonable to assume he is watching and is concerned because he is not only aware of what the Fates have in mind, but must see it as his responsibility to help achieve it. If this were not the case, why would he be worried? Indeed, he even smiles at Venus and comforts her with a kiss as though she were a little girl when she (with great emotion!) complains about Aeneas being hindered *unius ob iram* ("on account of the anger of one," 1.251). Jupiter acts as though the notion that her people's fate had changed were silly: *manent immota tuorum fata tibi* (1.257-258), although he clearly had at least some minor concerns of his own before she interrupted him.

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[11] All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

Venus' complaint, in addition to the subsequent Jovian prophecy, is all about the fate that she had been assured of previously. If you look at Chart 1.1, you will see that Venus employs one of only two instances in which one of our three prototype terms is repeated on the same line (the second occurs toward the end of Book 12, which will be addressed in that chapter). If we had not yet realized that this epic is about Fate, Vergil hammers the notion home. Venus had been told by her father of Aeneas' and Rome's destiny for a purpose: to make her accept the fate of Troy. He is now going to reveal slightly more in an attempt to assuage her fears, but we could assume that the plans of Fate, to which he is privy, will be helped by this revelation.

James O'Hara's work about the prophecies of the *Aeneid* is quite valuable, especially in pointing out how most, if not all of the revelations of Fate are flawed, either by being deceptively positive or by omitting negative details.[12] For this study, the significance is that, like Aeneas' simulated hope on 1.198-207, omissions and “massaged truths” may be necessary for certain figures to have certain motivations. In this work I make the assumption that fate is revealed only to the degree that the recipient is nudged in the right direction, and that in the case of the gods, especially Juno and Venus, Jupiter is the main facilitator of this process.

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[12] O'Hara (1990).

According to Chart 1.1, Jupiter’s prophecy begins with his assurances of fate, and ends with rage, who will of course be tied up inside the Gates of War. While this is a clear reference to Augustus and his famous closing of the Temple of Janus in 29 B.C., it is also a description of the epochal transition in this poem - Furor, who will *arma ministrat* for the Latins in the second half, will eventually be suppressed. However, it will not be because of a man of *pietas* calming them with words, just as Augustus did not speak his way to victory at Actium. Jupiter noticeably omits the more negative aspects of Roman history, particularly Carthage (which was told to Juno, of all people) and the civil conflict, although he alludes to the latter by saying that Augustus’ victory will lead to Quirinus (Romulus) giving laws with Remus (1.292-293). Sandwiched between the decree that the Romans would have an *imperium sine fine* (1.279), which may be exaggerated, but is hardly very far from the truth, and that they would rule Pthia, Argos, and Mycenae (1.284-285) is Jupiter’s telling prediction that Juno would eventually relinquish her hatred:

> Quin aspera Iuno,
> quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
> consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
> Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam:
> sic placitum. (1.279-283)

> But even harsh Juno, who now tires out the sea, lands, and sky in fear, will return to better counsels, and with me will cherish the Romans, lords of the world and the toga-clad race: thus is my will.

While it is possible that this is a bit of excessive optimism, its placement, the fact that we know that it does indeed come true, and the fact that it ends with the not-very-ambiguous *sic placitum* leads me to believe that Juno's change of heart has also been decreed by the Fates.

Such ambiguity is characteristic of Vergil, but not so much as the lack of clarity involving sequences of events, particularly in the more hectic events of later books. We see such in the lines immediately following Jupiter's prophecy, in which he sends Mercury to Carthage so that the Phoenicians would accept them, and so that Dido, being *fati nescia* ("ignorant of fate"), does not bar them. The first point that can be made is that, as I have said, Jupiter is a facilitator of Fate, and is taking steps to ensure that Dido does not counter the destiny of Aeneas. While it is quite possible that the implication is that lack of a warm welcome could put Aeneas' life, and therefore mission, in jeopardy, I believe that one could also assume that Aeneas' even being at Carthage was a part of his fate. Jupiter is definitely engaging in the kind of manipulation of feelings that Juno and Venus will use to great effect, although he ostensibly is doing so to keep the imperial destiny on track. Also problematic is Venus' knowledge. Was she still there when Jupiter sent Mercury? Was she aware of the efforts to make Aeneas welcome in Carthage, and if so, why would she also feel the need to intervene herself at lines 305 through 417? She must have had some knowledge, because she sends Cupid to seduce Dido beginning at line 657 because she "fears the ambiguous house and two-tongued Tyrians" (1.661). This means that she knew of assurances of Tyrian hospitality, but her love of her son and the Trojans and her fear of Juno's anger compelled her to intervene even more directly. Jupiter can already take the wrath of Juno for granted, and it's clear that he can do the same with Venus' emotions. At the least, despite the fact that the nature of Mercury's intervention is left unclear, Aeneas must be in Carthage and deal with Dido in some manner. We do know that the Punic Wars are decreed by Fate, and so perhaps, in addition to Aeneas' emotional training, his tumultuous holiday in Carthage is necessary to ensure the long-lasting enmity. This study rejects the claim of some scholars that the entire Carthage episode is merely a detour for artistic embellishment.

Venus' incognito advice to her son is another example of manipulation, this time with assurances of the safety of his men, as well as a very sympathetic description of Dido - despite her misgivings at line 661. Aeneas even says that he has "followed the provided fate, with my goddess mother pointing the way" (1.382), ironically unaware, for the moment, that his mother is currently pointing him toward Dido - more evidence to suggest that the Dido episode has been ordained by Fate. What is puzzling is why she reveals herself immediately following her advice (1.402-405) - it may have been meant to ensure credibility, but then we must ask much the same question that Aeneas does: why not just be direct in the first place? I believe his childlike desire to hold hands and speak truths with his mother may be the answer: Venus speaks to her son directly in Book 2 at a critical juncture when his emotional weakness threatens his destiny, but she will not speak with him directly again until Book 8, when he is ready to receive the Shield and all of its burdens. As with prophecy, what is not provided is as important as what is, and Aeneas desires motherly comfort too much to be allowed it. The Dido episode will be another lesson concerning the dangers of comfort.

The mural in the Temple of Juno provides us with one of only two major ecphrases in the *Aeneid,* and like his shield - but to a much lesser extent - this one reveals something of the role of the gods. Richard F. Thomas has examined Vergilian ecphrasis, and tied it to the tradition of the Hellenistic and Neoteric writers, and most importantly he identifies the importance of the visual center of the items described. In this case, that center is the supplication of the Trojan women to an uncaring Minerva.[13] I think that Thomas puts too much emphasis on the *peplum*, which does indeed have fascinating intertextual echoes, but O'Hara gets closer to the significance of these lines in that it is about "their thematic suggestiveness, and their connection with the surrounding narrative of the poem."[14] O'Hara is right to draw attention to the irony that Aeneas is in Juno's temple and is "beginning to think that his troubles may be over, and that he may have placated the goddess whom Helenus told him he would overcome with gifts."[15] However, especially in light of Venus' revelation in Book 2, I think this speaks to the themes of fate and anger vis-a-vis the gods. Minerva is angry at the Trojans, that is true, but the destruction of Troy is assured, and figuratively written in the stone of Minerva's statue's eyes. No amount of supplication will change what is ordained by the Fates, just as Aeneas cannot appease Juno through gifts, nor can Turnus change his own fate through piety. The center of the mural that Aeneas sees as a hopeful sign of their acceptance in Carthage is a reminder to us that large-scale destructive change, enacted through the wrath of the gods, is unavoidable.

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[13] Thomas (1983).

[14] O'Hara (1990) 38.

[15] Ibid.

The mural ends, much like Book 11, with a *bellatrix*, this one raging and burning: “furens mediique in milibus ardet” (1.491). While this may be just foreshadowing, echoes of similarity between the siege of Troy and the final books of the *Aeneid* can be construed as a reminder of Fate’s power over the events in the latter, just as Troy’s destruction was assured.

The final point of interest is that Vergil uses *amor* in a concentrated cluster in the final 100 lines (Chart 1.1), which is of course when Aeneas begins interacting directly with Dido, and Venus uses Cupid to inflame her passions. At no other point will Vergil use this level of concentration for any of the three prototype terms (although he comes close with *fatum* at the beginning of Book 2), and the number of usages in just these 100 lines surpasses the total usage in every book except for 4 and 6, giving Book 1 the second most instances, almost all of which are connected with Dido. This again draws attention to the direct emotional manipulation by the gods, and while it can be argued that Venus is acting outside the requirements of Fate, this still speaks to the lack of agency on the part of the humans. Also, we cannot forget that Venus’ manipulation is based on her own emotions, which may have been nurtured by Jupiter, who is most likely watching this scene from Olympus with the same concern we saw at lines

223 through 227. He will not intervene again until Aeneas is ready for his next lesson.

Chapter II: The Power of Fate

That the second book of the *Aeneid* contains much in the way of *fatum* and *furor* would, of course, come as no shock, although this chapter will go into specific detail as to how they connect with each other and with emotion. In this book Vergil makes most clear the power that Fate has over the world and the fact that this awesome power is wielded indirectly through the rage of human and divine agents, but is inescapable nonetheless. More striking is how rarely *amor* occurs: a mere 3 times, well below the average of 6.42 times per book throughout the epic. If you look at Chart 2.1, however, you will see that this small number is not without significance, as the term acts as bookends, with a third occurrence just before the midway point. All three of these are critical.

While many scholars are quick to ask (and answer) why the *Aeneid* begins *in medias res*, for this study it is more profitable to ask why Vergil stops the action so early for a two-book detour. It may seem like the same question, but it requires a different way of looking at the issue that will shed light on the first use of *amor*. Aeneas begins his tale by hesitating to tell it because of the woeful nature of the events, when in truth he is increasing the pathos of and anticipation for the story. In the midst of a line marked by a seductive alliteration of S-sounds, which continue from the previous lines, Aeneas is resigned to telling the story *"si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros*" ("if you have such a great desire to understand our troubles," 2.10). While this could be just a way to connect the Amors of the end of the first book, to remind us of Aeneas' audience, it can also be seen as a reminder of the role these two books have in developing not only

Dido's love, but Aeneas' as well. We should not forget his outburst of emotion at the mural in the Temple of Juno (*sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi, / sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*, "Here are the due rewards of merit, here are the tears for toils and human affairs touch the heart," 1.461-462), nor his best efforts at comforting his men after reaching Carthage (*revocate animos maestumque timorem / mittite; forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit*, "Recall your spirit and dismiss your gloomy fear; perhaps one day it will be pleasing to recount even this," 1.202-203). His story is helping Dido fall in love with him, that much is true, but it is also, at the very least, increasing his affection for her because of the comfort she is providing - the comfort that Venus would not give him. Dido will pity him and take care of him, and this comfort, if it is not love, is something that he must learn to reject. That lesson will come at the end of Book 4.

The over 200 lines until the Trojans decide to bring the Horse into their city are filled with nothing except reminders of Fate, meant to create an ominous sense of inevitability. The Danaans have been repulsed by fate (2.13, although why is this the case? Every reader knows that they are fated to conquer. Perhaps they were repulsed until the fated moment.). Thymoetes was the first Trojan to urge that the Horse be brought inside, whether he did so as a trick, or "thus the fate of Troy was already carrying him/them" (2.34). After Laocoon's spear-strike made the hollowness of the Horse echo, Aeneas conflates both the the *fata deum* and their *mens laeva* in explaining why they did not attack the Horse then and there; otherwise, *Troiaque nunc staret* ("Troy might now stand," 2.54-56). The next three mentions of *fatum* should not be taken too seriously, as they are uttered by not only a speaker[16], but Sinon, who is established as a liar. These usages do indeed continue the ominous irony of the impending doom, and Sinon's triple employment shows that fate and prophecy are useful tools for a liar, particularly when the gods back said liar's prophetic claims with a clear supernatural act. The slaughter of Laocoon and his sons immediately follows Sinon's speech, which itself follows Laocoon's warning.

Laocoon himself, in addition to being correct, is also a priest who is acting with *pietas* - this will not be the last time that a pious character will be punished to accomplish Fate's wishes. The serpents find him sacrificing a bull (2.202, *sollemnis taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras*), but just before they depart, he groans like a bull who has been sacrificed with accidental cruelty. A mere twenty lines separates these two bulls, and Vergil even points out that his priestly fillet is soaked with gore (2.221), making it quite clear that Laocoon himself is a sacrifice.[17] This theme of divinely administered sacrifices necessary for fulfilling fate (but possibly unnecessarily cruel) is one to which I will return when more examples have been covered.

The twin serpents sent by Minerva are a clear example of divine intervention specifically for the arousal of emotions - the very first of many uses of *furor* in a book laden with fate and destruction comes as a direct result of this event. The Horse is a *fatale machina* (2.237) that is climbing their walls because of this manipulation. The Trojans are *caeci furore*, which I believe, in agreement with H. Rushton Fairclough, should be rendered "blind with frenzy"[18] rather than rage, although it should be noted that Vergil sees little difference. It is this *furor* that drives the Trojans on even though the Horse becomes stuck four times on the threshold of the gate, each time causing a clang of weapons (2.242-243). This delay will be revisited when discussing the Golden Bough in Book 6 and the finale in Book 12. Divine intervention is also evident in the fact that Cassandra reveals "*fatis...futuris,*" which is never believed because of the "*dei iussu*" (2.246-247) - her revelation has the opposite effect. Sinon, who has been defended by the hostile fates of the gods (*fatisque deum defensus iniquis*, 2.257), opens the Horse. Note how the celebratory *furor* of the Trojans not only ensured the Horse's entry, but because of their sleepy, drunken state, will make Greek victory all the more assured.

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[16] As might be inferred, I believe that the mere mentioning of these terms holds some level of significance, but the levels of thematic correlation are subject to variation.

[17] Cf. *Georgics* 3.487, where a sacrificial bull also has a sacred fillet. The playing with his ambiguity must have been influenced by Lucretius 1.84-1.100, where Iphigenia has an *infula* as a bride, but in the end she "*concideret mactatu*."

The end of Aeneas' dream of Hector is punctuated by the the latter entrusting him with the Penates, who are described as *fatorum comites*. This wording, combined with the fact that the Penates in Vergil almost never seem to be actual physical companions, is worth pondering through the lens of this study. While this is usually translated as meaning that they are companions of Aeneas' fate, it is not specified that they are merely "along for the ride" with Aeneas' destiny. It may be too much to say that the Penates are companions conferred by the Fates to ensure his special status, a la the Golden bough, and such a reading is not necessary if one concedes that the Penates are things whose fate coincides with Aeneas'. Their lack of physicality, as well as the rarity of appearances in the rest of the *Aeneid* (Book 3 being an obvious exception), shows that these may be, at the least, a very potent method of convincing Aeneas of his duty. They may not ensure his fateful status, but they could be meant to ensure that *he* accepts his fateful status - they are a symbol, together with the *vittae*, *Vesta*, and *aeternum ignem*, of what Aeneas' special status asks of him. The exceptions to the lack of physicality occur only in this book: first at lines 716-720, but it is important to note that at that point Aeneas had not fully accepted his responsibility, and thus needed his father to help him shoulder it; secondly, at 747-749, Aeneas is again abandoning his pious responsibilities (along with his father and son) to satisfy his personal desires. The true nature of the Penates remains a mystery, but they are, whether physical or not, a symbol of his fate-given obligations beyond that of preserving the household gods..

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[18] Virgil, Fairclough, Goold (1999, 2005).

Awakened by the distant din of battle, Aeneas witnesses much violence and rage, but most of the instances of *furor*, *ira*, and related terms are applied to the hero and his Trojan allies. After seeing that Hector's warning was true, Aeneas promptly ignores his instructions:

> arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
> sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
> cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
> praecipitant, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis. (2.314-317)
>
> I grab weapons, out of my mind; nor is there any reason in weapons, but my mind burns to gather a band for war and to run with aid to the citadel with allies; rage and wrath drive my mind, and it occurs to me that it is beautiful to die in arms.

Because he is out of his mind, Aeneas takes up weapons even though this has no point. His mind/spirit burns to join the fight, and here we have emphatic nominative forms of both *furor* and *ira*, which are also affecting his mind. Controlling this impulse, which returns to him, albeit less strongly, in the storm near Carthage in Book 1, is the main task of Book 2, and will require no small amount of divine intervention.

Aeneas learns what happened from Panthus, a priest who ironically is carrying *sacra* and *victos deos* and leading his grandson, and is driven to even greater madness:

> talibus Othryadae dictis et numine divum
> in flammas et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys,
> quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor. (2.336-338)
>
> By such words of Othryadae and the will of the gods I am carried into flames and arms, where the gloomy Fury, where the roar and shout raised to the heavens call.

He is carried into flames and weapons by the will of the gods, and goes where the Fury (using the Greek form, so there is no chance of interpreting this in generic terms) calls. Aeneas is immediately joined by comrades with a similar mindset (*audere in proelia*), and he excites their own emotions with a speech in which he asks if they have the *cupido* (note the emphatic nominative in the final position, 2.349) to follow him in embarking on *extrema certa*, despite the fact that the gods "which had held firm this kingdom" (2.352) have departed.[19] With this speech, "thus rage was added to the hearts/minds of the youths," (*sic animis iuvenum furor additus*, 2.355), and they are compared to wolves who are driven, blind (*caecos*, cf. with *caeci furore* on line 244), to slaughter by their selfish and base hunger, rather than attending to their hungry pups. Their rage and desperation blinds them to the needs of those who depend on them - a particularly Stoic notion that Aeneas must learn to master.

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[19] Keep this fatalism in mind when this study addresses Turnus's realization that the gods had abandoned him at 12.894-895.

Included in this pack of ravenous wolves is Coroebus, a Phrygian who came to Troy “inflamed by an insane love for Cassandra” (2.343). This is the second use of *amor*, and it is directly tied to the last bloody event before Aeneas goes to Priam’s palace. It is his idea to don the armor of the Greeks, and in this they find some small amount of success and satisfaction, such as is possible in their impossible situation. However, Coroebus is also the cause of the failure of his own plan, for they run across Cassandra being dragged from the Temple of Minerva, looking to heaven in vain.[20] Coroebus, *furiata mente* (2.407), leads the Trojans into a foolish clash that draws friendly Trojans to attack them, which in turn draws the attention and anger (*ira*, 2.413) of top-level Greek warriors including Ajax and both Atreids. Coroebus is the first killed, and it happens at the altar of Minerva - again, the notion of sacrifice, as he was an impediment to Aeneas’s lesson. This episode, like so many others, ends with a reminder of the larger designs of Fate, when Aeneas assures us/Dido that he did not avoid dangers, but that his fate prevented him from dying a deserved death (2.432-434). Fate, it seems, needed him to survive to see Priam’s palace.

The *sedes Priami* are the centerpiece of Book 2, where Aeneas witnesses the desperation of the men making what is clearly their last stand, and the unstoppable violence of the Greeks as they advance to the innermost sanctum of their enemies' king. Pyrrhus is likened to a snake, and we are reminded of the twin serpents of Minerva. Vergil compares the Danaans to a foaming river (*spumeus amnis*, 2.496) that overflows the embankments, raging (*furens*) across the fields and dragging herds with their stalls (*cum stabulis armenta*, which is playfully close to *armati*). At the end of the very next line Pyrrhus is described as *furentem*; his rage and that of his comrades is an unstoppable force of nature. When Aeneas first heard the sounds of war starting on line 298, they are compared to fire burning a cornfield with the South Wind raging (*furentibus Austris*), or to a torrent from a mountain that scatters the fields and *boumque labores*. Back at Priam's palace, Hecuba and her daughters are like doves made to fall by an *atra tempestas*. Priam's destiny is introduced and concluded with *fatum*: *priami...fata*, and *hic finis Priami fatorum* (2.506 and 2.554. See Chart 2.1). He is enclosed by fate, and his destiny will be as inescapable as Troy's. Pyrrhus is no less monstrous, and no less an agent of Fate than Minerva's serpents when he kills Priam, actually dragging him to the altar (*altaria ad ipsa trementem / traxit*, 2.550-551) as one would a sacrifice.

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[20] Cf. 1.479-482, Minerva’s statue in the Temple of Juno.

Aeneas' excursion has served its purpose, as he is struck by a fierce (*saevus*) horror, and begins to think of his father, wife, and little Iulus. However, this concern is suddenly cut short when he notices Helen. Like Priam and his fate, Helen is surrounded by the anger of Menelaus (*deserti coniugis iras*, 2.572) and that of Aeneas (2.575), but these are even closer, and she is called the "common Fury of Troy and her fatherland" (*Erinys*. See Chart 2.4). Helen caused destruction for both sides, and even now Aeneas is struck by a burning desire to exact bloody revenge:

> exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
> ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas. (2.575-576)
>
> Fires burn in my mind; an anger arises to avenge my falling country and exact the foul punishments.

This is the exact same impulse that will seize him at the end of the epic. Aeneas was carried by a raging mind (*furiata mente ferebar*, 2.588), just like Coroebus on 407 when he saw Cassandra being dragged away. Not a single line passes before Venus must intervene. She asks what grief excites his indomitable anger (*indomitas...iras*) and why he rages - rhetorically, of course, because she knows quite well, but reminds him of his father, wife, and son, just as their *imagines* appeared before him after Priam's death. She tells him that Helen is not to blame, but rather the *inclementia* of the gods, whom she repeatedly names for emphasis: *divum inclementia, divum / has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam.* 2.602-603). It will be the *inclementia* of Aeneas that we will see in the latter stages of the epic.

Venus's revelation in Book 2 is one of the most critical scenes in the *Aeneid*, and it is especially the case for this study. Venus is not just telling her son that nothing can be done to withstand the gods, but that nothing could ever have been done, which is why it is not Helen's fault. She shows Aeneas the truth by removing the cloud that obscures his mortal vision, and he sees giant shapes of the gods directly destroying Troy. Of course the gods were not actually smashing buildings by hand - the point is to impress on Aeneas that the gods' wrath is inescapable, and that mortals are mere pawns. Neptune shaking (*quatit*, 2.611) the city's foundation with his trident is no more avoidable than his usual earthquakes; in fewer than 15 lines, Aeneas will refer to a toppling Troy as *Neptunia Troia*, drawing attention to the shifting nature of divine allegiance. Juno, as should be no surprise, is raging (*furens*, 2.613); because she is *saevissima,* the most fierce, she will be the last to let go of her anger. Minerva is there to remind us of her previous destructive and pitiless actions and perhaps also because of her status as one of the Capitoline Trio. Jupiter (*ipse pater*), as usual, is key: he is providing the Greeks with spirit and strength, as well as rousing the gods (2.617-618). Jupiter, either as a direct agent of Fate or in his own capacity as the embodiment of Fate, is spurring both men and gods to action, rather than destroying things himself.

The entire scene is meant to show Aeneas that Troy's destruction was unavoidable because of the anger of the gods, and the reader must not forget where that anger came from. Discordia, or Eris in Greek, aroused the jealousy of the female Olympians, and eventually all of them were embroiled for one reason or another. For the purposes of this study, I see Discordia, like the Furies, as a primeval divinity who affects gods and men, and can be presumed to be a direct agent of Fate. Fate decreed that Troy must fall, and for this to occur, the anger of the gods must be aroused, and so Discordia is employed.[21] Jupiter is doing all he can to help in similar ways, despite the fact that he was ostensibly neutral in this conflict.

Leaving Jupiter until last as the climax of her argument, Venus knows no further explanation is needed, and instructs her son to *eripe, nate, fugam*. Aeneas' own comments on the vision are ominous, with an emphatic unfinished line:

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[21] Putnam (1995) 101 asserts that the "discordia" that Allecto unleashes is but another name for *impius Furor*. It is definitely hard to see much distinction between the two concepts.

> apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae
> numina magna deum. (2.622-623)
>
> Dire visages appear, as well as great divine wills unfriendly to Troy.

While it is easy to read too much into the use of *dirae facies,* one should not dismiss the fact that Romans including Vergil use the term "Dirae" to refer to the Furies, and so it would quite plausibly evoke them in this case . Knowing that *numina magna deum* are unfriendly to Troy is the most important lesson for Aeneas, because, as a good Stoic should know, one cannot fight the will of the gods, still less the will of Jupiter.

Despite this vivid lesson, Aeneas will again decide to fight a futile last stand, because his father Anchises, being as stubborn as his son, refuses to flee. While this is on the surface an act of filial piety on Aeneas' part, we cannot ignore the fact that Venus just went to great lengths to impart divine knowledge of the situation, and he is again forgetting his son Ascanius. The whole household pleads with Anchises that he not "encumber their pressing fate" (*fatoque urgenti incumbere*, 2.653).[22] Aeneas once again is overcome by his own despair, and once again divine intervention is needed:

> rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto.
> nam quod consilium aut quae iam fortuna dabatur? (2.655-656)
>
> Again I am borne into arms, and in despair I hope for death. For what plan or what fortune was now given?

Following on the heels of Venus' elaborate advice, the omen of Iulus' flaming head was still not enough, for Anchises prays to Jupiter directly to confirm the omen, which request the king of the gods obliges with a thunder-clap and shooting star. Anchises now agrees to not *incumbere* Aeneas' fate, and climbs on his sons back and receives the Penates (see above). The hero is not ready to lose his father, and must learn to shoulder his burdens alone.

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[22] An interesting word choice since, by acquiescing, Anchises will literally be adding weight to Aeneas.

Nor is he ready to lose his wife Creusa, but regardless, she is *misero...fatone erepta* (2.737). Based on the audience's knowledge of the larger imperial destiny, Fate cannot allow Aeneas' wife to escape Troy. Even if the Dido episode were an aberration from Fate's designs, the conflict in Italy cannot occur without dispute over Lavinia's hand. Aeneas is *amens*, hurling blame at men and gods, and charges back into the city:

> ipse urbem repeto et cingor fulgentibus armis.
> stat casus renovare omnis omnemque reverti
> per Troiam et rursus caput obiectare periclis. (2.749-752)
>
> I myself search the city again and gird myself in gleaming arms. I am determined to renew all disasters and to return throughout all of Troy and to stick my head again in dangers.

He will re-enter the city girded with weapons, renew all dangers, and again thrust his head into dangers, all despite clear divine evidence of the importance of his role. He leaves his son and the Penates, both his solemn responsibility, to his father, who could not escape Troy on his own feet. Like Coroebus, Aeneas is letting his mad love for his wife endanger the greater good, even shouting again and again (*iterumque iterumque vocavi*, 2.770) and endlessly rushing into houses.[23]

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[23] Some manuscripts say *furenti* instead of *ruenti*, which would only reinforce his madness.

On the verge of ruining the designs of Fate, he is granted an audience with his deceased wife, so that perhaps she can convince him to obey the gods over his own emotions.

> quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori,
> o dulcis coniunx? non haec sine numine divum
> eveniunt; nec te comitem hinc portare Creusam
> fas, aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi. (2.776-779)
>
> Why does it please you so to indulge in a mad grief, O sweet husband? These things do not occur without the will of the gods; nor is it right that you carry Creusa from here as a companion, nor does that ruler of high Olympus allow it.

Creusa begins much the same as Venus had, questioning the point of indulging in an *insano dolori*. Like Venus, she assures her husband that nothing has happened without the will of the gods, and that Jupiter does not allow her to accompany him. She concludes her speech, and Book 2, by appealing to him to *nati serva communis amorem* (2.789). Love has gotten in the way of Aeneas' escape, and the love for his son is invoked to convince him to put aside other desires. A strong sense of duty is not yet sufficient to motivate Aeneas, but the events of Book 2 have finally convinced him to reject the old world, however grudgingly, and seek out his destiny.

Chapter III: The Goal of the Long Journey

The last chapter ended with the question of why Anchises needed to be saved, and that is the question to which we will return for this entire chapter. Book 3 even ends with Aeneas specifically saying that his father's death was the "goal[24] of my long journey":

> nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
> hos mihi praedixit luctus, non dira Celaeno.
> hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum,
> hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris. (3.712-715).
>
> And the seer Helenus, although he warned of many horrors, did not predict this grief for me, nor did the dire Celaeno. This is the final labor, this the goal of the long roads; having departed from here, the god forced me to your shores.

The rest of the quote is also interesting: he specifically mentions the prophecies of Helenus and Celaeno, and the god (Jupiter, presumably) forces him to move on. Richard Heinze says that the mention of the prophecies is merely to show that "the loss of his father was a greater sorrow than all those that had been prophesied."[25] James O'Hara agrees, but takes it further to suggest that the purpose is "to evoke again the idea that events repeatedly betray Aeneas' expectations, because of what he has been told by gods and prophets."[26] I believe that Vergil did not accidentally juxtapose prophecies with the *meta viarum longarum*, and then conclude with Jupiter's role in moving him forward.

When we look at Chart 3.1, it is clear that there is not much in the way of

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[24] M*eta* refers to the "turning point" of a chariot race, although it is often rendered as something akin to "goal." It is worth considering the implications of the more literal translation, although it may not affect this study.

[25] Heinze (1993) 88-89. It is page 98, note 1 in the original German.

[26] O'Hara (1990) 25.

amor or *furor* in this book, although there are some things to be said for each. This pattern remains when the density is increased to include secondary terms on Chart 3.2. Most of the occurrence of prototype terms comes, unsurprisingly, from *fatum*, and this book, although on the surface an attempt to evoke the *Odyssey*, has much to say on the subject.

The book begins and ends with *fatum*, and the start has a notable cluster of the term. The very first instance points to the more overt theme of this book, as they set out *incerti, quo fata ferant, ubi sistere detur* ("uncertain where fate bears us, where it is given to settle," 3.7-8). In the very next sentence it is Anchises who orders that they *dare fatis vela* ("give the sails to the Fates,"), showing that he is the one in charge, and has decided that he will no longer resist destiny, now that he knows of the gods' designs for them. However, Aeneas is all too eager to get his destiny over with, and founds Aeneadae in Thrace, although as the narrator he knows that he began with fates unfavorable (*fatis ingressus iniquis*, 3.17). This first attempt marks the pattern for the first portion of the book, as Aeneas attempts settlements, but is corrected by otherworldly advice.

The grotesque intervention of Polydorus made abundantly clear that they would need the right portents to found a city, and consulting the oracle of Apollo at Delos is the logical next step. Phoebus, though, was only slightly more helpful, responding cryptically (as is his wont) that they should *antiquam exquirite matrem* ("seek out your ancient mother," 3.96). Anchises uses his aged knowledge to interpret this to mean Crete. Aeneas, again eager for his journey to end, begins construction of his new city the instant they land, conveyed by a hysteron proteron[27]: Aeneas is *avidus* and building his hoped-for walls, and he encourages his men to love (*amare*) their new hearths, all before the ships were dragged onto the shore. Anchises reacts to the plague, a clear bad omen, by calling for a return trip to Delos. More direct intervention is necessary, as the Penates appear to Aeneas (not his father, although they make sure to tell him to relay the information to his father in 169-170) and tell him to seek Hesperia, Italy, and Ausonia, so that there is no mistake. Anchises' interpretation is hardly necessary, and that may be the Penates' point - he will add nothing new except that he already had such information thanks to Cassandra, for which *errore* (3.181) he makes excuses. This mentioning of *fatum* seems to mark the end of this trial and error (see Chart 3.1), since they know that Italy is the goal, but the pattern will continue until after Buthrotum.

At the Strophades, the Trojans are not foolish enough to try to found a city, but they do engage in foolish behavior, thinking that piety would save them twice from the consequences. The only thing that does save them is Celaeno's greater knowledge of Fate, which she received from Apollo, who received it from Jupiter (3.251-251), as well as her wisdom to not obstruct it. It is puzzling that she refers to herself as *Furiarum ego maxima*, the greatest of the Furies, as Harpies are not traditionally equated with Erinyes, but Vergil may be tying them together with "proper" Furies as primeval divinities, both terrible[28] and subservient to divine will, or at least Jupiter's/Fates' will. Anchises again shows himself to be not very useful as a religious interpreter or as a leader, sloppily begging the gods for help and deciding to flee in their ships - it's not hard to imagine Aeneas on his own being capable of such decision-making.

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[27] A rhetorical device that involves purposefully rendering events out of logical order.

[28] The Harpies are described as *dira* 5 times, including Celaeno directly the first and last time she is referred to in the book.

The pattern that we have seen so far actually concludes after Helenus' prophecy on Buthrotum. The Trojans have reached Italy, but have not yet seen the portent that Celaeno foretold would precede the end of their journey, namely, the eating of tables. Rumor (who we should remember is a primeval deity in Book 4, if not necessarily here) brings Aeneas the news of Helenus, and his chest burns to address the man (*incensum pectus amore / compellare virum*). Helenus' prophecy is much more specific and helpful, pointing out that Aeneas must seek another part of Italy, and giving him signs to remember (3.388) so that he can know if he is on the right track. He does not deny Celaeno's portent, but merely assures him that *fata viam invenient* (3.395). The seer even tells Aeneas precisely how to avoid dangers on the way, particularly Scylla and Charybdis, and guides him straight to the Sybil, who "sings fates" (*fata canit*, 3.444), and will guide Aeneas from there.

The basic pattern we have seen is one of settlement (or possible settlement, in the case of Buthrotum), followed by some sort of omen (or lack thereof) to warn against settlement, and prophetic revelation meant to guide them forwards:

- Aeneadae - bad omen, cryptic otherworldly advice from an oracle.
- Pergamum - bad omen, more specific information from Penates in a dream
- Buthrotum - lack of omen foretold by Celaeno, firm information from trusted friend and prophet.

After leaving Buthrotum, the pattern breaks, and Aeneas is capable of holding firm to his ordained task by keeping his faith in various sources. Apollo's oracle at Delos, the Penates in his dream, Celaeno, and Helenus all told him things that do not contradict his previous understanding, but reinforce it - even a *dira* Harpy will not hinder or tell him falsely.

So then we ask ourselves, "Why not simply tell Aeneas from the beginning exactly what he needed to reach Italy?" Of course, Jupiter/Fate does not work that directly, and these various prophecies reveal just enough to keep Aeneas on the move. Jupiter, as we have seen, reveals or withholds the designs of Fate as is needed for manipulation. Helenus points out that Aeneas' destiny is special, and that the king of the gods allots fates and unrolls changes (*sic fata deum rex / sortitur voluitque vices, is vertitur ordo,* 3.375-376). He can only tell a small portion of the truth, because the Fates (specifically named as Parcae) prevent him from knowing and Juno forbids him to say (3.379-380)[29].

But why this journey? Like his larger task, this mini-odyssey is needed for Aeneas to learn a few lessons. First, he must be careful of interpreting or improvising on his task, especially when he so very much desires a swift conclusion. Second, he must learn to let go of the past. His first attempt at a settlement was in a location with an ancient friendship and allied gods (*hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique Penates*, 3.15), and his second he called Pergamum after his lost home. His longing for home and friends explain his burning desire to see Helenus, and he is as emotionally-stricken as Andromache, who is raging

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[29] We must be skeptical of Juno's power to prevent prophecy if Jupiter and the Parcae desired it to be revealed. Perhaps Helenus is strengthening his later advice that Juno must be appeased.

(*furenti*), when he chokes on his reply (3.314). She gives him some closure on the issue of Pyrrhus: he was killed by Orestes, who was "inflamed by a great love for his snatched-away bride and stirred up by the Furies of his crimes," and even cut him down[30] at his father Achilles' altar.[31] Pyrrhus was useful in destroying Troy, but this is a new world, and *is vertitur ordo*. Aeneas learns this lesson, as he even rescues one of Ulysses' men from the land of the Cyclopes. Talking to Andromache and Helenus gives Aeneas one last indulgence before he must move forward toward the new world that Jupiter ordains.

Aeneas will have trouble letting go of one particular aspect of the past. He almost ruined his destiny because Anchises would not come with him, but over the course of Book 3, he has become more and more comfortable with his role as a leader. Also, while not showing Anchises as useless, Vergil carefully shows him as not particularly indispensable, from his botched interpretations to his common sense commands. The last time that Anchises interprets an omen, it is off the coast of Portus Veneris, where he declares four white horses to portend war, but he quickly hedges and says that they are also a sign that there is hope of peace (3.539-543). The last example of leadership was recognizing the rocks about which Helenus had told them (*hos Helenus scopulos, haec saxa horrenda canebat*, 3.559), and ordering the men to, essentially, save themselves and work together. Again, Anchises is not portrayed as incompetent, but Aeneas must be seeing that his father is no longer necessary for anything except moral support, and Aeneas even describes his father as *omnis curae casusque levamen*, a lightener of every care and trouble (3.709).

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[30] The verb, *obtruncat*, is a reference to the fate of Priam, whom Pyrrhus had slain on an altar.

[31] ast illum ereptae magno flammatus amore
coniugis et scelerum furiis agitatus Orestes
excipit incautum patriasque obtruncat ad aras.

Now we return to the lines cited at the beginning of this chapter:

> nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret,
> hos mihi praedixit luctus, non dira Celaeno.
> hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum,
> hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris. (3.712-715).

His father will no longer be a comfort, but neither will prophesy tell him all he desires to know, whether from a friendly seer or a primeval divinity. He will be told only what he needs to be told, and helped as he needs to be helped, as the god, Jupiter, sees fit. This is Aeneas's coming of age story, to use a modern phrasing, and at the end Vergil calls him *pater Aeneas*, who alone (*unus*) recounts their divine fate (7.716-717). He has reached the goal of this long journey, but his education is not over yet, let alone his labors. Aeneas has learned to leave the past behind, but he has not yet learned to disregard his present.

Chapter IV - The Last Temptation of Aeneas

While one should expect much attention to *amor* and *furor* in this book, which is a pageant of love and rage, Chart 4.1 puts them both in stark clarity. The second-level density chart (4.2) reveals greater confusion, but the relationship between *amor* and *furor* remains. Love is never very far from mad rage, and both of them define the major scenes of the book. Interweaving between the two, hiding in plain sight but never drawing attention to itself, is Fate. The main issue to tackle in this chapter is to find out what this book has to say about Fate, considering that this episode has not been mentioned in the proem, nor in any prophecy. We are told that Carthage will one day be destroyed by Rome, and this is the most important reason that Juno remains angry - Jupiter even mentions it again during the Council of the Gods in Book 10. Perhaps the love and madness of Dido was needed to ensure the enmity of Carthage and future war, which would make Juno's role in achieving this a bitter irony, much like that of her role in ensuring Turnus' death later in the epic.

It is quite possible that this entire episode was merely caused by Juno and Venus in a bumbling attempt to interfere. However, we must not forget Jupiter's role in their actions. Juno only knows of Carthage's doom because presumably Jupiter told her, and Venus seemed to work with Jupiter and Mercury in ensuring Aeneas would take comfort with the Tyrians. When Juno approaches Venus about joining forces, the latter only agreed because she knew from Jupiter that Juno's trick (*sensit enim simulata mente locutam, quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras*, 4.105-106) would ultimately fail. Venus knows that that new Troy must be in Italy, but Juno does not, and hopes for some "wiggle-room" in which to save her beloved Carthage.

Part of the reason Juno is so desperate is because Venus has been quite successful in stirring up Dido's passions. She sees that the queen's reputation does not stand in the way of her fury (*nec famam obstare furori*, 4.91) and tells Venus that *ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.* ("Dido burns out of her mind and has dragged rage through her bones," 4.101). She has been watching the same scene in the first 89 lines, which show Dido already obsessing over her love and losing control of herself. Vergil rhetorically asks what good prayers or shrines are to one raging (*furentem*, 4.65), but I would answer that they do no good because the raging was what the gods wanted in the first place. Wendell Clausen says that after this sacrifice, Dido is "freed of her inhibitions [...] Dido exhibits the usual symptoms of Hellenistic passion."[32] Unlucky Dido burns and wanders through the whole city raging (4.68-69) like a deer that was shot and not killed.[33] Fratantuono draws attention to the fact that, while Aeneas is meant to be the unknowing shepherd, Cupid (and by extension Venus) was the one to inflict her.[34] I would argue that the *pastor* could also be Jupiter, who is a shepherd in the same sense as Aeneas, traditionally associated with Crete, and allowed Dido to be inflicted, although he seems completely unconcerned with what effect this has on her.

After the ritual, Dido calms down to an extent, although she is still dangerously infatuated, and all expansion of her city stops - which further reminds us that Aeneas has not even begun working on his. The next prototype term of note is at the ominous conclusion of the "marriage" in the cave, when Vergil tells us that the true cause of her death and ills was when she could call her secret love a marriage:

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[32] Clausen (2002) 79.

[33] Cf. 2.223-224, when Laocoon is compared to a bull that was also unnecessary wounded, rather than killed. The gods, in sacrificing mortals, are quite often unnecessarily cruel.

[34] Fratantuono (2007) 103.

> ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
> causa fuit; neque enim specie famave movetur
> nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem:
> coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam. (4.169-172)

The reason that this is when the real danger begins is that Dido's love had been secret, and she could have borne the loss of Aeneas. Now his departure, inevitable to the reader and anyone not blind with passion, will lead to her destruction, and soon everyone will know that *amor* was the cause.

Rumor, at least in this scene, is a primeval divinity, an embodiment of a concept to carry out the will of Fate. Even if one takes the position that Rumor is merely symbolic, it does not change the fact that once again, information drives emotion, which causes action that leads to the fulfillment of divine needs. Indeed, Rumor kindles Iarbas' spirit and piles up wrath (*incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras*, 4.197), which makes Dido's fears a reality, as well as conveying the information to Jupiter. The role of Jupiter here is ambiguous - if he is synonymous with Fate, then he did not need Iarbas' prayer, except possibly as a benchmark for when it was time to send Mercury. If Jupiter were actually unaware, then the prayer was necessary for Fate's designs, or else he would not have sent his messenger to remind Aeneas of his duties.

Jupiter's words to Mercury make it clear that the goal is to manipulate

Aeneas' emotions as well. If the glory of his destiny does not set him aflame (*accendit*, 4.232), he should consider his son - Jupiter is appealing to his shame, and, like Creusa did in Book 2, his love for his son. When the messenger finds him, Aeneas has taken over Dido's job of overseeing the city's expansion, and his cloak was blazing (*ardebat,* 4.262) with Tyrian purple; Aeneas is eager and motivated, but for Tyrian glory, not Trojan. Aeneas is indeed shamed by Mercury's speech, and immediately begins working toward departure. In fact, Aeneas will never again demur when it comes to his duty. Fratantuono is correct when he says that Aeneas reacts to Mercury irrationally:[35]

> At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,
> arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit.
> ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,
> attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum. (4.279-282)
>
> But indeed Aeneas was speechless at the sight, out of his mind, and his hair stood on end at the horror and his voice stuck in this throat. He burns to depart in flight and to leave behind this sweet land, astonished at such a warning and the power of the gods.

It is understandable to have such a reaction to a god's appearance, but what is clear is that Aeneas burns (*ardet*) to leave, even though the lands are *dulcis terras*. This is not a sober, Stoic-minded recognition of duty, but a man manipulated by emotion in order that he not listen to emotion when unbidden.

The necessity of this book is now clear, in regard to Vergil's purposes, if not Fate's. In Book 2, Aeneas had to learn toaccept the fate of Troy and his own important destiny. Book 3 helped ease Aeneas into this new *ordo*, and he learned to forget the past, and the comfort of a father who could shoulder the burden with him. In Book 4, he learns to reject romantic and material comforts, as well as his own personal emotions such as pity. Aeneas' newfound resolve will be put to the test for the remaining lines, over half of the book. Perhaps this is why Dido needed to be made pitiful, so that Aeneas would have to exercise his willpower. After all, Rumor appears once again and brings the news to Dido at once; how much easier it would have been had the primeval divinity not intervened!

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[35] Fratantuono (2007) 110.

Dido is raging (*furenti, saevit*), lacking of mind *(inops animi*), inflamed (*accensa*), and raves like a Bacchant (*bacchatur*, 4.298-301), to which she is compared in a simile on lines 301-303. She begins with an appeal to their *amor* (4.307), and tries desperately to summon his pity and shame. By the warnings of Jupiter, he holds his eyes *immota*[36] and pushes his concern deep in his heart, much like he did for the good of his men in Book 1, line 209. His logical and respectful reply will not sway her, but it may be for his own benefit: if the Fates allowed him to do as he wished, Troy would still stand. The reminder is harsh and clear - Aeneas does not get to choose what pleases him. Apollo told him that he must take hold of Italy, and so Italy is his *amor* (4.347). Once again, visions of his father and his son, for whom the fields of Hesperia are destined (*fatalibus*), keep him on his task. In contrast to Aeneas' fixed eyes, Dido's roll about and wander, and she is *accensa*. She wavers between raving to herself and directly accosting Aeneas. In line 376, Dido makes the first of three sets of direct references to the Furies, each of which are important.[37] Here, she laments: *heu! furiis accensa feror*. She is both inflamed by the Furies, and carried by them - the powerlessness is palpable. This is very similar phrasing to that with which Andromache described Orestes in Book 3: *flammatus amore* [...] *furiis agitatus* (3.330-331), to whom she is compared on line 471, and it will not be the last time it occurs.

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[36] Cf. 1.479-482, when Minerva's statue's eyes stay fixed on the ground.

[37] See Chart 4.1

For the next 100 lines, Dido drifts further into despair watching the Trojans quickly prepare for departure, and Love forces her to resort to bargaining:

> improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis![38]
> ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando
> cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori,
> ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat. (4.412-415)
>
> O shameless Love, to what do you not compel mortal hearts! She is compelled to again burst into tears, again to convince him by begging, and to submit her spirit to love like a suppliant, lest she leave anything untried before she dies in vain.

Dido, the proud Tyrian queen, is now willing to beg for just a little more time, thanks to the power of Amor. Aeneas, however, is not willing to listen, for the Fates and Jupiter (*deus*[39]) have blocked his ears. The following simile compares Aeneas to an oak tree resisting the winds - like the tree, his *mens immota manet* (4.449).[40]

Aeneas is blocked by the Fates, and Dido is frightened by them (4.450). She prays for death with the same pious attention she used to get sanction for her love for Aeneas, and which she will use to construct her own pyre. Raging even in her sleep at the thought of Aeneas (4.465-466), she is compared to Pentheus and Orestes, who were both hounded by the Furies. Here is the second mention of the Furies directly, and it includes 3 instances in 6 lines, 469-474: The Eumenides attack Pentheus, Orestes flees from his mother and the Dirae, and finally, conquered by grief, Dido embraces the Furies (*concepit furias*)[41]. These three Furies mark the point of no return for her - like Pentheus or Orestes, she cannot run from them. After constructing her pyre with careful pious attention, Dido calls down a darkly elaborate curse on the Trojan race, and calls upon - among others - the *Dirae ultrices*.

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[38] Cf. Lucretius 1.101: *tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.* Like Lucretius with religion, Vergil is frightened by the power of Amor to shape irrational actions.

[39] Fratantuono (2007) 116 believes that the oak simile confirms that the *deus* is Jupiter, but I do not think it is necessary to assume that it refers to Jupiter.

[40] Clausen (2002) 94 contrasts this simile with its Homeric counterparts, wherein both tree and warrior succumb to nature. As a Stoic in training, Aeneas can more easily overcome Nature.

With the Furies making certain that Dido becomes incensed, chooses to die, and vows eternal hatred for the Trojan descendents, the book can finally end. At the start of her final speech, she notes that Aeneas' personal effects, such as the sword she held, were sweet "while the Fates and the god allowed" (*dum fata deusque sinebat*, 4.651). Her suicide has all the trappings of a sacrifice, and Juno even sends Iris to get a lock of Dido's hair - Fairclough notes that this practice was employed for sacrificial victims, but also sometimes observed for the dying.[42] Juno pities Dido because she died before her day, *subitoque accensa furore* (4.697). The burning has been foreshadowed throughout the entire book, and I have made sure to note many of the uses of words denoting fire. In total, there are at least 32 instances of such words, and nearly half of those are ascribed to Dido and her mental state (see Chart 4.5).

Dido is the latest in a long list of sacrifices to the schemes of Fate. She was inflamed by the Furies in order to ensure the eternal enmity of Carthage for Rome. Alternatively, she was assailed by them because of the interference of

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[41] See Chart 4.4.

[42] Virgil, Fairclough, Goold (1999, 2005) 443, note 2.

Juno and Venus, who themselves were influenced by their own emotions, which were sparked by information given by Jupiter. At the very least, her mad love was induced (or allowed to be induced) because Aeneas needed to learn to reject her love in favor of his duty. The main role of *fatum* in this book is to remind us that Aeneas' destiny is ever in the background, and he cannot forget it to satisfy his own personal desires. It is possible that she did not perish by fate, as Juno seems to think on line 696, but the conditions that lead to her death were certainly no accident, nor are they credibly blamed on Dido herself. Dido, *infelix*, was collateral damage on the path to founding a new Troy. Aeneas will need to endure much more of the same before his task is done.

Chapter V: A Well-Earned Rest and an Easy Test

Book 5 of the *Aeneid* is usually considered to be a pleasant detour, both for the reader and the Trojans, and this study will not dispute that. That does not mean, however, that this episode has no significance, especially for the themes of Love, Rage, and Fate. Aeneas has been given not just a rest, but a controlled and safe scenario in which to hone his leadership skills and learn how to properly harness the passions of his men. This idea is compounded by Aeneas' inadvertent emulation of Jupiter/Fate: his decision to give his men a controlled and safe scenario, the games, in which to navigate the treacherous waters of good and bad passion. "Father" Aeneas is learning the subtle art of leadership while also mourning his father's passing. In Book 3 Aeneas let his father go, but in Book 5 he will rise to take his place.

The book opens with a reminder of the dangerous love and rage that they left behind in Carthage. Looking back at the flames rising from Dido's city, the men are disheartened:

> quae tantum accenderit ignem
> causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores
> polluto, notumque furens quid femina possit,
> triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt. (5.4-7)
>
> The cause which kindled such a great blaze is unknown; but the harsh pains when a great love is polluted, and knowing what a raging woman is capable of, lead the hearts of the Trojans to a sad premonition.

A storm forces them to change course from going directly to Italy, and it is safe to assume that this was the will of Jupiter and/or Fate. Just in case we were not inclined to think that this was mere happenstance, Vergil has Palinurus remark that even if Jupiter promised it, he could not reach Italy with such a sky. This draws our attention to the possibility of Jupiter's role, since he is not only all-powerful, but has direct control over the sky. When Aeneas recognizes that opposing the winds is *frustra* ("in vain," much like opposing the gods, as he learned in Book 2) and sees a chance to honor his father, the Zephyrs are *secundi* and take them directly to Drepanum. Aeneas and his men are received by his Dardanian friend Acestes, and the next morning he calls for pious funeral rites for Anchises. The orders and description of the rituals are appropriately detailed, but his prayer to Anchises is only four lines long, half of which are his sorrowful lesson:

> non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arva
> nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim. (5.82-83)
>
> It is not permitted that I seek the Italian borders and fateful fields with you, nor Ausonian Tiber, whatever it is.

His final words to Anchises are an acceptance that Italy's fields are fated to him, but his father is not - he must move on and think about the future.[43]

The funeral games make up the bulk of Book 5, and they are a relatively calm affair. Looking at Chart 5.1, we see that issues of Fate seem to be absent and Rage is a minor concern; *amor* shows up at important points, and all of them provide salient lessons. The second-level density chart 5.2 shows that passionate thoughts and actions are still present, but are controlled for the most part. Just before the signal is given for the regatta, pounding fear (*pavor pulsans*) and desire for glory (*laudumque [...] cupido*, 5.140) exhaust everyone's hearts. The audience applauds with a raging shout (*plausu fremituque*, 5.148), and Gyas is the early leader because he is able to glide on the waves between the tumult and uproar (*elabitur undis / turbam inter fremitumque*, 5.151-152). Gyas led for the first half of the race, but on the turn his pilot, Menoetes, veers too far to the outside of the turn, and Gyas tells him to "love" the shore (*litus ama*, 5.163), but the pilot fears the rocks (*saxa timens*, 5.165). The captain was correct, for Cloanthus passes them, but Gyas clearly loved victory (not the shore) too much: *tum vero exarsit iuventi dolor ossibus ingens*, "then indeed a huge grief burned in the youth's bones."[44] Like Dido, this makes Gyas forgetful of proper decorum and the safety of his men (5.174) and he casts his pilot overboard and takes the helm himself, which later causes them to lose.[45]

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[43] Cf. 4.355, where Aeneas explains that by staying in Carthage he is cheating Ascanius of *fatalibus arvis*.

For Sergestus and Mnestheus, a happy hope was kindled (*accensa est*, 5.183) to overtake Gyas for second place. Both crews are excited, but Sergestus is raging in his mind (*furens animi*, 5.202) and strikes the rocks that Menoetes feared, allowing Mnestheus to pass him and Gyas. Vergil says that he would have overtaken Cloanthus for first had not the latter prayed to undersea gods, including Portunus and the Nereids, who sped them to the finish. Passion for glory motivates all involved, but the leaders must keep their emotions tempered, as well as remember their piety even in such a high pressure situation. Aeneas, the "son of Anchises," is generous with rewards to all involved, even Sergestus, with careful gradations respective to the ranking. The Trojans find Sergestus' plight humorous, but these lessons will be valuable during the war in Italy.

Aeneas will be just as generous to all participants in the foot race (*nemo ex*

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[44] Cf. 4.101: *ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.*

[45] *[Chimaera] cedit, quoniam spoliata magistro est,* 5.225.

hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit, 5.305), for he knows that these games are important for improving spirits, and he is careful to avoid stoking resentment. It is difficult in this case, thanks to Nisus and Euryalus, the former introduced as marked by *amore pio pueri*. It is this "pious" love that drives him (*non ille oblitus amorum*, 5.344), after tripping by chance, to openly sabotage Salius so that Euryalus could win. Concerned with keeping the peace, *pater* Aeneas does not alter the standings, but gives Salius a lion skin as a consolation prize. Nisus continues to act like a child, asking for a prize for himself, since Salius got one for losing. Aeneas, trying to play the *pater optimus* (5.358, repeated from 348), smiles and gives him a shield from Neptune's temple. Aeneas is learning to be a father, but in this case, he is spoiling his children, and we will see the consequences in Book 9.

The boxing competition almost ended with Dares being the unchallenged champion, but Acestes chastises Entellus, trying to motivate him with shame and greed for prizes. The fighter replies that he still has a love of praise (*laudis amor*, 5.394) and his glory has not given way to fear. He is merely too old, but has no concern for gifts. Acestes' shaming worked, and Entellus wows the audience and intimidates Dares with his gauntlets, handed down from Eryx, which were laden with lead and iron. Aeneas is concerned with fairness in this case, and at Entellus' urging, provides gloves of equal weight. The elder fights with strength and constitution (*stat gravis Entellus* [...] *immotus,* 5.437), but falls after missing a heavy blow. This makes the hulking old man lose control:

> acrior ad pugnam redit ac vim suscitat ira.
> tum pudor incendit viris et conscia virtus,

> praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto (5.454-456)
>
> More keenly he returns to the fight and he stirs his power with anger.
> Then shame and conscious virtue inflames his strength, and burning he
> drives Dares headlong through the whole ring.

He stirs up his violence with anger, and shame inflames him; burning, he begins to dramatically pummel Dares. *Pater* Aeneas cannot let his children go too far, and does not allow Entellus' anger (*iras*, 5.461) to go forward, nor him to rage in his heart (*saevire animis*). Saving him, Aeneas chastises Dares for being seized by madness (*dementia*, 5.465) for not perceiving the other's strength and that divine will had changed. He tells the young man to *cede deo*, another way of saying to accept his fate.

This fight will have significant parallels in the coming conflict between Turnus and Aeneas. One fighter is reluctant to fight, and the contest is relatively even until his anger and shame are inflamed, which leads to a decidedly one-sided battle. The difference will be that Turnus will recognize the *conversa numina* and will yield to fate, but will be killed as pitilessly as Entellus smashed the skull of the bull. Turnus will be compared to a bull more than once before he himself is brutally sacrificed - *Pater* Jupiter will not put an end to that fight.

The archery contest is uneventful except for the omen of Acestes' arrow spontaneously combusting, for which Aeneas awarded him first prize over Eurytion, who actually shot the dove. Skills and rules do not matter in the face of clear divine will, and Aeneas is learning to take the responsibility for interpreting portents, a task that previously fell to his father. Aeneas gives Acestes a bowl that had been given to Anchises as a pledge of love (*pignus amor*, 5.538) from a

Cisseus of Thrace. The significance is also that Aeneas, like his father, is developing ties with leaders of other regions - in this new *ordo*, they are separate leaders, who need to maintain ties. These may have been the purpose of the portent. Eurytion, for his part, accepts his second-place prize without envy. The *pignus amoris* is tied to the description of Iulus' horse, which was also the pledge of love from a foreign leader - Dido. The lines, merely 34 verses apart, are almost identical:

> ferre sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris. (5.438)
> esse sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris. (5.572)

This is a reminder that Aeneas will need to be more careful with whom and in what manner he creates friendships with fellow leaders.

The youth horse parade is also a reminder that, as Aeneas is growing into his new role, so is Ascanius. After he arrives as the most splendid rider, Vergil reminds us that he will rule Alba Longa and teach the Latins this Trojan form of horsemanship. The challenge that soon occurs is the first opportunity for Aeneas' son to show his growing utility. Juno sends Iris to exploit the mood of the women who "pray for a city, and tired of bearing the labor of the sea" (5.617). Once again, divine intervention fans the embers of emotion to create destructive actions. Thanks to Pyrgo, the eldest, Iris' disguise is exposed, but the women still waver between a "miserable love" (*miserum* [...] *amorem*, 5.655) for their present land and the kingdom that the Fates called for. Iris astonishes them by revealing herself, and the women are driven by frenzy (*actaeque furore*, 5.659) to burn the ships. Ascanius recognizes the danger and speeds off, leaving behind his adult trainers who could not restrain him. He calls out their rage (*"quis furor iste novus?"* 5.669), and stops their madness with his very presence, not unlike the pious man in Neptune's simile in Book 1.[46] Aeneas soon joins to ensure the change of heart, and "Juno was shaken from their hearts," (5.679).

Aeneas prays to Jupiter to save the ships, and it is notable that the god fights *furor* with *furor*, for the storm he sends to quench the flames also rages (*tempestas sine more furit*, 5.694). *Pater* Aeneas is losing control of his children, and himself wavers between seizing Italian shores or, forgetful of his fate (*oblitus fatorum*, 5.703), settling in Sicily. Aeneas is told by Nautes, who has been trained in lore by Minerva to report when omens denote the wrath of the gods or the demands of Fate, that he may do well to let the old and weak settle in Sicily. Anchises appears to him in a waking vision to confirm Jupiter's approval of Nautes' wisdom, and to inform him that the Sibyl will lead him to the Underworld, where Aeneas "will learn of your whole race and what walls are given" (*"tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces,"* 5.737). Because of his special role, he is reminded of his destiny whenever he forgets; because of his progress, he listens to the reminders.

Venus, though, is sure to respond to Juno's *gravis ira* (5.781). Speaking to Neptune, she complains that Juno is unbroken by the power of Jupiter and the Fates ("*nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta*,*"* 5.784), and that she would know the causes of such a great rage (*tanti* [...] *furoris*). Neptune confirms his skills at restraining the rages (*furores*, 5.801) of the sky and sea, and promises to make certain Aeneas reaches Italy safely - but he will take a life for himself: *"unum pro multis dabitur caput,"* (5.815). Before this point, the notion of human sacrifices has been a subtextual theme, but now Neptune is overtly demanding a death. It will be Palinurus, the helmsman, who will be drowned, lulled to slumber by Sleep, another primeval divinity representing an abstract concept. The purpose of this sacrifice is not clear beyond drawing our attention to the gods destroying innocent lives for fickle reasons - there is not obvious reason why the Fates' plans would benefit from this death. However, the bargain is well-struck, and Aeneas indeed reaches Italy unencumbered by weak or weak-willed Trojans, with himself, Iulus, and his fighting men rested and prepared for the task ahead.

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[46] 1.148-153

Chapter VI - Kindled By Love and Desire

The prevalence of fate should not be surprising in a book that centers on otherworldly power and the future of the Roman race. To be sure, Book 6 is awash with *fatum* - its sixteen instances exceed the average of 12.83 per book (including *Parcae*), and it ties with Book 7 for the most of any book. Book 6 comes out on top if you include the three instances of *fata* that refer to the Sibyl speaking. I have excluded forms of the verb *fari*, an archaic alternative to *dico*, from the charts so far because it is extremely common and there is no reason to assume that Vergil means anything by using them, despite the shared etymology. However, the poet went to certain lengths to avoid confusion in Book 4, choosing instead to use compounds like *adfata* and *effata* when Dido spoke. When the Sibyl speaks, she is speaking fate.[47] However, most of the mentionings of fate do not carry much special significance *per se*, but are for the most part scattered reminders that the Fates and their designs permeate all, lest we forget for an instant. *Furor* is more absent than we might expect, and most of its instances are referring to actual Furies.[48] The most striking aspect of Book 6 that this study found was not only the prevalence of *amor*, but its crucial relevance to the plot as a whole.

Love is the the most prominent theme on the decorations of the temple to Apollo, which was erected and adorned by none other than Daedalus. The love he depicted in the decorations was *crudelis amor* (6.24) inflicted on Pasiphae that led to the birth of the Minotaur, a reminder of the unspeakable love/lust (*Veneris*

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[47] These were included in the charts with a value of 0.5.

[48] These have a value of 1.5.

monumenta nefandae). Daedalus pitied the great love of Ariadne, and so was able to unravel his mystery for her on the temple wall. However, he was not able to complete the commemoration of his son, Icarus, presumably because of his own love for his son. Improper love leads to monsters, unrequited love leads to heartbreak, and even fatherly love can lead to inaction.

The Sibyl soon arrives with Achates and, after they performed the sacrifices as she instructed, invokes Apollo and asks for his utterances (*poscere fata*, 6.45. In this case the utterances of Apollo are equivalent to fate.). Her chest swells with a wild madness (*rabie fera corda tument*, 6.49) as the god begins to speak through her. This and later events show how *furor* is necessary for the Sibyl's tasks. After Aeneas asks for the kingdom owed by his fate (*"no, indebita posco / regna meis fatis,"* 6.66-67) and promises a temple to house the god's arcane utterances (*arcana fata*), the Sibyl seems to resist Apollo's control, and raves like a Bacchant, but he controls her (6.80). Apollo reveals that the *bella, horrida bella* that Aeneas will face in Italy will be a repeat of what befell Troy:

> non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra
> defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,
> natus et ipse dea. (6.88-90)
>
> You will not lack a Simois, nor a Xanthus, nor a Doric camp; another Achilles is already produced in Latium, and is himself born from a goddess.

Vergil is recreating the *Iliad* with the second half of his epic - he is equating the Trojan War with the war in Latium. As we saw in Book 2, Fate ensured the destruction of Troy through the rage of human and divine agents, and it will do so again in order to bring about a new *ordo*.[49] The new Achilles here is supposedly Turnus, but we will see Aeneas play the part of a fateful destroyer whose wrath is harnessed, much like when Apollo shakes the reins on the Sibyl as she rages (*ea frena furenti / concutit*, 6.100-101) and stops her *furor* (6.102) when he is finished.

In describing the purpose of the Golden Bough, the Sibyl famously explains that going into the Underworld is not the problem, but coming back again: *"hoc opus, hic labor est,"* (6.129). The few who have achieved this were those whom Jupiter loved (*amavit*) or whom "shining virtue" (or burning, *ardens*) bore to heaven. Aeneas must have *tantus amor* and *tanta cupido* (both on line 133) to go to Hell and back; it must be pleasing to indulge in the insane labor (*insano labore*). The Bough itself can be plucked easily if the Fates are calling him, or else nothing could rend it:

> namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur,
> si te fata vocant; aliter non viribus ullis
> vincere nec duro poteris convellere ferro. (6.146-148)
>
> For it will follow on it self, willing and easily, if the Fates call you; otherwise you will not be able to conquer it with any strength or wrench it with hard iron.

When Aeneas reaches the Bough and snatches it, it hesitates (*cunctantem*, 6.211). This is indeed a puzzle, over which much ink has been spilled. I will posit that the Bough hesitates because *he* does, at least internally, as he has been reluctant through the whole poem thus far. Although *avidus*, perhaps Aeneas does not have quite enough *amor* or *cupido*, a deficiency that this excursion to the Underworld is meant to remedy.

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[49] In which the Greeks are no longer enemies: "*via prima salutis / quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe*." 6.96-97.

Misenus' funeral honors serve as a contrasting juxtaposition to the darker rituals required for the chthonic deities. Lest we mistake the grim and frightening nature of these rites, Vergil has Aeneas sacrifice to the mother of the Eumenides (Furies), who is Night, and her sister Terra, both of whom are as primeval as divinities can be, since they are daughters of Chaos. The mother of the Furies approves of his offering, for they are allowed entrance. Once inside the atrium, they see more primeval divinities: Grief, Cares, Diseases, Age, Fear, Famine, and more. Just on the threshold are three that are particularly important to the *Aeneid*: death-bringing War, the iron chambers of the Eumenides (who are quite busy), and *demens* Discord (6.279-281). The False Dreams that follow are interesting, because these mythological creatures are not to be feared, although the primeval divinities that preceded them are quite real in their dangers.

Before meeting Charon, Aeneas sees the unburied souls who wish to cross the Styx, stretching their hands with a great desire for the opposite shore (*tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore,* 6.314). We have seen this exact kind of "love" in Book 1, when it drove the Trojans to seek the shore, and an alternate version in Book 5, when Gyas wanted to veer toward the rocks. Love can be a powerful motivator when it is directed properly, although in this specific case it merely makes the souls miserable. The Sibyl makes this exact point, when she says that Palinurus has a grim desire (*dira cupido*, 6.373) to cross what she called the Eumenides' river - he should cease hoping to overturn the *fata deum* by praying.

Charon is at first skeptical of the duo, but his anger (*ira*) dissipates when he is shown the Bough, "a fateful wand, seen after a long time," (*fatalis virgae, longo post tempore visum*, 6.409). The second part of that line is interesting, as we have no record of the Golden Bough in any other stories. The Bough could be a symbol of being "called by Fate" to bring about a new *ordo*, provided one has the *amor* for such a task. It may be connected to the golden apple that Discord used to start the Trojan War, although a more plausible connection would be to the Golden Age, which Vergil himself evoked in his fourth Eclogue:

> Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;
> magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.
> iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,
> iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto. (Verg. *Ecl*. 4.5-8)

> Now the final age of the Cumean song has come; the great order of ages is born anew. And now the Maiden returns, the Saturnian rule comes back, now a new progeny is sent from high heaven.

Referencing the Sibyl who is located at Cumae, Vergil looks to a return of the Golden Age, and at least seems to think of history in terms of *ordines saeclorum*. *Fatalis* is a relatively rare use of *fatum* in the *Aeneid*, and so far we have only seen it applied to the Italian fields, and to the Trojan Horse, which also hesitated as it was drawn into the city. Over 100 lines later, Deiphobus will remind us that the Trojan Horse was *fatalis* (6.515), after saying that his own fate and Helen led to his death.[50] The adjective will later be used to describe Aeneas' weapon at the end of Book 12.

The Fields of Mourning are another chance for Vergil to hammer home the perils of harsh love (*durus amor*, 6.442), and naturally includes Dido, although not before reminding us of Fate's role a single line earlier (*rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram*, 6.449). Aeneas weeps, and speaks to her "with sweet love" (*dulcique adfatus amore est,* 6.455), and tries to make reasonable excuses, not realizing that nothing can be gained by this. He is correct that this is the last time that Fate will allow them to speak (6.466), but why this time? Aeneas needs as closure the assurance that he did the right thing, as unsatisfying as it may be for him.

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[50] We should remember that Aeneas not killing Helen was ostensibly the work of Venus, but should also remember that Helen's role was not finished.

The purpose of the castle of punishment, aside from pure entertainment, is to reinforce the notion of a moral order. This order, however, is presided over not just by dark, chthonic deities, but most emphatically Tisiphone, the greatest (or eldest) of the Furies (6.605). This realm is for those who upset the moral order, but this especially includes those who interfered with the will of the gods. Grim and terrifying forces such as the Furies are necessary for maintaining justice. This is of course contrasted with the Fortunate Groves, designed for those who suffered wounds fighting for their fatherlands, were pure priests or pious seers, or those who improved life with newfound skills by which they earned fame (6.660-664). Here the hardworking and just are free from any divine interference (*"nuilli certa domus,"* says Musaeus on 673).

Here Aeneas finds his father, as much of a leader as he ever was alive, reviewing the fates and fortunes (6.683) of his descendants to prepare them for rebirth. Aeneas tries to embrace Anchises three times, for just as when he tried the same with Creusa in Book 2,[51] Aeneas still has trouble letting go. Unlike the earlier incident, however, Anchises is on hand with otherworldly knowledge to explain the nature of the soul. This study will not belabor the philosophy of this section, but suffice it to say that Vergil employs healthy doses of Stoic thought, a few notions borrowed from Lucretian Epicureanism, and a few possibly original flourishes. The purpose here is not to convince the reader of a particular set of philosophic tenets, but to make clear the relationship between man's existence and passion, and its connection to fate. The souls about which Aeneas asks are those owed new bodies by fate (*"quibus altera fato / corpora debentur*," 6.713-714), and are drinking from the river Lethe to become forgetful of their past lives. Aeneas quite reasonably asks why these miserable ones would have a mad desire (*dira cupido*, 6.721) for returning to slow bodies. Part of the answer is that it is part of the overall divine plan that they return. As opaque as the philosophy may seem, Anchises makes clear that fears, desires, griefs, and joys all come from harmful bodies that interfere with the soul,[52] which is fiery in vigor and heavenly in origin. These noxious atoms even cling to the soul in the afterlife, and so we have a form of purgatory through which souls are cleansed of these earthly maladies.[53] Here Vergil again refers to a cyclical idea of history, for most of the purified souls remain in Elysium until the wheel of time is complete (*perfecto temporis orbe*, 6.745), which seems to be a thousand years. Then the god (possibly Pluto, but most likely, as usual, Jupiter, closely associated with Fate) calls them back in a huge throng (*agmine magno*) to the Lethe so that they forget the woes of physical life, and want (*velle*) to return. Left implied is that upon this return, they will once again be dogged by fears, desires, griefs, and joys. Also left unsaid, but possibly explained later, is what kind of desire this is that compels them to return.

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[51] 6.700-702 = 2.792-794

[52] *"hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque…"* 6.733

[53] Is it possible that some relatively good men are watched over by Tisiphone in Tartarus?

This is possibly answered when Anchises teaches Aeneas about his true fate (*"te tua fata docebo,"* 6.759), which is to bring about the change of eras that will allow the next batch of souls to return as Roman heroes. Vergil explicitly includes Augustus in this list, who will set up a golden age in Latium, which was once ruled by Saturn (associated with the previous Golden Age):

> "hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
> Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
> saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
> Saturno quondam…" (6.791-794)
>
> This, this is the man whom you have very often heard promised to you, Augustus Caesar, son of a god, who will again establish a golden age in Latium throughout the fields once ruled by Saturn…

The Golden Bough is the sapling that, if carried and cultivated, will make this new golden age blossom - it has been planted deep in the earth, and is destined to sprout toward heaven. For that to happen, men must be directed to controlling their passions, and harnessing them for righteous causes when necessary. Brutus will be the first to wield fierce axes (*saevas securis*, 6.819) to make his own sons pay the penalties (*ad poenam* [...] *vocabit*) for stirring up wars. Torquatus will also be fierce with his axe (*saevumque securi*) toward his own son. Brutus is called unhappy, but his descendants will praise his deeds, for "Love of country and immense desire for praise will prevail," (*vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido*, 6.823). *Amor* and *cupido* appear again in a single line, and this is tied to the Sibyl's words on line 133.[54] This is the kind of passion that the gods love, the kind that will bring about the changes that the Fates require. Anchises then gives the most critical lines of the poem:

> "tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos." (6.851-853)
>
> You remember, O Roman, to rule peoples with authority (these are your skills), and to impose customs with peace, to spare the conquered and vanquish the proud.

We will return to these lines several times, but for now they can be seen as the best advice for bringing order to a chaotic world. After lamenting the unfair but inescapable nature of Fate with Marcellus, Anchises is finished. Vergil adds almost as an afterthought that Aeneas' father "inflamed his soul with a love of coming fame," (*incenditque animum famae venientis amore*, 6.889) so that he can face the coming wars and so that he may bear the toil (*ferat laborem*) rather than flee. This is the same passion that characterized Brutus and Torquatus, and the same that drove Entellus to rise to his boxing match. This is a passion that leads to violence, but ends in peace.

Like the souls of the Underworld, Aeneas had to be stripped of his passions (as much as is possible for one trapped in a corporeal prison) by enduring various trials by fire. He has reached the Underworld, but must be convinced of the need to return to the strife that he will surely face. The purpose of his descent is so that he might be inflamed by a love of glory. So far, Vergil has made quite clear what occurs when one is inflamed by passion.

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[54] *"quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido est…"*

Chapter VII - The Bursting of the Gates

Book 7 is comparable to Book 2 in that it begins relatively peacefully and with good cheer, and spends a lot of time preoccupied with fate, only to be infused with a high concentration of *furor* that sends events into destructive motion (see Chart 7.1). At the second level of density we find that a few smaller levels of furor show up throughout the beginning of the book (Chart 7.2), although if this holds any significance at all, it would be to remind us of the wild and mystical nature of this land.[55] As is often the case, *amor* shows up at various points with critical significance. It is not a puzzle why Erato is invoked to aid in his telling of the *horrida bella*, rather than Calliope or Clio: the first is the muse of lyric poetry, especially love poetry, while the latter two are muses of epic and history, respectively.

Unlike in Book 2, the uses of *fatum* do not have an ominous dramatic irony to them, but rather point to the shared religiosity of both Trojans and Latins - at least Latinus, who goes to certain lengths to stay in accordance with the will of heaven vis-a-vis these newcomers. His daughter Lavinia is introduced oddly, with Vergil pointing out that Latinus has no son *fato divum* ("by the fate/decree of the gods," 7.50). Our first glimpse of Turnus is benign - he is the *pulcherrimus* suitor and of great ancestry, but it is Amata who was eager to marry him to Lavinia with a "wonderous desire" (*miro [...] amore*, 7.57). This desire is thwarted because Latinus is attentive to a divine omen, which his own prophet interpreted from the activity of bees atop a laurel sacred to Apollo. A second omen occurred immediately in which Lavinia catches fire, not unlike Ascanius in Book 2, which showed that she would be illustrious in *fama fatisque* (7.79), but would bring a great war to her people. Being pious in the religious and filial sense, Latinus visits his father Faunus, who is *fatidici* (fate-speaking, 7.82), and is told quite precisely the correct course of action. However, Fama, that primeval divinity, carries the information about the foreigner who would wed Lavinia across the region.

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[55] 7.15-20 reminds us that Circe rules near Latium.

The next cluster of *fatum* occurs with Aeneas and his men, who are also receiving special divine guidance. Jupiter himself guided them to create wheat cakes (7.109-110), which they top with field fruits. These are indeed fateful cakes (*fatalis*, 7.115), for their eating of their "tables" is the omen Celaeno prophesied, and it is also important that Iulus is the one who noticed, if only in jest. Now Aeneas has his confirmation that this is "the land owed to me by the fates," (*"fatis mihi debita tellus,"* 7.120), and just remembers that these were *fatorum arcana* revealed to him by Anchises, presumably in the Underworld. Aeneas prays to a host of deities, including Jupiter, who thundered three times to affirm the omen - these are the fateful fields. Like a proper Roman leader, Aeneas sends an envoy to King Latinus to seek peaceful terms.

Ilioneus, in speaking for the delegation, emphasizes the greatness of the Trojan race, but does not omit the role of Fate in in their present state of need. Descended from Jupiter, they had to leave because Europe and Asia fought, driven by the Fates (*actus...fatis*, 7.223-224). They will not only be no trouble to the kingdom, but Ilioneus swears by the fates of Aeneas ('*fata per Aeneae iuro…"*

7.234) that many peoples have sought the military friendship of the Trojans, but the *fata deum* (7.239) has forced them to seek the help of Latinus. The gifts to Latinus likewise contain wealth and majesty as well as a concern for *pietas*: Anchises' golden libation bowl and Priam's royal accoutrements, dressed in which he would give laws. Ilioneus' message is that they are great friends to have *per se*, and that it is folly to reject them because of the religious importance of their mission.

Latinus, for his part, is not interested in the gifts,[56] and keeps his eyes fixed on the ground.[57] He thinks of Faunus' words, and realizes that this is the one portended by the Fates (*fatis...portendi,* 7.255.256) to marry his daughter and rule his land. He rejoices at the *augurium*, and proclaims that they will not lack fruitful fields, but that Aeneas, if he has such a strong desire (*"si tanta cupido est,"* 7.263) to be an ally, should present himself. Latinus shares his own prophecies, and says that he believes Aeneas to be "him whom the Fates call for," (*"hunc illum poscere fata…"* 7.272).

Saeva Juno, when she notices this concord, becomes pierced with a sharp grief and bemoans that the Phrygian fate is contrary to hers ("*fatis contraria nostris fata Phrygum,*" 7.293-294). This is an odd thought: while fate/destiny being *contraria* often just signals that one's fate is unpleasant, Juno is saying that Aeneas' destiny is in conflict with hers. As this study is arguing, her destiny is woven with that of the Trojans - it is just a fate that she does not like. This misconception is an echo from Venus' lament to Jupiter in Book 1, when she says she was consoled by weighing *fatis contraria fata*, although she is speaking in terms of one aspect of the Trojans' destiny making up for a less pleasant aspect. Both of these are revisited in Book 12, when Jupiter, who undoubtedly has a more complete knowledge of Fate, weighs the destinies of Aeneas and Turnus.[58] Juno concedes that she cannot keep Aeneas from a Latin kingdom, and that Lavinia remains his wife, unmoved by the Fates (*immota manet fatis*, 7.314), whom Juno could never sway. However, she plans to "move Hell," (*Acheronta movebo*) to delay Fate's designs. While this is often seen as Juno unnecessarily opposing Fate and causing undue harm to the Trojans, her decision here leads to the wars in Italy that have been foretold on numerous occasions. Without Juno's irrational rage driving her to postpone the designs of of the Fates, the wars will not occur.

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[56] Cf. Entellus in Book 5.

[57] Cf. Aeneas' Stoic self-control at 4.331-332, contrasted with Dido at 4.362-364.

Rage, by the way, is a specialty of Allecto (*iraeque*, 7.326), the Fury whom Juno summons *dirarum ab sede dearum*. Allecto will work tirelessly for over 200 lines "to arm agreeing brothers for battle, and overturn homes with hatred," (7.335-336). Her first target is Amata, who is already upset over the situation; womanly worry and rage were cooking her as she burns (*femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant,* 7.345). Working secretly, Allecto is able to make Amata *furibunda* by thrusting one of her tresses-cum-snakes into the queen's chest, with the goal that she disturb the entire house. The snake invisibly stays wrapped around the *furentem* (7.350) Amata; it enfolds fire in her bones (*ossibus implicat ignem*), and she does not notice the flame in her whole chest (7.355-356). She fails to sway Latinus, ever the rational leader, and so after the

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[58] 12.725-727,

furiale venom totally seeps into her, Amata rages in a frenzied state (*furit lymphata*, 7.377) throughout the city. She is compared to a top (*turbo*)[59] that is driven by a whip (*habena*), which reminds us of Apollo's metaphorical uses of reins and goads (s*timulos*, 6.101) in controlling the rage of the Sibyl, as well as the end of the first book of the *Georgics*:

> saeuit toto Mars impius orbe,
> ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,
> addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens
> fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas. (Verg. *Georg*. 1.511-514)
>
> Impious Mars rages over the whole earth, just as when chariots pour themselves forth from the starting gate, they quicken in a short time, and the driver, holding the reins in vain is borne by the horses and the cart pays no heed to the thong.

While in the *Georgics* Vergil is referring to the restraint (or lack thereof) of natural violent impulses, in this case he is drawing attention to the supernatural origin of the movement that people cannot see. The children watching are *inscia* of the source of the spinning, just as the Cretan shepherd/Aeneas was *nescius* in the deer simile describing Dido, who later was also raving like a Bacchant (4.300-303). Amata goes further, actually absconding with Lavinia to the woods, screaming that Bacchus (*euhoe Bacche fremens*, 7.389) alone is worthy of her, and takes up the sacred thyrsus. Once again, Rumor flies, and the women join her, "inflamed by the Furies" (*furiisque accensas*) and driven by the same heat (*ardor*) just as the Trojan women in Book 5 were frenzied by Iris. Allecto drives Amata everywhere with the goads of Bacchus (*reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi*, 7.405), although mortals can only see the queen spinning like a top.

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[59] Rabel (1981) analyzes this simile, and believes that, through the eyes of a Stoic, this does not imply that the queen had no agency in her anger.

The next step for the Fury is to spur Turnus, whose participation had been foretold by the Sibyl, and who is crucial to the precipitation of the war in Latium which was foretold by various sources. By far the most interesting part of this exchange is the degree to which Turnus resists this divine manipulation.[60] Like Aeneas in Book 2, we first see Turnus experiencing a dream with otherworldly exhortation; Aeneas had resisted the sage advice of Hector, and Turnus will scoff at the irrational exhortation of Allecto, who is disguised as a seer.[61] Like Iris with the Trojan women, Allecto reveals her true self, an *Erinys* with many snakes and a terrible visage, and blazes forth in wrath (*exarsit in iras*, 7.445). She hurls Turnus as he hesitates (*torquens…cunctantem*)[62], and mocks his earlier words doubting the false fear (*falsa formidine*, 7.453, cf. 7.442). Vergil once again emphasizes that she comes *dirarum ab sede sororum* which we saw in Book 6 in the Underworld, where Aeneas's own spirit was fired. Allecto thrusts a torch at his chest and pierces it – at this point he wakes up raving mad:

> arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit;
> saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli,
> ira super: (7.460-462)
>
> Mad, he roars for arms, and he looks for arms in his couch and home; love for the sword and a foul insanity for war rages, and wrath above all.

He roars for arms, out of his mind, and seeks them everywhere; a love for the sword, madness for war, and, above all, wrath all rage within him. The following simile refers to when a *flamma virgea*[63] is placed under a cauldron, within which a flood rages (*furit intus aquai...amnis*, 7.464-465) and eventually spills over. Whether the cauldron is meant to be Turnus specifically or Latium, Vergil's point is that it is Allecto who places the torch.

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[60] Coleman (1982) 151 also noticed that Turnus is a character "who, if left to himself, might have reverted to a more circum spect attitude."

[61] Cf. Lucr. 1.107-109: *et merito; nam si certam finem esse viderent / aerumnarum homines, aliqua ratione valerent /religionibus atque minis obsistere vatum.* Turnus here seems closer to the Epicurean ideal than most men.

[62] Cf. 12.919-921, which will be addressed below.

The oblique references to Dido's wounded deer should still be in our minds when Allecto visits Iulus and infects his hounds with a sudden madness (*subitam...rabiem*), so that, burning/eager (*ardentes*) they would chase a stag. A day of hunting and divinely inspired passion was the "first day of death, the first cause of troubles" in Book 4 (4.169-170), and the same is true here: *quae prima laborum / causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis* (7.481-482). The Fury's job was already half-completed, for Ascanius is already "fired up with a love for outstanding praise" (*eximiae laudis succensus amore*, 7.496) and his arrow (*harundo*, cf.4.73) hits its mark with help from "the god,"[64] felling a deer beloved to Sylvia. The country-folk (*agrestis*) are drawn from their presumably peaceful labor to avenge this outrage, and they grab any implements on hand: *telum ira facit*, which is a clear reference to Neptune's simile in Book 1, when *furor arma ministrat* (1.150). Unlike with the Trojan women in Book 5, Iulus is not able to calm the crowd like a man marked by *pietas*. With the initial bloodletting underway, Allecto returns to Juno to boast of her achievements, crowing about how *discordia* was carried through to war (7.545), and she even promises to inflame their minds with a love of insane war: "*accendamque animos insani*

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[63] We must not forget that the Golden Bough is also a *virga* that motivates.

[64] This is most likely, because of precedent, Jupiter, but could easily refer to Apollo, associated with archery, Ascanius in Book 9, and Augustus himself. Scholars who favor Allecto are sacrificing nuance for simplicity.

Martis amore" (7.550). Juno is suddenly mindful of Jupiter's will, thinking that she has thus far been thwarting it, and bade Allecto return to to the Underworld, confident that the causes of war stand firm (7.553).

Indeed, the Latins are clamoring for war, despite it being *contra omina* and *contra fata* (7.483-484), and it is with this renewed concern for fate that Latinus re-enters the scene. He remains unmoved by their impious exhortations, and is compared to a cliff that resists the crashing of shrieking (*fremunt*) waves, much like how Aeneas resisted Anna's pleas in Book 4. Unlike Aeneas, Latinus is not able to subject events to his will, although he remains unmoved in his own thoughts. Latinus despairs that he and his people are broken by the Fates and carried off by a storm: *"frangimur heu! fatis," inquit, "ferimur procella."* (7.594). He warns that they will pay a penalty with their sacrilegious blood, and that Turnus himself will be a suppliant, but will honor the gods too late. Latinus then drops the reins (*habenas*) of state, which of course will lead to more chaotic raging. Vergil here describes the Twin Gates of War, which Jupiter had prophesied Augustus would close. Latinus refuses to open these gates, but poignantly Juno smashes them herself. Ausonia, previously immobile, now burns (*ardet*, 7.623), and everyone rearms themselves while all love for the plough gives way (*huc omnis aratri cessit amor*, 7.635-636). For the last 180 lines, Vergil gives us a catalogue of warriors so that we see exactly what Aeneas will need to face in order to fulfill his destiny. This is why a mere selfless sense of duty, which he had honed in the first five books, is insufficient, and he needed his soul inflamed. A fire of this magnitude needs to be met with fire.

Chapter VIII - The Weight of the Shield

Book 7 was mostly about the Latins and Turnus, and how they were drawn into war. Book 8 will focus on Aeneas' preparations, and, compared to Book 7 or most of the books, will be a relatively calm affair, as we can see on Chart 8.1. The themes of rage and love will by no means be absent, but will be reflected in the stories that give instruction and motivation to Aeneas. It is in Book 8 that Aeneas truly grasps what is asked of him, and when he is fully mentally prepared to take up his *labor*.

Lest we forget the churning chaos among the Latins, Vergil begins by reiterating that men's souls were *turbati*, all of Latium is in tumult, and the wild youth rage (*saevitque iuventus effera*, 8.5-6). They send an envoy to Diomedes to seek an alliance, openingly scoffing at the notion that Aeneas was summoned by the Fates (*fatis regem se dicere posci*, 8.12). However, because he is indeed operating at the pleasure of the gods, Aeneas, seeing this trouble, is once again given guidance and assurance, this time from Tiberinus. The river god encourages him, saying that his home and the Penates are fixed and that he should not fear the war, because the wrath of the gods has ceased (*"tumor omnis et irae concessere deum,"* 7.41). This is odd because of Juno's actions in the previous book; he addresses this by saying that Aeneas should overcome Juno's wrath and threats (*iramque minasque*) with suppliant offerings.[65] The goal seems to be to keep Aeneas confident in his victory, and he even describes the omen of the white sow to be a marker that the hero is on the right track. Most importantly, Tiberinus orders Aeneas to seek out Evander, the Greek king of whom the Sibyl spoke in Book 6. The Latins will fail in their attempts at allies, but Aeneas will succeed because of divine will and his own canny diplomacy.

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[65] O'Hara (1990) frets over this as well as the similar advice from Helenus, but I do not think this qualifies as deceptive: Aeneas' offerings surely smoothed the way for Juno's (prophesied) change of heart.

After seeing the white sow and offering the requisite sacrifices, Aeneas speeds in his ships to Pallanteum, where Evander, like Latinus, is himself engaged in rites; in this case they are to Hercules and they are not stopped at the Trojans' approach. Aeneas tersely states his business and identity to Evander's son Pallas, and once inside the grove addresses Evander skillfully. He is not afraid that his host is a Greek, because sacred oracles of the gods, *sancta oracula divum*, have joined him to Evander and drove him willingly with fate (*fatis egere volentem*, 8.133). Aeneas is continuing his lessons from Book 3 on how, in this new *ordo*, Greeks are no longer the enemy. He then outlines their shared lineage, focusing on commonality rather than differences, and ends his appeal by pointing out their common enemy. Evander recognizes Aeneas, and tells how, as a youth visiting Troy, his mind burned with love (*"mihi mens iuvenali ardebat amore,"* 8.163) to be friends with Anchises. The alliance is struck and the Trojans are invited to feast.

At this dinner, Evander treats us to the first of three motivating stories, that of Hercules and Cacus. The latter was a monster, the grotesque son of Vulcan, whose floor was always soaked with gore, and whose doors were decorated with human heads. Hercules arrives as their *maximus ultor*, but what is striking is how Hercules only intervenes because of a personal slight to himself.

Cacus' mind was maddened by the Furies (*furiis Caci mens effera*,[66] 8.205) at the sight of Hercules' newly gained bulls, and dragged four back to his cave. When Hercules took his herd to graze the next day, their cries were returned by those underground, and now his anger flamed out with the Furies (*"Alcidae furiis exarserat atro felle dolor,"* 8.219-220). Merely 14 lines apart, both the monster and the great civilizer are afflicted with *furiis*. In fact, the latter seems to have a monopoly on frenzy[67]: Cacus flees in fear to hide in his cave, but Hercules comes raging in his spirit (*furens animis*), and, boiling with anger (*fervidus ira*), searches for his quarry. Wrenching the rock from the ground, he is more frightening than Cacus, who was cowering below. He calls for all weapons (*omniaque arma advocat*), branches and millstones,[68] and hurls them from above, and then rushes through Cacus' belching fires to strangle him to death. It is for this horrific, and ultimately self-interested deed, marked by frenzy, that posterity (*minores*) preserve the day and honor Hercules' name and power; one should not forget that it occurred on the future site of Rome.

Evander and Vergil draw the parallels further: Hercules faced twin-snakes sent by a goddess, destroyed cities in war, and also faced *labores* because of the *fatis* of hostile Juno (8.291-292). Hercules, like Aeneas and Augustus, is known as a civilizer, but doing so requires internal rage to fuel the violence. The result is eternal praise and fame, by the love for which Aeneas's mind was inflamed in the Underworld. This is the nature of Aeneas' *labor*. Another civilizer thrown into the mix is Saturn, who fled from his realm as an exile (*fugiens...exsul*), and organized the *indocile* race and gave them laws, and under whom the Golden Age and a *placida pax* prevailed. However, little by little, the age was discolored, and there followed *"belli rabies et amor successit habendi"* (8.327), and an age of kings arose. Evander himself, forced from his fatherland, was placed in Latium by all-powerful Fortune and unavoidable Fate (*Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum*, 8.334). Now, though, Evander knows that that time is at an end, because his divine mother, the nymph Carmentis, as a *vates fatidica* ("fate-speaking seer"), foretold the *futuros Aeneados magnos* ("great descendants of Aeneas to come").

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[66] *effera* - cf. the Latin *iuventus* at the beginning of this book, as well as Dido at 4.642 and the chimera on Turnus' helmet at 7.787. This word is particularly common to Vergil, but not as common within his work as similar words, such as *saevus*.

[67] Putnam (1990) 13 explains that normally Hercules is a "Stoic hero par excellence," even to Cicero, although we can see in this tale he is anything but. Evander's story seems to be a "model for Aeneas" (page 30).

[68] As Vergil has made clear, *furor arma ministrat*.

The episode between Venus and Vulcan is poignant no matter how one looks at it. Frightened (*exterrita*) and moved (*mota*) by the situation, she directs her wiles toward her husband to get weapons for her son, breathing divine love with her words (*dictis divinum adspirat amorem*). In this case, *amor ministrat arma*. Vulcan was easily swayed: he received the accustomed flame (*solitam flammam*), heat (*calor*) entered his marrow and coursed through his bones.[69] This is compared to the light of a thunderbolt spreading among the clouds, which may be intimating Jupiter's assent to this, whose commands were mentioned on line 381 as the reason Aeneas is on the Rutulian shores (*Iovis imperiis*). Vulcan himself, bound by eternal love (*aeterno fatur devinctus amore*, 8.394) says that he of course aided Venus' cause with Troy, which could have stood for an extra ten years with the almighty father and Fate not forbidding (*"nec pater omnipotens Troiam nec fata vetebant*," 8.398). This litotes presents another interesting tidbit: Troy was destined to fall, but Jupiter and Fate wanted it to last through 10 years of war. This is a theme that we must continually revisit vis-a-vis this story - why can Aeneas not simply sail straight to Latium and immediately settle? The obvious answer is that Juno is hounding him, but the anger of gods such as Juno was also the ostensible reason for the ten-year-siege of Troy. Jupiter and Fate are all-powerful, and these wars do not happen without their consent. The question of why they make these transitions difficult is the one that Vergil is asking us to contemplate.

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[69] The perfect tenses here emphasize that this is a "done deal."

Back in Pallanteum, Evander wakes early to make a major announcement, but preceding it he tells us the second story of Book 8, that of Mezentius. He proclaims that it is at the Fates' call (*fatis...poscentibus*, 8.477) that Aeneas brought himself thither, because the Etruscans have recently freed themselves from the power of the king who had held them with arrogant rule and cruel arms (*superbo imperio, saevis...armis*). Mezentius engages in unspeakable slaughter (*infandas caedes*) and other wild deeds (*facta...effera* - just like Cacus *et alii*), and eventually his citizens besiege him as he rages (*furentem*, 8.489), and he flees to the Rutulians. Thus, "all of Etruria has risen with just Furies,": "*ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis"* (8.494). It is this righteous fury that Aeneas will harness, as Evander entrusts his army to him. They were already prepared for war, with densely-packed ships growling (*fremunt*) at the shore, but a *haruspex* restrained them by singing their fate: while a *iustus dolor* carries them, and Mezentius inflamed a deserved wrath (*"merita accendit Mezentius ira,"* 8.501), they must await foreign leaders. Evander was offered the leadership, but he is too old,[70] and his son is essentially a local. But the Fates favor Aeneas' race, and divine will calls for him (*"et generi fata indulgent, quem numina poscunt,"* 8.512), and so Evander gives him the Etruscan host as well as his son and riders[71], Aeneas is now a *fortissime ductor* of both Teucrians and Italians.

Aeneas and Achates contemplate this obligation and the dangers ahead, and it is at this point that Venus gives him a portent to raise his spirits. She sends forth a thunderbolt - presumably with Jupiter's permission - and amid its flashes they see clashing of arms in the clouds. Aeneas is heartened, true, but it also gives him an opportunity to rally his newly formed army. He interprets the omen for his followers like his father before him, and asserts loudly his divinely sanctioned status (*"ego poscor Olympo,*" 8.533). He says that Turnus will pay penalties to him (*"quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis!"* cf. 12.949) and echoes his own initial speech in Book 1 by saying that the Tiber will roll beneath its waves many "*scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora."*[72] Aeneas' transformation is complete - while before he was lamenting the Trojans' bodies in the Simois, now he is promising to visit the same destruction upon the Rutulians. He is confident, lordly, focused on the future, and wrathful. He was always marked by *pietas*, but now he accepts what the gods ask of him, even revels in it with a passion for glory and an angry desire to set things to rights. Aeneas is now ready to receive his arms. His helmet belches fire (not unlike Cacus, or the chimera on Turnus' helmet at 7.785-788), and his sword is *fatiferum* - like *fatalis*, this term conveys both a sense of destiny and death. These and his other armaments pale in comparison to his shield.

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[70] Not to mention that he is a king of the previous *ordo*.

[71] He will later wonder if the Fates would preserve his son on line 575, which draws our attention to the fact that the opposite is ordained, as we will see later.

[72] "shields and helmets of men, and strong bodies." Cf. 1.101, referring to the Simois at Troy: *scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit*"

The shield of Aeneas conveys the third story of this book, all of which give motivation and instruction to Aeneas, as well as clues to the reader. Like the parade of Roman heroes in Book 6, the ecphrasis of the shield covers Roman history from the beginnings to Augustus, but rather than pride-inducing descriptions of great men, the emphasis here is on the coming strife that will define Roman history. The Romans carried off the Sabine women *sine more*, but the war ended with Romulus and Tatius making a pact before Jupiter. The Alban Mettus betrayed his own treaty with the Romans, but Tullus Hostilius brought him to heel. Porsena was thwarted because Horatius Cocles dared to destroy the bridge (*pontem auderet quia vellere Cocles*, 8.650) and Cloelia swam across the river. Manlius was able to hold the Capitol against the Gauls from the Tarpeian citadel[73] because of his own bravery, but also because of geese (sacred to Juno - Vergil leaves this understood) honking, and the glittering of the Gauls' golden hair and helmets.[74] The chaste Roman matrons are being paraded through Rome, a right they earned by their sacrifices after the siege of Veii.[75] In the Underworld, the good and evil are separated: Catiline, that famous traitor, trembles before the faces of the Furies (*Furiarumque ora trementem*, 8.669), while the good are far apart, with the example of Cato giving laws.[76]

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[73] The Tarpeian Rock was the site of punishment for, among other things, traitors. It is named for a Vestal Virgin who opened the gates for Sabines in order to receive a reward, but was instead crushed by their shields.

[74] Cf. Nisus and Euryalus in Book 9.

[75] Virgil, Fairclough, Goold (1999, 2005) v. 2, 105, note 3.

In the center of the shield the battle of Actium is portrayed as possibly the last example of good men triumphing over traitors. Augustus stands on his ship with the Penates that Aeneas had successfully established in Latium. Amidst the various historical events and figures - like Antony, who could not resist the charms of an African queen - are the Olympian gods fighting those of Egypt, as well as the rest of the enemy. This part is reminiscent of Venus' revelation to Aeneas in Book 2 - obviously one could not see the gods at Actium, but they were there all the same, bringing about the will of Fate that Augustus set the world in order. The middle of the battle has not only Mars, but Discord, Bellona, and the Furies (*Dirae*), who had come *ex aethere*. Since we were reminded 42 lines earlier that the Furies reside in the Underworld (not to mention the previous mentions of the *sedes Dirarum*), this phrase points out that in some cases, the Furies are sent from Heaven for dirty work when violence is necessary.

Actium as the culmination of the figures on the shield echoes the parade of Heroes in Anchises' prophecy, in which Augustus's victory is the beginning of the new Golden Age. The shield tells us that to achieve that *pax Romana*, tremendous violence, inflamed by the Furies, will be needed to dispatch traitors and disturbers of the peace. In fact, that will be the rule for all of Roman history, starting with Aeneas' war in Latium. That is the true weight of the shield: Aeneas is not only holding up the *famamque et fata nepotum* (8.731, the final line of the book), but he must achieve this by engaging in terrible violence, directed by the Fates, but spurred by the Furies. Like Hercules, Aeneas will be driven by personal loss to brutally murder an enemy of peace. Cruel tyrants like Mezentius will fear him, as all tyrants will fear Roman heroes. The hand that hesitated plucking the Golden Bough will not waver while bearing this shield. Aeneas is ready for his *labor*.

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[76] While this could be the elder Cato, the ambiguity unmistakably leads one to think of the Younger, a contemporary of Catiline, and foe of Julius Caesar. Vergil seems to be saying that this Cato was not truly a traitor in the way that Catiline was.

Chapter IX - The New Hector

Looking at Chart 9.1, it should be shocking how few mentions of the three prototype terms Book 9 has, especially considering that it contains the first full-scale warfare in the second half of the *Aeneid*. This book holds the fewest instances of *amor* at 2, the fewest of *fatum* at 7 (plus one *Parcae*), and almost the fewest of *furor* (second to Book 3). In fact, most of the instances of *fatum* are not very relevant, as they either have to do with fate aside from Aeneas'destiny, or are in Turnus' speech denying the destiny of Aeneas. On the other hand, when considering the second-level density Chart 9.2, Book 9 looks more like what we would expect, with abundant use of *saevio, fremo,* and *ira*. We can draw some conclusions from this discrepancy. First and foremost, very little occurs in this book that directly affects the imperial destiny - it is here to build tension for the arrival of Aeneas, before he arrives like the U.S. cavalry in a western film. This battle is a skirmish to show us how close the Trojans are to destruction, and how fierce an opponent Turnus can be. As long as they are not defeated, Jupiter and the Fates have no need to intervene very much, directly or indirectly, until Aeneas returns.

That is not to say that Book 9 does not contain much information on emotional motivation that leads to success and failure, as well as divine intervention. Having surrounded the Trojan camp, Turnus is encouraged by Iris, who has been sent by Juno, to attack the walls while Aeneas is away. Turnus again responds piously, recognizing (*adgnovit*) her and promising to follow the omen ("*sequor omina tanta,"* 9.21). We can contrast his ready obedience with

Aeneas' foot-dragging throughout the first half of the epic, and like Aeneas, he immediately offers vows after such a vision. The Rutulians launch an attack, but the Trojans (like good Roman soldiers), heed Aeneas' orders to stay behind the walls, resisting the *pudor* and *ira* (9.44) that make them want to fight directly. After officially beginning battle in the traditionally Roman way - hurling a javelin into enemy territory - Turnus tries to shame them further while he, *turbidus*, skulks around the walls like a wolf outside a sheep-pen; the wolf roars (*fremit*, 9.60[77]) and rages, fierce and careless in his wrath (*ille asper et improbus ira saevit*, 9.62-63). For Turnus, anger bursts into flame and the grievance burns in his tough bones (*ignescunt irae, duris dolor ossibus ardet*, 9.66). Later in this book, we will see how Turnus' anger will make him *improbus* and keep him, not coincidentally, from winning the war.

Turnus rouses his men to fling *saeva incendia* (9.77) upon the Trojan ships, and the story of their deliverance contains most of the occurrences of *fatum* in this book. Previously at Mount Ida, Aeneas had used trees from a grove sacred to Cybele to build his fleet, and the Mother of the Gods was happy to oblige, asking only that Jupiter prevent their destruction. Jupiter asks to where she was summoning Fate (*"quo fata vocas?"* 9.94), affirming that even for his mother, he could not avert the will of the Fates. Aeneas should not be able to traverse *incerta pericula* while being *certus*. This is a major clue, for now Jupiter is directly saying that Fate demands that Aeneas go through dangers and tribulation en route to his goal. While the reason why this is so remains a mystery, it helps to explain why the antics of Juno have been tolerated. Since Aeneas had reached Latium, the *Parcae* have fulfilled the owed time (*tempora Parcae debita complerant,* 9.107-108). Cybele averts the fire and turns the docked fleet into sea nymphs. Before her miracle, Cybele addresses the Trojans in such a way that the Rutulians could hear, saying that Turnus will burn the sea before these sacred pines.

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[77] The Rutulians had followed Turnus' javelin-throw with a *fremitu horrisono* 6 lines earlier.

Despite the fear his men felt, Turnus scoffed at what this portent indicated - he seems to think that Jupiter removed the ships so that the Trojans could not escape. This is partly true, but it is not so that the Latins could destroy them. He also does not fear the *fatalia responsa deorum* (9.133-134) that the Trojans claim sanction their place in Latium; using twisted logic, he says that the the fate of Venus[78] only assured that the Trojans would reach Italy, but that he has *fata* (9.137) that is against theirs,[79] that he will cut their race down. He reckons this to be a new Trojan War, with himself in place of the sons of Atreus, avenging his stolen bride. Turnus is correct that history is repeating itself, but before the poem is finished, it will be clear that it is he who is the new Hector.

The raid of Nisus and Euryalus has almost nothing to do with the destiny of Aeneas, but has much resonance with the themes of the epic. Although they were already introduced in Book 5, Vergil reiterates that they share *amor unus* (9.182), and fight alongside each other. Nisus begins his quest for glory by asking if the gods add burning to minds, or if one's own terrible desire becomes a god for each:

> "dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
> Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?" (9.184-185)

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[78] *fatis Venerique* (9.135) is surely a hendiadys.

[79] See above for my thoughts on Juno's misconceptions of Fate.

> Do the gods add this burning in our minds, Euryalus, or does dire lust become a god for each?

While we have no evidence that the Furies or gods in general have anything to do with this particular desire, by beginning this very long episode (327 lines!) with such thoughts, Vergil is at least drawing our attention to the role of the gods in these emotions that spur actions. In a way, *dira cupido*[80] acts as though it is a god in its ability to control our actions. While a Stoic or Epicurean sees a need to resist such emotions, Vergil seems to say that such resistance is often futile, especially as we see Aeneas, with all his training, succumb to them at the behest of Fate. Like Entellus and Aeneas, Nisus is motivated by the *fama* of the deed, although he would enjoy prizes for his beloved Euryalus, who is himself stricken with a great love of praise (*magno laudum percussus amore*, 9.198). Nisus himself is burning (*ardentem*) to achieve this aim. Euryalus' reference to his pursuit of Aeneas' *fata extrema* is more ominous than relevant: the ultimate fate of anyone is to die.

Convincing Iulus and the captains of their plan to bring word to Aeneas, the duo sneak out amid the drunk and sleeping Rutulians. While the decision to slaughter a few while they slept may have been motivated by desire and temptation, Vergil gives us no indication. Indeed, it may have been a prudent, if unnecessary, idea at first, so long as they did so discreetly and left before being noticed. Unfortunately, they get carried away: the deaths are described for over 30 lines, and Nisus is compared in a simile to a lion rampaging (*turbans*) through a sheep flock, and he roars with a bloody mouth (*fremit ore cruento*, 9.341) almost exactly as *impius* Rage had done in Jupiter's prophecy in Book 1.[81] Euryalus is *incensus*, and rages thoroughly (*perfurit*, 9.343). Nisus stops the carnage, noticing that his friend is carried away with excess desire for slaughter (*nimia caede atque cupidine ferri*, 9.354, another hendiadys). However, their desire for spoils remains, and they take the time to gather up the booty that will spell their doom.[82] That delay ensured that they would be there when the horsemen approach, and the shining of beams off of Messapus' helmet ensures that they are seen. Nisus escapes, but Euryalus is hampered by his spoils, and the former attacks the Rutulian band with spears - this only enrages Volcens, who lashes fiercely (*saevit atrox*, 9.420) at the youth. Nisus reveals himself in fear for his lover, but Euryalus is killed anyway, and Nisus dies after killing Volcens.

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[80] In this case, I think it is appropriate to draw inferences from this use of *dira*.

Love of glory started this mission, a thirst for revenge may have started the slaughter that went too far because of rage, desire for booty doomed Euryalus, and love for his young friend doomed Nisus. After the Rutulians sharpen their wrath (9.464) with stories of this deed, they shame the bodies by putting the pair's heads on spears. This leads to Euryalus' mother falling into despair, even though her well being was the one boon that Euryalus had asked of Iulus. Even though their deaths had little or no impact on the overall plot, the raid of Nisus and Euryalus eloquently demonstrates the danger of high emotions, while at the same time portraying those emotions in ways that make them understandable, even at times commendable. That is the bittersweet nature of this scene, and why Vergil directly eulogizes them as *fortunati ambo* on lines 446 through 449. Emotions may lead to folly, but they are an inescapable part of life that may bring some beauty to it.

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[81] 1.296.

[82] Hahn (1931) says that "their exploit in Book 9 (314-449) is characterized by lust for blood and lust for gain."

Once the fighting starts in earnest, Ascanius himself is tempted to join the fray because of anger at the words of Numanus Remulus, who tries to shame the Trojans and their race. Ascanius prays to Jupiter for aid, who thunders on the left at the same time as the fate-bearing bow rings out (*sonat una fatifer arcus*, 9.631). The arrow hits its mark, and the Trojans roar (*fremunt*) with happiness. Apollo praises the young man, saying that rightly will all wars that come by fate end under his race: *"iure omnia bella gente sub Assaraci fato ventura resident,"* 9.642-643). The god then changes form to one familiar to Ascanius, and tells the burning (*ardentem*) youth to sit out the rest of the war after his kill. Part of the tragedy of Nisus and Euryalus is that their passions doom them because they mean nothing to Fate, but major players like Ascanius receive guidance and restraint because of their value in the grand scheme. Sometimes, free will is not all it's cracked up to be.

The turning point in this battle occurs without direct explanation from Vergil, but we must assume that Pandarus and Bitias opened the gates out of either pride or anger, for they clearly did so to kill Latins and prove their worth. This creates a bottleneck, and the Rutulians, their anger growing all the more in their discordant hearts (*magis increscunt animis discordibus irae*, 9.688), rush to meet the Trojans at the open gate. Turnus, although he was raging (*furenti*) elsewhere, rushes to the gate, stirred by an immense wrath (*immani concitus ira*, 9.694). He cuts his way through several Trojans, including Bitias, who is burning in his eyes and raging in his mind (*Bitian ardentem oculis animisque frementem*, 9.703). The god Mars finally joins in, and it is notable that he employs emotional weapons, twisting sharp goads (*stimulos acris*) in the hearts of the Latins, and sends Flight and Fear, both primeval divinities, among the Trojans. Pandarus is *demens*, not noticing that in closing the gate he left Turnus within, but then he challenges him, boiling with anger (*fervidus ira*) at his brother's death. Juno deflects Pandarus's spear, but Turnus's next few words, "*at non hoc telum*," although he is referring to his own, remind us that Pandarus's weapon cannot kill Turnus because Aeneas' *fatiferum* sword will - Juno is inadvertently helpful in ensuring this. Pandarus, being unimportant, is brutally slain.

Turnus is on a rampage, and might have won the war on that very day if only he had remembered to open the gate again. However, like Euryalus, rage and an insane desire for slaughter drive him against the enemy as he burns (*furor ardentem caedisque insana cupido egit in adversos*, 9.760-761, ending in an unfinished line). Turnus cuts through another slew of Trojans, but eventually the captains Mnestheus and Serestus notice, and the former inflames the Trojans with a speech (*talibus accensi,* 9.788), and they hem Turnus in, little by little. The Rutulian is now a savage (*saevum*) lion, but one beset by hunters, and *ira* keeps him from turning his back; thus is Turnus beaten, and his mind burns with wrath (*mens exaestuat ira*). Juno would help Turnus, but Jupiter sends Iris - who had been helping Juno previously - with instructions that Turnus must leave the walls. Even without Aeneas present, Turnus is not able to conquer the Trojans - foiled by his own blind wrath, as well as a small bit of intervention on Jupiter's part. The war is reaching fever pitch, and so the destiny of Aeneas must be watched and guided more closely. Jupiter must take greater measures to rein in divine influence - aside from his own.

Chapter X - Jupiter Takes Control and Aeneas Loses It

This book is nearly the reverse of the previous one: it is fully stocked with the three Prototype Terms, and the second-level density chart only changes slightly, with the original patterns more or less in place. We see plenty of *furor* and related terms, as should be expected, but there are large portions of the book that are preoccupied with violence but which have little mention of *furor*. Where there is *furor*, there is often deep significance. *Amor* has little influence in this book, save for a few poignant examples, although *ira* naturally accompanies *furor*. *Fatum* appears often, and is usually connected with the interference of the gods and/or the Fates, the increase of which is a major theme, overshadowed by the violence.

Since the war is in full force and Aeneas is on the verge of joining it, Jupiter feels the need to minimize the seemingly independent actions of the other gods and - we will see - increase his own influence on events. Too much can go awry at a moment's notice, so he convenes a council of the gods to make his will known. These 117 lines contain many clues as to the role of Jupiter/Fate, and so a close look is warranted (see Chart 10.3). Jupiter opens by expressing indignation that there is a war in Latium; surely he is feigning. He claims that he forbade war between Italy and the Teucrians, and that the *discordia* occurred against his objection. However, not only is there no evidence in the *Aeneid* of him explicitly forbidding this conflict, Jupiter foretold that a war would occur in Italy, and that Aeneas would subdue the Rutulians:

> bellum ingens geret Italia, populosque feroces
> contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet,

> tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas,
> ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis. (1.263-266)
>
> He will wage a huge war in Italy, crush ferocious peoples, and place customs and walls for the men, until a third summer sees him ruling in Latium, and three winters pass after the Rutulians are subdued.

This oracle was also revealed to Aeneas by Anchises in a dream (5.730-731) and repeated by Apollo, speaking through the Sibyl (6.86-94). According to Celaeno, even Apollo gets his knowledge of Fate through Jupiter. This war, like the Trojan War, was ordained by the Fates. Venus, who may or may not recall Jupiter's words from Book 1, replies with her usual complaints about Juno: she is trying to establish *nova fata* (10.35) by having Aeolus unleash his *ventos furentis* (10.37), sending Iris from above, and unleashing Allecto from the Underworld to *bacchata* ("rave like a Bacchant," 10.41) through the Italian cities. Venus plays the desperate victim, giving up hope of empire and begging that, at the least, Ascanius may live. It is possible that she is sincere, but her demeanor when speaking to Jupiter differs too much from her usual self, as does that of Juno. The queen of the gods replies *acta furore gravi*, and claims that Aeneas sought Italy while being driven by the *furiis* of Cassandra. This is not only incorrect, but shows ignorance of Cassandra's gift - her ravings are always correct, but dismissed. She claims that Aeneas's conduct has been the cause of his grief, denying any role for herself. Her rants bring the story back to the Trojan War, reminding us all of how the gods' emotions led to that conflict, which is so often conflated with this one. Moreover, the wounds, particularly those of Juno, have still not healed. Perhaps therein lies the cause of the continued strife among mortals.

The other gods roar (*fremebant*) their different opinions, just as the wind whistles through the trees to signal an oncoming storm, and this is why Jupiter, *rerum cui prima potestas*, must bring order to their bickering before it gets out of hand. When he speaks, the winds and oceans are calmed, and he must make sure the Olympians fall in line as well. Jupiter acts as though the two peoples cannot join because of their goddess patrons, despite the war being a part of the Fates' plans. Here he claims he will be impartial, and let the Trojans and Latins settle their own differences, whether the siege occurred *fatis Italum* (10.109) or by a mistake of the Trojans in following improper oracles (which the reader knows not to be the case). His final two phrases are key: *"rex Iuppiter omnibus idem; fata viam invenient."* The Fates indeed find a way, with Jupiter, as the king of men *and* gods, as their primary agent.

Back on earth, the bitter fighting continues at the camp, and Aeneas is cleaving the seas with his Etruscan contingent, which is *libera fati* (10.154) because they had chosen a foreign leader and were thus freed from a state of limbo imposed by Fate. By his side is Pallas, who is asking Aeneas about his adventures on land and sea - just as Dido had done. Vergil accounts for most of the Etruscan chiefs just as he had for the Latins and Trojans at various points previously - the uses of *amor* from 185 to 198 are referring to one of them, Cupavo. Along the way, another part of Jupiter's plan (perhaps) is revealed, as the sea nymphs created from Aeneas' ships approach their former master, and Cymodocea warns him about the danger at the camp, and guides the ships more quickly toward the shore. When his Trojan comrades see Aeneas, the newfound hope excites their anger (*iras*, 10.263) and their fighting is boosted. His helmet and shield shine like comets, which may be a reference to Julius Caesar, but they also shine like Sirius, which brings drought and disease. The latter is a direct adaptation from the simile in *Iliad* Book 22 starting on line 31. The flare came from the armor of Achilles, who was finally going to confront Hector once and for all. Priam sees him first as he approaches, and goes into a panic at his son's assured destruction. Aeneas is very much an Achilles in storming the shore, encouraging his men, and bringing much-anticipated slaughter in his wake. Juno, unlike Priam, will later be able to save her champion from this Achilles, thanks to her supernatural abilities. In both cases the champions are driven to suicidal confrontations they cannot win - Turnus charges with some men toward the beach, shouting that *"audentis Fortuna iuvat"* (10.286) although that does not seem to be the case in this epic.

The clash is sudden and bloody. Aeneas slays six men in a row, and survives a barrage of seven darts, partly due to Venus' help.[83] The hero builds a respectable body count in the first fifty lines of his participation in the fighting, but it is only a taste of things to come. Somehow Pallas becomes separated, and is leading his own men in another part of the beach, firing (*accendit*) their bravery with shame. Lagos is the first to meet Pallas, led by hostile fates (*fatis adductus iniquis*, 10.380) because he was certainly not destined to kill Pallas, and so therefore he must die himself. Lagos' friend Hisbo is raging (*furit*) but *incautum* over his comrade's death, and so is also killed easily by Pallas. Watching these and other kills, and *accensos* by his earlier admonitions, the Arcadians are armed by *dolor* and *pudor*, and more deaths follow. One such death is Halaesus, whose father had foreseen his fate (*fata,* 10.417) and tried to hide him in the woods; but after his father died – the Fates got their hands on him and sacrificed him to the weapons of Evander (in Pallas' hands): *iniecere manum Parcae telisque sacrarunt Evandri* (10.419-420). Finally, Pallas is on the verge of battling Lausus, son of Mezentius, but Jupiter did not allow them to fight - their own fates await them at the hands of a greater enemy: *illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste* (10.438). What is clear is that Pallas must be killed by Turnus in order to accomplish the designs of Fate, and Jupiter is making sure this happens.

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[83] Although Jupiter did not expressly forbid interference, Venus is careful to be subtle at this point.

The very next line has Turnus' sister - as yet unnamed, but who will be revealed as Juturna, a divine figure - warning him to help Lausus, which no doubt helped accomplish Jupiter's goal, although one can assume the influence was indirect. Turnus is compared to a lion hunting a bull, which is no doubt a fierce foe, but ultimately outmatched; also, as Entellus and Laocoon showed, bulls make for grand sacrifices. Pallas charges first, if perhaps "chance would help a daring act, although with unequal strenth" (*si qua fors adiuvet ausum viribus imparibus*, 10.458-459), which is a close variation of Turnus' exhortation that Fortuna favors the daring. Both utterances are ironic, in that the reader knows by now what their ultimate fates are. Pallas prays for help from Hercules, who weeps because, of course, he knows that the youth must die. Jupiter tries to comfort him by pointing out that at Troy – he could not save his son Sarpedon – even Jupiter cannot lengthen the life of a man that the Fates wish to take. He also gives solace that

Turnus is soon to be called by his own fate (*sua...fata,* 10.471-472). This is a strong indication that Turnus must be killed soon, and this will be accomplished by the killing of Pallas, which was also ordained by Fate. Pallas' spear-throw barely nicks his enemy, but Turnus' pierces the shield through all the layers, including the bull's hide, and finally ends up in Pallas' chest. The Rutulian notably shows respect to the youth, and orders that proper burial be allowed, which we can contrast with Aeneas' behavior later in the book. However, like Euryalus, Turnus cannot resist glorying in the spoils, and Vergil laments the human condition of being ignorant of fate (*nescia mens hominum fati*, 10.501), as Turnus will later wish to have not killed Pallas or taken his belt. His own human desire for booty is the mechanism through which the Fates make certain that Aeneas will ultimately kill Turnus.

Vergil cryptically tells us that no mere rumor (or Rumor, the primeval divinity?) brings Aeneas this news, but a *certior auctor*. The identity of this agent is left open, but it is likely that the figure is divine and working, directly or indirectly, at the behest of Jupiter/Fate. The rampage that results from his emotional breakdown makes his initial actions on the beach seem like Stoic contemplation. He mows down the nearest ones with his sword and, burning (*ardens*, 10.514), he drives a wide path through the battle-line to seek Turnus. Pallas and Evander[84] are in his eyes as he takes eight youths as prisoners (their grisly doom will become clear later) and denies the supplication of Magus, clearly out of anger, as he says that Turnus took away that commerce of war by killing

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[84] The early mention of his gracious host shows that it is not merely affection for Pallas that drives him. Like a good Roman, blows to his allies are as blows to him.

Pallas. Even though he was a participant in the war, and therefore fair game, it is notable that Aeneas also rides down a priest of Apollo and Trivia, which should remind us of his ally the Sibyl. More men come to face him, and the Dardanian rages (*furit*, 10.545) against them. After piercing Tarquitus with a spear, Aeneas ignores his pleas and dashes his head while ignoring the trunk - the use of *truncum* combined with this pitiless savagery evokes Pyrrhus' violence against Priam and his sons in Book 2. He rages (*desaevit*, 10.569) like Aegaeon, the hundred-armed monster, and his stride and fearsome growl (*dira frementem*, 10.572) cause the four horses pulling Niphaeus' chariot to toss their master. After losing his brother Liger and his own fight, Lucagus begs for mercy, only to have Aeneas mock him, saying "Let brother not desert brother," before opening his chest.[85] All of this horror - it cannot be called mere heroism - has the effect of allowing Ascanius and the rest of the besieged youth to escape the camp.

Jupiter now acts in a way that confirms the reader's suspicions about his supposed desire to stay uninvolved, if indeed the reader was ever convinced by his words in the Council. He actually addresses Juno and says that she was right: Venus is helping the Trojans. It makes no difference whether he is referring to Venus' deflection of a single dart, or the overall turning of the tide - there is no way to interpret this scene without concluding either that Jupiter is a feckless fool of a king, or cleverly manipulative. All Juno required was an opening,[86] and so now she is appealing to the power of her love (*vis in amore*, 10.614), thinking that *she* is manipulating him into letting her save Turnus from death. Jupiter makes it clear - probably in faux insecurity - that she may do so because it is what he desires, but warns that she is only snatching him from *instantibus fatis* (10.624), but that she may not hope to change the tide of the war. She laments that she cannot actually save Turnus' life, despite Jupiter's words here, and believes that Jupiter is capable of changing his mind, although the reader knows that even he cannot change Fate. Where Priam and Hecuba's laments were in vain, Juno's powers succeed in compelling her champion to flee the impossible battle. She is able to use his pride, rather than fight against it, by fooling Turnus into thinking he is pursuing Aeneas; once again, the gods work most effectively by utilizing human emotion. He even prays for death because of his shame,[87] and Juno has to keep him from committing suicide three times. This is comparable to Aeneas' desire to die vainly in battle in Book 2 - we are continuing to see that Turnus is not unlike our hero.

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[85] Again, reminiscent of Pyrrhus.

[86] We can assume that, barring Jupiter's suggestion, Juno may have behaved herself.

The rest of Book 10 concerns the conflict between Aeneas and a much less sympathetic enemy. Mezentius has been referred to several times, most notably as the motivating factor in the Etruscans' participation. He is such a violent and terrible figure that he serves as a counter-weight to Aeneas' newfound fury - perhaps the latter was necessary to face such a villain. Before we look at the battle, it must be mentioned that Mezentius, burning, joins the battle at the command of Jupiter: *At Iovis interea monitis Mezentius ardens succedit pugnae* (10.689-690). First of all, this is an explicit reference to Jupiter's interference; why does he require Mezentius and Aeneas to fight? Surely it is to secure the loyalty of the Etruscans, as well as to contribute to Aeneas' larger goal of civilizing Italy. The key here is that Aeneas' divinely-directed rage is necessary to overpower the impious and chaotic rage of Mezentius. This brings us to the second problem: Mezentius is often described as following no gods, a distinction in which he takes pride even unto his death.[88] The only way for Jupiter to have "commanded" Mezentius to join the fight is through the latter's bloodlust. This is the strongest indication that Jupiter may be involved in the Furies' instilling of rage, as it is the best method for keeping control over such violent situations.

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[87] Cf. with Aeneas' desire to have died in Troy rather than face his divinely ordained mission in Book 1.

Immediately upon his entry, the Etruscans press upon him with their hatred (*odiisque*, 10.692), but he is able to resist them as a cliff resists the raging of the winds (*ventorum furiis*). Mezentius is like a boar that, while he is *ferox* and roars (*infremuitque*, 10.711), none have the courage to face him in anger directly (*irasci*). For the Etruscans it is just so, despite their just anger:

> haud aliter, iustae quibus est Mezentius irae,
> non ulli est animus stricto concurrere ferro,
> missilibus longe et vasto clamore lacessunt. (10.714-716)
>
> Hardly otherwise, for those who have just anger at Mezentius, not any have the courage to face him with drawn sword, and they harass him at a distance with darts and great shouts.

Even their hatred and rage will fail against him, which shows all the more why that of Aeneas is necessary. Mezentius engages in more slaughter, and Orodes, with his dying breath, assures the mad king that *paria fata* await him (10.740-741), to which Mezentius, smiling and in anger (*mixta...ira*), scoffs that his fate will be a matter for the father of the gods and king of men - he does not know how right he is.

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[88] 10.880 - *"nec mortem horremus nec divum parcimus ulli."*

He and his men continue to cut into the Etruscans, and our view pulls back to the point of view of the Olympians, who see Mars making equal grief and mutual death. They pity the vain anger of both sides (*iram miserantur inanem amborum*, 10.758-759) and that mortals have such toil, although Venus and Juno are looking at their respective sides. In the middle of these thousands, pale Tisiphone, the Fury who was guarding Tartarus in Book 6, rages - while she is supposedly bringing wrath to all, it is worth noting that a seven-line simile comparing Mezentius to Orion follows immediately. Perhaps more importantly, this is followed by Aeneas finally noticing Mezentius in battle. Tisiphone is no doubt spurring them both, and neither Juno nor Venus has anything to do with this.

Aeneas easily deflects Mezentius' blow, and swiftly incapacitates the king with a blow to the groin, happy at the sight of the Etruscan's blood (*viso Tyrrheni sanguine laetus*) and is *fervidus* to finish the job. However, Lausus groans heavily with love (*amore*, 10.789) for his father. Once again, Vergil interrupts the flow to praise someone who dies as a result of his own passions overpowering better judgment.[89] Naturally, Aeneas has little trouble dispatching this boy, but he does better than one might expect, thanks in part to his allies pelting the Trojan with missiles. Hiding under his shield, Aeneas rages (*furit*, 10.802), and arrogantly provokes Lausus by saying that his *pietas* fools him into being *incautum*. While this is indeed true, it is odd for a hero known for being *pius* to make such a statement. Across three lines we see Lausus jumping madly (*demens*), Aeneas' *saevae irae* rising, and the Fates gathering the last threads for the youth: *extremaque Lauso Parcae fila legunt*. The connection between these things cannot be clearer, just as it is clear that the Fates need Aeneas to kill Lausus to provoke Mezentius so that the mad king can be removed from Italy.

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[89] Cf. Nisus and Euryalus, 9.446-449.

Aeneas soon recognizes Lausus' virtue, but only after he has safely won. He declares that no one may strip the youth, and that he may have a proper burial, which will contrast with the fate of Mezentius.[90] They receive different treatment precisely because of the differences between the two, as Mezentius himself notes - he had tainted his son's name with crime, and knows that he owes punishment to his country and the anger of his citizens. He challenges *"saevissime"* Aeneas, with great shame and insanity mixed with grief boiling together in his heart: *aestuat ingens uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu* (10.870-871). Mezentius sends javelin after javelin, but the golden shield sustains them all - Aeneas is unbeatable because of the future that he is fighting for. After tiring of trading missiles, Aeneas moves in for the kill, and the Etruscan is realistic and defiant. However, he asks one boon: he knows that he is surrounded by the sharp hatred (*acerba...odia*) of the Etruscans, and begs Aeneas to guard him from their *furorem* and allow him proper burial. He accepts his death, but whether Aeneas has any intention of granting the request will be left ambiguous. The fury and wrath of the Etruscans is just,[91] and in such cases boons may not be appropriate. Aeneas must maintain the loyalty of his allies, as well as deal out justice, harsh as it may be.

Book 10, in addition to showing Jupiter's concern and control more clearly, makes manifest Aeneas' role in achieving the designs of Fate. Aeneas saw the false dreams, or rather, nightmares, that populate the underworld in Book 6,[92] monsters that live close to the chambers of the Eumenides and primeval divinities such as War and Discord. When he departed the Underworld, inflamed by love of praise, Aeneas left through the ivory gate of false dreams,[93] beginning his transformation into the Aegaeon-like beast he becomes in Book 10. This is a variation of Nietzsche's famous comment about monsters:

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[90] Although it is comparable to Turnus' treatment of Pallas.

[91] 8.494 and 10.714, respectively.

> Whoever fights with monsters should see to it that he does not become one himself. And when you stare for a long time into an abyss, the abyss stares back into you.[94]

Jupiter and the Fates have conditioned Aeneas to let go of his own desires, and then sent him to the Abyss so that he might become the monster they need to dispatch the wild things in Italy. His wrath, as un-Stoic and cruel as it is and will continue to be, could not be more just.

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[92] *somnia...vana*, 6.282 ff.

[93] *falsa...insomnia*, 6.696.

[94] Nietzsche, Norman [trans.] (2002) 69.

Chapter XI - Horses Chomping at the Bit

The chart for Book 11 looks similar to that of of Book 7: most of the first half is mainly concerned with *fatum* and the deliberations thereon, while the latter portion is a flurry of sudden rage and passion. That is all true, but in many ways this book serves the same function as Book 9, in that there is much violence that does not directly advance the plot, and Aeneas and Turnus are kept apart to build tension for the inevitable clash. In addition, much space is spent on the exploits of an otherwise minor character, showing the flaws of her desires as well as the praiseworthiness of her deeds - Vergil did much the same thing in the *epyllion* of Nisus and Euryalus. Both books have a siege, but this time the roles are reversed. If there was any doubt before that Aeneas is the new Achilles and that he is the focus of Jupiter's plans, it is dashed to pieces in Book 11.

Like his Greek counterpart, Aeneas gives a funeral for his dear young friend who was slain by his arch-enemy, in addition to his other comrades, but he must first make offerings to the gods, despite his mind being disturbed by the deaths (*turbataque funere mens est*, 11.3). He displays the spoils and "first fruits" from the arrogant king (*de rege superbo*, 11.15), although he and Vergil leave it unclear exactly what happened to Mezentius' body - since allowing proper burial has been explicitly stated previously, and Mezentius asked for it, the lack of clarity can lead us to doubt that he received his wish. Slightly less ambiguous is the human sacrifice,[95] presumably of the eight youths Aeneas seized in Book 10 - they are not mentioned as humans or alive, but their hands are tied behind their backs, and they are sent to the shades below, their blood sprinkled on the flames as sacrifice. While calmed slightly, within Aeneas remains in a monstrous rage due to the death of his friend, and it is this rage that will sustain him as the "same horrible destiny calls me to other tears" (*"nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli fata vocant,"* 10.96-97). He will be further incensed by the response of Evander, who later sends word that, although he has lived too long (*"contra ego vivendo vici mea fata,"* 11.160), he will stay alive to see Aeneas slay Turnus.

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[95] Yet another reference to Achilles in *Iliad* Book 23.

But Aeneas has enough self-control to be a proper Roman leader. When the Latin envoys approach him to seek a truce to bury their dead, he grants it graciously, and adds that he would grant peace to the living as well. He once again avers that he is only there at the behest of the Fates (*"nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent,"* 10.112), and that it was their king who spurned an alliance. Here Aeneas first broaches the subject of a duel mano-a-mano with Turnus, which will be a concern for the rest of the epic. With these terms, Aeneas wishes the envoys to put a fire under their miserable citizens: *"miseris supponite civibus ignem,"* (11.119). Drances, an enemy of Turnus, responds fawningly to this proposal, and says that, if it goes well, they will be happy to help erect the *fatalis*[96] mounds of his new walls, and the others clamored (*fremebant*) in agreement.

Saevus Drances conveys these terms to the Latins, many of whom are mourning their dead and blaming Turnus, although others still back their heroic leader. At this point, the envoy to Diomedes returns without good news, and

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[96] Remember the dual meaning of this term.

Latinus knows that the wrath of the gods (*ira deum*, 11.233) shows that *fatalem* Aeneas is borne by manifest divine will. He therefore summons a war council, and first hears the word from the envoy: Diomedes has no desire to help, and relates the troubles that the supposedly victorious Greeks have suffered. He advises that they take back the gifts offered to him and present them to Aeneas, who could have reversed the fate (*versis...fatis*, 11.287) of the war with two others like him. Diomedes has learned that the world is emerging into a new era, where old enmities have little value, and in which Aeneas surely is destined to succeed. He at first addressed the Latins as the Saturnian kingdom (11.252), which may be Vergil's way of drawing attention to the fact that Italy is not going to be the same as it once had been.

Upon hearing this, a rumble (*fremor*) runs across the crowds' *turbata* faces, just as the banks of a dammed river rumble (*fremunt*, 11.299) before the levee bursts. Latinus can once again attempt to be the level-headed leader, calming them and, while praising their effort, sagely advising that they sue for peace. He will give them some of his own royal land and says "Let them settle, if their desire is so great, and let them establish walls," ("*considant, si tantus amor, et moenia condant,"* 11.323)[97]. This may indeed have been enough to end the war, except that Drance, goaded by envy for the glory of Turnus, argues that Latinus should also offer Lavinia's hand, and that Turnus should face Aeneas in single combat, if *"fama movet."*[98] His words not only increase the wrath (*aggerat iras*, 11.342) of the people, but also that of Turnus, whose violence flamed outward (*talibus exarsit dictis violentia Turni,* 11.376). Now his pride and anger will be such that Turnus cannot abide a peace, nor refuse to face Aeneas.

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[97] Thanks to his visit to the Underworld, we know that Aeneas has *tantus amor*.

[98] The same motivation that stirred Aeneas in Book 6.

As Turnus makes his case for war, rendering the debate even more in doubt, word arrives that Aeneas is marching toward Latinus' city. The motivation is left unclear - Aeneas had granted the truce, and if for some reason it had expired, he supposedly wished for the Latins to agree to a lasting peace. Why would Aeneas violently interrupt the very proceedings that he initiated? We have no reason to doubt his sincerity when first addressing the Latin envoy, but it can be surmised that Jupiter cannot allow the peace to occur - there must be total victory, including a wedding to Lavinia and the death of Turnus, both of which are ordained by the Fates. The best way to ensure the failure of the war council would be a combination of the raised anger of the Latins combined with this attack, which could easily have been indirectly caused by spurring the emotions of Aeneas. Vergil does not state this explicitly, but by now his pattern should be clear. Aeneas' attack in turn disturbs the Latins' spirits (*turbati animi*), shakes their hearts (*cuncussaque volgi pectora*) and arouses their anger with not-soft goads (*arrectae stimulis haud mollibus irae*, 11.452); the youth roar for weapons (*fremit arma iuventus*).

Turnus seizes upon the crisis and turns everyone toward his purpose, girding himself for war while raging (*furens*, 11.486). He is compared to a horse that breaks his chain and flees the stable, which is connected to the end of the first *Georgic*,[99] and we now see a common thread of humans being goaded by the gods into violent action like animals. The horse neighs in joy, but the word used is

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[99] See Chapter VII.

fremit, which for the most part is used in a violent context. Later, the Trojan cavalry will *fremit* (11.599) and the Latin cavalry's *fremitus* will grow hotter (*ardescit*, 11.607), and the horses themselves will be *furentis*; these uses of *fremo*, while still referring to horses, convey the violent excitement. Back in the simile, the horse is running out into the plain to chase the herd of mares. Fratantuono believes that this is referring to Turnus' desire to engage with the effeminate easterners,[100] but it is quickly followed by the entrance of Camilla and her own Volscian cavalry. Vergil is perhaps describing a secret lust on the part of Turnus, or at least joyful similarity of spirit, in order to explain how Camilla's death affects Turnus the way it does. Either way, Turnus, Camilla, the Latins, and even Aeneas' army are like goaded horses, and perhaps the reason for the war and its length is to have them run out their equine excitement. Perhaps most of this entire epic is necessary because Juno's wrath, goaded by the Fates, has yet to run its course - wrathful opposition does not merely disappear when it is no longer needed.

Camilla's aristeia is a broad subject that is fit for much in-depth analysis. However, for the purposes of this study, it must be addressed in a cursory manner. Camilla is an embodiment of rustic, pre-Trojan Italy at its best, in that she is strong, loyal, and pious to the old Italian gods - she is beloved to Diana, but also to Trivia, so we can assume that Vergil is referencing the chthonic version of Diana (who would be rustic in either case). In Diana's description of Camilla, we see that she is also a product of *amor*: she is an *amor* of Diana herself (11.538), was saved by her father and dedicated to Diana because of his *amore* for her

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[100] Fratantuono (2007) 335.

(11.549), and she is characterized by an *amorem* for weapons and her maidenhood (11.583). This trait of hers makes her formidable in war, though Diana says that Camilla is driven by a bitter destiny (*fatis urgetur acerbis*, 11.587). She leads her horsemen in an impressive show of force, wherein she proves herself more than equal to the task at hand. For the most part she seems capable, yet devoid of *furor*, at least until her pride is challenged by Orsilochus - thereupon she is *furens*, and inflamed by a sharp anger (*illa furens acrique accensa dolore*, 11.709) as she slays the Ligurian. It is only at this point that Jupiter takes an interest in her, and so rouses Tarchon to the *saeva* battle, and excites his anger with *haud mollibus* goads (11.728); Tarchon rouses the Etruscan cavalry by shame, and the tide of the battle changes - she had been compared to a falcon who seizes a dove (11.721-724), but now Tarchon is an eagle seizing a snake (11.751-11.758). With her thus occupied, Arruns, acting on *fatis debitis* (11.759), is able to track her while she is still raging (*furens*). He gets his chance when Camilla pursues Chloreus because she was burning with a female love of booty and spoils (*femineo praedae et spoliarum ardebat amore*, 11.782), which makes her blind (*caeca*) and *incauta*. Arruns prays to Apollo to guide his weapon, and says that he seeks no booty, trophy, or spoils, nor does he expect praise for his deed. He is successful in felling Camilla, although Opis - on orders from Diana, since she cannot prevent Camilla's death - kills him for his deed. As she lay dying, Camilla had a last request, that Turnus succeed her in the fight and keep the Trojans from the city.

At her death, her Volsci as well as the Rutulians are routed, and everyone breaks for the gate. Some Trojans are mixed with the fleeing Latins, and so the gate must be closed before everyone is safe inside. The city is in a state of panic - even the matrons, due to their *amor verus patriae* (11.892), man the walls and, trembling, throw missiles by hand. This news is *saevissimus* to Turnus, and it causes him to rage (*furens*), and here Vergil gives us another revealing aside: *et saeva Iovis sic numina poscunt* (11.901) - Jupiter's cruel will demands that Turnus be raging. It has been assured that there will be no compromise peace, nor will Turnus escape his doom. The "horses," after being goaded by Jupiter and the Fates, are almost finished running out any wrath that they have remaining. Turnus himself is now in a state where he is desperate for a showdown with *saevum* Aeneas, whom he now sees approaching the city. The only thing that prolongs the final contest of arms is the onset of nightfall, which will be the last one that Turnus ever sees.

Chapter XII - Crouching Lions, Raging Bulls

Book 12 evokes death, especially when viewed in the light of the three prototype terms. *Fatum* appears at least as much as we might expect, although surely not in the greatest numbers, a distinction which goes to Book 6. In this final book, however, *fatum* almost exclusively refers specifically to death. *Amor* is relatively uncommon here, but mostly referring to passions that directly lead to death. We do not see as much of *furor* as we might expect, considering the violence of 12 - it occurs less than several other books, such as 2, 4, and 7. On the other hand, it is often very significant, as most of the instances are referring to major characters, whose individual rages have major impact on the outcome. However, Book 12 contains the most direct references to the Furies (not counting Allecto in Book 7), and climaxes with Jupiter using one to enact the finale. The touch of rage as well as *amor* extends when we look at the second-level density chart (Chart 12.2). *Ira* occurs ten times, as anger is indeed central to this book as the conclusion to an epic devoted to wrath. Likewise, *saevio* occurs ten times, and along with seven instances of *fremo* is distributed throughout the book, with particular clusters around the sections devoted to *furor*. Death is the ultimate goal of the Fates, or rather the preferred means for achieving their larger goals, and this death is achieved by the raging of mortals and even gods, which is caused by the passions that are stoked by the Furies.

The book opens with Turnus implacably seething (*implacabilis ardet*) at the misfortunes of the Latins, and he is compared to a wounded Punic lion who is undaunted and, like *impius Furor*,[101] roars with a bloody mouth (*fremit ore cruento*, 12.8). These exact words also occur at the end of line 341 in Book 9, when Nisus is also compared to a lion - his death also came as a result of suicidal actions spurred by passion.[102] It is thus that violence increases for Turnus, who is *accenso* and *turbidus* (12.9-10). The rest of the leadership is in despair - Latinus was never in favor of war, and tries again to tell Turnus that it was forbidden for any previous suitors to marry Lavinia, according to all gods and men that were consulted. However, Latinus admits that he was *victus amore* for Turnus, their shared blood, and Amata's tears (12.29-30).[103] Because of this and the fact that they have been twice beaten in battle, the king wonders what madness changes his mind (*"quae mentem insania mutat?"* 12.37). Latinus' madness is of course his aforementioned love, but Turnus' is mostly rage. His *violentia* is not bent by these words, and is likened to an illness that grows sicker by trying to mend it (*aegrescitque medendo*, 12.46). This rage is caused by a mixture of various emotions, but in this speech he seems to possess the love of praise that has been portrayed positively, particularly in Book 6. He wishes to trade his death for praise (*"letumque sinas pro laude pacisci,"* 12.49), much as the crew of Cloanthus' ship in Book 5, who were loath to lose what they had already gained, and thus were able to win. As will soon become obvious to even Turnus, he has no such hope. Amata is without hope, begging the *ardentem* Turnus not to engage the Trojans. Seeing her mother in such a state causes a deep blush to set a fire beneath Lavinia's face, and as a consequence love disturbs Turnus (*turbat amor*) and he burns all the more for battle (*ardet in arma magis*, 12.71).

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[101] The same three words, with slight variation, are at the end of 1.296.

[102] Pallas smacks the ground with his bloody mouth at his death at 10.489, although the lack of roaring suggests that it is mainly for the metrical value. There is little comparison, thematically, between Pallas and the other two characters.

[103] Contrast this with Aeneas in Book 4. Latinus is a good man, but too weak a leader to maintain order.

He leaves those with no stomach for war, and delights at the excited neighing of his horses (*gaudetque tuens ante ora frementis*, 12.82), as they are the best representation of the kind of animal passion that Turnus himself feels. He works himself up as he dresses for battle, and is driven on by this rage (*his agitur furiis*), and from his face come fiery sparks (*ardentis...scintillae*) and his eye flash with flames. Vergil here borrows his own lines from the third *Georgic* to compare Turnus to a bull practicing before a fight:

> mugitus veluti cum prima in proelia taurus
> terrificos ciet aut irasci in cornua temptat
> arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit
> ictibus aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena. (12.103-106)[104]
>
> Just as when a bull at the start of battle discharges fearsome roar or tries to be wrathful with his horns butting at a tree trunk, and attacks the winds with his blows or rehearses for the fight in the scattered sand.

The relevance to the themes of excitable animal passions should be obvious, but a look at the full original passage gives further information on the role of humans in harnessing those passions. After describing the means of breaking young colts from line 179 though 208, Vergil explains the best way to get the most out of horses or bulls: "no industry firms their strength more than to keep them from sex and the goads of a hidden love" (*caeci stimulos avertere amoris*, *Geor.* 3.210). Bulls will often clash in a contest over a heifer, and the loser will disappear and practice as the bull in Turnus' simile does, waiting for its chance to return. His motivations now are not just the *amores* he lost, but the *ignominiam* and the blows of the haughty victor, as well as his former stall and ancestral realm. This may be Vergil's explanation of why Turnus' death is required by Fate - his role is such that he can never truly relent to Aeneas' rule. On lines 242 through 283 Vergil continues his point, which is that every race on earth, both man and beast, "rush into fury and fire - all have the same passion" (*in furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem*, *Geor.* 3.244). At no other time is the lioness forgetful of her cubs as she wanders more fiercely over the fields (*Geor.* 3.245-246),[105] and Vergil gives several more examples, but we cannot forget that he mentioned that the idea applies to men, as well. The perils of animalistic passion are similarly applied to the boxer Jake LaMotta as portrayed in Martin Scorsese's 1980 film *Raging Bull*. LaMotta is valued by those around him for brutality, and he goes to great lengths to conjure and maintain rage, such as blinding himself with pride, working up anger at everyone, seeing opponents as rivals for his wife, and depriving himself of sexual release. The result is a finely-tuned fighting machine, but irreparably flawed, and his life is ultimately destroyed by the very passions that provided him with success. This will also be Turnus' fate, although, like the bulls in the *Georgics*, he is being manipulated by a higher power, for whom he must be sacrificed, like Laocoon's bull in Book 2 (which also made a *mugitus*), or the one pummelled by Entellus in Book 5.

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[104] Virgil, Fairclough, Goold (1999, 2005) v. 2, 305, note 2 points out that 12.105-106 = *Georgics* 3.233-234, with slight variation between 12.104 and *Georgics* 3.232.

The simile in lines 103 through 106 also suggests that Aeneas is the rival bull, and indeed they will both be compared to bulls fighting later in Book 12.

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[105] Cf. 2.355-358, when their *furor* made Aeneas and his Trojans like wolves whose cubs wait with thirsty mouths.

Vergil cuts directly to the hero also preparing himself, but in a much more controlled and fatherly way, despite being *saevus* and exciting himself with wrath (*se suscitat ira*, 12.108). He is soothing his comrades and the fear of Iulus, teaching them of fate (*fata docens*) like Anchises had done in the Underworld.[106] His spirits will need to be kindled further before the final battle. Likewise, the conflict is coming to too smooth of a conclusion for Fate's purposes, and so Juno is poised to spoil the peace with Juturna's help, despite fully realizing that the Fates are against her. She helped Turnus and the city while the Fates allowed (*"Parcaeque sinebat"*), but now he was attacking with unequal fate (*"imparibus video concurrere fatis"*), and so the day of the Fates was at hand (*Parcarumque dies...propinquat,"* 12.150). Whether for true love for Turnus or merely for her own wrath, Juno is like the lioness who ignores her cubs to satisfy her own passions - she is quite willing to cause more strife to the Latins in order to delay what she now knows is inevitable. At the start of the duel Aeneas prays in hope that Juno is now kindlier, but her grief still remains deep in her heart; it will soon be dislodged after much blood.

After Aeneas' and Latinus' opening prayers, it seems to the Rutulians that the duel is unequal and that the two are not fighting with comparable strength, and so they waver in their excitement. Juturna seizes her opportunity and, in disguise, contributes to the murmurs that it was silly to risk everything on one man, since they outnumbered the Trojan and Etruscan host, flippantly referring to them as *fatales manus* (12.232). Thus the crowd becomes *incensa*, and Juturna even gives an augural sign that guarantees that the treaty is voided; as Tolumnius the augur tosses a javelin into the foreign host, all are *turbati* and their hearts are heated by the tumult. The Trojans are likewise *accensa* and rush blindly into the conflict. Thus, *omnis amor unus habet decernere ferro* ("A common love to decide with the sword possesses them all," 12.282). *Pius* Aeneas tries to control the *discordia* and contain their wrath (*"cohibete iras!"* 12.314). Before he could succeed, an arrow hits Aeneas in the thigh, and Vergil goes to great lengths to say that the identity of the archer is a mystery. No Rutulian boasted of the shot, despite it being a deed marked by glory, and Vergil says that it could have been chance or a god (*casusne deusne*). Our first instincts are to blame Juturna or Juno, but the queen later swears by the Styx that, though she approved of Juturna helping Turnus and daring greater things, she had no hand in the arrow-shot:

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[106] 6.759

> Iuturnam misero (fateor) succurrere fratri
> suasi et pro vita maiora audere probavi,
> non ut tela tamen, non ut contenderet arcum;
> adiuro Stygii caput implacabile fontis,
> una superstitio superis quae reddita divis. (12.813-817)
>
> I persuaded (I admit it) Juturna to aid her poor brother and approved of her daring greater things for his life, but not that she use weapons, not that she stretch a bow; I swear by the implacable head of the Stygian font, the one cause of fear which is given to the gods above.

While technically it is possible that Juturna acted without explicit permission, assuming Juno's Stygian promise would allow that possibility, it is unlikely that Vergil would make such an issue for such an anticlimactic truth. It is more likely that we are left to ponder whether Jupiter himself sanctioned the attack and allowed it, given his knowledge of Fate, since it fulfills the latter's designs. Aeneas might otherwise have succeeded in calming the soldiers, or, worse, calming his own side. Also, as we shall see, the wound does much to increase the rage that Aeneas will need in the final battle, while also slowing him down, making the battle last long enough for Juno to relent in her rage.

In addition, Aeneas' wound and withdrawal makes Turnus burn, hot with a sudden hope (*subita spe fervidus ardet*, 12.325). He drives his chariot like Mars who gives full rein to his *furentes* horses, attended by the primeval deities Fear, Wrath, and Ambush. However, at this point it is easier to see Turnus as one of the horses, rather than Mars himself, especially as he is *frementem* (12.371) like his own beloved horses. Aeneas is also *fremens* (12.398), and rages (*saevit*) at his wound that cannot be helped by human hands. His rage is increased like a dog on a leash or a bull in a pen, because all around him a fierce terror grows more and more thick and disaster comes nearer: *saevus campis magis ac magis horror crebrescit propiusque malum est* (12.406-407). Venus, *concussa dolore* for her son, brings a divine herb and heals him miraculously, albeit not fully. Before entering the fray, Aeneas kisses Ascanius through his helmet, and bids him take notice of what comes next:

> "disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
> fortunam ex aliis. nunc te mea dextera bello
> defensum dabit et magna inter praemia ducet.
> tu facito, mox cum matura adoleverit aetas,
> sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
> et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector." (12.435-440)
>
> Learn, child, of virtue and true labor from me, fortune from others. Now my right hand will shield you in this war, and lead you to great rewards. Make sure, when soon your age grows mature, that you are mindful and that your father Aeneas and uncle Hector excite you in your soul as you see examples from your kin.

Ascanius is to look to his father as an example of virtue and true *labor*, rather than luck. We have been inundated with proof that Aeneas' success is assured by the Fates, but that does not mean that he can merely sit back and let success happen. He must be brave and endure the labor that comes with achieving something great. He tells Ascanius to remember his father, but also his uncle Hector, whom Aeneas evoked even before naming him by saying that his own right hand will defend his son in war.[107] The lesson that both figures give is that you must do your duty, and fufill your destiny, but never will it be easy, and not always will it end in victory. If one plays his part and does so with dedication, the will of Heaven will come about.

That *labor* is immediately manifest as Aeneas storms into the battle with his men like a cloud that suddenly bursts over the sea, and men know that it will be ruin to trees, crops, and everything. His men tear through the Latins, but Aeneas is searching only for Turnus, who is taken away by Juturna posing as her brother's charioteer. Messapus stops Aeneas with his javelins, and the Trojan hides behind his shield; just as with Lausus, under his shield the wrath of Aeneas surges (*adsurgunt irae*, 12.494), although this time it is because he knows that Turnus is being kept from him. Now he is *terribilis*, indiscriminately stirring up savage slaughter (*saevam caedem*), and he lets loose all the reins of his anger: *irarumque omnis effundit habenas*.

At this point Vergil provides another aside, wondering if it was Jupiter's will that peoples destined to exist in eternal peace should clash with such a commotion (*tanton placuit concurrere motu, Iuppiter, aeterna gentis in pace*

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[107] Cf. 2.291-292: *"si Pergama dextra defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent."*

futuras?) This may be the strongest clue as to why, if Jupiter and the Fates are truly in charge of everything, such powerful impediments to fulfilling such an important destiny have been tolerated. Perhaps the first part of that statement does not occur in spite of the latter half, but to ensure it - that is, perhaps the two tribes must fight so that they may exist in pace later. Destruction is not only necessary to achieve a change in eras, but the contest must be sufficient to drain the losers of their will to resist, remove chief agitators, and leave the victors in a state of hard-won complacency so that they will focus on building rather than destroying. That is why the treaty had to be abrogated - there must be no question as to the victory of the Trojans. This is most clear in the person of Juno, who was so wrathful at the onset of the Trojan War that her hatred of Trojans was not assuaged by the toppling of Pergamum, but required this entire epic's worth of violence in order to run its course. Jupiter even stoked it further by revealing to her the future of Carthage. Aeneas' new Latium cannot take shape with figures like Turnus harboring a secret resentment, and the larger new age which will soon be dominated by Romans cannot be assured until all of the gods are supportive of it.

With that thought, the war is now in full force, as both Aeneas and Turnus sweep through the battlefield like forest-fire kindled on both sides of a wood, both functioning as a means of clearing the trees. They are also compared to streams that fall from high mountains, each laying waste whatever is in its path as it runs to the sea. The two warriors are both now at fever-pitch, and for them both, *nunc, nunc fluctuat ira intus* (12.526-527). After more death, Venus put the thought in

Aeneas' mind that he should attack the city and *turbaret* the Latins, and this vision of a greater battle inflames him (*accendit*). The wrath that has been feeding Aeneas rage has returned him to a monster-like state, and he proclaims that he will destroy this city, the *causam belli*, if they do not receive the yoke or obey as conquered (*ni frenum accipere et victi parere*, 12.568). He even dismisses the idea of merely fightng Turnus, who may wish to fight again after being beaten.[108] The Aeneas who insists that the Trojans demand the treaty back with flames (*foedusque reposcite victus*) is a much different person than the one who had earlier tried to calm his soldiers.

Seeing Aeneas attack the walls, and assuming that Turnus was already dead, Amata is *turbata* in her mind with a sudden grief, and babbles *demens* through a sad frenzy (*maestum...furorem*). The queen hangs herself with her own purple robe, and the matrons rage as a mob (*turba furit*, 12.607); Latinus is astonished at the *fatis* of his wife and the ruin of his city. Turnus himself is *amens* when he notices the distress of the city, and, to his credit, resists the entreaties of his sister to ignore it. Saces brings him the specific details, including Amata's death. A huge shame and madness mixed with grief boils in his heart (*aestuat ingens uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu*) and passion is driven by furies (*furiis agitatus amor*, 12.668). Thanks to these emotions, the final showdown is nigh; now the fates have won: *"Iam, iam fata, soror, superant."* Turnus will go where God and Fortune call him, he will suffer death. He concludes this speech of grim resignation with the second and final instance of two of the same prototype terms being used in the same line - in fact, to my knowledge, no other terms of significance (i.e., terms other than *iam*, *nunc*, etc.) repeat themselves, even in different forms, outside of these two instances. In line 680, Turnus begs his sister to allow him to rage this rage before the end: "*hunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem.*" The first instance was in Book 1, when Venus, complaining to Jupiter, said that she consoled herself for Troy's end by focusing on Aeneas' destiny, by weighing fates against fates.[109] A mere 34 lines after Turnus finishes, as he and Aeneas are on the verge of achieving the destiny that Venus had hoped for, Jupiter will weigh the *fata diversa* of the two men to see whom *labor* condemns and who will die (12.725-727)[110] The *Aeneid* begins with *fatum*, is pushed forward by *amor*, but ends with *furor*, and ultimately, death.

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[108] Like the bull from the *Georgics*.

Turnus speeds to the city walls and makes his presence known, upon which Aeneas orders the assault to stop, and *laetitia exsultans*, prepares for the showdown. The soldiers on both sides remove their armor and settle down to watch the spectacle. When the two at last clash, they are compared to two bulls who fight to see who will be the leader in the forest, and whom the herd will follow. Here is where Jupiter weighs their fates, and we can assume that Turnus' sunk down to indicate death, which tells us that Aeneas is not necessarily the one who decides to kill him. The losing bull cannot be allowed to return and upset the new order. At this point, Turnus shatters his sword, which Vergil had said at the beginning of the book was dipped in the Styx (making it indestructible). The rumor is that he was in such haste that he grabbed the wrong sword, but we know that rumor can be wrong. Did Jupiter have his sword switched? Or had Jupiter influenced Turnus into making the mistake originally? In any case, Turnus flees *amens* seeking his sword, and is now compared to a hunted stag, although the important part is that Aeneas is not the hunter, but the Umbrian hound, unleashed by Jupiter. Faunus, a patron deity of the Latins who is also angry with the Trojans, grants Turnus' prayer and holds Aeneas' spear in the stump of a sacred tree. Juturna takes the chance to give Turnus his sword back, and Venus responds by loosing the spear.

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[109] 1.239

[110] Borrowing from the *Iliad*, Book 22 - a further indication of Aeneas as Achilles and Turnus as Hector.

Now that it is clear that Aeneas' victory is only a matter of time, Jupiter confronts Juno in what is arguably the climax of the *Aeneid*. He asks "What now will be the end, wife? What will remain at last?" She knows that Aeneas is owed to heaven, and will be lifted to the stars by the Fates *("fatisque ad sidera tolli,"* 12.795), and he asks what hope she has, and if it is right that an immortal be subject to such indignity. Here is Jupiter's goal vis-a-vis Juno: he wants her to cease *"ne te tantus edit tacitam dolor et mihi curae saepe tuo dulci triste ex ore recursent,"* ("Lest such a great grief eats at you as you stay silent, and bitter worries often run back at me from your sweet mouth," 12.801-802). Juno is not a bull or hero that can be sacrificed, lest she come back, just as Aeneas cannot simply kill all of the Latins. Her anger had to be played out in a controlled way, so that she could accept the new state, just as the Latins surely will accept Aeneas' rule after this war and seeing him soundly defeat Turnus. Juno averts her eyes, and agrees that she indeed yields, but asks one boon, which is is not restrained by the law of Fate: that the Trojan name and customs die out, and the Latins retain theirs throughout the ages. Jupiter smiles at her, remarking that she rolls "such great waves of wrath beneath your breast!" (*"irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus!"* 12.831). He grants her request, and tells her to *submitte furorem* that she began in vain, and that she should submit to him, conquered and willing. Juno assents to the agreement and, now happy, changes her mind. Jupiter had been manipulating the emotions of nearly everyone in this entire poem, but although the anger of Juno was easy for him to elicit, her contentment would take twelve books and countless lives.

With this last remaining hindrance taken care of, Jupiter is now ready to speed the entire conflict to its resolution, and here is where Vergil shows us directly the means at the disposal of the king of the gods. Two *Dirae*, who are the children of the Fury Megaera and Night, are seen at his throne and on the threshold of the *saevi* king:

> hae Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis
> apparent acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris,
> si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex
> molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes. (12.849-852)
>
> These are seen at the throne of Jupiter and on the threshold of the fierce king, and provoke fear in weak mortals, whenever the king of the gods heaps up horrifying death and disease, or terrorizes deserving cities with war.

They incite the fears of "sick" mortals, help the king inflict disease and death, and terrify cities with war. To wit, these *Dirae* show that inciting emotions is a primary tool of the king of the gods, and, indirectly, of Fate. Jupiter is all-powerful, but he exercises his power through our own weakness. Jupiter sends one of these Furies to frighten Juturna into withdrawing, but also to instill a crippling fear into Turnus so as to hasten his demise. The Rutulian's limbs grow numb with dread, his hair stands up, and his voice sticks in his jaws. Juturna indeed recognizes the hissing wings of the *Dirae*, and knows that all is lost, that Jupiter was commanding her.

Aeneas taunts his foe, speaking from his *saevo* chest (12.888) that they must contend with *saevis armis*. Turnus, for his part, spits back that he is not afraid of words, but rather the gods, and Jupiter as an enemy. He tries in vain to throw a huge stone, but totters like a man late at night when the quiet of night presses against his eyes: thus the *dea dira* denied him success (12.914). Turnus hesitates with fear (*cunctaturque metu*), and Aeneas brandishes his *fatale* weapon at him as he hesitates (*cunctanti,* 12.919), before throwing it into his enemy's thigh. The spear is fateful in both senses, as was the Trojan Horse and the Golden Bough, both of which hesitated before moving toward their destiny. But the hesitation of Turnus is not important except to draw our attention to the term, which is repeated when Aeneas hesitates after Turnus begs for his life, or at least his body's return to his father. Turnus is in every respect a *supplex*, conceding complete and total victory to Aeneas. Being the good man we know him to be, and surely remembering his father's advice in Book 6, Aeneas is swayed by the speech, and is himself *cunctantem*. Like the Trojan Horse and the Golden Bough, the hero just needs an extra push or pull, which comes in the form of Pallas' belt, which Turnus had seized in his pride and greed in Book 10. At the sight of this, Aeneas is inflamed by the Furies and terrible in his anger (*furiis accensus et ira* *terribilis*, 12.946-947). He tells Turnus that Pallas sacrifices (*immolat*) him and takes up the penalty with his wicked blood. Aflame (*fervidus*), Aeneas "establishes" (*condit*) his sword in Turnus' chest,[111] and the latter's limbs loosen with a chill, just as Aeneas' had when we first met him in Book 1.[112] We can now fully appreciate the complete change in the hero, from one wishing death rather than fulfillment of his destiny, to one who inflicts death in order to establish that which is required of him, becoming a wrathful vehicle for the will of Heaven. This was the *opus*, this the *labor*. For, driven by the Fates around all the seas, so great was the burden to establish the Roman race.

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[111] James (1995) explores the unusual use of *condo* in Aeneas killing of Turnus, asserting that it is partially to raise "the awareness that Rome was established with the sword." The basic sense in this passage is "buries."

[112] 1.92: *extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra.*

Conclusions

At times, it may have seemed that I was doing little more than summarizing the plot of the *Aeneid*, but this proves my point as far as the importance of the prototype terms – and the concepts they represent – to the story. All I did was follow the three prototype terms, as well as the the second-level density terms, and analyze them in light of Aeneas' goals, at times incorporating aspects of the plot that are linked thematically, if not directly, with those terms. If you look quickly at the first and second charts for each of the twelve books, it should now appear as though they are visually descriptive of the stories for each. While no one would deny that fate, passion, and rage play a major role in the epic, here we have data through which to explore their roles. At the least, this method provides a means to analyze the significance of connections between any terms and the structure of a work of literature. This specific study could be expanded by charting terms for fire,[113] or words for being emotionally disturbed, like *turbatus*, *moveo*, or *cito*. Someone wishing to delve deeper into the role of sacrifice can choose his own words and possibly find new connections and patterns. Vergil, as a *doctus poeta*, not only made constant intertextual allusions to his predecessors, but he also fully understood the potential of the medium of writing, and placed many intratextual references within his own work which are meant to trigger a desire to check previous lines and books for cross-connections. Before footnotes and endnotes, Vergil used verbal cues so that the reader can reread previous lines and gain more enjoyment or understanding.

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[113] I did this with Chart 4.5, which I did not address in Chapter IV, but I included it in the Appendix as an example.

Fate is at the heart of the *Aeneid*. From the very first lines to the conclusion which was repeatedly foretold, Vergil evokes the Stoic notion of a Fate that is powerful and incontestable. There are indeed some Epicurean sentiments, such as the folly of religious individuals, some of the philosophy in Book 6, and the pettiness of the gods, but they are overpowered by the fact that Jupiter and Fate, and indeed all true prophecies, eventually come about, overpowering the petty emotions of the other gods. In fact, the other gods are manipulated by Jupiter and Fate. Almost every single character, including divinities such as Juno and Venus, make decisions based on their emotions. The emotions of the two goddesses are sparked by the measured sharing of information from Jupiter, who is the only one not manipulated by his emotions – he has them, but they are often unconvincing farces in which he feigns ignorance or limited power. Jupiter is clearly the closest and most knowledgeable agent of the Fates, although we cannot definitively separate him from them; he acts as though he is bound by them, but we can never trust Jupiter's words when it comes to his power. The titular hero, who, in the first half of the epic, was trained by his earliest troubles and the gods themselves to disregard his personal emotions, is pushed to his emotional limits in the service of his destiny. However, Vergil is not espousing Stoicism, since part of the lesson seems to be that one cannot fully avoid emotional disturbance while alive – and that this may be the best way for Fate to ensure that its will comes to pass.

The emotions take the form of internal, often preexisting desires like love, anger, pride, or greed, and are represented prototypically by *amor*. These can be, and usually are sparked by a Fury; in many situations the emotions are not explicitly caused by a divine agent, but are suspiciously convenient for the advancement of the plot, the most prominent example being Aeneas' *ira* at seeing Pallas' belt. Turnus was fated to die, as was Pallas, although by the former's hand and not Lausus'.[114] The result is that Aeneas flew into a rage in an uncontrolled (or uncontrollable) manifestation of his inner desire, and thus several goals of Fate, such as Turnus' death and a Trojan victory in Latium, were accomplished. Those scholars who are concerned with the morality of Aeneas' final kill, whether it was justified by the *pietas* he owed to Evander or a failure to follow Anchises' Roman advice to spare the humbled, are partially missing the point. The death of Turnus was going to happen. The Stoic and Epicurean ideals of emotional control are not realistic, and may even lead to problems while Fate still requires major changes to the world.

This active result of inner desires is represented by *furor*, and usually accompanies destructive action that advances the plot. The *Furiae* themselves feature heavily as agents of the divine. The entire point of Aeneas' *labor*, according to Jupiter, is so that he can pave the way for the Roman race to bring order to the age, culminating in Augustus chaining *Furor* in the temple of Janus. While there is hope that Augustus will keep the twin gates closed forever, implicit in the image is that, whenever war occurs and the gates open, *Furor* must be released. Until the world is perfect – and Vergil does seem to be hopeful that things are indeed getting better over time – *furor* has an indispensible place in the pious attention to one's destiny. Aeneas had to learn to retrain his rage after he acted so blindly during the siege of Troy and with no concern for his people and children. When achieving the goals of destiny, his rage, though terrible, is righteous and necessary. Turnus' *furor* was spurred by divine forces beyond his control, and it helped ensure that a war (foretold by Fate) occurred and lasted for as long as it did, so that the conclusion can be just as was ordained.

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[114] Which is why Jupiter would not allow Pallas and Lausus to meet in battle in Book 10.

Rather than mere fatalism, this contemplation of fate, emotion, and rage offers the reader a meditation on the horrors of war as well as the hope that all was not in vain. When Vergil shows the humanity of the antagonists as well as the rage of the protagonists, he is offering a way for the reader to rationalize the terrible behavior on his own side in the Civil Wars as well as to learn to forgive that of his enemies, who were once and future comrades and family members. Perhaps the Civil Wars themselves were unavoidable, as those who disagree need to determine who is the winner, in addition to essentially tiring themselves out, so that there can be peace. While this attention to Fate can seem like hindsight bias, meaning that all things that happened had to happen in exactly those ways, it is essential for an individual or group of people to feel hopeful after terrible travails. What appears to be circular reasoning is an effective way of coming to terms with one's horrible past in order to advance to a better future. Vergil is telling the Romans that violence and suffering are inextricably linked to progress, but that *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.*[115]

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[115] "Perhaps one day it will be pleasant to recount even these things."

Appendix: Chart 1.1

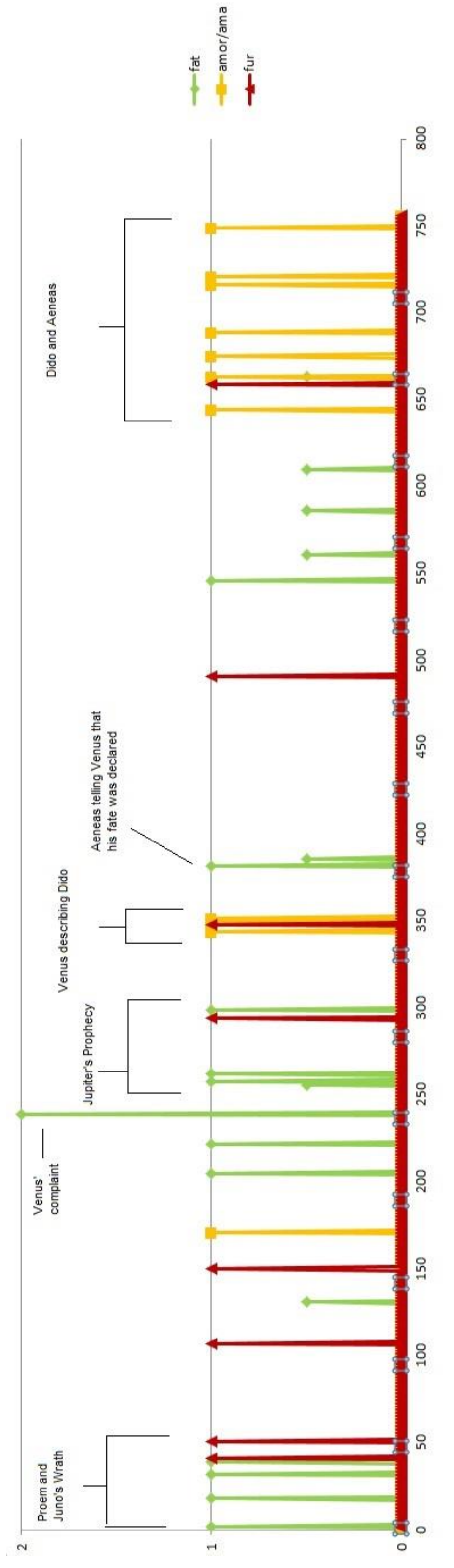


Chart 1.2

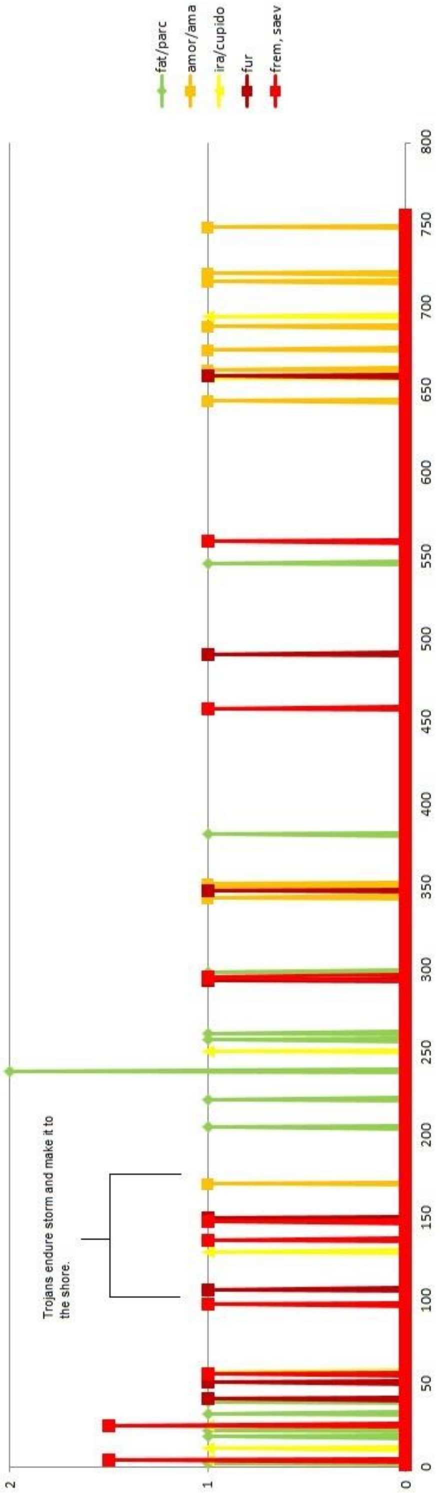

fat/parc
amor/ama
ira/cupido
fur
frem, saev
Trojans endure storm and make it to the shore.
0
1
2
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800

Chart 1.3

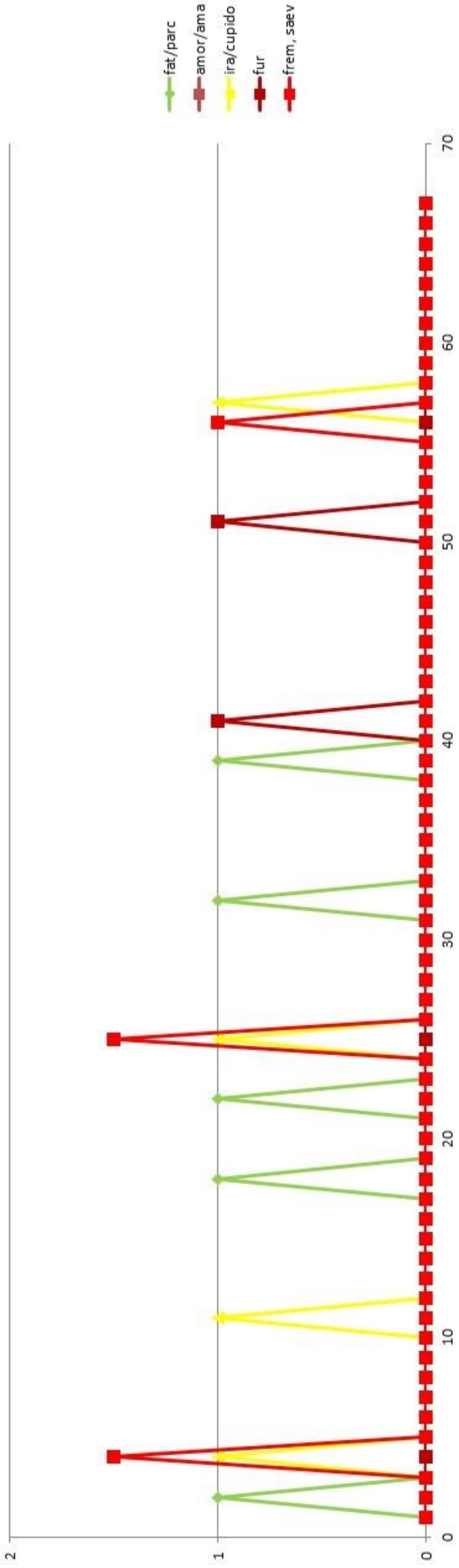

fat/parc
amor/ama
ira/cupido
fur
frem, saev
0
1
2
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70

Chart 2.1

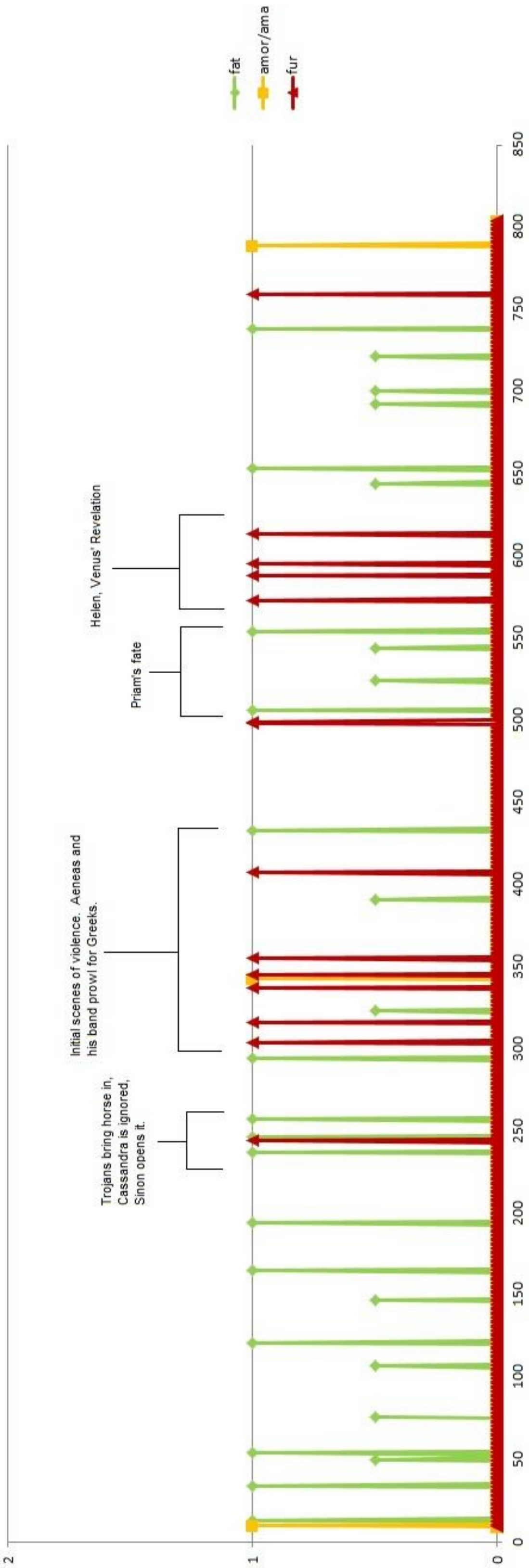

fat
amor/ama
fur
Trojans bring horse in, Cassandra is ignored, Sinon opens it.
Initial scenes of violence. Aeneas and his band prowl for Greeks.
Priam's fate
Helen, Venus' Revelation
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
0
1
2

Chart 2.2

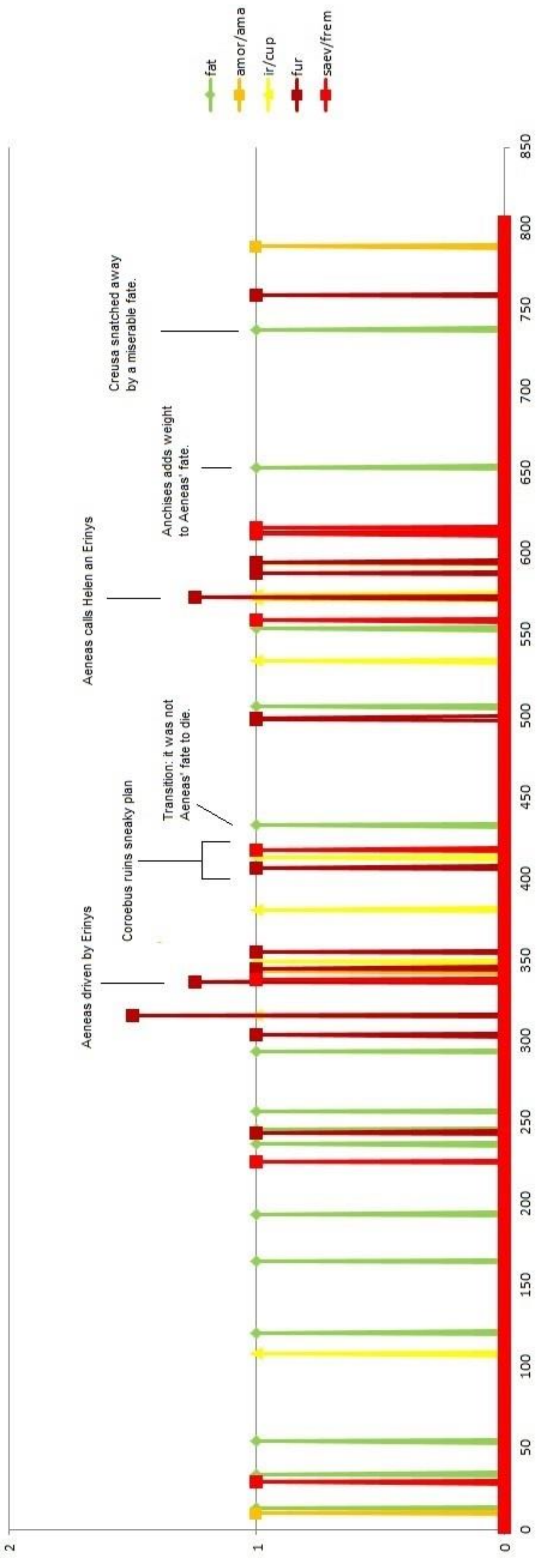

fat
amor/ama
ir/cup
fur
saev/frem
Aeneas driven by Erinys
Coroebus ruins sneaky plan
Transition: it was not Aeneas' fate to die.
Aeneas calls Helen an Erinys
Anchises adds weight to Aeneas' fate.
Creusa snatched away by a miserable fate.
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
0
1
2

Chart 2.3

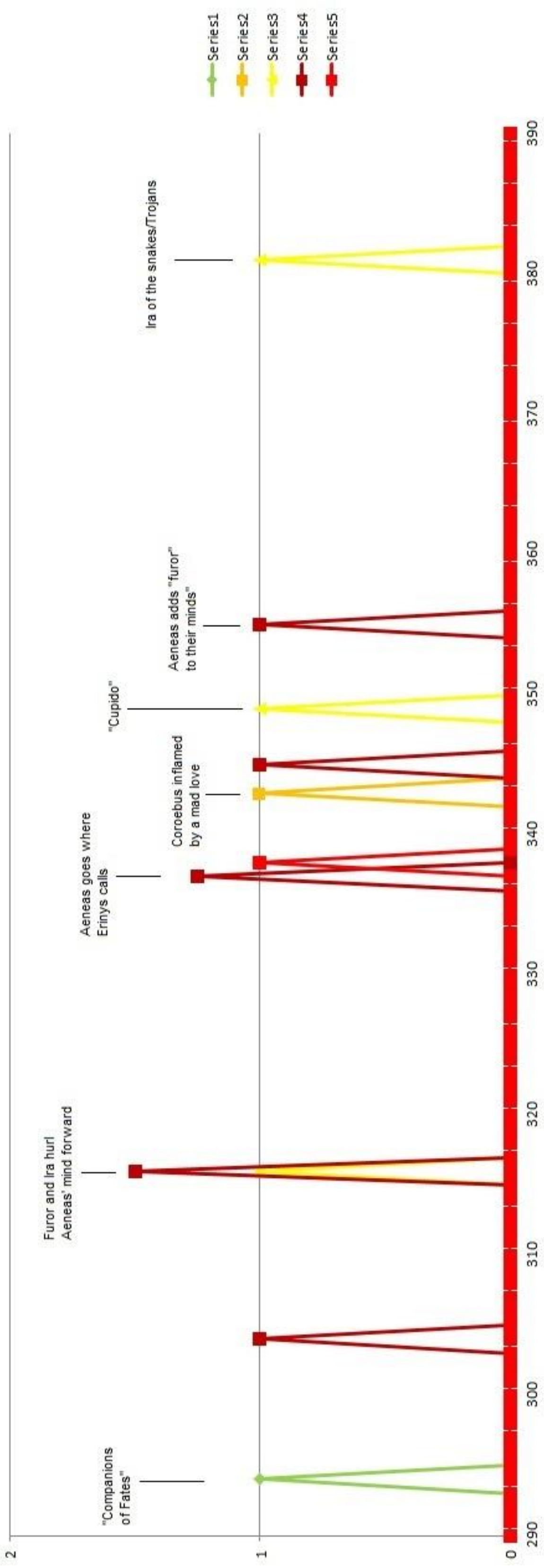

Series1
Series2
Series3
Series4
Series5
"Companions of Fates"
Furor and Ira hurl Aeneas' mind forward
Aeneas goes where Erinys calls
Coroebus inflamed by a mad love
"Cupido"
Aeneas adds "furor" to their minds"
Ira of the snakes/Trojans
0
1
2
290
300
310
320
330
340
350
360
370
380
390

Chart 2.4

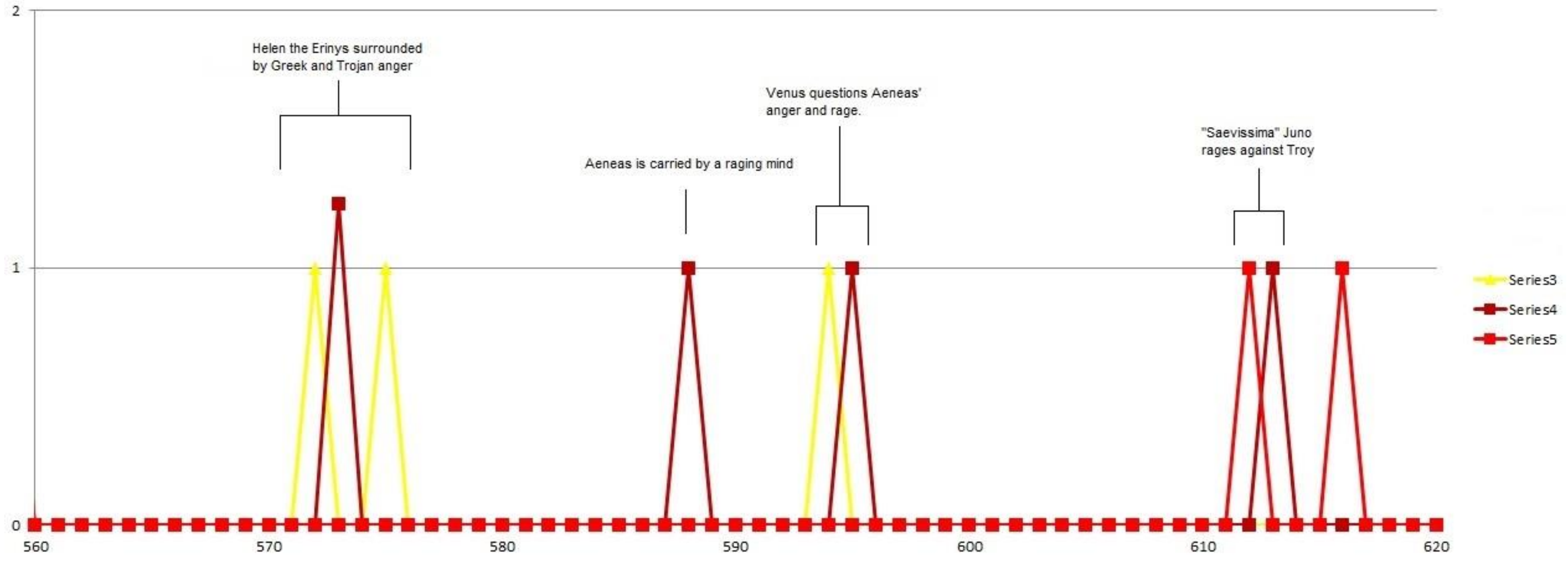

Helen the Erinys surrounded
by Greek and Trojan anger
Aeneas is carried by a raging mind
Venus questions Aeneas'
anger and rage.
"Saevissima" Juno
rages against Troy
2
1
0
560
570
580
590
600
610
620
Series3
Series4
Series5

Chart 3.1

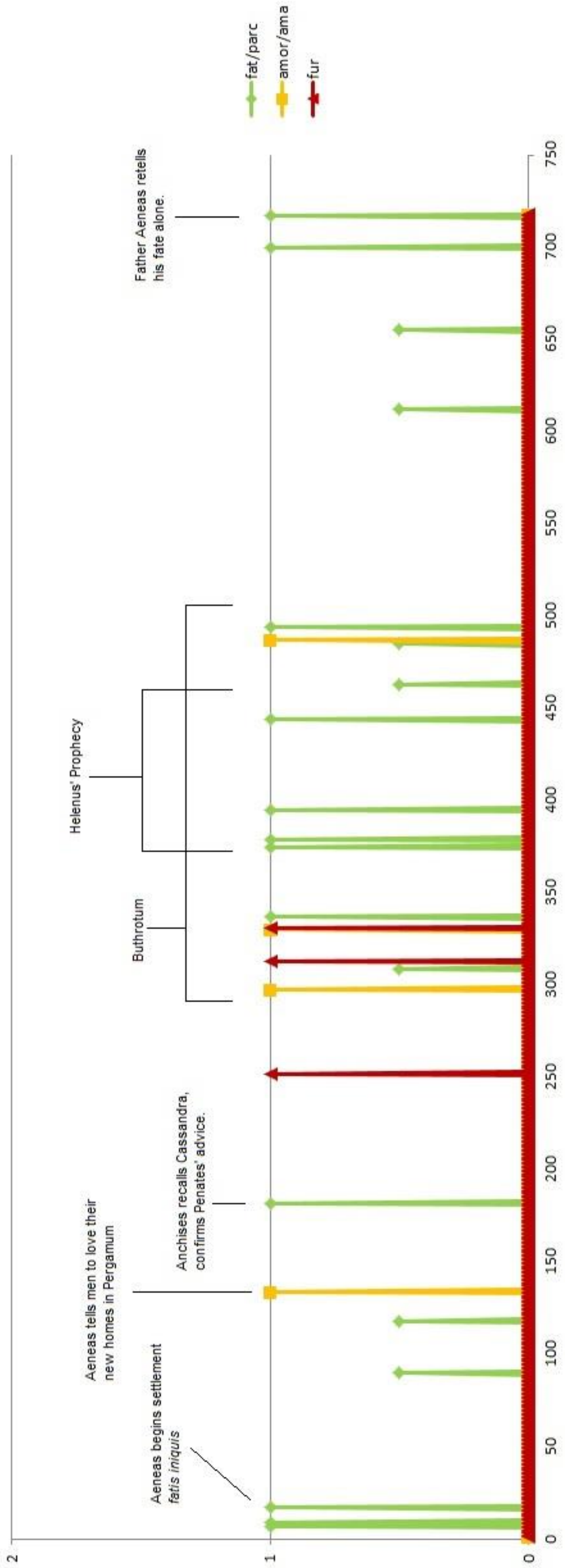

fat/parc
amor/ama
fur
2
1
0
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
Aeneas begins settlement *fatis iniquis*
Aeneas tells men to love their new homes in Pergamum
Anchises recalls Cassandra, confirms Penates' advice.
Buthrotum
Helenus' Prophecy
Father Aeneas retells his fate alone.

Chart 3.2

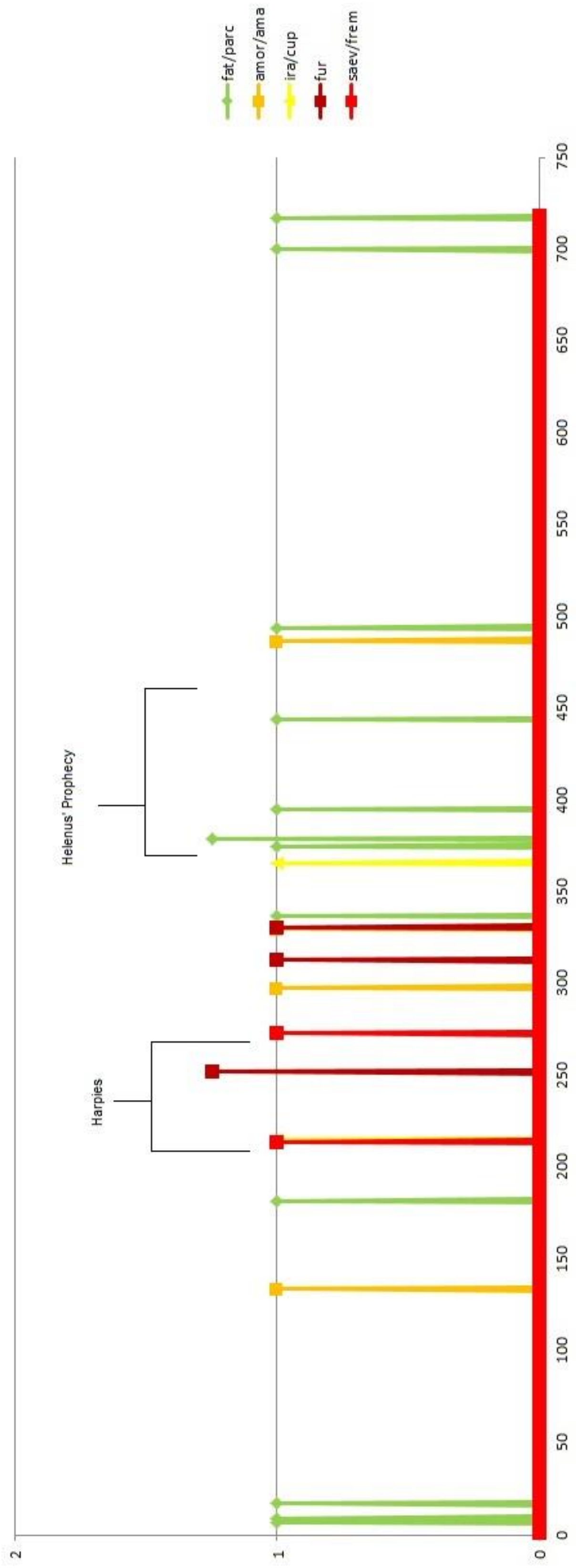

fat/parc
amor/ama
ira/cup
fur
saev/frem
Helenus' Prophecy
Harpies
0
1
2
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750

Chart 4.1

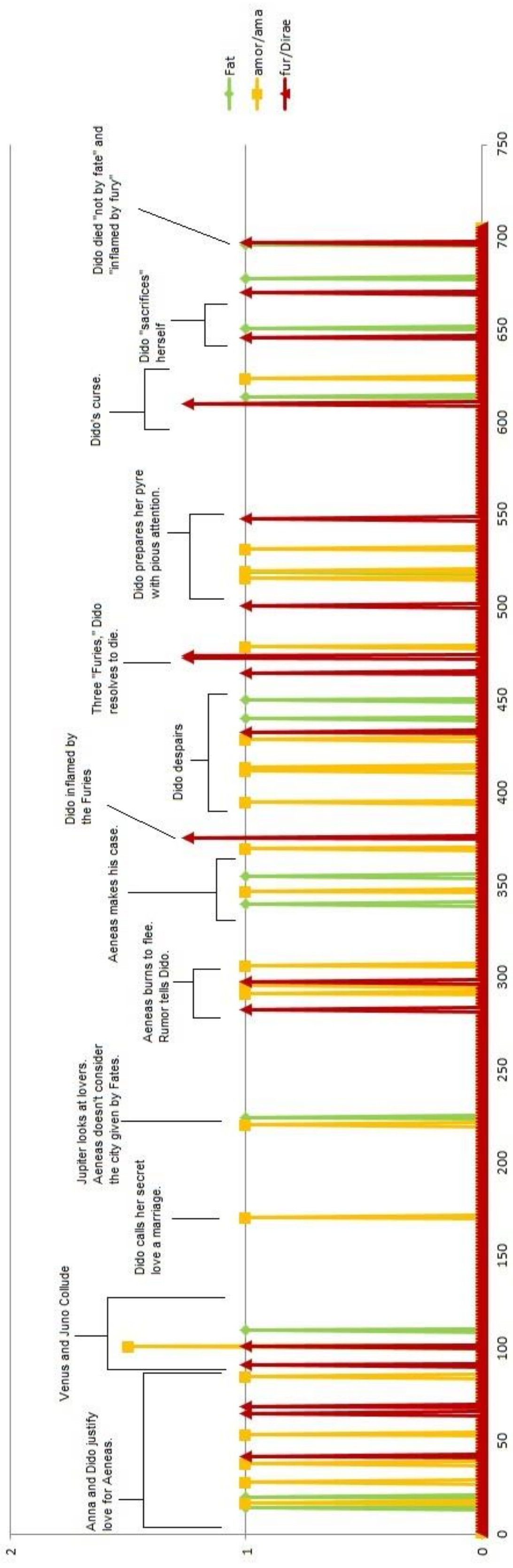

Fat
amor/ama
fur/Dirae
Anna and Dido justify love for Aeneas.
Venus and Juno Collude
Dido calls her secret love a marriage.
Jupiter looks at lovers. Aeneas doesn't consider the city given by Fates.
Aeneas burns to flee. Rumor tells Dido.
Aeneas makes his case.
Dido inflamed by the Furies
Dido despairs
Three "Furies," Dido resolves to die.
Dido prepares her pyre with pious attention.
Dido's curse.
Dido "sacrifices" herself
Dido died "not by fate" and "inflamed by fury"
0
1
2
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750

Chart 4.2

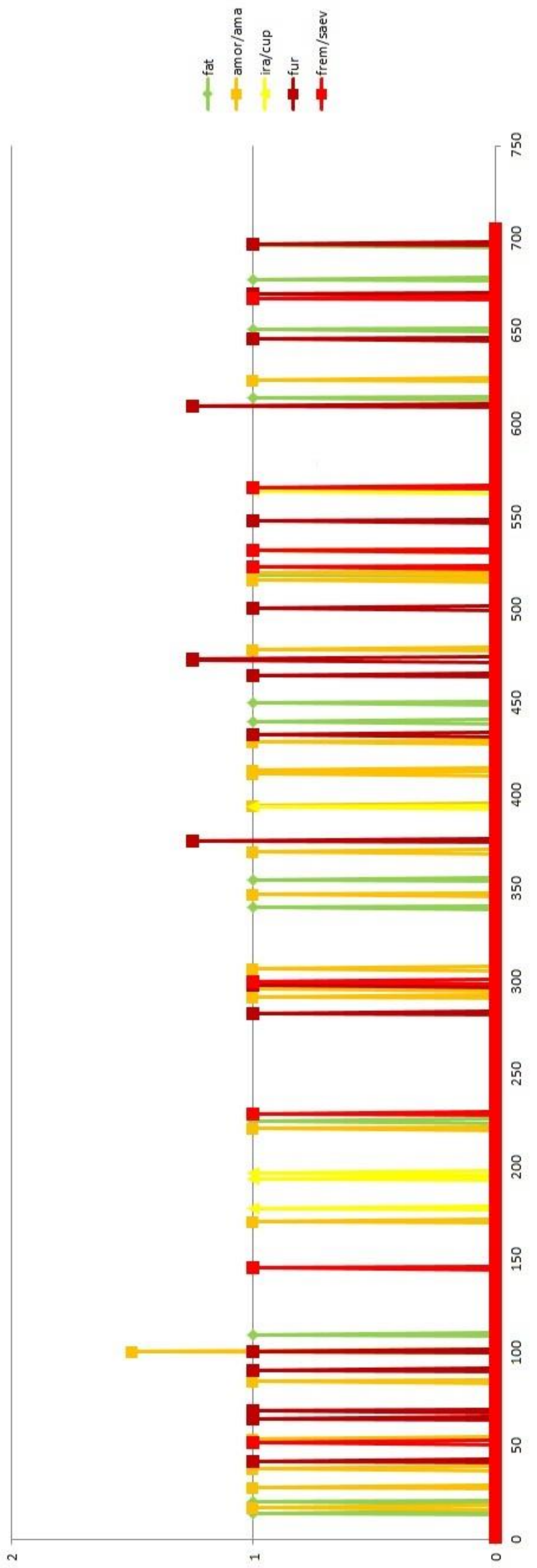

fat
amor/ama
ira/cup
fur
frem/saev
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
0
1
2

Chart 4.3

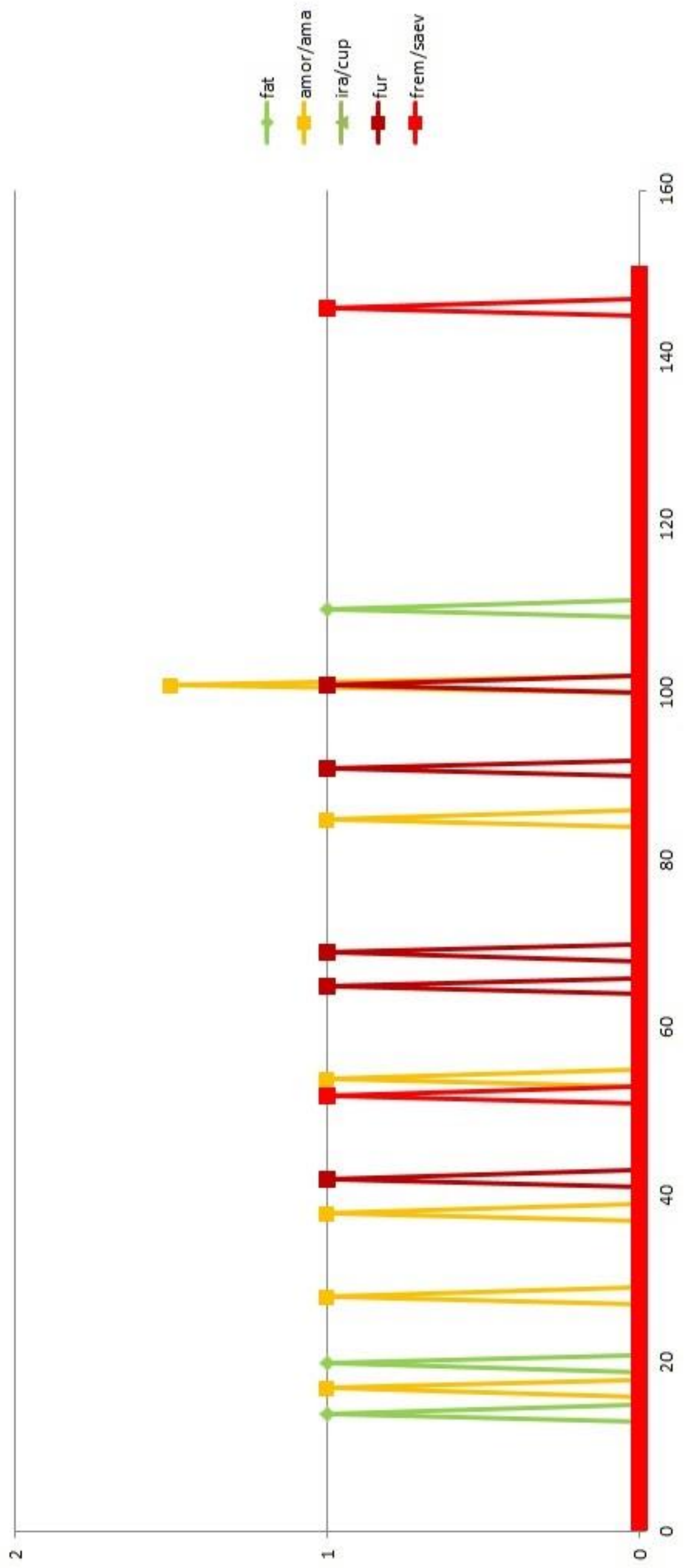

fat
amor/ama
ira/cup
fur
frem/saev
0
1
2
0
20
40
60
80
100
120
140
160

Chart 4.4

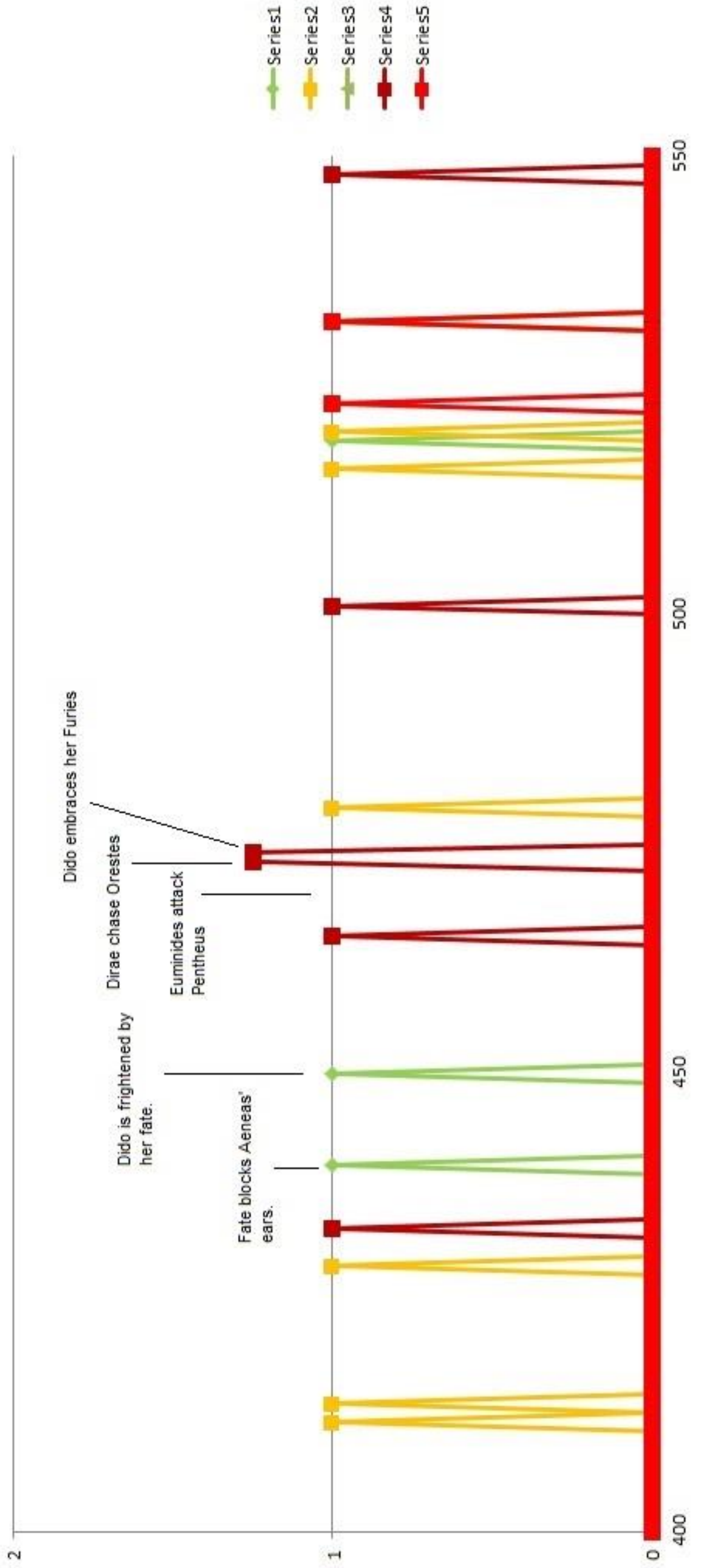

Series1
Series2
Series3
Series4
Series5
Dido embraces her Furies
Dirae chase Orestes
Euminides attack Pentheus
Dido is frightened by her fate.
Fate blocks Aeneas' ears.
2
1
0
400
450
500
550

Chart 4.5

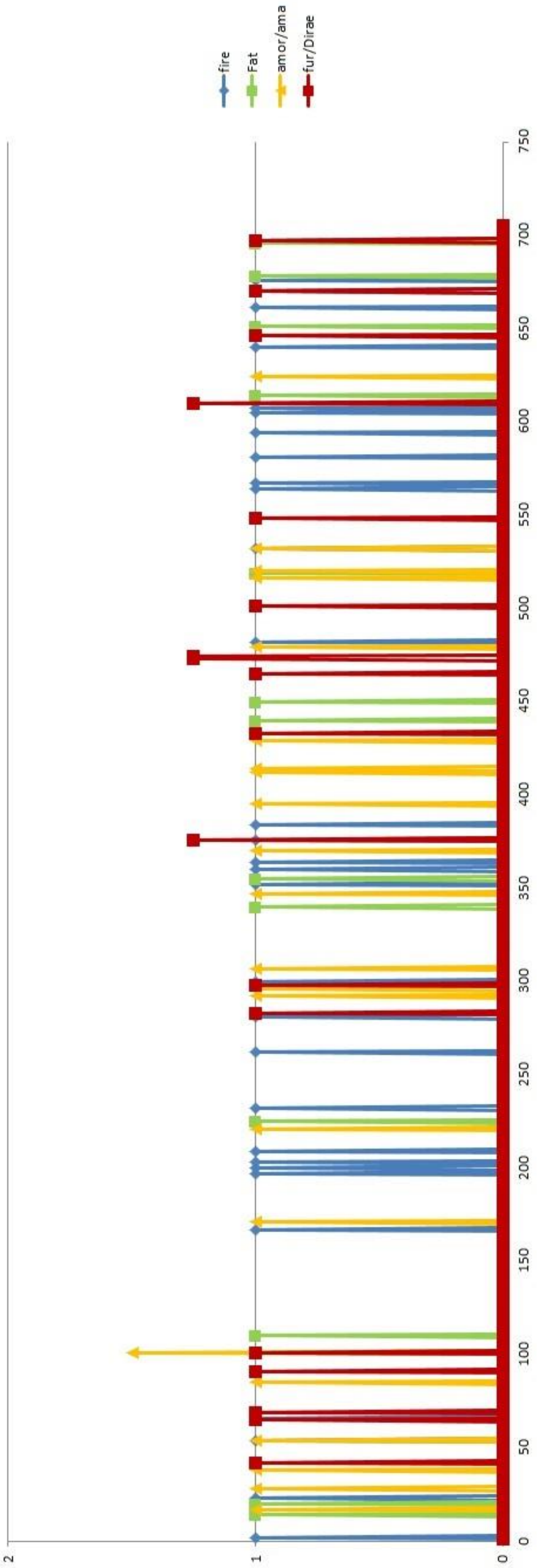

fire
Fat
amor/ama
fur/Dirae
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
0
1
2

Chart 5.1

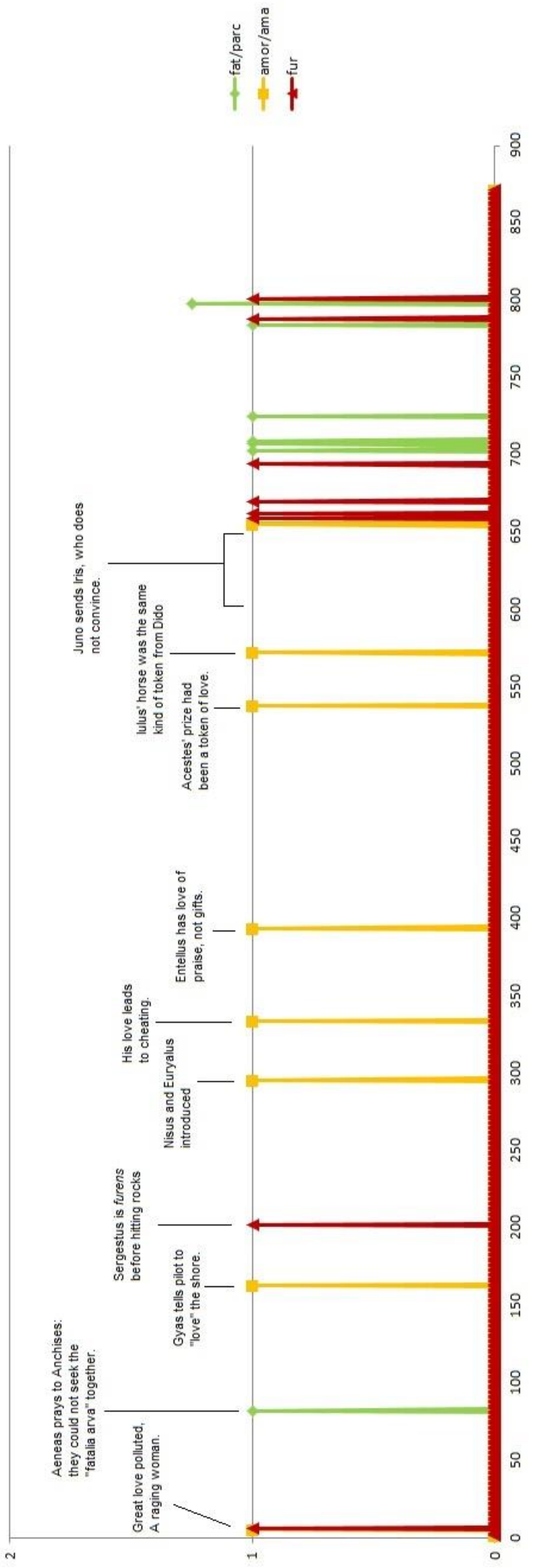
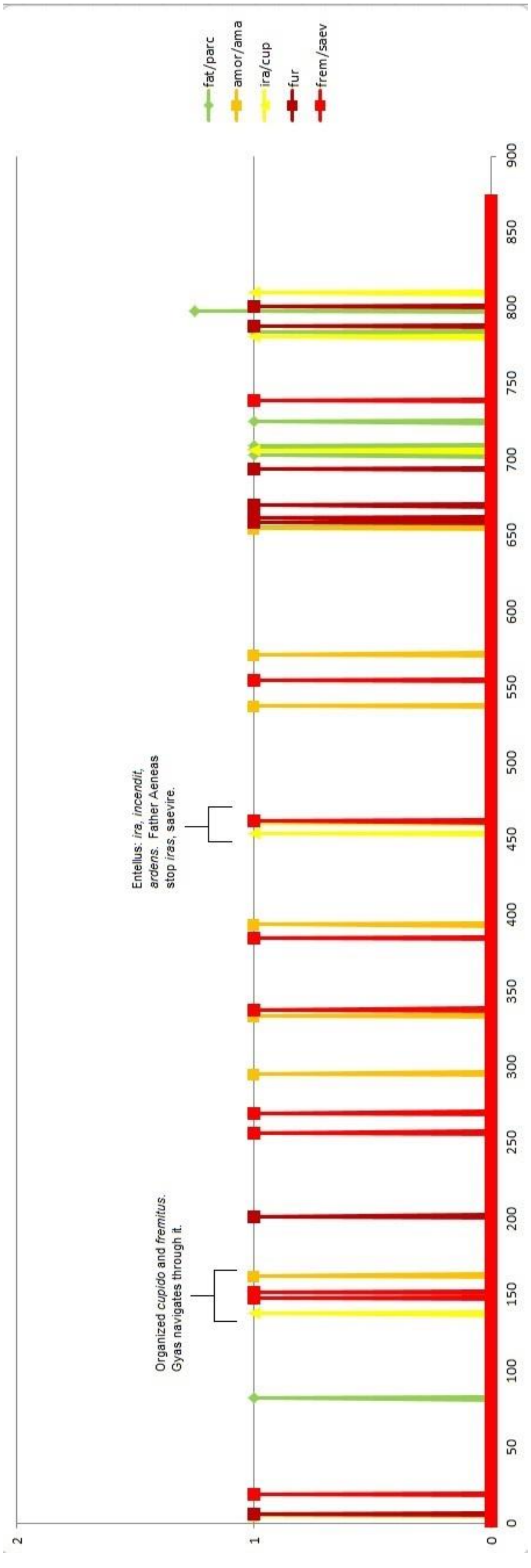

fat/parc
amor/ama
fur
Great love polluted, A raging woman.
Aeneas prays to Anchises: they could not seek the "fatalia arva" together.
Gyas tells pilot to "love" the shore.
Sergestus is *furens* before hitting rocks
Nisus and Euryalus introduced
His love leads to cheating.
Entellus has love of praise, not gifts.
Acestes' prize had been a token of love.
Iulus' horse was the same kind of token from Dido
Juno sends Iris, who does not convince.
0
1
2
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
900

Chart 5.2



Organized *cupido* and *fremitus*. Gyas navigates through it.

Entellus: *ira*, *incendit*, *ardens*. Father Aeneas stop *iras*, saevire.

Chart 5.3

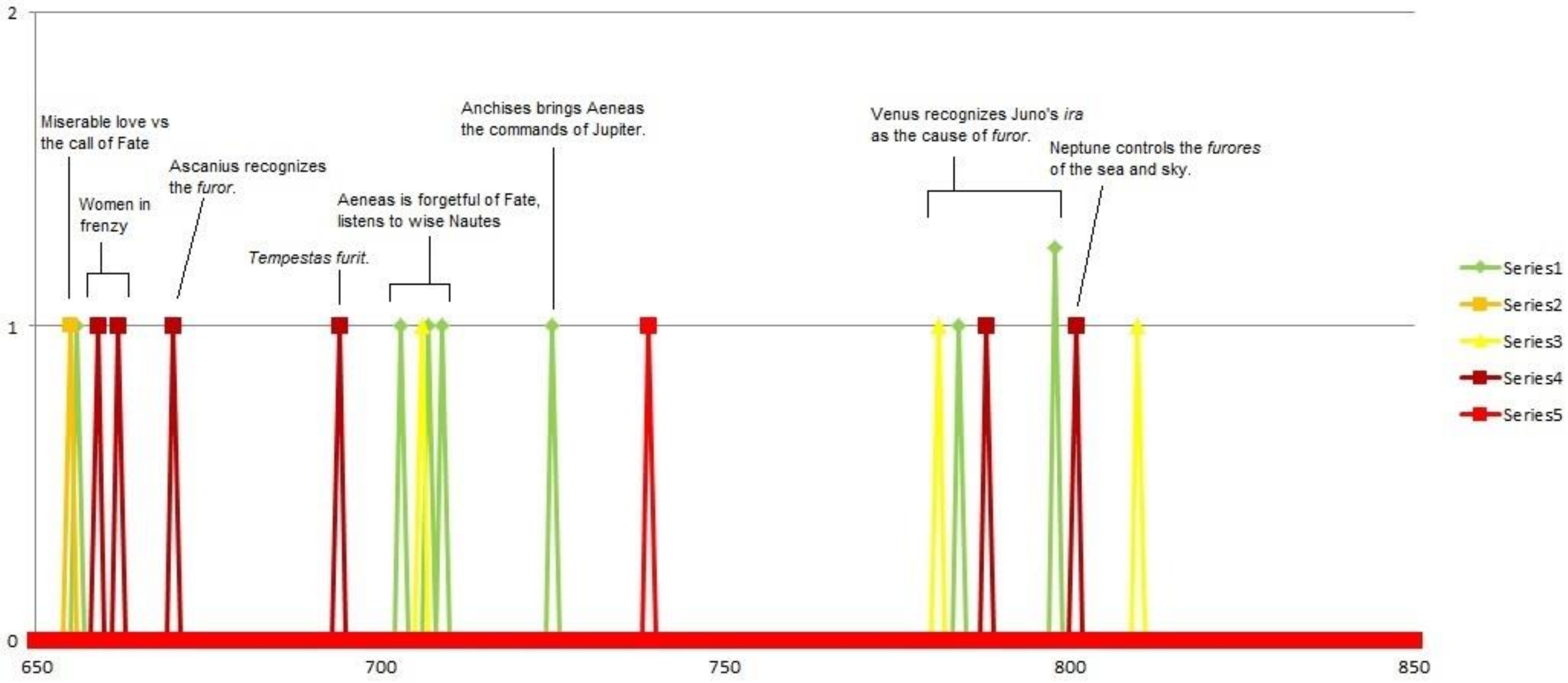

2
1
0
650
700
750
800
850
Miserable love vs the call of Fate
Women in frenzy
Ascanius recognizes the *furor*.
Tempestas furit.
Aeneas is forgetful of Fate, listens to wise Nautes
Anchises brings Aeneas the commands of Jupiter.
Venus recognizes Juno's *ira* as the cause of *furor*.
Neptune controls the *furores* of the sea and sky.
Series1
Series2
Series3
Series4
Series5

Chart 6.1

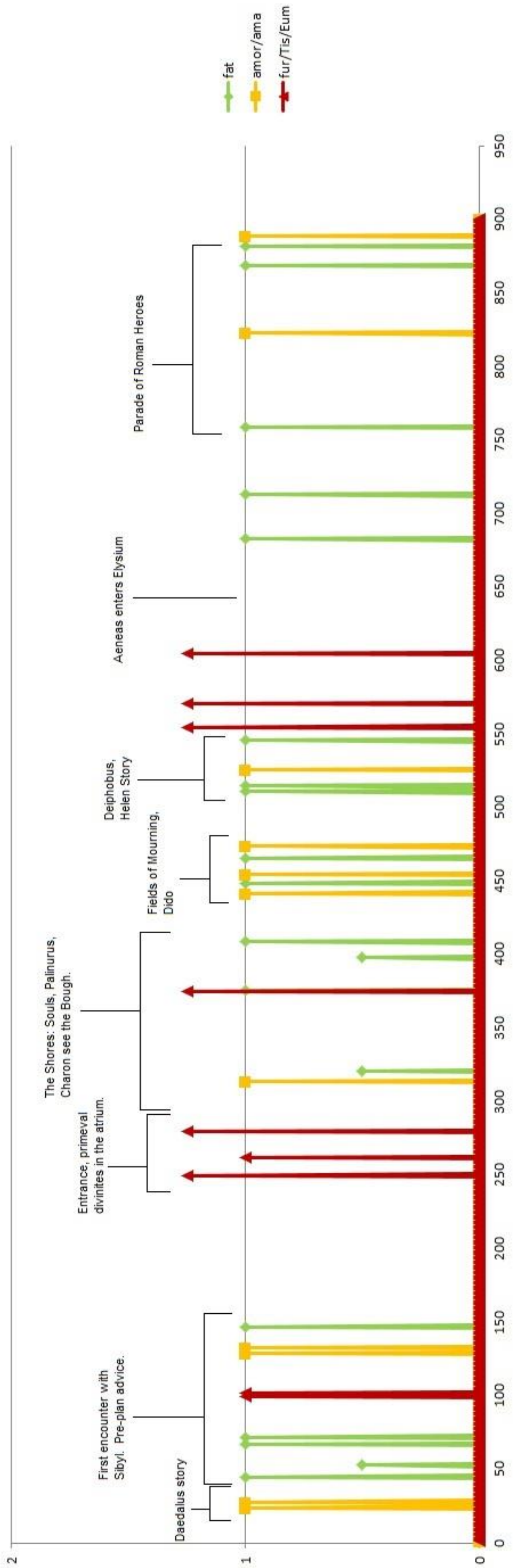

fat
amor/ama
fur/Tis/Eum
Daedalus story
First encounter with Sibyl. Pre-plan advice.
Entrance, primeval divinites in the atrium.
The Shores: Souls, Palinurus, Charon see the Bough.
Fields of Mourning, Dido
Deiphobus, Helen Story
Aeneas enters Elysium
Parade of Roman Heroes
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
900
950
0
1
2

Chart 6.2

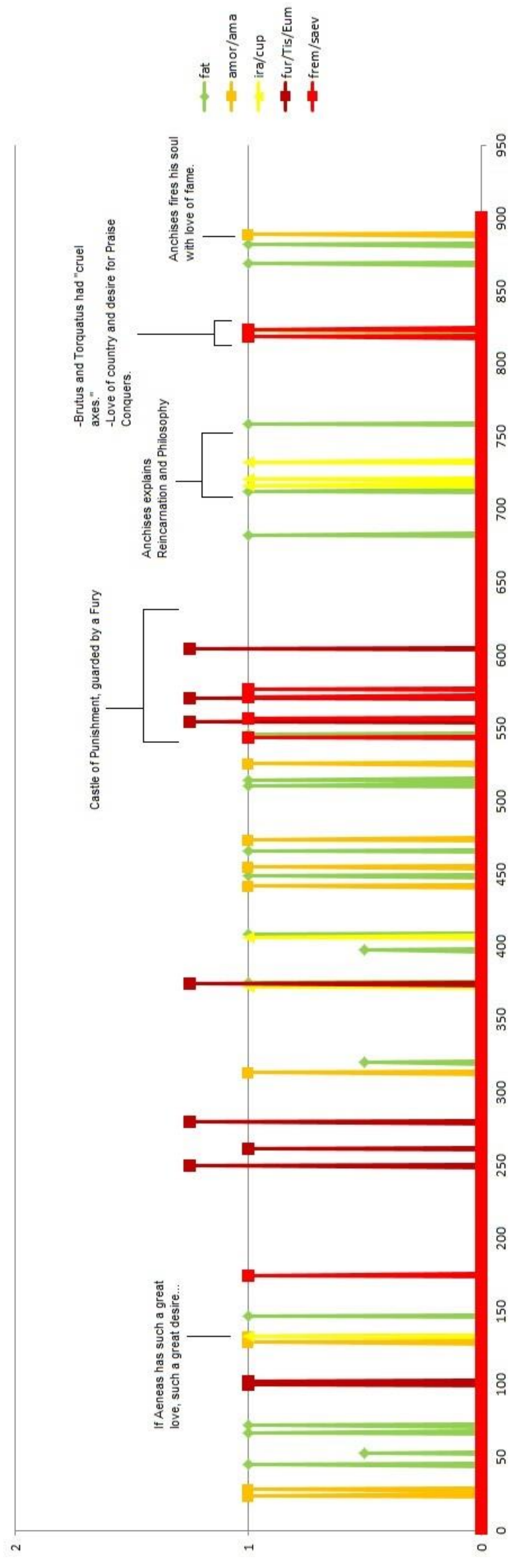
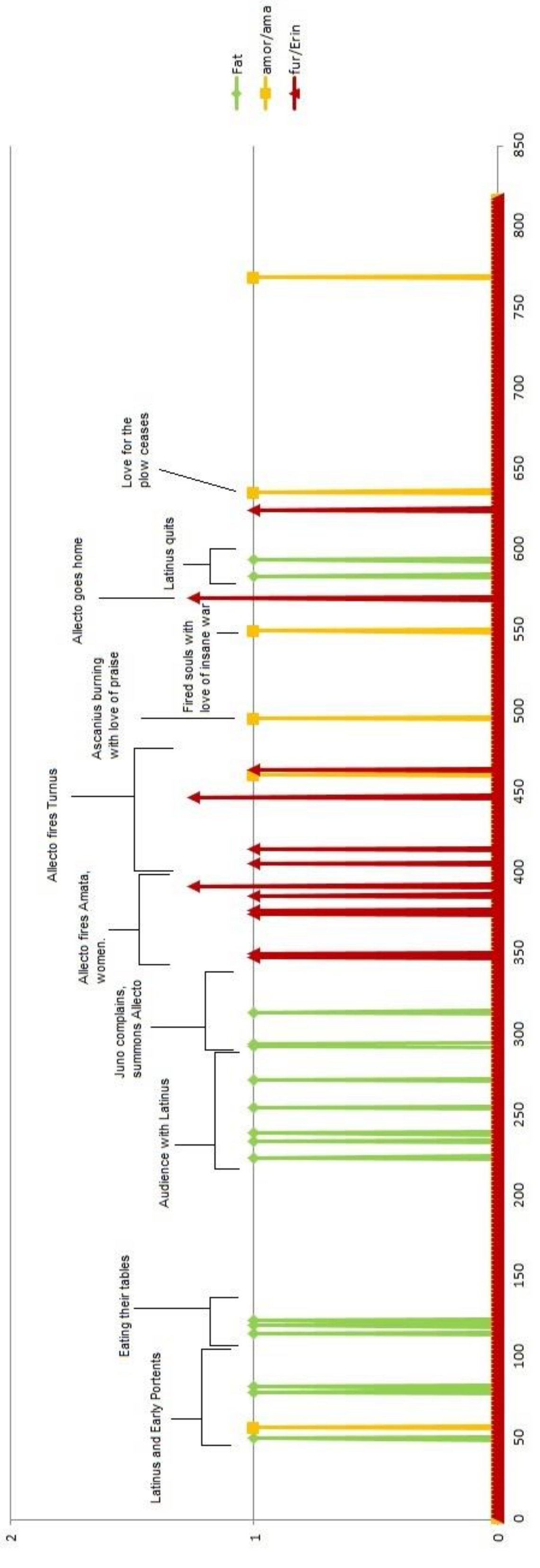

fat
amor/ama
ira/cup
fur/Tis/Eum
frem/saev
If Aeneas has such a great love, such a great desire...
Castle of Punishment, guarded by a Fury
Anchises explains Reincarnation and Philosophy
-Brutus and Torquatus had "cruel axes."
-Love of country and desire for Praise Conquers.
Anchises fires his soul with love of fame.
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
900
950
0
1
2

Chart 7.1



Fat
amor/ama
fur/Erin
Latinus and Early Portents
Eating their tables
Audience with Latinus
Juno complains, summons Allecto
Allecto fires Amata, women.
Allecto fires Turnus
Ascanius burning with love of praise
Fired souls with love of insane war
Allecto goes home
Latinus quits
Love for the plow ceases
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
0
1
2

Chart 7.2

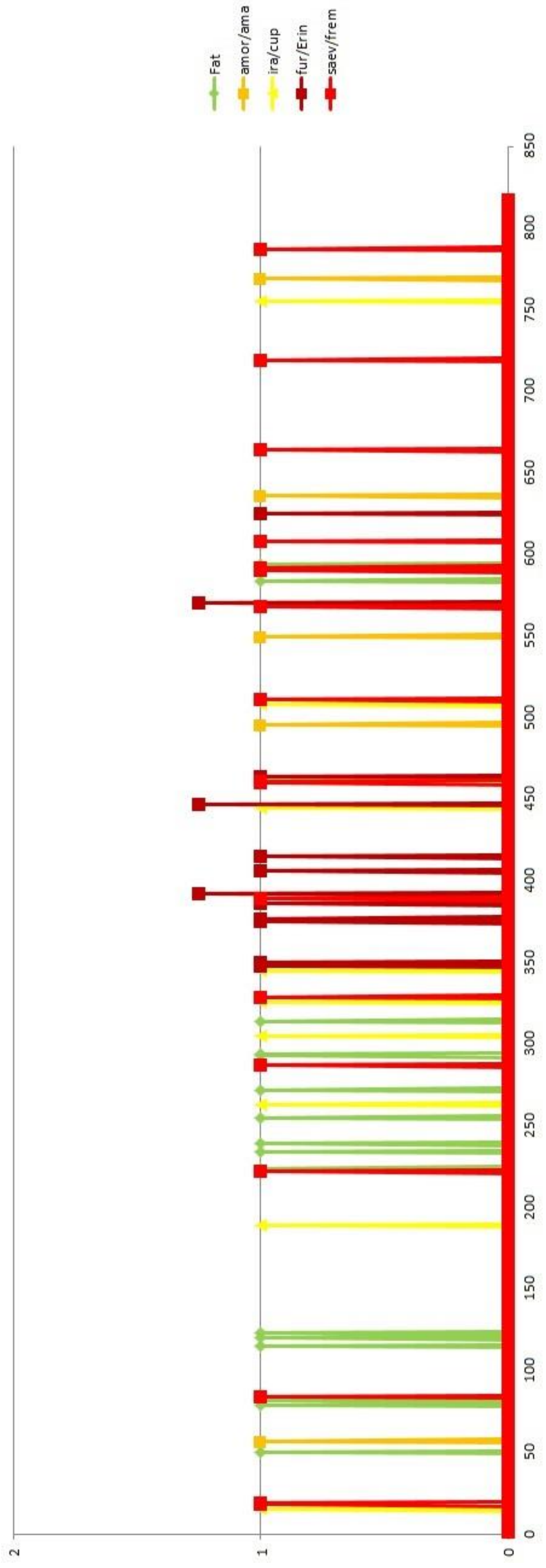
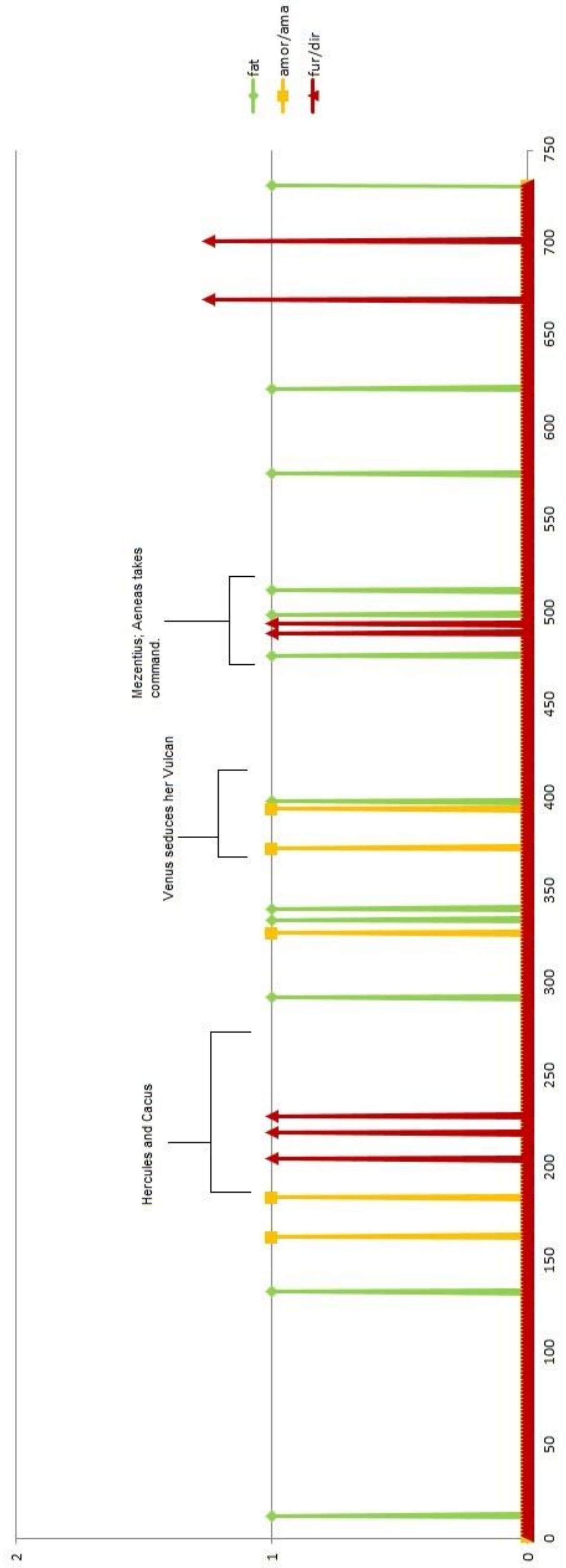

Fat
amor/ama
ira/cup
fur/Erin
saev/frem
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
0
1
2

Chart 8.1



fat
amor/ama
fur/dir
Hercules and Cacus
Venus seduces her Vulcan
Mezentius; Aeneas takes command.
0
1
2
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750

Chart 8.2

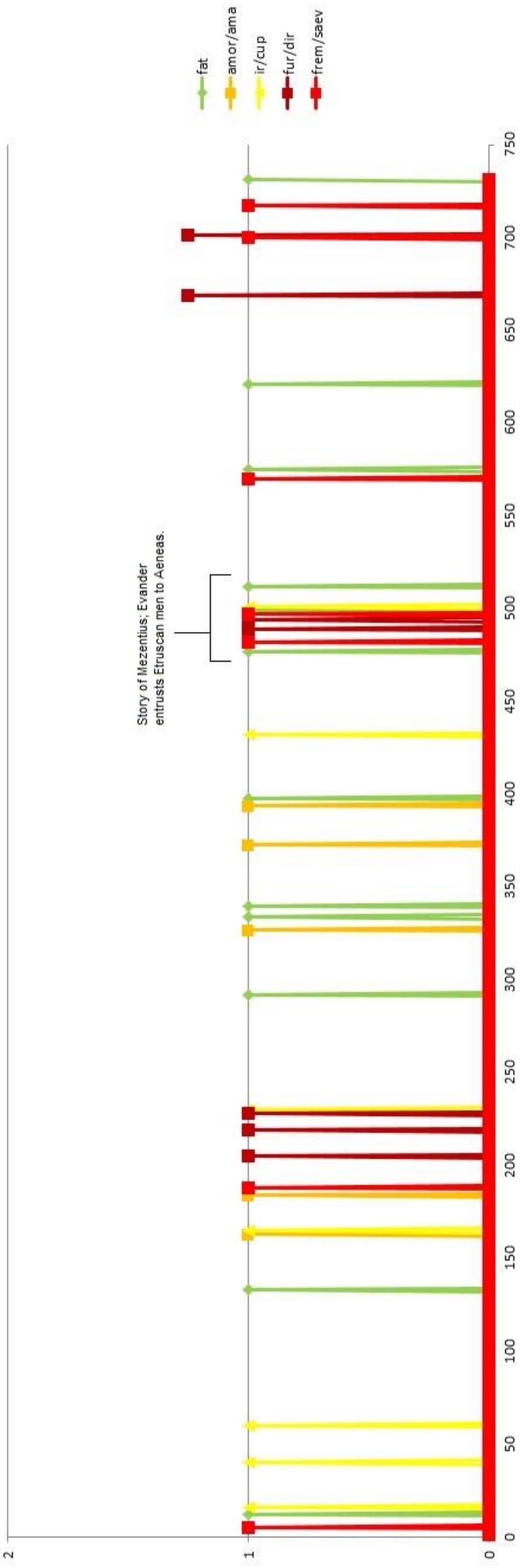

fat
amor/ama
ir/cup
fur/dir
frem/saev
Story of Mezentius; Evander entrusts Etruscan men to Aeneas.
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
0
1
2

Chart 9.1

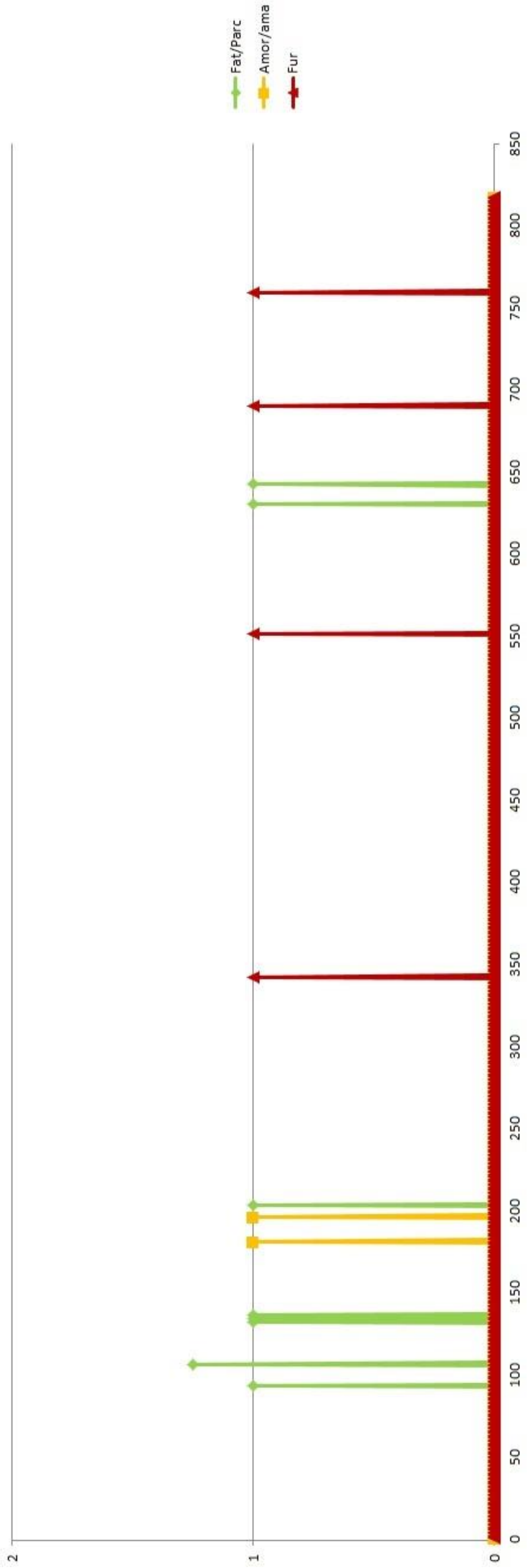

Fat/Parc
Amor/ama
Fur
0
1
2
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850

Chart 9.2

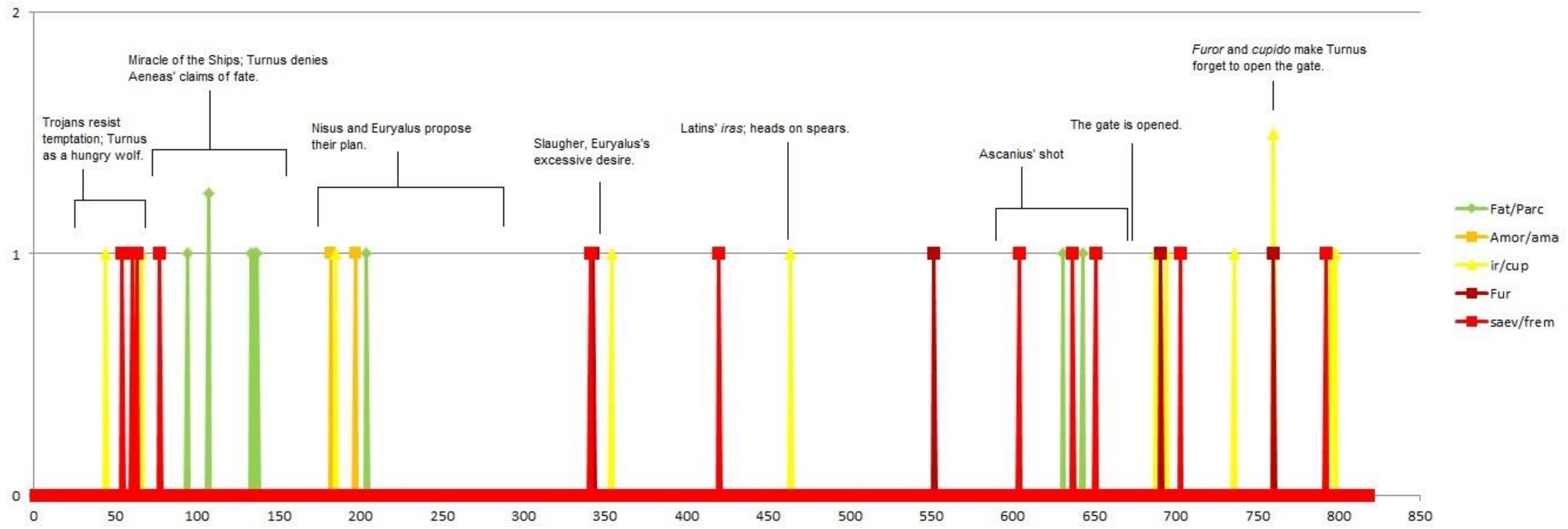

Trojans resist temptation; Turnus as a hungry wolf.
Miracle of the Ships; Turnus denies Aeneas' claims of fate.
Nisus and Euryalus propose their plan.
Slaugher, Euryalus's excessive desire.
Latins' *iras*; heads on spears.
Ascanius' shot
The gate is opened.
Furor and *cupido* make Turnus forget to open the gate.
Fat/Parc
Amor/ama
ir/cup
Fur
saev/frem
0
1
2
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850

Chart 10.1

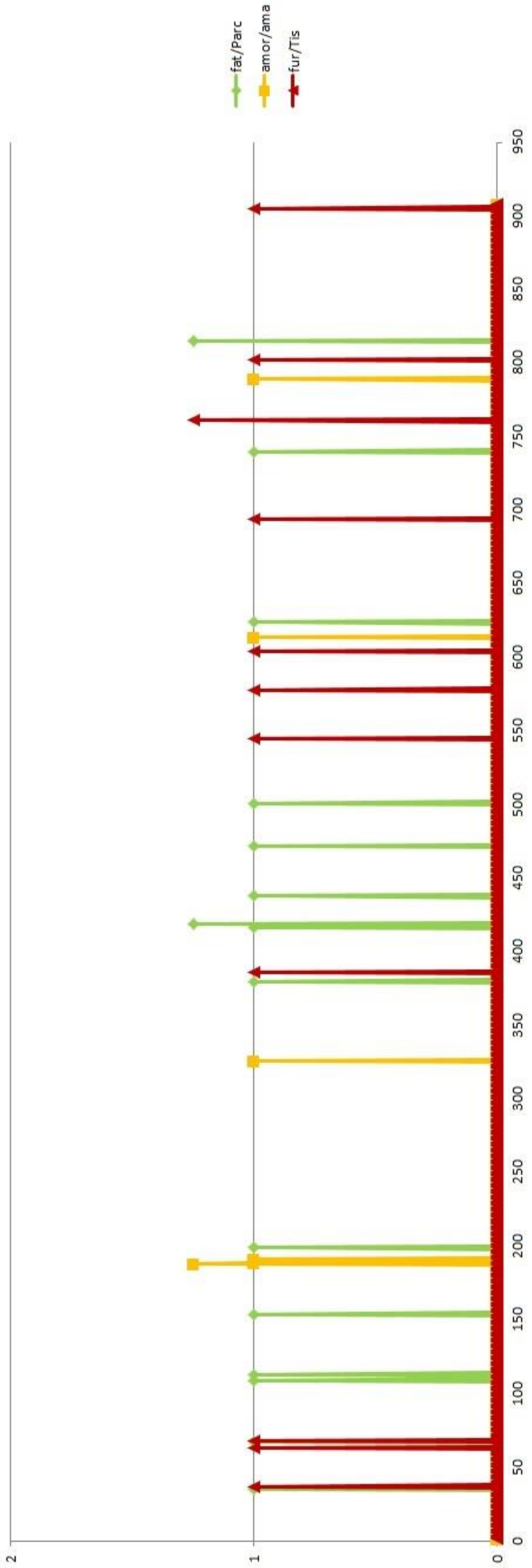

fat/Parc
amor/ama
fur/Tis
2
1
0
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
900
950

Chart 10.2

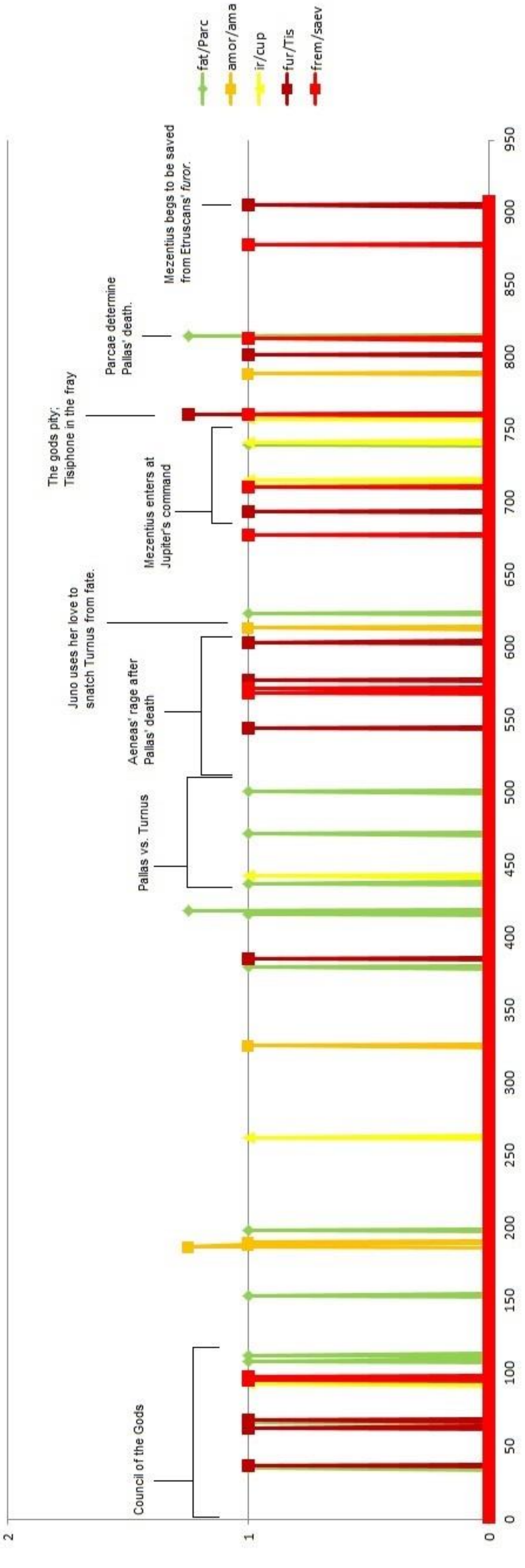

fat/Parc
amor/ama
ir/cup
fur/Tis
frem/saev
Council of the Gods
Pallas vs. Turnus
Aeneas' rage after Pallas' death
Juno uses her love to snatch Turnus from fate.
Mezentius enters at Jupiter's command
The gods pity; Tisiphone in the fray
Parcae determine Pallas' death.
Mezentius begs to be saved from Etruscans' *furor*.
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
900
950
0
1
2

Chart 10.3

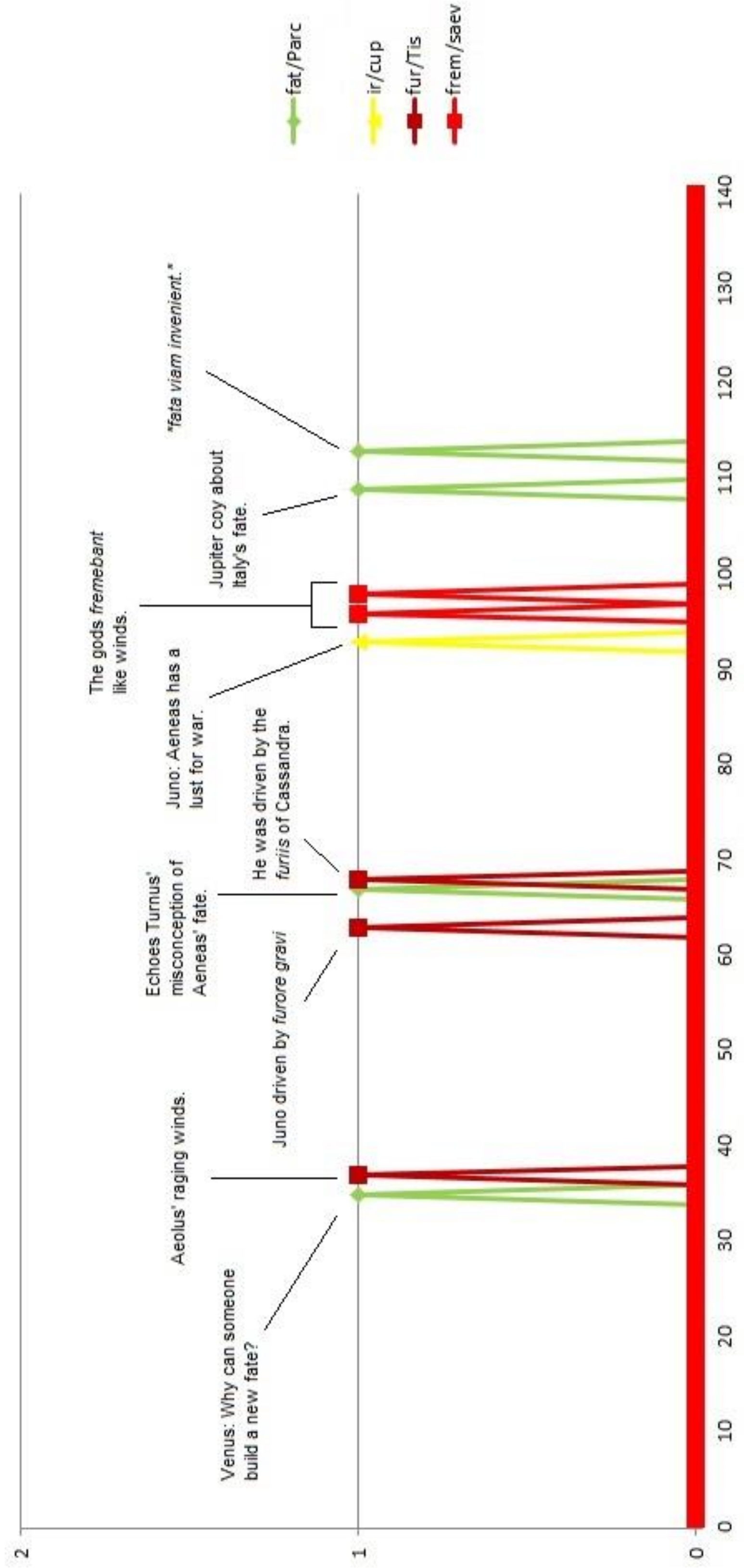
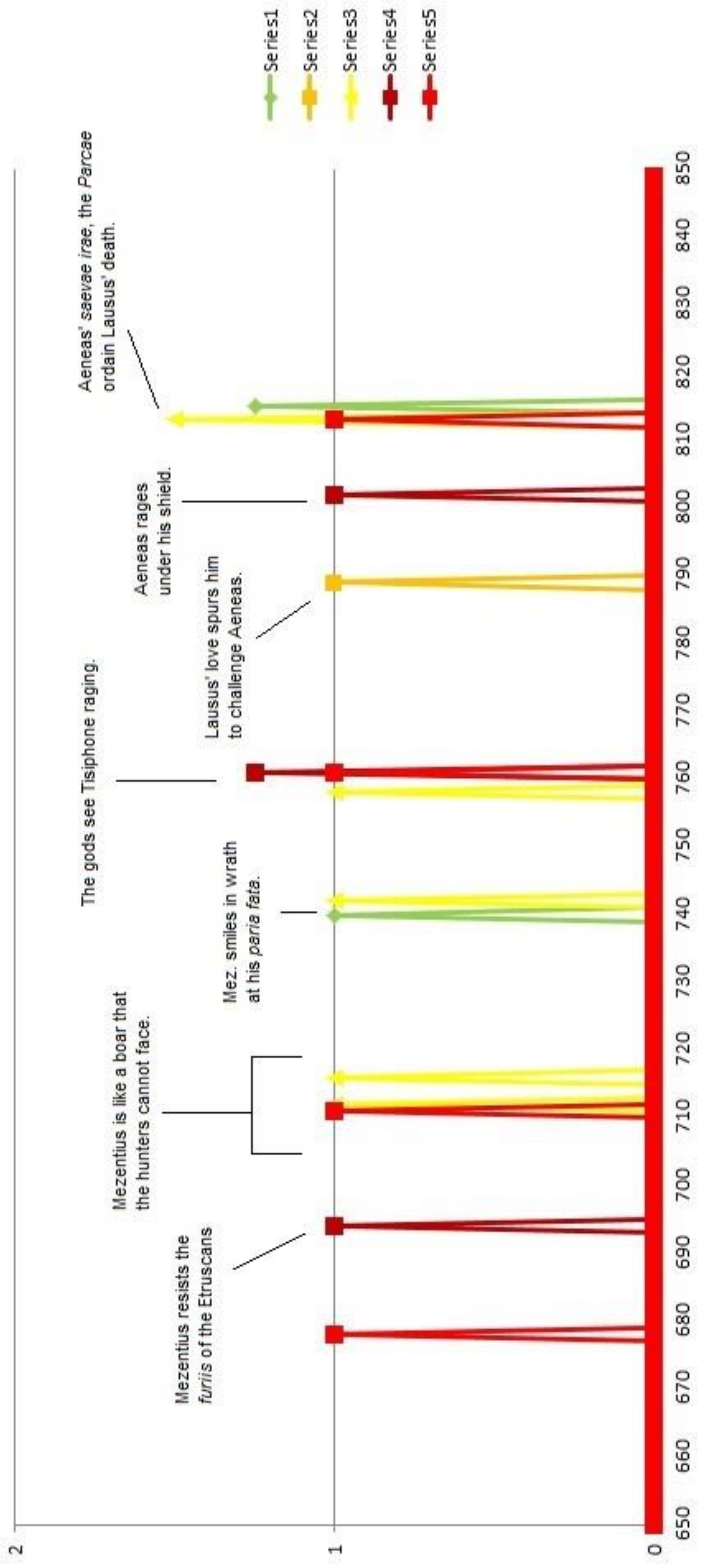

fat/Parc
ir/cup
fur/Tis
frem/saev
"fata viam invenient."
Jupiter coy about Italy's fate.
The gods *fremebant* like winds.
Juno: Aeneas has a lust for war.
He was driven by the *furiis* of Cassandra.
Echoes Turnus' misconception of Aeneas' fate.
Juno driven by *furore gravi*
Aeolus' raging winds.
Venus: Why can someone build a new fate?
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
110
120
130
140
0
1
2

Chart 10.4



Series1
Series2
Series3
Series4
Series5
Aeneas' *saevae irae*, the *Parcae* ordain Lausus' death.
Aeneas rages under his shield.
Lausus' love spurs him to challenge Aeneas.
The gods see Tisiphone raging.
Mez. smiles in wrath at his *paria fata*.
Mezentius is like a boar that the hunters cannot face.
Mezentius resists the *furiis* of the Etruscans
0
1
2
650
660
670
680
690
700
710
720
730
740
750
760
770
780
790
800
810
820
830
840
850

Chart 11.1

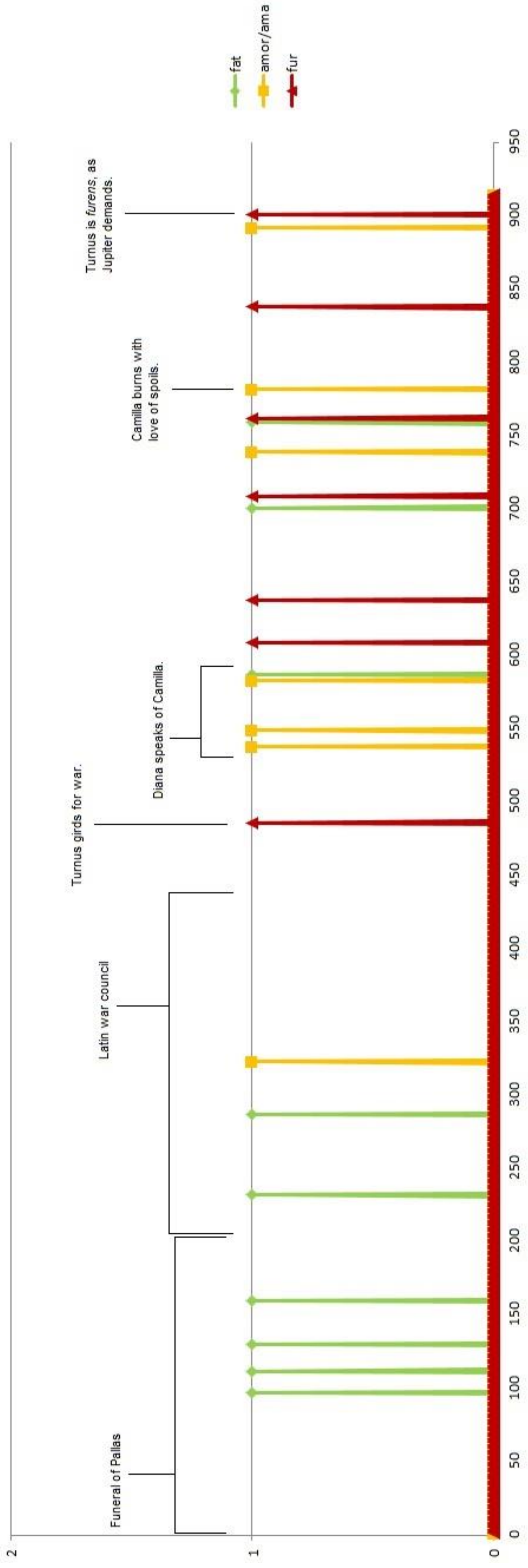

fat
amor/ama
fur
Funeral of Pallas
Latin war council
Turnus girds for war.
Diana speaks of Camilla.
Camilla burns with love of spoils.
Turnus is *furens*, as Jupiter demands.
0
1
2
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
900
950

Chart 11.2

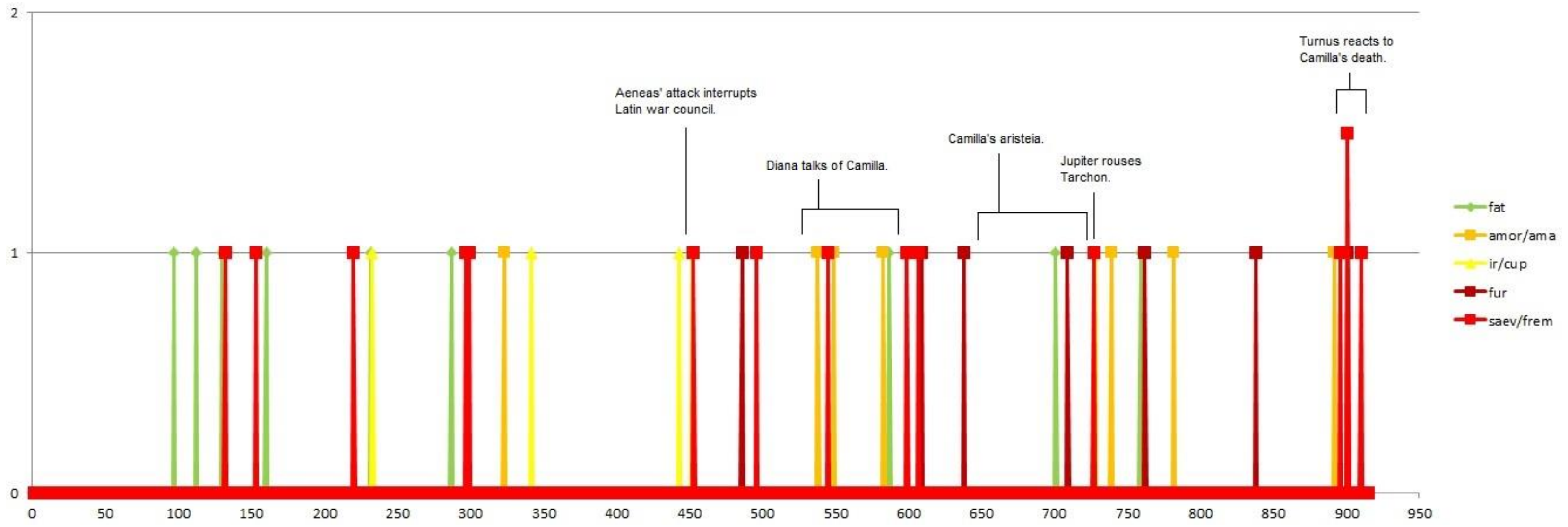

2
1
0
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
900
950
Aeneas' attack interrupts Latin war council.
Diana talks of Camilla.
Camilla's aristeia.
Jupiter rouses Tarchon.
Turnus reacts to Camilla's death.
fat
amor/ama
ir/cup
fur
saev/frem

Chart 12.1

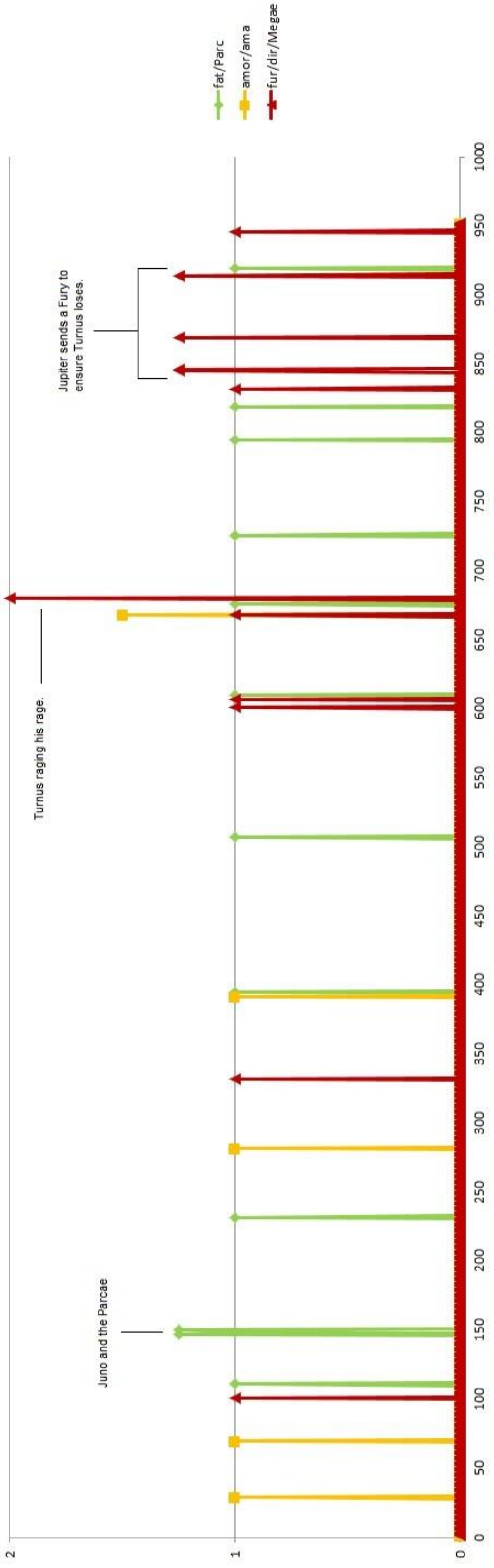
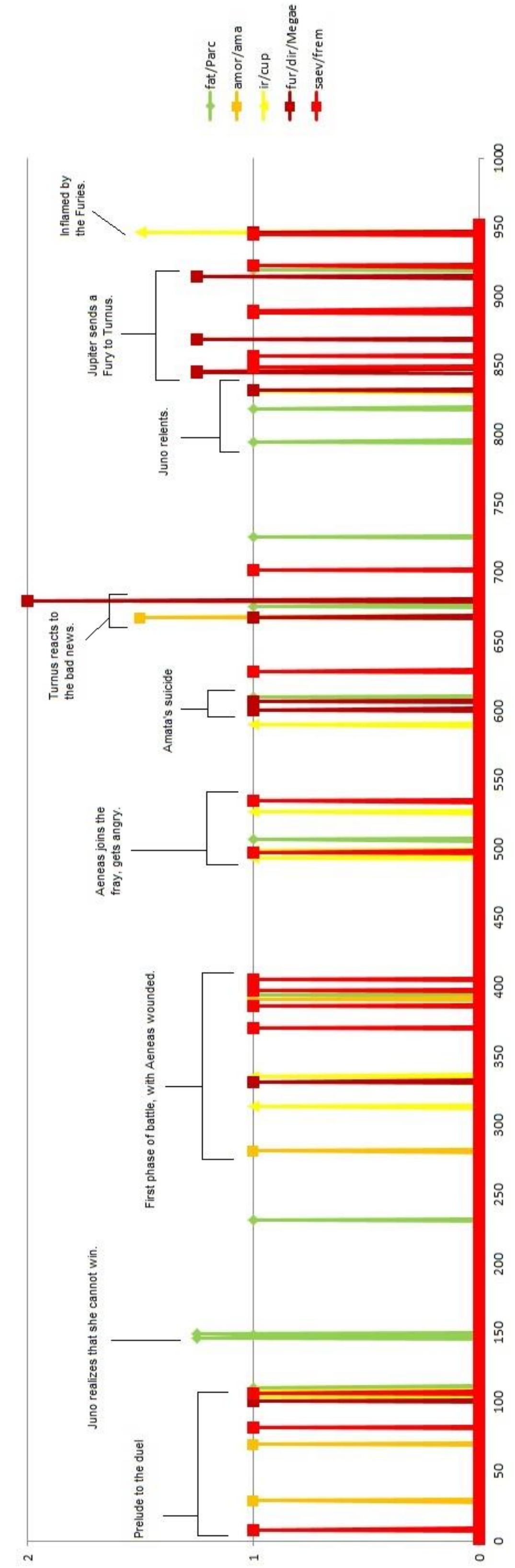
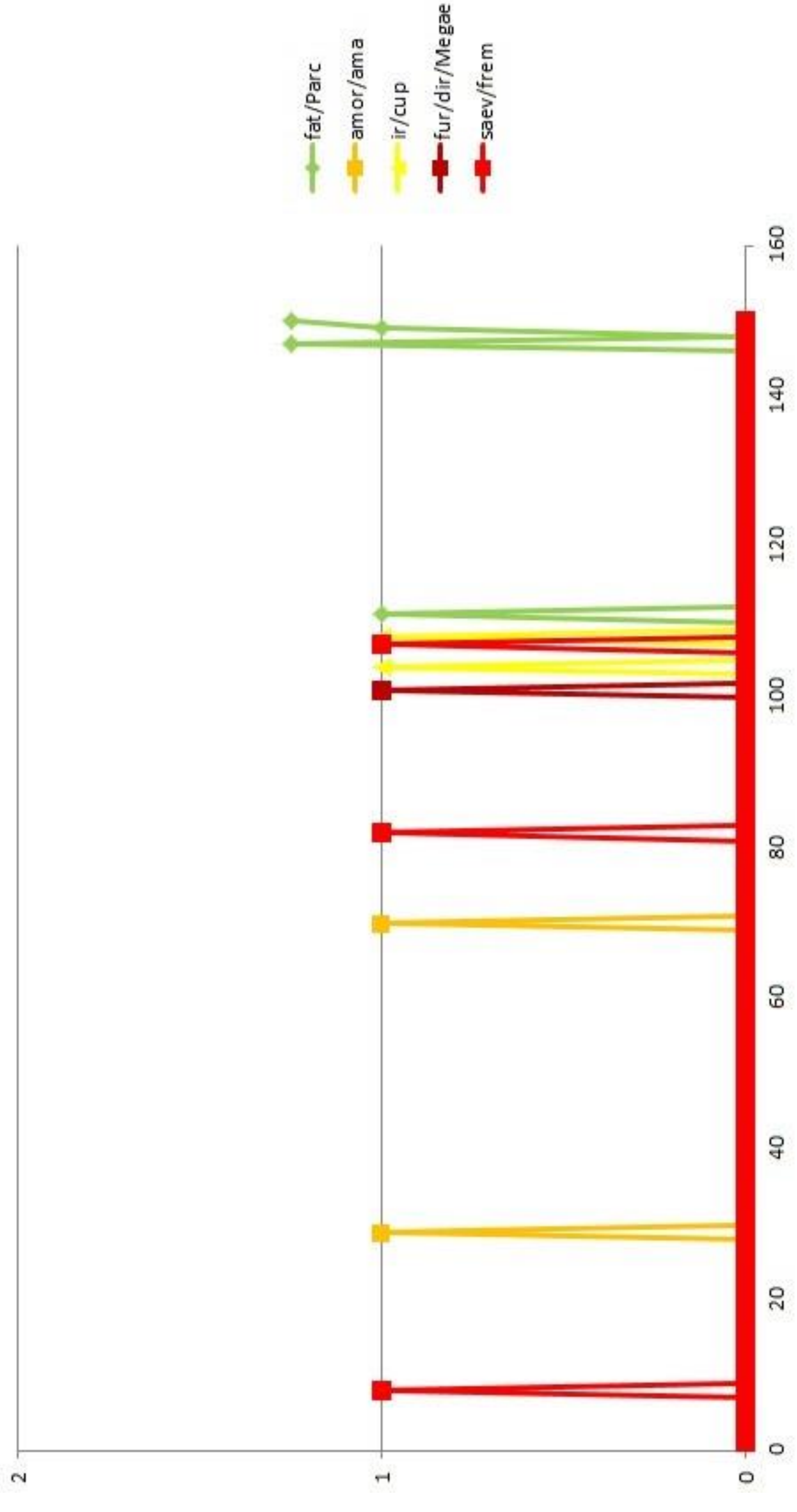

fat/Parc
amor/ama
fur/dir/Megae
Jupiter sends a Fury to ensure Turnus loses.
Turnus raging his rage.
Juno and the Parcae
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
900
950
1000
0
1
2

Chart 12.2



fat/Parc
amor/ama
ir/cup
fur/dir/Megae
saev/frem
Inflamed by the Furies.
Jupiter sends a Fury to Turnus.
Juno relents.
Turnus reacts to the bad news.
Amata's suicide
Aeneas joins the fray, gets angry.
First phase of battle, with Aeneas wounded.
Juno realizes that she cannot win.
Prelude to the duel
0
50
100
150
200
250
300
350
400
450
500
550
600
650
700
750
800
850
900
950
1000
0
1
2

Chart 12.3


fat/Parc
amor/ama
ir/cup
fur/dir/Megae
saev/frem
0
20
40
60
80
100
120
140
160
0
1
2

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