

Aeneid, Books 7–9

Amanda Hopkins

Citation details: HOPKINS, Amanda, ‘*Aeneid*, Books 7–9.’ Version of a lecture given on the Epic Tradition module (Coventry: The University of Warwick, 22 January, 2014) <web address> [accessed DATE]¹

CONTENTS

Part I [The Structure of the *Aeneid*](#)

Part II [Epic Tradition: How Virgil Adapts Elements From Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*](#)

1. [Prophecy, Omens and the Shield of Aeneas](#)
2. [The Catalogue of War Leaders](#)
 - i. [The Gates of War \(Laurentum\) and the Gates of War \(Rome\)](#)
 - ii. [The Catalogue and Camilla](#)
3. [Virgil’s Doloneia: Nisus and Euryalus](#)

[Bibliography](#)

PREFATORY NOTE ON *AENEID* TEXTS

Textual analysis and citations are primarily based on the translation of the *Aeneid* by Robert Fitzgerald; citations from this work show the relevant book numbers in Arabic script. References to the Latin text, and the accompanying line-by-line translations by A. S. Kline, are distinguished by the use of Roman numerals for the book numbers.²

Part I

The Structure of the *Aeneid*

It is a commonplace to refer to the first half of the *Aeneid*, Books 1–6, as Virgil’s ‘Odyssey’ and the second half, 7–12, as his ‘Iliad’ (see, *inter alia*, Duckworth 1957, 2). Book 7 begins with the death of Aeneas’s nurse, Caieta, and thus seems to be looking back to Troy, but in fact her death marks the final break with the past, allowing Aeneas to focus on his future in Italy.

¹ Replace <web address> with the location from which the file was accessed, and DATE with the full date it was accessed. To cite notes taken during the lecture, rather than this version:

HOPKINS, Amanda, ‘*Aeneid*, Books 7–9’, Lecture, The Epic Tradition (Coventry: The University of Warwick, 22 January, 2014).

² Publius Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis*, ed. by J. B. Greenough, *Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics of Vergil* (Boston: Ginn, 1900). Online at *The Latin Library* <<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/verg.html>> and, with glossary and translations by John Dryden and Theodore C. Williams, at *The Perseus Digital Library* <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0055&redirect=true>> [accessed 21 January 2014]; Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. by Robert Fitzgerald (1983. Harmondsworth: King Penguin, 1985); trans. by A. S. Kline, *Virgil: The Major Works* (2001, 2002) <<http://poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/Virgilhome.htm>> [accessed 21 January 2014].

Once Caieta has been mourned in the opening lines of Book 7, Aeneas travels on, past Circe's island, until at last the Trojan ships reach landfall at Italy. Here the text turns firmly to the future, and at this point it certainly communicates the sense of a new beginning, with its invocation to the Muse:

Be with me, Muse of all Desire, Erato,
While I call up the kings, the early times,
How matters stood in the old land of Latium
That day when the foreign soldiers beached
Upon Ausonia's shore, and the events
That led to the first fight. Immortal one,
Bring all in memory to the singer's mind,
For I must tell of wars to chill the blood,
Ranked men in battle, kings by their own valor
Driven to death, Etruria's cavalry,
And all Hesperia mobilized in arms.
*A greater history opens before my eyes,
A greater task awaits me.*

(7.47–59, emphasis added)

The final lines here suggest that this, Virgil's 'Iliad', will be the greater part of the work; and, of course, for Virgil and for Augustus, it is, for here begins the history of Rome, which has been outlined to Aeneas in the underworld and which leads to the glory of Augustus as emperor. The invocation gives way to an analysis of the situation in Italy, the description of King Latinus and his family. It is notable that the movement from the Muse to Latinus occurs across a single line: Fitzgerald's translation accurately reflects Virgil's text with the half-line 'A greater task awaits me' completed in the second half-line with the words 'King Latinus', which begin the explanation of the new setting.

In addition to two halves, scholars have identified a number of other ways to divide the poem. George E. Duckworth makes the point that there is an alternating pattern, with the odd-numbered books lighter in tone, and the even-numbered ones darker or more serious.³ Duckworth observes that other pairings are possible: there is a symmetry in plot or theme which connects books in the first part with those in the second. Thus, Books 7–9 can be coupled with 1–3: Juno's raising of the storm in Book 1 is echoed by her bringing about war in Book 7; Book 2 tells of the destruction of Troy, while Book 8 depicts the foundation of Rome; and Books 3 and 9 can be seen, Duckworth says, as interludes, the former portraying wandering, the latter the Trojan camp.⁴

Many commentators see the text falling into a tripartite structure, known to some as Virgil's trilogy.⁵ The first four books, when Aeneas is based in Carthage, are always treated as a single

³ 'The *Aeneid* as a Trilogy.' *Transactions & Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 88 (1957), 1–10 (pp. 1–2).

⁴ 'The Significance of Nisus and Euryalus for *Aeneid* IX–XII.' *The American Journal of Philology*, 88:2 (1967), 129–50 (p. 2).

⁵ For example, Duckworth, 'Trilogy', *passim*; 'Significance', pp. 141–47.

unit; the remaining books are divided either into 5–8 and 9–12 or into 5–9 and 10–12. It was W. A. Camps who observed that the central books, 5–9, share a feature: each contains a central theme or image based directly on one in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Thus the Funeral Games for Anchises in Virgil’s Book 5 echo those for Patroklos in *Iliad* 23; in Book 6, Aeneas’s journey to the underworld is a direct reference to *Odyssey* 11; Virgil’s Catalogue of War Leaders in Book 7 is his version of *Iliad* 2, not in the Catalogue of Ships, as we shall see, but in the Catalogue of Trojan Heroes which follows it; Aeneas’s Shield in Book 8 is based on the Shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18; and the central episode of *Aeneid* 9, the mission of Nisus and Euryalus, is based on the Doloneia in *Iliad* 10. Yet, while Virgil’s use of Homeric material is undeniable, he adapts it to his own ends: Camps points out that Virgil has ‘consistently in each case given his own version a specifically Roman application’.⁶

Part II

Epic Tradition:

How Virgil Adapts Elements From Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*

1. PROPHECY, OMENS AND THE SHIELD OF AENEAS

The idea of destiny and fate is expressed frequently by Homer through prophetic statements, often supported by portents or omens sent by the gods. Virgil is, perhaps, even more concerned than Homer with destiny and the expression of fated events through prophecy. The first half of the *Aeneid* offers numerous prophecies, culminating in the future history of Rome revealed to Aeneas in the underworld; the second half of the text also offers prophecies, but now Virgil is more concerned to demonstrate the completion, the fulfilment, of such prophecies. Book 7 is a case in point: first the comforting river-god Tiberinus directs Aeneas to a white sow and thirty piglets: this, he says, will be the place where ‘after thirty years | Ascanius will found the famous town | Called Alba, or White City’ (7.62–64). Aeneas indeed finds the pigs and, as Tiberinus has directed, sacrifices them to Juno. The finding of the swine has also been subject of a prophecy made by Helenus in Book 3 (525–32); here, then, is a doubling of completion.

Prophecy and destiny are also shown in Book 7 to be important to the peoples of Italy. Latinus has kept his daughter Lavinia unmarried because of the words of an oracle:

⁶ W. A. Camps, ‘A Second Note on the Structure of the *Aeneid*’, *The Classical Quarterly* 9:1 (1959), 53–56 (p. 53, qtd. in Duckworth, ‘Trilogy’, p. 144). See also Duckworth, ‘Significance’, p. 6.

‘Men from abroad will come
 And be your sons by marriage. Blood so mingled
 Lifts our name starward. Children of that stock
 Will see all earth turned Latin at their feet,
 Governed by them.’ (7.127–31)

Book 7 also shows the completion of the prophecy about the Trojans eating their tables, first expressed in Celaeno’s curse in Book 3 (340–49) where she declares: “‘you may never wall your destined city | Till deathly famine [...] | Has made you grind the tables with your teeth’” (3.347–49). Later in Book 3 this is reinterpreted by Helenus in his prophecy, where he assures Aeneas that he should ‘Have no fear of table-biting times’ (4.533). Now, in Book 7, the prophecy is fulfilled, when, making camp in Italy, the Trojans have a meal and, still hungry, eat the bread they have used as plates. In case the audience has forgotten the prophecy attached to this, Virgil calls attention to it emphatically. First he states that the Trojans ‘broke the crusted disks of prophecy’ (7.149), and then Ascanius exclaims: “‘Look, how we’ve devoured our tables even!’” (7.150). Silence descends on the group: the Trojans recognize that the prophecy has been fulfilled, the curse broken; all realize that ‘that remark [...] had meant | The end of wandering’ (7.153–54). Virgil does not leave the matter there, but has Aeneas refer to another, previously unmentioned, prophecy by his father:

‘You know my father
 Anchises once foretold this secret token—
 Now I remember—of our destiny.
 He told me then: “My son, when the time comes
 That hunger on a strange coast urges you,
 When food has failed, to eat your very tables,
 Then you may look for home.’ (7.161–67)

This is the beginning of the Trojan *nostos*.

Other prophecies occur, and are fulfilled, in Virgil’s ‘Iliad’. In Book 8, the reader learns that a soothsayer has told Mezentius’s oppressed people that ‘no Italian | May have command of this great people’s cause. | Choose leaders from abroad’ (8.678–80), which means that, just as Latinus awaits a foreign son-in-law, they are awaiting a foreign saviour. The fulfilment comes in Evander’s words to Aeneas: “‘you are he whose age and foreign birth | The fates approve, and whom the gods desire. | Enter on your great duty now’” (8.692–94); and, when Venus confirms this with a sign, Aeneas declares: “‘I am the man | Whom heaven calls. This sign my goddess mother | Prophesied she would send if war broke out’” (8.724–26).

The Shield of Aeneas, the climax of Book 8, is also connected with prophecy. The circumstances of the construction of Aeneas’s shield mimic those of Achilles’s shield, except that this time the mother who supplicates the smith-god for weapons for her son is also Vulcan’s wife. However, where Homer used Achilles’s shield to depict the world away from the battlefield,

with its seasons, its joys and sorrows, the life of towns and countryside, in general terms, Virgil instead provides another in the series of portrayals of Roman history, culminating in a focus on Augustus. On the shield is shown the Battle of Actium, in which, in 31BC, Augustus defeated Mark Antony and Cleopatra, and the triumphal procession of Augustus through Rome. Vulcan, ‘Knowing the prophets, knowing the age to come, | Had wrought the future story of Italy, | The triumphs of the Romans’ (8.457–51) on the shield. This future history, like that recounted in the underworld, is alien to Aeneas, but he is deeply moved and seems now finally to come to terms with, to accept fully, his great destiny:

All these images[...]
 [...] were wonders to Aeneas.
 Knowing nothing of the events themselves,
 He felt joy in their pictures, taking up
 Upon his shoulder all the destined acts
 And fame of his descendants. (8.987–92)

Virgil also articulates how inadvisable it is to ignore or defy prophecies. Latinus supports the prophecy about Lavina completely, but his people defy it: ‘Nothing would do but that, against the omens, | Against the oracles, by a power malign | They pled for frightful war’ (7.801–03). Turnus challenges this prophecy because he believes in the gods’ backing, misreading a sign of Iris, sent by malicious Juno (9.1–31); later, in Book 12, the truce between the armies will be broken because of a false omen (12.253–54).

Given the sheer volume of prophecies in the text, including, of course, the numerous future histories of Rome and the glory of Augustus, it is hardly surprising that Virgil, in the second half of the *Aeneid*, is so determined to demonstrate the completion of such prophecies.

2. THE CATALOGUE OF WAR LEADERS

The Iliadic world focussed on war: in addition to the Trojan War, there are references to several other wars and battles in Homer’s text. The Homeric world is one in which war is both a way of life and a means to gain glory, and thus war itself is imbued with glory. This presents Virgil with a problem for the *Aeneid*: the Roman world of Augustus, finally peaceful after a century of civil war, is one in which peace is the greater good, and war a destructive necessity. Virgil has to balance glorifying Aeneas as founder of Rome, great war-leader and symbol of Augustus with expressing the contemporary Roman disapprobation of war itself. His adaptation of Homer’s Catalogue of War Leaders is one way in which he does this.

i. The Gates of War (Laurentum) and the Gates of War (Rome)

Virgil’s Catalogue is preceded by a passage in which the gates of war at Laurentum are thrown

open. Gates of war have already been mentioned in Book 1, in Jupiter's prophecy of the future of Aeneas and of Rome:

‘Wars at an end, harsh centuries then will soften,
Ancient Fides and Vesta, Quirinus
With Brother Remus, will be lawgivers,
And grim with iron frames, the Gates of War
Will then be shut: inside, unholy Furor,
Squatting on cruel weapons, hands enchained
Behind him by a hundred links of bronze,
Will grind his teeth and howl with bloodied mouth.’ (1.391–98)

The Gates of War mentioned in Book 1 are those in Rome itself at the Temple of Janus.⁷ Their closure in this prophecy celebrates early Empirical Rome, the *Pax Romana* and Augustus himself. The Gates' use is attested by Plutarch, in his *Parallel Lives*, written around 100AD, some 85 years after the death of Augustus:

Janus also has a temple at Rome with double doors, which they call the gates of war; for the temple always stands open in time of war, but is closed when peace has come. The latter was a difficult matter, and it rarely happened, since the realm was always engaged in some war, as its increasing size brought it into collision with the barbarous nations which encompassed it round about. But in the time of Augustus it was closed, after he had overthrown Marc Antony.⁸

Plutarch makes it clear that the closure of the Gates was both rare and difficult, for a nation more often than not involved in war. The *Pax Romana* was inaugurated in 27BC by Augustus, who had closed the Gates in 29BC, and refers to the event with no little pride as the thirteenth of his achievements in *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (*The Achievements of the Divine Augustus*):

It was the will of our ancestors that the gateway of Janus Quirinus should be shut when victories had secured peace by land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people; from the foundation of the city to my birth, tradition records that it was shut only twice [by Numa and by Manlius], but while I was the leading citizen the Senate resolved that it should be shut on three occasions.⁹

Virgil's description in Book 7 merges the gates he depicts at Laurentum, some 16 miles from as yet unfounded Rome, with the Gates he knew in Rome itself, and he characterizes the gates in Laurentum as connected with the god Janus, as the Gates of War in Rome would be:

There are two gates, twin gates
Of war, as they are called, by long observance
Looked on in awe, for fear of savage Mars.

⁷ Janus is god of openings, such as gates and doorways, transitions, such as country and city, and war and peace, and beginnings and endings. He was depicted as having two faces. His symbolic representation of the progression from past to future seems particularly resonant for Virgil's Aeneas.

⁸ Plutarch, 'Life of King Numa' ed. and trans. by Bernadotte Perrin, *Plutarch's Lives*. 11 vols. *Vol 1: Theseus and Romulus, Lycurgus and Numa, Solon and Publicola*. Loeb Classical Library, 46 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), 20.1–2.

⁹ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus*, ed. and trans. by P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), # 13. The list of achievements is hosted online by the Classics Department at Skidmore College <<http://www.skidmore.edu/classics/courses/1999spring/hi361f/resgestae.html>> [accessed 22 January 2014].

One hundred brazen bolts keep these gates closed
 And the unending strength of steel; then too
 Their guardian, Janus, never leaves the portal.
 Now when the Fathers' judgement holds for war,
 The Consul in Quirinal robe and Gabine
 Cincture goes to unlock the grating doors
 And lifts a call for battle. [...]
 In that way, now, Latinus was enjoined
 To declare war on the people of Aeneas
 By setting wide the grim gates. (7.834–43, 846–49)

Virgil's gates at Laurentum give the tradition of the Roman Gates of War an earlier foundation than that of Rome; and this itself augments Augustus's glorious achievement in closing them. The old king Latinus has no wish for war and refuses to concede to public demand to open the gates of war: 'he would not, | Would not touch them, only turned away | From the repellent work, and shut himself | In the interior darkness' (7.848–51). It is Juno herself who opens the gates:

Heaven's queen
 At this dropped from the sky. She gave a push
 To stubborn-yielding doors, then burst the iron-bound
 Gates of war apart on turning hinges. (7.852–55)

Here, as Carolinne Dermot Small observes, 'Virgil has carefully built up the horror to the climactic point of Juno's personal intervention. [...] The ultimate horror [...] is expressed in lines 620–2 [Fitzgerald's 852–55], for behind them surely lies the belief, widespread in antiquity, that the automatic opening of doors or gates was a bad omen'.¹⁰

Juno's opening of the gates leads into Virgil's description of men arming and thence to the Catalogue of War Leaders. Note that his introduction to the Catalogue is another invocation to the Muses, in which he provides a reminder of the gates of war in asking the Muses to 'Throw wide the gates of Helicon' (881).

ii. The Catalogue and Camilla

Having evoked Augustus's closure of the Roman Gates of War, thus expressing the superiority of peace, Virgil employs a similar form of paradox to compromise the glory of the war leaders in his Catalogue. In the *Iliad*, Homer lists both the Greek war leaders (the Catalogue of Ships) and, at the end of Book 2, the most prominent of the enemy, the greatest Trojan heroes. Virgil, however, lists only the enemy leaders: there is no list of Trojan heroes. This is, of course, logical within the narrative: because Virgil's 'Odyssey' has come first, it would be nonsensical to start listing Trojan captains at this stage, and, in any case, Aeneas has been, and must continue to be, singled out as the only real leader of the Trojans, since Virgil's purpose is to reflect in him the

¹⁰ Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.620–2.' *The Classical Quarterly*, n.s., 36: 1 (1986), 278–80 (p. 279).

role of Emperor Augustus as the supreme leader of Rome. More significantly – and again this relates to Augustus and the *Pax Romana* – in Italy, Aeneas becomes war leader by default. He has attempted peaceful settlement; it is Turnus and the Italian tribes who push for war, defying Latinus and prophesied destiny itself. Of course, Aeneas is going to – is destined to and thus has to – win; but, like Homer’s Trojans, the Italian forces must be seen as powerful in order that Aeneas himself will appear all the greater when he wins. They must not, however, be seen in any way as justified.

Homer describes Hektor, the shield of the Trojans, at the head of his Trojan Catalogue, so it might be expected that Turnus would be listed first in Virgil’s Catalogue; but, in fact, Virgil first introduces ‘harsh Mezentius of Tuscany’ (7.891). Not only harsh: the next thing Virgil says is that Mezentius ‘held the gods in scorn’ (7.892, cf. 8.9), in contrast to Aeneas’s frequently reiterated religious piety. The reader of the *Odyssey* will recognize at once an echo of Homer’s Polyphemos, who tells Odysseus that “‘The Cyclopes do not concern themselves over Zeus of the aegis | nor any of the rest of the blessed gods, since we are far better | than they’”.¹¹ By using this template, Virgil’s disapproval is shown at once, and he will return to the tyrant Mezentius’s unpleasant character in Book 8 (644–56, 770–05).

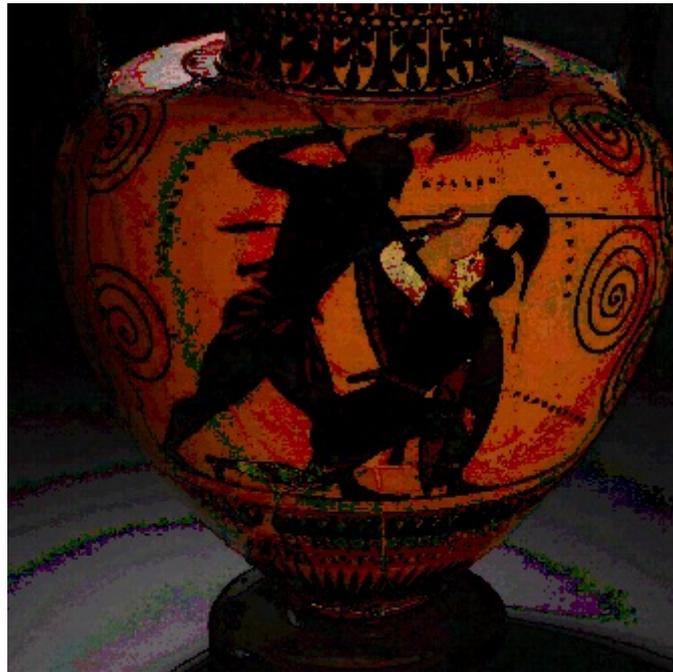
Given that he does not appear in first place, it might be expected that Turnus would appear last, the other possible position of emphasis in a listing. Yet he appears in penultimate place in the Catalogue; and after him comes the ‘warrior girl’ Camilla (7.1107).

Camilla is a source of fascination to a number of critics. Why did Virgil invent her? What is the meaning of her position in the Catalogue? Is it the position of honour or is the placement an indication that the role of Camilla is problematic? What is her purpose in the text?

By the time Camilla first appears, Virgil has introduced an array of female characters, both mortal and divine. Chief among the mortal women are Helen, Dido and Amata, all of whom have been depicted as flawed. There is, too, a connection between them in the nature of their flaws as Virgil portrays them: Helen takes an active role in the fall of Troy, liaising with the Greek warriors; Dido leads her people, a masculine, public role, but – the pawn of Juno and Venus – she falls in love with Aeneas and fails in the social role she has adopted; Amata, inflamed by Allecto’s *furor*, opposes her husband’s support of Aeneas as son-in-law in favour of Turnus, for whom she seems to have a rather inappropriate affection.

¹¹ Trans. by Richmond Lattimore, *The Odyssey of Homer* (New York: Perennial Classics, 1991), 9.275–77.

The mural at Carthage depicting scenes from the Trojan War shows another female warrior: Penthesilea, leader of the Amazons, a Trojan ally and thus on the losing side.



Achilles Slaying Penthesilea

She was killed by Achilles in the Trojan War, although Virgil does not mention this, leaving her in battle-glory:¹²

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
 Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet,
 aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae,
 bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo. (I.490–93)

Raging Penthesilea leads the file of Amazons,
 with crescent shields, and shines out among her thousands,
 her golden girdle fastened beneath her exposed breasts,
 a virgin warrior daring to fight with men. (trans. Kline)¹³

Camilla's description is evocative of Penthesilea's: she too leads her troops (7.1105–07), she too is *bellatrix* (VII.805) and *virgo* (VII.806); she too is adorned with golden ornaments, Virgil describing *ut fibula crinem | auro internectat* (VII.815–16: 'how her brooch clasped her hair | with gold'). There are further links in the framework of the two descriptions, since the reaction of an audience is described in each case:

¹² Homer does not mention her at all, but he does refer to the Amazons in Iliad 3 and 6.

¹³ Fitzgerald's translation (1.669–72) seems too free here, rendering as 'fiery' Virgil's *furens*. This adjectival use of the present participle of *furo* (rage, rave, be mad), etymologically linked, crucially, with *furor*, is applied to a number of other characters, including Aeneas, but notably for the present discussion both Dido (*furens* IV.69) and Amata (*furentem* VII.350, *furibunda* VII.348, 'raging'). Fitzgerald also omits Virgil's specific reference to Penthesilea as *virgo* (a virgin, a maid), although this overtly connects her with both Camilla (*virgo* VII.806) and Lavinia (*virgo* VII.72), again not clearly signalled by Fitzgerald. References to Camilla as *virgo* in Book XI, the setting of her *aristeia*, are frequent.

Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur,
dum stupet, obtutuque haeret defixus in uno,
regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,
incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva. (I.494–97)

While these wonderful sights are viewed by Trojan Aeneas,
while amazed he hangs there, rapt, with fixed gaze,
Queen Dido, of loveliest form, reached the temple,
with a great crowd of youths accompanying her. (trans. Kline)

Illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus
turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
attonitis inhians animis. (VII.812–14)

All of the young men flooding from houses and fields,
and the crowds of women marvelled, and gazed, at her as she went by,
in open-mouthed wonder. (trans. Kline)

In Book 11, Virgil equates the two more explicitly, referring to Camilla as an Amazon.¹⁴ There are no female warriors in Homer; and in the *Aeneid* they seem to be unusual, even exotic. Virgil's Aeneas must have known that Penthesilea was a Trojan ally, but because she is described as the last image of the mural, he seems, here, to be amazed not at the whole frieze, but at *her*; just as the women and youths stare open-mouthed at Camilla. Camilla's audience is made up of women and of *iuventus*, 'young men', who must surely be youths too young to fight, if not too young to be dazzled by a woman warrior; Virgil has already stated that 'all [men] must take up arms' (7.860). A lexical link is set up between Camilla's admirers and Dido's retinue, also described as *iuventum*, young men: are we being told that these women, Dido and Camilla, are admired by the immature, those too young and inexperienced to apply a mature judgement?¹⁵

Barbara Weiden Boyd believes that, in the case of Penthesilea and Camilla, Virgil is '[drawing] upon the Greek ethnographical convention of inversion, which finds evidence in other cultures for behaviors that are "unnatural" among the Greeks': a female with dominant or visible role among men is quite simply unnatural (p. 215).¹⁶ Boyd points out that '[t]he Amazon-type, i.e., warrior maiden, is a familiar ethnographical *topos*, representing a culture that is topsy-turvy in two respects: at least some of its women perform activities otherwise typical of men, and this same group of women maintains its autonomy by refraining from sexual intercourse' (p. 217). In relation to Camilla, Boyd notes that 'the naming of a female as last among the leaders is ominous, with its overtones of abnormality and weakness: a woman's leadership has already once in the *Aeneid* been proven problematic' (pp. 214–15): Dido, of course. In Boyd's view, Camilla's

¹⁴ *At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon | unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla* (XI.648: 'But an Amazon exulted in the midst of the slaughter, | with one breast bared for battle: Camilla, armed with her quiver'). Fitzgerald changes Virgil's image into a simile, describing Camilla as 'like an Amazon' (11.881).

¹⁵ Fitzgerald ('with a throng of men behind' (1.677)) ignores the not insignificant fact that the 'men' are in fact 'youths' (*iuvenum* (1.497)).

¹⁶ 'Virgil's Camilla and the Traditions of Catalogue and Ecphrasis (*Aeneid* 7.803-17)', *The American Journal of Philology*, 113:2 (1992), 213–34 (p. 215).

position at the end of the Catalogue is a deliberate reference to Penthesilea, since ‘the appearance of a female at the conclusion of the temple-frieze ephrasis is implicitly ominous for the forces with which she is allied’ (p. 226).

The description of Camilla is not particularly lengthy, but Virgil is at pains to state what Camilla is not, to emphasize that Camilla was ‘never deft at distaff or wool basket, | Skills of Minerva’ (7.1108–09); in his reference to Minerva, he deliberately evokes the same god/attribute combination as Homer depicts in the Greek Athene, and the evidence of the *Odyssey* makes it plain that, while wisdom is an attribute appropriate to either sex, her other attributes, war and handicrafts, are not, but rather are strictly gendered: men have one set of crafts, while women’s crafts are quite different. Camilla’s behaviour, says Boyd, ‘marks her as unnatural and un-Roman [...] Her lack of interest or skill in spinning and weaving precludes her from any association with the faithful passivity so valued by Roman men in their women’ (p. 216). Camilla thus seems to have taken on the wrong Minervan role; and, of course, in dedicating herself to Diana, huntress and virgin, she again makes a choice unfitting for a Roman woman (see 11.721–815). Of course, making her own choices at all is acting against the ideal of Roman womanhood.

Helen, Dido, Amata, Penthesilea, Camilla... The primary link between these characters, of course, is the public nature and social effect of their actions: for Virgil, Helen, having caused the Trojan War, is actively involved in its sad conclusion; Dido neglects her masculine role of leadership, and on her death leaves her city unfinished and her people unled; Amata publicly defies her husband and stirs up both Turnus and the Latin men and women; the warriors Penthesilea and Camilla reject the behaviour suited to their sex. The inappropriateness of the actions of all these women is emphasized most strongly by Virgil in the contrast created in his depiction of the correct feminine behaviour of Lavinia, waiting in silence for a husband she has no right, nor wish, to choose: this, not involvement or interference in society, is the duty of a true Roman woman.

It would appear that Virgil himself invented Camilla: Boyd notes that Camilla is ‘unheard of elsewhere in the tradition surrounding the Trojan invasion of Italy’ (p. 213). This has led some critics to see her as extraneous; R. D. Williams, for example, refers to Camilla’s description in the Catalogue as ‘the attached episode’;¹⁷ and even scholars who identify greater validity in her role in the *Aeneid* tend to see her placement in the Catalogue as not integrated, as ‘marginal, on the fringes of society’ in Trudy Harrington Becker’s words, ‘on the very edge, tagged on, almost appendix-like’.¹⁸ Yet this diminishment of Camilla would seem to deny appreciation of what

¹⁷ ‘The Function and Structure of Virgil’s Catalogue in *Aeneid* 7’, *Classical Quarterly*, 11 (1961), 146–53 (p. 150), cited by Boyd, p. 214.

¹⁸ ‘Ambiguity and the Female Warrior: Vergil’s Camilla’, *Electronic Antiquity: Communicating the Classics*, 4:1 (August 1997) <<http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/ElAnt/V4N1/becker.html>> [accessed 21 January 2014].

Virgil attempts to do through the predominance of mortal women in his text: to express what is fitting, and what is not, for a true Roman woman, as he expresses, through Aeneas, what is fitting for a true Roman man and leader.

3. VIRGIL'S DOLONEIA: NISUS AND EURYALUS

Book 9 contains another episode closely based on a Homeric text: the mission of Nisus and Euryalus is a deliberate reflection of the Doloneia in *Iliad* 10.

It is generally agreed that the friendship of Nisus and Euryalus is one of a series of unhealthy relationships in the poem which emphasize the inappropriateness of prioritizing personal benefit over public good. However, classicists studying Virgil in the original Latin have been unable to agree whether or not Virgil intends the relationship between Nisus and Euryalus to be understood as erotic, pederastic, or as that of loving friends; and, as a conclusion would be even harder to elicit or justify in the context of a translation, that question is not one to be dealt with here. Whatever the nature of their relationship, their affection is certainly presented as hubristic and they fall into a pattern detected by Marianne McDonald: 'Personal *amor* leads almost invariably to death in the *Aeneid*' and she lists Nisus and Euryalus with Dido, Camilla, Lausus and Turnus in support.¹⁹ Ken Gransden observes that, in having Nisus speak of Euryalus as his *infelicem* ('unhappy' in the sense of 'unfortunate') friend (IX.430), Virgil is drawing a parallel with another figure he calls 'unlucky' (Troilus in the frieze at Carthage) and thus placing him within the compass of a dominant theme in the text: 'the tragedy of those who die young in battle', which also includes Lausus and Pallas.²⁰

The character of the young men, and the effect it has on events, seems to be the more important point. Virgil first introduces Nisus and Euryalus in the funeral games of Book 5 (374–463), where Nisus, winning the footrace, slips; the race lost to him, he trips a competitor to let Euryalus win, which E. N. Genovese sees as directly foreshadowing the later episode.²¹ Virgil expresses no explicit moral judgement at this point, and merely shows Aeneas diplomatically smoothing over the resulting argument; yet the episode is bound to affect the reader's interpretation of the characters' actions when they next appear. As Barbara Pavlock

¹⁹ 'Aeneas and Turnus: Labor vs. Amor', *Pacific Coast Philology*, 7 (1972), 43–48 (p. 46; cf. p. 48. n. 10).

²⁰ *Virgil's Iliad: An Essay on Epic Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 103–04 (p. 103). Nisus refers to Euryalus as *infelix* again at IX.390; Troilus is *infelix* I.475, Coroebus (Cassandra's young husband) at II.341, the term is applied to Acron and Antores, killed by Mezentius (X.730; X.781), and to Pallas (X.825). The connection between the two is somewhat tenuous, as the epithet is also applied to a number of tragic figures, not only to young men dying in battle, for example: Dido (I.749, IV.68, 450, 596), Andromache (II.455), Priam (III.50), Amata (VII.401; XII.597), and the grieving Evander and Acoetes (XI.53; XI.85). Nisus is also referred to as *infelix* when he slips in the footrace, a disappointing, but hardly a tragic, circumstance (V.329).

²¹ 'Deaths in the *Aeneid*', *Pacific Coast Philology*, 10 (1975), 22–28 (p. 24).

points out, the episode in the games has revealed that ‘both young men are very concerned the material rewards that come with success, at the expense of ethical conduct’,²² and when Nisus puts the plan to go to Aeneas to the captains, there is a certain emphasis on spoils: “‘you’ll see us back | With plunder before long, and slaughter done’” (9.335–36). As Duckworth observes, Nisus has presented a skewed purpose for the mission: ‘the sending of the messenger to Aeneas is the desire of the Trojans [...] but can hardly be called the “main purpose” of Nisus; for him it provides the excuse, the pretext, to do what he wants; his true desire, as he states in his first speech to Euryalus, is to achieve glory by going into battle and killing the enemy’ (‘Significance’, 131).

The two warriors succeed in killing many of the enemy, and finding spoils; and this, of course, displays a direct engagement with Homer’s text on Virgil’s part; but, as it turns out, Virgil’s characters are less an echo of Odysseus and Diomedes than of Dolon. For one matter, they fail to dedicate their mission to any god; the Homeric template offers a contrast between the successful mission of Odysseus and Diomedes, who pray to Athene both before and during their mission, with the doomed Dolon, who makes no prayer (cf. Pavlock, p. 218). Pavlock observes: ‘Significantly [...] Nisus invokes the goddess Diana only at the moment of crisis’ (p. 218). (Diana also seems an odd choice of sponsor.) Nisus and Euryalus follow their lust for blood and spoils for too long; where Athene had warned the Greek heroes when it was time to return to the camp, there is no god watching over the Trojan pair, and Nisus’s prayer to Diana for aid comes too late (IX.571–80).²³

Nisus and Euryalus, in their urge to win glory in killing the enemy, forget the most important element of their mission. Duckworth points out that the episode contains ‘no divine intervention, and the story illustrates the working of free will’ (‘Significance’, p. 134), an issue that Nisus himself brings up when he first mentions his idea to Euryalus:

‘dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt,
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?’

‘Do the gods instil this passion in our minds,
Euryalus, or does each person interpret his own
fierce desire as [the voice of] a god?’ (IX.184–85)²⁴

The episode thus offers a sharp contrast to the theme of *pietas*, duty, so prevalent in the *Aeneid*: Nisus and Euryalus fulfill their personal desires, not their duty to their nation and its gods, and

²² ‘Epic and Tragedy in Vergil’s Nisus and Euryalus Episode’, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 115 (1985), 207–24 (p. 213).

²³ The selection of Diana suggests a parallel with the doomed, hubristic Camilla, who is closely associated with the goddess, although as Pavlock interprets the choice of the goddess of chastity is deliberate, as ‘she symbolizes the lack of sexual involvement in Nisus’s relation to Euryalus’ (218).

²⁴ Text and translation from Duckworth, ‘Significance’, p. 134.

in consequence die an inglorious death. There is further failure, as Pavlock notes: ‘While Euryalus is obviously concerned about his mother, he fails to consider fully his familial obligations, the *pietas* that he owes in very special circumstances’ (p. 220): his mother had continued on with Aeneas’s party to Italy, rather than stay in Sicily with the other women, for the sake of her son.

The length of the episode, the closeness of the protagonists and the horrific outcome of the mission seem tragic, but Elizabeth Block observes that ‘Nisus and Euryalus have failed to protect themselves, their cause, those who love them, and each other; they have also failed to obey Aeneas’s explicit orders, and to justify such disobedience’.²⁵ Virgil makes an overt reference to his immortalization of the pair in his poem (9.633–38), but this, again, needs to be read carefully and in context, as Block states: ‘The narrator’s expression of admiration at this juncture reminds the audience of the greater meaning of the war, the ultimate goal of establishing Roman rule. Thus through apostrophe the narrator shifts the emotional attention of the audience from its own to his response, unsettling his audience, and demanding that it reassess its judgment’ (p. 19). Ultimately, the *Aeneid*’s commemoration of Nisus and Euryalus has a strong affinity with the way Homer commemorates Dolon in the *Iliad*, by immortalising the wages of hubris as failure.

²⁵ ‘The Narrator Speaks: Apostrophe in Homer and Vergil’, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 112 (1982), 7–22 (p. 19).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Texts

- AUGUSTUS CAESAR, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus*, ed. and trans. by P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967)
- HOMER, *Iliad*, in *Homeri Opera in five volumes*. Vols. 1, 2, *Iliad*, ed. by David B. Monro and Thomas W. Allen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), online at *The Perseus Digital Library* <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0133>> [accessed 21 January 2014]
- ed. by A. T. Murray, *Homer. The Iliad with an English Translation*. 2 vols (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann, 1924), online at *The Perseus Digital Library* <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0134:book=1:card=1>> [accessed 21 January 2014]
- trans. by Richmond Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1951)
- *Odyssey*, ed. and trans. by A. T. Murray, *Homer. The Odyssey with an English Translation*. 2 vols (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1919), online at *The Perseus Digital Library* <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0135:book=1:card=1>> [accessed 21 January 2014]
- trans. by Richmond Lattimore, *The Odyssey of Homer* (New York: Perennial Classics, 1991)
- PLUTARCH, ‘Life of King Numa’ ed. and trans. by Bernadotte Perrin, *Plutarch’s Lives*. 11 vols. *Vol 1: Theseus and Romulus, Lycurgus and Numa, Solon and Publicola*. Loeb Classical Library, 46 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914)
- P. VERGILIUS MARO, *Aeneis*, ed. by J. B. Greenough, *Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics of Vergil* (Boston: Ginn, 1900), online at *The Latin Library* <<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/verg.html>> and, with glossary and translations by John Dryden and Theodore C. Williams, at *The Perseus Digital Library* <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0055;query=toc;layout=;loc=1.1>> [accessed 21 January 2014]
- VIRGIL, *Aeneid*, trans. by Robert Fitzgerald (Harmondsworth: King Penguin, 1985)
- trans. by A. S. Kline, *Virgil: The Major Works* (2001, 2002) <<http://poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/Virgilhome.htm>> [accessed 21 January 2014]

Secondary Texts

- BECKER, Trudy Harrington, ‘Ambiguity and the Female Warrior: Vergil’s Camilla’, *Electronic Antiquity: Communicating the Classics*, 4:1 (August 1997) [accessed 21 January 2014] <<http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/EIAnt/V4N1/becker.html>> [accessed 21 January 2014]
- BLOCK, Elizabeth, ‘The Narrator Speaks: Apostrophe in Homer and Vergil’, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 112 (1982), 7–22
- BOYD, Barbara Weiden, ‘Virgil’s Camilla and the Traditions of Catalogue and Ecphrasis (*Aeneid* 7.803–17)’, *The American Journal of Philology*, 113:2 (1992), 213–34
- CAMPS, W. A., ‘A Second Note on the Structure of the *Aeneid*.’ *The Classical Quarterly* 9:1 (1959), 53–56
- DUCKWORTH, George E., ‘The *Aeneid* as a Trilogy.’ *Transactions & Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 88 (1957), 1–10
- ‘The Significance of Nisus & Euryalus for *Aeneid* IX–XII.’ *The American Journal of Philology*, 88:2 (1967), 129–50
- GENOVESE, E. N., ‘Deaths in the *Aeneid*’, *Pacific Coast Philology*, 10 (1975), 22–28
- GRANSDEN, K. W., *Virgil’s Iliad: An Essay on Epic Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)
- LINDEMANS, Micha F., ‘Janus.’ *Encyclopedia Mythica* (1995–2006) <<http://www.pantheon.org/articles/j/janus.html>> Revision 2, 28/08/99 [accessed 22 January 2014]
- MCDONALD, Marianne, ‘Aeneas and Turnus: Labor vs. Amor’, *Pacific Coast Philology*, 7 (1972), 43–48
- PAVLOCK, Barbara, ‘Epic and Tragedy in Vergil’s Nisus and Euryalus Episode’, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 115 (1985), 207–24
- SMALL, Caroline Dermot, ‘Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.620–2’, *The Classical Quarterly*, n.s., 36: 1 (1986), 278–80
- WILLIAMS, R. D., ‘The Function and Structure of Virgil’s Catalogue in *Aeneid* 7’, *Classical Quarterly*, 11 (1961), 146–53

Illustrations

- Achilles Slaying Penthesilea’, *British Museum*, Amphora, Museum number 1836,0224.127 <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=1299129&objectid=399372> [accessed 21 January 2014]