



## Vergil's Second Iliad

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### III. Vergil's Second *Iliad*

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The exhausting wanderings of Aeneas<sup>1</sup> and Vergil's employment of motifs from the *Odyssey*<sup>2</sup> come to an end as the Trojans arrive at Cumae. A new phase opens for Aeneas, and a new pattern of the *Aeneid* is here announced: Books VII to XII, according to the commonplace of Vergilian criticism, constitute the Roman counterpart of the *Iliad*. In 6.86 ff. the poet seems to justify Propertius' famous prediction of a new and greater *Iliad* as he states, through the mouth of the Sibyl, the pattern of the coming books:

bella, horrida bella,  
et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.  
non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra  
defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,  
natus et ipse dea; nec Teucris addita Iuno  
usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis  
quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!  
causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris  
externique iterum thalami.

The details of the Sibyl's prophecy will concern us more closely later, but even a cursory glance would not miss the allusions to a new Trojan War. Aeneas learns that he must fight again the old battles which he has long struggled to forget.

Conventional critics have tended to ignore Vergil's *Iliad*, as though Aeneas' struggle to establish himself in Italy did not really parallel Homer's story very closely. For them, the pattern of events suggested by 6.86 ff. has never been a problem. In other words, Vergil imitates Homer, not to enhance the meaning of his poem, but merely to make it more superficially attractive. A lesser poet than Vergil might well have been satisfied with borrowed glory, but we know too much about Vergil's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. W. Allen, "The Dullest Book of the *Aeneid*," *CJ* 47 (1951-2) 119-23.

<sup>2</sup> Vergil exploits his last allusion to the *Odyssey*, of course, more subtly than any other. The experiences which Aeneas encounters among the dead, while patterned upon Odysseus' visit to the shades, serve as a preface to Vergil's *Iliad*: they establish the principles by which Aeneas will fight, and define in radiant clarity the positive results of his wars.

poetic art to accept any such simplification as this.<sup>3</sup> Nor can we be content to say what certainly comes closer to the poet's design, that the Homeric allusions bring out the fact that in Italy Aeneas relives his earlier experiences at Troy. By the beginning of Book VI, Aeneas knows that he must not re-create Troy. When he left Eryx, he abandoned those of his people who clung to a static concept of Ilium, and on his arrival at Cumae, he expresses his feeling of relief at reaching a new world. He has escaped the incubus of Troy (6.62). If, then, the Sibyl insists on identifying the fate of Aeneas here in Italy with that which he knows — and correctly — is utterly ended, the war to defend his native city, her words raise a problem which involves the whole character of Homeric allusion in VII–XII, and in a form not hitherto explored:<sup>4</sup> namely, why Vergil, at this crucial point in the epic, permits the coming conflict to be so specifically equated with the Trojan War as to revive memories dangerous for his hero. It is my hope to show that Vergil created this problem not by mistake, but in order to exploit Homer to the fullest and

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the basic principles of research in R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (Leipzig 1903), and in V. Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils* (Wiesbaden 1950). Both critics have demonstrated beyond question the complexity of Vergil's vision and the significance with which he treats apparently sterile motifs.

<sup>4</sup> I know of no study which has worked out in detail the purpose, as I see it, of Vergil's allusions to the *Iliad*. Many commentators have applied themselves to identify the source of this or that allusion, a practice which probably goes back far beyond Servius and Macrobius. But Servius and Macrobius illustrate the limited interest of such commentators: they will use such phrases as *sumpti ex Homero* or *Homeric comparatio*, and in some cases they will identify the context to which Vergil refers; but they treat each instance in isolation, tacitly assuming that Homeric allusions serve no purpose in the total thematic pattern. On their general practice, cf. G. Regel, *De Vergilio poetarum imitatore testimonia* (Diss. Göttingen 1907). A.-M. Guillemin, *L'originalité de Virgile: Étude sur la méthode littéraire antique* (Paris 1931) has drawn the radical conclusion: "L'influence sur le poète des écrits que nous possédons, *Iliade*, *Odyssee*, tragédie grecque, *Argonautiques*, fragments d'Ennius et des annalistes latins, est malheureusement d'une banalité et d'une stérilité invincibles, les grammairiens latins ayant épuisé depuis longtemps tout l'intérêt que pouvait offrir le rapprochement de l'*Énéide* et de ces oeuvres" (p. 11). A recent approach to Vergil's use of Homer has consisted in exploring the particular meaning that he derives from an allusion in a particular passage. This, of course, has been one of the great merits of Pöschl's work, who, among other things, has demonstrated the vital importance of similes in the *Aeneid* in opposition to Heinze. For a brief, but sympathetic, treatment of the same problem, cf. R. S. Conway, "Vergil as a Student of Homer," *Bull. John Rylands Library* 13 (1929) 272–92. It still remains to disprove Mlle. Guillemin's statements even more conclusively by demonstrating the general plan with which Vergil uses all his Homeric allusions. This certainly can be done for Books VII–XII. J. W. Spaeth Jr., "Hector's Successor in the *Aeneid*," *CJ* 46 (1950–1) 277–80, has treated the question in relation to Aeneas, but his conclusions, I believe, have only partial validity. Aeneas, as I show in this paper, becomes Achilles' successor by the end of the epic.

thereby to reveal more clearly Aeneas' true mission in Italy. In short, the poet constructs a new *Iliad*, much of whose significance depends upon the fact that it gradually alters the role of the Trojans from that of the defeated, as Homer portrayed them, to that of victors, and thus brings them parallel to the Homeric Greeks.

Inspired as she is by Apollo, the Sibyl makes a strong impression; and the comment of Vergil at the end of her prophecy implies that she has correctly, though ambiguously, foretold coming events: *obscuris vera involvens* (6.100). In the approaching war, she says, circumstances will closely parallel those that Aeneas faced earlier in Troy. The Tiber will replace the Trojan rivers; Greeks will march up and encamp near the settlement of the Trojans; the leader of the Latins will be a formidable enemy, worthy by his own military prowess and his divine mother to be equated with Greece's greatest warrior, *alius Achilles*; Juno will continue her disastrous hostility towards the people of Paris. As if this were not enough, the Sibyl even draws a parallel between the origin of the Trojan War and the cause of the war imminent in Italy. A second marriage between Trojan and foreigner, apparently under circumstances similar to those of Helen's ill-fated union with Paris, will precipitate the bloody conflict. Hearing this, Aeneas might well leap to the conclusion that the whole pattern would repeat itself, that the Trojan settlement would eventually be assaulted, captured, and destroyed by the combined forces of the enemy. Before he plumbs the depths of despair, the prophetess shatters the apparent parallelism (thus affording us an immediate excuse to inspect the whole scheme with some suspicion) and promises Aeneas security by the most paradoxical of ways, that is, from a Greek city (6.96-97):

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

But if this new Trojan War is not to end with the annihilation of Aeneas' people, it may well be that Aeneas' enemy will be less victorious than the Greeks before Troy and the Italian Achilles less decisive in his exploits than the son of Thetis. Indeed, we should be prepared to study the cause of this war with great care, for the Trojans would not ultimately conquer if they were as guilty as the prophecy implies. Divine justice, so important to Vergil, would prevent that.

The remainder of Book VI takes the Sibyl's grudging promise of security and transforms it gradually into the undeniably glorious prospect of the mighty Roman nation. In Book VII, we revert to the parallelism

with Homer's *Iliad*. At the time that the Trojans land in Italy, Latinus is deeply concerned over the marriage of his only child and daughter, not so much because he cannot find a man whom he can like as because a series of omens have temporarily prevented any decision on his part. These divine signs all agree in demanding a foreign son-in-law (*externus gener* 7.98; cf. 7.68). Therefore, when Ilioneus announces the peaceful arrival of the Trojans under Aeneas, Latinus immediately senses the fulfillment of these portents (256, 270), and offers the hand of his daughter to the Trojan leader in compliance with the divine will. In all this, nothing would lead us to draw any parallel with the visit of Paris to Sparta and the resultant seduction of Helen. Lavinia is unmarried and freely offered to the Trojan stranger even before he knows of her existence. Aeneas has indulged his passions at Carthage and long since brought them under control. Accordingly, as the embassy returns to the Trojan camp with the good news, nothing in the situation as described would lead one to anticipate the interpretation placed on these innocent events by other actors in the drama.

Juno does not like what she sees and immediately exerts her ingenuity to confound the peaceful intentions of Aeneas and Latinus. Her very first words revive memories of the destruction of Troy (7.293 ff.); in fact, her fury seems to stem from the fact that she was unable to extirpate the entire Trojan race. Juno realizes clearly that she cannot overcome the destiny of Aeneas, but, since she can hardly be considered a rational intellect when enraged,<sup>5</sup> it comes as no surprise that she plans to harry Aeneas with the evils of Acheron. As she plots it, a destructive war will arise to divide Trojan and Rutulian, cost many lives on both sides, and stain the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia, when it inevitably occurs, with the memory of needless bloodshed (7.315 ff.). And in the warped mind of the goddess, this war assumes the proportions of the Trojan War, so that she can gloat over her partial success and at the same time excuse herself. Aeneas, she alleges, will bring disaster on both peoples by marrying Lavinia, and therefore deserves the same black reputation as Hecuba's son, *Paris alter* (321). To regard Aeneas as Paris might also provide an argument for those who instinctively oppose a marriage between their princess and an utter foreigner. Juno, however, alludes to

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Juno's false analogy with Pallas in 1.39 ff., where she attempts to justify her violent opposition to destiny by referring to the punishment properly inflicted on Ajax by Pallas. The propensity to draw false analogies emerges in the passage of Book VII under discussion. There again she recalls the just vengeance of Mars and Diana in order to cloak her own unjust wrath (304 ff.). Thus, this parallel with the Trojan War constitutes but one more improper comparison.

the parallel very briefly; it remains for others to develop its more emotional aspects.

When Allecto begins to stir up war, she selects as her first instrument Amata, who, it soon emerges, entertains the same irrational passions and voices the same inexact analogies as Juno. Amata has opposed Aeneas' marriage from the start, but, after Allecto has inflamed her spirit, she becomes violent in her attempt to thwart her husband's plans. She argues with tears and prejudice. For her, the Trojans are mere exiles, and Latinus has ignored his parental function by permitting this treacherous pirate to steal his innocent daughter: *perfidus alta petens abducta virgine praedo* (7.362). Not content with this patent fabrication, Amata continues and expressly compares the present situation with the voyage of the "Phrygian shepherd" to Sparta and his subsequent departure with Helen for Troy (363-64). She seems to base much of her argument upon the fact that Aeneas is a foreigner and a Trojan. By warping the whole image of this man into another Paris, she expects to direct Latinus' attention to a more liberal interpretation of *externus gener*. With her instinctive preference for her nephew Turnus, she feels bound to show that he qualifies, first, because any city not directly ruled by Latinus should be regarded as foreign, and second, because Turnus can trace his ancestry ultimately to a foreign city, Mycenae (372). Again, we do not need to ponder much to realize the vacuity of her reasoning or the danger of misconstruing the clear warning of repeated omens. No resident of Italy can possibly be accepted as *externus*. Vergil, however, has alluded to Mycenae not merely to illustrate the fantastic efforts of the queen to oppose Aeneas; he also suggests a possible relevance of Turnus to the general pattern of the Rape of Helen. After all, Mycenae, the home of his forebears, was the birthplace of Menelaus, Helen's husband. At this point we have no reason to press the idea, but it will soon become apparent that, in the accelerating illogic of the analogy with the Trojan War, even Turnus will become involved and represent himself in part as a Menelaus avenging the loss of his bride.

Two major motives rouse Turnus to embark upon this war: that the king spurns his claim to Lavinia and that he must abandon his hope of becoming the successor of Latinus, all because a foreigner is preferred to him (7.424). He, too, feels a surge of anger at the mention of *externus*, but, unlike Amata, he does not immediately associate the term with the Rape of Helen. Instead, it is racial prejudice that stirs Turnus, and by means of the same prejudice he infuses the spirit of war into his patriotic band of young men (7.467 ff.). And when the incident occurs which

provides the pretext for war, his harangue contains no reference to a private grievance; he prefers to play upon Italian hostility towards the foreigners. On the other hand, Turnus acts from other motives besides patriotism. It seems clear that he had every reason, before the arrival of Aeneas, to regard marriage with Lavinia as a certainty. Moreover, from his excited reaction to the blush on the girl's cheek (12.70 ff.), we are led to believe that Turnus loved Lavinia. As he thinks of Latinus' plan to give to another the woman whom he loves and has expected to marry, he naturally becomes excited. Before long, he imagines himself in the role of Menelaus, and on the first day of battle, at a most ironic point,<sup>6</sup> he attempts to hearten his troops by balancing the special fortunes of Aeneas with his own. It is his destiny, he asserts, to eradicate this hated nation because it has apparently sanctioned the seduction of his wife (*coniuge praerepta* 9.138). Such an absurd claim quickly evokes an analogy with the sons of Atreus, Menelaus in particular, and their home Mycenae (138-39). Thus, just as Amata imagines Lavinia's marriage, when excited, as the Rape of Helen, so Turnus pictures himself, under emotional stress, as the aggrieved husband Menelaus.

This analogy with the cause of the Trojan War, as Vergil makes entirely clear, is false; it serves to illustrate the irrational basis of all war and the excessive hostility of all Italy to the Trojan settlers. If there were any truth to the pattern, certainly, the poet would have conveyed the parallel not through the unreliable allegations of Juno, Amata, and Turnus, but in a careful description of the events leading up to the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia, the Paris and Helen of this *Iliad*. As it is, the central figures in this imaginary situation have no dramatic role at all in Book VII. After receiving the happy portent of the eaten tables (7.120 ff.) and realizing that his voyages are ended, Aeneas moves into the background. He has no other lines to speak, and his one action consists in dispatching the embassy which carries out negotiations in his name. At the outbreak of the war, he has never met his controversial bride-to-be, certainly never dreamed of seduction. The characterization of Lavinia, such as it is, exhibits the same lack of dramatic emphasis. Far from being a beautiful, passionate young wife who yields to the blandishments of a handsome stranger, Lavinia has apparently just reached the age of marriage (7.52-53) and, in her few actions, seems to be a docile daughter, utterly devoid of romantic personality. Vergil permits her to speak neither in this book nor in any other, with the result that she remains a fascinating enigma even today, but definitely not a

<sup>6</sup> For discussion of the irony, see below, 24.

Helen. Finally, Aeneas does not abduct Lavinia, who continues to live with her parents until the end of the war, and the hostilities are ignited by the shooting of the pet deer. From the beginning of the war, then, although Aeneas' enemies furiously stigmatize him as a second Paris and draw an illegitimate parallel with the role of Paris in the *Iliad*, Vergil carefully absolves the Trojan of blame and remains consistent with his dominant theme: nothing in Book VII suggests that Aeneas intends to build a new Troy.

As there is a factual pattern of events in the origin of the war, which is one thing, and an alleged pattern, which is quite another, so the conduct of the war follows a dual course. There is an actual course in the deeds of the combatants and, on the other hand, a course which the deluded Italians insist on imagining. But whereas in describing the beginning of hostilities Vergil demonstrated the inapplicability of a pattern drawn from the *Iliad*, the poet now exploits Homer with all the complexity of which his genius is capable. As I shall show, he allows the Italians at first to construct a false pattern of hopes based upon the Trojan War; this pattern ultimately becomes symptomatic of their defeat as Vergil reassigns Homeric roles so as to embody in Aeneas the victorious Achilles, Agamemnon, and Menelaus. He does this, however, gradually, fitting the Homeric allusions to the personality already established, never awkwardly borrowing from Homer merely to abbreviate the necessary characterization.

In the opening stages of the war, Vergil lends some verisimilitude to the claims of Aeneas' enemies by allowing them to act in a manner parallel to the Greeks of the *Iliad*; at the same time, he makes no immediate effort to deny that the Trojans are playing the same disastrous part as before and, in fact, seems to offer some confirmation of this idea. At the end of Book VII the poet embarks upon the catalogue of the Italian forces which, in its general form, closely resembles the catalogue of the Greeks in *Iliad* II. Moreover, certain details of the list which heretofore have received a rather inadequate interpretation may well serve the same purpose of identifying Italians temporarily with Greeks. The considerable attention devoted to Aventinus and Virbius, for instance, has been explained either as due to an effort for picturesqueness or as quite unimportant.<sup>7</sup> Neither interpretation does much credit to Vergil, who might

<sup>7</sup> Cf. B. Brotherton, "Vergil's Catalogue of the Latin Forces," *TAPA* 62 (1931) 199, who attributes the prominence of Aventinus and Virbius to their picturesqueness. In disputing the schematization of Miss Brotherton, *TAPA* 63 (1932) lxii-lxiii, E. Adelaide Hahn dismissed the two as unimportant.



well have used these little stories about sons of Greek heroes, Hercules and Hippolytus, to give some force to the Sibyl's prophecy about the Greek camps. Even more conspicuously relevant is Halaesus, carefully described as *Agamemnonius, Troiani nominis hostis* (7.723). When the Italians send Venulus south to Diomedes, they assume that any Greek will identify himself with their cause. In the attack upon the Trojan encampment, Turnus and his troops automatically compare themselves with the Greeks who besieged Troy for ten years. Vergil even associates with the grieving mother of Euryalus details borrowed from Homer's picture of Andromache desperately bewailing the dead Hector.<sup>8</sup> Such nuances illustrate the steady development of Vergil's thought, his refusal to hurry towards a simple application of the Homeric parallels.

Homer's broad picture of the Greeks at war distributed the emphasis among three leaders, Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Achilles. These Vergil unites in a single portrait. Similarly, Paris and Hector, the chief Trojans, become one person in this second *Iliad*. The Sibyl foretold an Italian commander who would be another Achilles. It is in accordance with such a prophecy and with his own delusions that Turnus claims identification with Achilles (9.742). Throughout Book IX, he pictures himself as the greatest warrior of either army as well as the man avenging the seduction of his bride, a combination, that is, of Achilles and Menelaus. His brother-in-law Remulus parrots such feelings, taunts the Trojans with their second siege, and asserts the superiority of the Italian forces to the Greeks who spent ten years capturing Troy (9.598 ff.). Indeed, the attack on Aeneas' men and the fact that they are Trojans almost establishes the parallel for Turnus and his soldiers. They easily leap to the assumption that they will conquer. Let us look more closely, however, at the context of Turnus' assertion that he plays Menelaus and Achilles. It is immediately after he has fired the Trojan fleet and then watched the miraculous transformation of the ships into naiads that Turnus attempts to counteract the terror of his men with the first claim. But in Homer's epic Greek ships were burned by the Trojan Hector. Furthermore, Hector's achievements depend entirely upon the absence of Achilles; so here, too, the absence of Aeneas encourages Turnus to battle (9.8), and Aeneas' return ends the superiority of the Italians. In other words, Turnus fabricates a parallelism which cannot be substantiated by the facts as Vergil presents them. The context of the remarks

<sup>8</sup> Cf. J. L. Heller, "Vergil's Sources in *Aeneid* IX 481-97," *TAPA* 66 (1935) xxvii-xxviii; he points out that Macrobius' attribution of the passage entirely to a Homeric source must be considerably qualified.

in 9.742, where Turnus boasts of being another Achilles, illustrates the same artistic principle. Pandarus, to whom he makes this claim, has been described in terms of the events of *Iliad* XII. He and his brother, who foolishly open the gates and sally forth to their death, occupy the same position and receive the same simile (9.679 ff.) as Polypoites and Leonteus (*Il.* 12.132 ff.), Greeks who stand by the gates of their camp and ward off the Trojan attack. Again, Turnus deceives himself and plays the role of one of Homer's Trojans.

With the statements of the Italian leader undermined, we can consider more exactly the circumstances of this attack in Book IX. Although the Trojans do suffer the attack, they do not defend a city this time. One city exists in the neighborhood, that of Latinus. The Trojans do not fight for their native land, inasmuch as they are foreigners. They have arrived by sea and marked out a camp for themselves, but they possess no other land in Italy. These facts, together with the burning of the ships, the absence of Aeneas, and the retention of Lavinia in the Latin city, imply clearly that, if we demand a Homeric parallel, the Trojans represent Homer's Greeks. Still, Vergil leaves it on the level of implication. In depicting the expedition of Nisus and Euryalus (9.176 ff.), he exploits, as the earliest commentators observed, the scene in *Iliad* X, where Odysseus and Diomedes venture forth from the Greek camp to wreak havoc among the Trojans.<sup>9</sup> Whereas the two Greeks, however, returned safely to their camp, Nisus and Euryalus suffer the death of Dolon; in other words, it is not at all clear yet that the Trojans will win an automatic victory.

The absence of Aeneas, I suggested, might serve the same function as the withdrawal of Achilles. We must, however, study the portrait of Aeneas in Book VIII more fully, since it so frankly contradicts the blatant assertions of Turnus in Book IX. In the first place, as we have seen, Aeneas is certainly no Paris. He is a highly conscientious leader of his people who has set out to procure the only possible allies in Italy. At Pallanteum, Vergil provides the first significant clue to interpretation. While he has carefully postponed a description of the embassy to Diomedes, leaving it as a latent threat, he does show the ease with which Aeneas secures the support of Evander, whom the Trojan addresses specifically as *optime Graiugenum* (8.127). Already, then, Aeneas has fulfilled the most perplexing part of the Sibyl's prophecy and has Greeks on his side. Moreover, from the events of the end of the book, it appears

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Servius on 9.1: Sane formatus est iste liber ad illud Homeri, ubi dicit per noctem egressos esse Diomedem et Ulixen. . . .

that he himself can be compared with the finest of Homer's Greeks, Achilles.<sup>10</sup> Venus persuades Vulcan to make her son a special set of armor and expressly compares herself with Thetis (8.383). When Vergil describes the armor, he places the greatest emphasis upon the shield (8.625 ff.), and, although he utilizes different details, it is clear throughout that he expects his reader to recall the Homeric context and the carefully contrived scenes on the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.490 ff.).

At the end of Book IX Turnus is driven from the Trojan camp: clearly he is not to be compared or equated with the irresistible Achilles.<sup>11</sup> On the following day occurs the decisive battle. In the council of the gods which opens Book X, emotional argumentation obscures the issue, but both Venus and Juno regard the conflict in Italy as another Trojan War: Venus protesting at the thwarting of destiny (10.25-30), Juno using the hypothetical seduction of Lavinia as her excuse (79). Humans, not gods, determine the issue of the war, so Vergil quickly focuses our attention upon the desperate plight of the Trojans, then upon the man who will break the attack of the Italians. Aeneas stands on the deck of his ship, the object of every gaze, and an ominous flame surrounds his head, in much the same way as Achilles, making his first appearance after so long an absence, stood upon the Greek battlements with flames flashing around his head.<sup>12</sup> To emphasize the menacing presence of the Trojan, Vergil attaches to him a simile concerning Sirius and its severe effects upon mortals (10.272 ff.); Homer had used the same simile to describe the appearance of Achilles (*Il.* 22.26 ff.) as he approached Hector for the final engagement.<sup>13</sup> Within a short time after landing, Aeneas turns the course of battle. At first, he fights calmly and efficiently, but, when Pallas is killed and Turnus brutally mocks his fallen enemy,

<sup>10</sup> Vergil perhaps prepares the reader to think of Aeneas as a Greek by the consistent association which he establishes throughout Book VIII between Aeneas and Hercules. Cf. the general purpose of the story concerning Cacus and the express comparison with Hercules in 362 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Macrobius, *S.* 6.3.1, connects the description of Turnus' fight within the encampment (9.806-14) with Homer's description of Ajax when hard pressed by the Trojans in the battle around the ship (*Il.* 16.102 ff.). It would seem that Vergil has used his source in somewhat the same fashion as in 9.481-97; that is, the poet leaves the exact position of the Homeric pattern imprecise throughout the early stages of battle, until his reader has been sufficiently prepared. Thus Book IX makes many suggestions of the true interpretation of the war, that Turnus plays the role of Hector and Paris, but it also reflects the confusion of motives so frequent at the beginning of great events.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Aen.* 10.260-62 and *Il.* 18.205 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Servius refers to this source, but compares the light flashing from the armor to the context of *Il.* 5.4, in which Diomedes prepares for his great feats. It would seem to me that *Il.* 18.205 ff. provides a more exact parallel.

Aeneas becomes transformed. The brutalizing effect of the death of so close a companion resembles the change produced in Achilles by the loss of Patroclus. As Achilles captured twelve Trojans to butcher on the pyre of Patroclus, so Aeneas takes eight prisoners for sacrifice (10.517-20). As Achilles tauntingly ignored the pleas of his numerous victims, so, in his furious attempt to avenge Pallas, Aeneas contemptuously kills suppliants and boasts over their corpses. His violent progress through the Italians routs them utterly, and simultaneously the Trojans burst from their encampment, free now of any fear of Turnus. When the true Achilles (Aeneas) of this *Iliad* returns to the battle, the man who plays Hector (Turnus) can no longer hold his own.

In refuting the efforts of Juno, Amata, and Turnus to justify the war by inventing a pretext analogous to Paris' Rape of Helen we said that Vergil did not support any such parallel with the *Iliad*. As the war approaches its conclusion, the character of Paris does seem to influence events, Paris in the person of Turnus. The defeat of the Italian forces reverses public feeling towards Turnus, who now becomes the scapegoat. Many of the people who have lost relatives now call it Turnus' war and claim that he has caused the whole vain conflict by his irresponsible desire for marriage (11.217). It is precisely this feeling of resentment which aroused the Trojans against Paris. Just as Paris caused the war by his abduction of Helen and his stubborn refusal to listen to public protests and return her, so, to the Italians, Turnus' insistence by illegal methods upon his right to Lavinia and his refusal to permit her marriage with Aeneas constitute the unworthy basis of a needlessly ruinous struggle. Therefore, it is Aeneas who should really be regarded as the Menelaus of this *Iliad*, since he has been robbed of the wife promised him and fights for her recovery. In confirmation of our general interpretation, Vergil describes at last the return of Venulus, who reports the refusal of Diomedes to reinforce the Italians, indeed, his condemnation of the entire war. In short, Greeks do not identify themselves with the purpose of Turnus, and Aeneas alone has allies definitely identified as Greeks. It should now be obvious which side in this *Iliad* plays the part of the victorious Greeks of Homer. Vergil has united the personalities of Achilles, Agamemnon, and Menelaus in Aeneas, so that the supreme moral justification motivates the leader and finest warrior of the Trojans; and similarly he has made Turnus a poignant combination of Paris and Hector, in order that the defeat and death of Italy's noblest warrior will also remove the need for war.

An important council immediately acts on the bad news from Arpi,

to decide whether the Italians should admit their error and accept defeat or whether they should continue to fight. The context closely resembles the situation in Troy when Antenor attempted to have Helen returned, recognizing the inevitable, and Paris utterly refused to bow to popular pressure (*Il.* 7.344 ff.).<sup>14</sup> Under somewhat unfair attack from Drances, Turnus delivers an impassioned appeal for continuance of the war, using arguments which merely exhibit the relative hopelessness of the Italians. Drances had proposed that Latinus give Lavinia to Aeneas as the pledge of peace (11.355-56). Turnus does not comment expressly on this proposal, but he declares his intention to fight Aeneas in single combat, if necessary, before he will accede. In his excited mood, he makes a fatal statement: he will defeat his foe even though Aeneas surpass Achilles and wear armor made by Vulcan (11.438 ff.).<sup>15</sup> What, however, Turnus thinks of as a remote contingency, Vergil has shown actually subsists. The immediate comment on the Italian's confidence comes in the attack of Aeneas, who moves his troops forward against the city of Latinus, now obviously reduced to the same condition as Troy. Turnus seizes his opportunity and once again captures the enthusiasm of his people. While the women supplicate Pallas as the Trojan women did in the *Iliad* (6.297 ff.), Vergil concentrates our attention on the frenzied actions of their general and depicts him vainly imagining his victory. With the utmost care, he selects a simile to describe the irresponsibility of Turnus (11.492 ff.) which Homer, with great significance, had assigned first to Paris in *Iliad* VI, then to Hector in *Iliad* XV.<sup>16</sup> We watch the Italian go forth carrying with him the definite association of both Paris and Hector, and, when Camilla falls, we know that Turnus can delay the end no longer.

<sup>14</sup> In the *Iliad*, the council also considers a truce for the purpose of burying the dead, and this truce constitutes the one concrete result of the Trojan discussions; in the *Aeneid*, Drances and his supporters receive much of their impetus to attack Turnus from the noble reply of Aeneas to their request for a truce. But, although the relative sequence differs, both councils take place in the context of truces to bury the fallen.

<sup>15</sup> Conceivably, too, Turnus had the capacity to inflict wounds through Aeneas' armor, for he possessed a sword specially forged by Vulcan also (cf. 12.89-91). At the time of the final engagement, he exhibits his characteristic irrationality by leaving this particular sword behind, in his hurry (*praecipitem* 12. 735) to begin battle. Turnus also tries, in his rebuttal of Drances, to overwhelm his opponent with sarcasm, and he sneers: "Now even the leaders of the Myrmidons tremble at Phrygian arms (403)," as though no Italian would ever fear the contemptible Trojans. Since we know that his troops do fear the enemy after their recent defeat and as we remember how Turnus has arrogated to himself the title of Achilles, we might well feel the irony of his statement.

<sup>16</sup> It is not common for Homer to repeat similes in this fashion, and he clearly interprets the limitations of Hector in *Il.* 15.263 ff. by re-using in entirety the comparison applied in 6.506 ff. to the irresponsible Paris.

That night, the Italians hold another council, and Turnus violently proclaims his resolve to fight Aeneas for the hand of Lavinia (12.14 ff.). Both Latinus and Amata attempt to dissuade him, afraid for his life, and the context, their arguments, and their almost parental concern<sup>17</sup> suggest once again an analogy with *Iliad* XXII, where Priam and Hecuba vainly try to prevent Hector from engaging Achilles. Lavinia's feelings remain tantalizingly ambiguous (12.64 ff.), although Turnus draws his own conclusions. Eagerly he prepares to battle the man whom he contemptuously and ironically labels "the Phrygian effeminate".<sup>18</sup> In the morning, the ratification of the treaty and its immediate violation follow the general organization of *Iliad* IV, as all commentators have observed.<sup>19</sup> No doubt exists but that Turnus here takes the part of Paris, for he is the weaker warrior, and it is from his soldiers that comes the move to upset the ceremonies as well as the arrow which wounds Aeneas. This lawless action unmistakably fixes the identity of Turnus and his troops, and at the same time demands the severe punishment subsequently inflicted by Aeneas. The final combat occurs when Aeneas begins a full-scale attack on the city of Latinus. To save the city, Turnus finally consents to engage Aeneas, and a battle ensues which recalls that between Hector and Achilles and produces the same practical results: with Hector's death the resistance of Troy seems hopeless, and with the fall of Turnus the Italian cause will collapse.

It seems clear, from a relatively close study of allusions in the *Aeneid* to the Trojan War, especially to Homer's version, that Vergil has drawn on his predecessor with precision and economy, consistently subordinating the simple technique of imitation to his thematic purpose. At the outset he would realize that the wars of Aeneas could not possibly parallel the course of the conflict at Ilium, for Aeneas is destined to conquer his enemies. Moreover, it would contradict the tendency of the Trojan theme in I-V to show Aeneas once again playing the role in which we saw him in II. On the other hand, Vergil sensed the deep relevance of the Trojan

<sup>17</sup> Both Latinus and Amata address Turnus with great feeling, without, however, signifying any relationship. But in his replies, Turnus calls Latinus *pater* (50) and Amata *mater* (74).

<sup>18</sup> *Aen.* 12.99. Vergil, of course, interprets this remark by attaching a simile to Turnus, comparing the violence of his mood to that of a wild bull (103 ff.), then contrasting it with the sane behavior of Aeneas. But there is also calculated irony in the fact that Turnus, who now unmistakably plays the part of Paris, still conceives of his enemy as Paris.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Servius on 12.116: Totus hic de foederibus locus de Homero translatus est, ubi Alexander cum Menelao singulari est certamine dimicaturus. Cf. Servius also at 170 and 212, and Servius Danielis at 176.

war to Aeneas' experiences in Italy, for Aeneas' whole attitude towards arms has been conditioned by the horror of Ilium's destruction. Therefore, the poet makes the struggle doubly poignant for the Trojan by forcing him to listen to the unjust accusations of Amata and Turnus. He who has slowly learned his mission, who has accepted the necessity of denying his love for a woman, must hear himself compared with Paris and try to ignore the slanderous talk which lays the origin of the war upon his shoulders. Aeneas does face these allegations squarely, and through his actions, as they are interpreted by Homeric allusions, he demonstrates not only that he is innocent but also that the pattern of the *Iliad* applied so irrationally by his enemies must be entirely reversed. It is he who has honor and victory on his side in the combined roles of Achilles, Menelaus, and Agamemnon. The Italians, in their guilty retention of Lavinia, in their near-successful attack on the encampment, in their violation of the truce, and finally in the loss of their leader have consistently played the very part which they impute to Aeneas and his men. We can understand why it is, in the symbolic conclusion, that Juno expressly recognizes the total destruction of Troy: *occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia* (12.828).<sup>20</sup> She has attempted to preserve the memory of hateful Troy, but now recognizes the transformation in Aeneas and his purpose: the death of Troy signifies the birth of Rome. And Juno's concessions must work themselves out on earth in the tragic, but seemingly necessary, destruction of Turnus, the man who has done the utmost to keep Ilium alive, both in his misguided words and his actions. Vergil depicts Aeneas as the hero who, having subjected himself and having atoned, in the course of this second *Iliad*, for the guilt of the Trojans in Homer's poem, effaces the only reminder left of the ruinous career of Troy.

<sup>20</sup> This is the last occurrence of the word *Troy* in the *Aeneid*, and, except for the word *Teucri* (836) in Jupiter's reply, the last reference to the Trojans.