As he worked at this new poem, can we not imagine that Virgil became interested in a more maturely conceived hero, struggling to rise to the level of the task thrust upon him against his will, to act as an enlightened, humane, civilized human being; but also falling short under stress of this ideal, and then (because he is the instrument of fate's purpose) doing sometimes the right thing for the wrong reason, or for motives that leave him and us uneasy? Understandably Virgil will now be drawn to match against his more mature hero a more mature opponent. Then another change of plan. To Virgil's *Iliad* is added Virgil's *Odyssey*, the story of the moral *labores* of Aeneas.

But this humane Aeneas, though he added enormously to the stature of the poem, added greatly also to Virgil's problems. He forced into an epic poem concepts for which the epic tradition was ill prepared. Once we are invited to look at the hero in this new light, as a person with claims upon our moral sense, it is difficult not to extend this attitude to the poem generally. Dido can stand it, so can Turnus. But the epic narrative is hardly on the same plane. How can fate be on the side of the foreign invader in a war of conquest? The invader is a refugee returning to his ancestral home; he is the instrument of fate; the Italians act unreasonably; it is better for Italy if the two cultures are blended. All this is true, but in a way it only makes things worse: the more Virgil appeals to our moral sense, the more that sense is outraged by a story whose fundamental data are so out of keeping with the use Virgil seeks to make of it.

It is not necessary to suppose that my reconstruction of how the *Aeneid* came to reach the form in which it has come down to us represents more than a rough approximation to the truth. We need only allow that something like this occurred. We can then imagine that Virgil felt, each time he recast his poem, that he had both made it a better poem (more the expression of a mature, civilized sensibility) and a poem which it was more impossible than before ever to get right.

R. D. WILLIAMS

THE PAGEANT OF ROMAN HEROES-*AENEID* 6. 756-853

The description by Anchises of the Roman heroes waiting for birth at the banks of Lethe is the most intensely patriotic passage of the *Aeneid*. Elsewhere Virgil writes enthusiastically of the glory of Rome, sometimes through prophecies (especially that of Jupiter in *Aeneid* 1.257 f.), or by the device of ecphrasis (the description of the shield of Aeneas at the end of the eighth book), but nowhere else does he present so densely-packed a description of the great figures of Rome's history. The present article aims at analysing in some detail the choice of persons and the poetic method of presentation,[1] for in this passage Virgil has achieved a context which affords him complete freedom. By means of the religious doctrine of metempsychosis which Anchises expounds the poet has a setting for the enumeration of as many of Rome's future heroes as he chooses to include. The ecphrasis of the pictures on the shield gives an opportunity which is similar, but in that passage the impact must be primarily static and visual[2] and concerned with events; here the people themselves may pass in procession before our eyes.

The most noticeable of the techniques which Virgil employs is a

[1] The passage is analysed by Norden in detail from a rhetorical point of view: it is seen as a logos parainetikos where examples (paradeigmata) are cited so as to lead up to moral generalisations (e.g. 806f., 832f., 851f.). The examples are of the panegyric type, and correspondences can be seen in Virgil's *exempla* with headings given in Quintilian 3.7 (e.g. *adferunt laudem liberi parentibus*, *Aen.* 6.764f.). Again, lists of *exempla*, many of which occur in Virgil, may be found in Cic. *De Off.* 1.61, *Tusc.* 1.110, *Pro Sest.* 143.

[2] There are of course strong visual aspects in the present passage (e.g. 760, 772, 779, 784 f. etc.), but the intention is less pictorial and more processional than in the description of the shield. For a comparison of the two passages see J. G. Griffith, *Proc. Virg. Soc.* 1967-8, pp. 54f. See E. Skard, *Symb. Osl.* 1965, pp. 53f. for a comparison with funeral processions, and Norden ad loc. for similarities with the statues in Augustus' forum.

variation between crowd scenes and individuals, between the wide angle lens and the spotlight. Thus the first section is a crowd scene of Alban kings (five of whom are mentioned), the next spotlights Romulus, and the next spotlights the central figure of all, the emperor Augustus. At this point the description breaks off as Anchises asks Aeneas whether he still feels hesitation about his mission. The pageant resumes with a crowd scene of five Roman kings, and then the spotlight turns on Brutus, founder of the republic. Next a crowd scene again occupying just two lines, and again a spotlight on Caesar and Pompey. Finally one more crowd scene, consisting of two of the generals who conquered Greece, eight other Roman heroes, and lastly Fabius Maximus.

The structure then is patterned and organised as we would expect of Virgil;[3] its primary arrangement is artistic, and other relevant considerations like chronology or character types are made secondary to the aesthetic grouping of the material. The break at 806-7 comes just after the half-way point; of the first half the Alban kings take seventeen lines, Romulus eleven, Augustus eighteen. The second half is just a little shorter than the first, and splits into two sub-divisions[4] at the unfinished line (835). The first sub-division reproduces quite closely on a smaller scale the proportions of the first half, with ten lines for the kings, six for Brutus and (after the two-line crowd scene) ten for Caesar and Pompey. The second sub-division is quite different, with no spotlight figure except insofar as the last figure of all has special emphasis.

The balance therefore between Romulus as forerunner to the emperor Augustus, and Brutus, founder of the republic, as forerunner to Caesar and Pompey, compels the attention. The former pair are described in joyful terms: Romulus is the founder of the city which will bound its empire by the world and its spirit by Olympus, and he will become a god in recognition of his qualities. Augustus is the second founder[5] of the same city, which will extend its sway beyond the Garamantians and Indians, beyond the sun and the stars; and his explicit comparison with Hercules and Bacchus (as well as his juxtaposition with Romulus) clearly implies that he will join these mortal heroes in heaven. The excitement of Anchises in presenting his pictures of triumph and glory is emphasised by the deictic diction: *viden ut ..., en ... nate ..., huc geminas nunc flecte acies ..., hic vir hic est ...*

The spotlit figures of the second half are presented very differently, not in triumph but in sorrow. Brutus matches Tarquin with his *anima superba*, his task is that of *ultor*, his duty is to execute his sons for rebellion, he is *infelix*. Caesar and Pompey are men of civil war, urged by Anchises not to turn their strength against their country's heart, and Caesar especially is exhorted to refrain and cast his weapons away. The diction by which they are introduced (*vis ... videre, illae ... quas ... cernis*) has no such excitement as that used for Romulus and Augustus. The glory of Romulus and Augustus did not shine on all Rome's history. Virgil was never an unthinking panegyrist, but nor did he take political sides; it would be wrong to read into the sorrow of Brutus and Pompey and Caesar a condemnation of the Roman republic. He is juxtaposing opposite moods here as he does at the end of the poem, interspersing his doubts with his hopes, exploring human behaviour with its disasters as well as its triumphs.

Against this background of the general structure let us consider the presentation of the individual sections.

1. *Introduction and the Alban Kings* (756-776).

The passage begins with four simple lines of introduction, setting the optimistic mood which is dominant for most of the time: *gloria, inlustris animas*. To begin with, the tone of description is not very loud or emphatic; there has to be a crescendo for Romulus and a greater one for Augustus, and the Alban kings serve to introduce a feeling of

[3] See my analysis of the catalogue (*Aen.* 7.641 f.) in *C.Q.* 1961, pp. 146 f., and of the funeral games in my edition of *Aeneid* 5 (Oxford, 1960), Intro. pp. xiii f.

[4] One could therefore define the pattern as tripartite as well as bipartite; see my remarks on structural schematisation in my edition of *Aeneid* 3 (Oxford, 1962), Intro. p. 15. I have stressed that such patterns are not mutually exclusive, but that different patterns may exist together (the *Aeneid* may be seen as two groups of six books, three groups of four, six groups of two, and so on).

[5] There was a proposal that he should receive the title Romulus (Suet. *Aug.* 7). La Cerda wisely commented 'excellenti iudicio post Romulum infert Augustum quasi alterum conditorem urbis'.

... light, and of his namesake Silvius Aeneas. Antiquity is linked with contemporary customs by the mentions of the headless spear and the civic crown,[7] and the scene ends with a sonorous list of local towns and villages which the Albans are to establish. The effect here is similar to that which Virgil achieved on a much larger scale in his catalogue at the end of the seventh book ... *memini[s] enim, dicas, et memorare potestis* (7.645).

2. *Romulus* (777-787).

The connexion is made by a backward reference to Numitor, Romulus' grandfather, already mentioned among the Alban kings. But Romulus, 'joining his grandfather', now stands very much on his own. The epithet *Mavortius*, archaic in form, makes strong associations with Italy, but the Trojan connexion is stressed too, with mention of his mother Ilia and his Trojan ancestor Assaracus. He is seen with the special emblem of twin crests as a sure sign of divine favour; Jupiter marks him out.[8] The emphasis on Rome as the agent of divine destiny is dominant throughout the *Aeneid*, and is indeed the main respect in which Virgil's epic differed from those of his model Homer. There is every reason to believe that it was a widespread view among the Romans in Virgil's time - *dis te minorem quod geris, imperas* (Hor. *Odes* 3.6.5) was the theme of Roman religion and Roman ideas of world-dominion. Romulus has the gods on his side, even Juno eventually, as we learn from *Aen.* 12.819f. (cf. Hor. *Odes* 3.3.30f.). The word *auspiciis* (781) reinforces this; the phrase *animos aequabit Olympo* points it, and foreshadows Jupiter's promise in *Aen.* 2.839 *supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis*; the comparison

[7] We are told by Servius (on *Ecl.* 6.3) that Virgil at one time planned to write his epic on the subject of the Alban kings: it seems unlikely that this could have been very satisfactory, quite apart from the reason given by Servius: 'quae coepta omisit, nominum asperitate deterritus'.
The headless spear was perhaps an antique custom by Virgil's time, but the *corona civica* certainly was not; it was conferred as a perpetual honour upon Augustus in 27 B.C.
See R. J. Getty, *C. Phil.* 1950, pp. 1f.

iteration of gods (786-7) suggests the god-like quality of Rome's men, and leads in to the vision of Augustus, *divi genus*.

3. *Augustus* (788-805).

The central figure is introduced emphatically with the tautology *geminas nunc flecte acies*, and Virgil's favourite triple repetition *huc, hic, hic*. The enumeration becomes increasingly specific: first 'this people and your Romans'; then, more closely defined, 'Caesar[9] and all the offspring of Iulus'; finally with absolute precision, as Augustus' companions fade away and he alone holds the stage, 'this is the man, this is he, Augustus Caesar'.

The correspondence of Augustus with Romulus, of the founder of Rome's golden age with the first founder of Rome, is very evident; but the difference of presentation is noteworthy. Romulus was described visually (779-80), Augustus is not. The emphasis is wholly directed towards Augustus' achievements - first the restored golden age, with a careful balance between the Trojan side of Augustus (*Iuli progenies, divi genus*) and the Italian side (*Saturnus*); secondly the extension of empire, elaborated more fully than in the promise of Romulus (782), and given impressiveness by the mention of Atlas and the reminiscence of Ennius (797); thirdly the specific mention of the fear inspired in Rome's enemies, particularly in Egypt, made memorable by the alliteration of *t* (799-800) and the unusual intransitive use of *turbant*; fourthly and finally the comparison with Hercules and Bacchus. The points of comparison are many: firstly the stated one of extending one's influence and presence to far-off places; secondly Hercules with his strength and victories over barbaric monsters was an *exemplum* in Stoic mythology and is sometimes a prototype for Aeneas (and thus for Augustus) in the poem,[10] while Bacchus stands for the spread of civilisation and victory over the wild forces of nature; and thirdly, and

[9] This is of course Augustus; he is given his title only when (792) the whole attention is concentrated upon him.
[10] See P. McGushin, *A.J.P.* 1964, pp. 225 f., and W. A. Camps, *An introduction to Virgil's Aeneid*, pp. 98-99.

above all, these two, along with Romulus, are the most famous examples of mortal men deified for great services (cf. Hor. *Odes* 3.3.9f.). The implication for Augustus is obvious, and the interposed question by Anchises which concludes the first half of the pageant (806-7) allows time to reflect on the implication.

4. *The Kings of Rome* (808-817).

The position of Numa at the beginning of the second half enables Virgil to give prominence to the peaceful aspects of Rome's sway (compare the beginning of the description of the shield, *Aen.* 8.635f., where the violence of the war following the rape of the Sabine women gives way to treaties and religious observations). Here the aspects of peace are illustrated visually: Numa comes *ramis insignis olivae* and *sacra ferens*. His destiny is to found the new city on laws - *primam qui legibus urbem fundabit* -, and we see how the Roman destiny, set under way by Romulus son of Mars, now receives a new injection of civilisation: Numa is the first *paci imponere morem*. He bears the olive of peace, and to it he adds *sacra* and *leges*. He is the embodiment of Jupiter's promise in *Aen.* 12.836-7 *morem ritusque sacrorum adiciam*.

The remaining kings constitute a crowd scene of much less interest: Tullus the warrior, the over-boastful Ancus (the point of this is not known), then the Tarquins merely named, while Servius Tullius is not mentioned at all[11] as we hasten to the foundation of the republic.

5. *Brutus* (817-823).

This passage is by far the most ambivalent of the whole pageant. We are first presented with the strange paradox of the epithet *superbus*, which belonged as a cognomen to the last Tarquin, being applied to the avenging Brutus.[12] Then authority, recovered from the kings, is still savage (819) as Brutus puts his sons to death *pulchra pro libertate* (821). The line is an astonishing one, with violent alliteration of the plosive *p* picked up by repetition of *b* in the last two words. Then Virgil's own reflexion deliberately modifies the generally accepted attitude to the story - he says that however much posterity may extol the deed (e.g. Livy 2.5), Brutus must be called unhappy. The connexion with the next line is very abrupt, but seems to indicate that the reason for his unhappiness is that his patriotism and enormous longing for glory prevailed over his family affection. The phrase *laudumque immensa cupido* in its context seems harsh and violent. The ambiguity of Virgil's attitude is very fairly summarised by St. Augustine's comment (*Civ. Dei* 3.16), '*posteaquam laudabiliter commemoravit, continuo clementer exhorruit*'.

No mention is made by Virgil, here or elsewhere, of Brutus' famous descendant, the conspirator Marcus Brutus who killed Caesar. But it is hard to believe that the phrases are not chosen in order to evoke in the Roman reader thoughts of the assassination of Caesar. *Anima superba, ultor, pulchra pro libertate, amor patriae, laudumque immensa cupido*; the phrases recall the ideals and the arrogant confidence of the conspirators. But no propaganda is attempted: the attention is concentrated on the tragedy of the dilemmas of the republic, now at last to be resolved in the newly dawning golden age.

6. *The Decii etc.* (824-5).

This extremely brief crowd scene gives the impression that Virgil tore himself away from his thoughts about Brutus and forced himself to continue with the next subject. The Decii were famous *exempla* of devotion to death on the battlefield to secure the safety of Rome (Livy 8.9., 10.28); the Drusi had figured so largely in Roman history and still were so figuring, that it seems unreasonable here to try to particularize.[13] These two families are mentioned without description,

[11] The reason for the omission of Servius Tullius, sixth king of Rome, is simply the linking of the two Tarquins (fifth and seventh); but curiously enough the reader has already been reminded of Servius Tullius by the omen of the flames around Ascanius' head (*Aen.* 2.681 f.).

[12] There have actually been suggestions that *-que* is here postponed to third place, so that *animam superbam* would apply to Tarquin and the next line would mean *et ultoris Bruti fasces videre receptos*. This is quite unthinkable.

[13] Augustus' wife Livia belonged to the Drusus family; Servius mentions the consul who defeated Hasdrubal at the River Metaurus in 207 B.C.

but the next two individuals (Torquatus, Camillus) each have a brief descriptive phrase. They are both connected with the wars against the Gauls (cf. the scene on the shield, *Aen.* 8.652f.), and Camillus was associated with the most critical time of early history when, according to the Roman version, he recovered Rome from the Gauls after they had taken it.[14] The mention of Torquatus is particularly interesting: his outstanding deed of valour, which gained him his *cognomen* (Livy 7.10), was to have killed a giant Gaul in single combat and to have stripped him of his necklace (*torques*), but this is not the story to which Virgil directs our thoughts here. The phrase *saevumque securi* refers unmistakably to the story that Torquatus put his sons to death (Livy 8.7) for having disobeyed orders by fighting out of line. The words themselves recall Brutus' *saevae secures* (819), and the similarity of the two stories indicates that Virgil still has Brutus on his mind. Thus this brief little crowd scene contains a transition from the sorrow of violent death within the family circle, as already exemplified by Brutus and now by Torquatus, to the sorrow of violent death in the wider context of civil war as it is about to be exemplified by Caesar and Pompey (*socer ... gener*).

7. *Caesar and Pompey* (826-835).

The description of Caesar and Pompey starts very slowly, the subject *illae* being separated from its verb *ciebunt* by half-a-dozen holding phrases, and not being defined by *socer* and *gener* (cf. Cat. 29.24) until after the verb. This reference to the marriage of Pompey to Caesar's daughter Julia further stresses the sorrow of *paribus ... in armis, concordes animae nunc*. Anchises invokes the two of them - nowhere else has he yet actually spoken to the shades as he watches them -, pathetically calling them *pueri*, and emphasising his prayer to them in one of the most striking examples of initial alliteration in the *Aeneid*: *neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris*. Finally the appeal to Caesar is left on an incomplete line with bucolic diaeresis, a comparatively rare rhythm in the *Aeneid*. It is very noticeable that while Pompey is linked with the East (*adversis instructus Eois*) no attempt whatever is made to discredit him on those grounds. This is in most striking contrast with the discrediting of Antony and Cleopatra in the description of the battle of Actium portrayed on Aeneas' shield, where strong scorn is directed at the barbarism of Eastern (especially Egyptian) ways of life and religious worship (*Aen.* 8.685, 698f.).

8. *The final crowd scene* (836-846).

The opening five lines of this section are concerned with the conquest of Greece, and are specifically linked with the action and timescale of the *Aeneid*, and closely parallel to Jupiter's promise in *Aen.* 1.283f. The first reference, to Mummius' conquest of Corinth, is made relevant to Aeneas' own times by the use of the word *Achivi*, while the second part (referring to Paullus who defeated King Perseus of Macedonia) is strongly linked with the Trojan war as Virgil mentions Argos, Agamemnon's Mycenae, the descendant of Achilles, vengeance for Trojan ancestors and the desecration (by Ajax) of the temple of Minerva. In these references to the Roman conquest of Greece we are looking forward from the Trojan war rather than backwards from Augustan times.

The second part of this last section seems to begin with haphazard and sporadic choice of famous names,[15] but in fact thematic links may be observed, especially with the Punic Wars, the conquest of the Greeks, and the qualities of the Roman way of life. Cato the elder could hardly be omitted from any enumeration of heroes with specially Roman qualities; the mention of this great opponent of Greek ways of life is connected retrospectively with the Greeks referred to, and looks forward to the reference to the Greeks in the concluding lines *excudent alii*; it has links with the Punic Wars ('delenda est Carthago'); and it looks forward to the *exempla* of Roman *parsimonia* (Fabricius, Regulus). Cossus, who in 428 B.C. won the *spolia opima*, is again an *exemplum* of Roman bravery and simplicity, and the mention of his achievement looks forward to that of Marcellus in line 855. *Gracchi genus* refers not merely to the two famous brothers (indeed perhaps not specifically to them at all), but to their ancestors as well, Tib.

[14] *Referentem signa* may also refer obliquely to Augustus' recovery of the

[15] See L. J. D. Richardson, *C.Q.* 1942, pp. 40f., for a suggestion that all of these

Sempronius Gracchus who was prominent in the Second Punic War after Cannae, and also to the father of the brothers, a man prominent in military and political life in the generation after Zama, and well-known for his severity and high moral code, as was his wife Cornelia, daughter of Scipio Africanus, proverbial model of a Roman matron. Next come the two Scipio's, Africanus Major and Minor, as the picture focusses on the defeat of Carthage. Then Fabricius, an *exemplum* of Roman ideals *par excellence*, the Roman Aristides, famous for refusing bribes and resisting the lure of gold (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.56); the phrase *parvoque potentem* is the basis of Valerius Maximus' account of Fabricius (4.3). These two themes, the Punic Wars and Roman idealised qualities, are combined in Regulus, hero of the first Punic War and a Stoic *exemplum* of resolution.

The final figure in the pageant, Fabius Maximus, is a representative of his famous clan, the Fabii, but also a hero of the second Punic War in his own right. At first sight he might seem a surprising choice for the place of honour; but he has this position because he more than any other Roman was the saviour of Rome against Hannibal, whose delaying tactics after Trasimene and Cannae warded off disaster until Rome could gather her strength again (Livy 22, passim). Here at last is exorcised the memory of Dido's final curse (4.625f.), *exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor* .... And the pageant is rounded with the quotation from Ennius, reinforcing the mood of antiquity, destiny and history. The quotation is not merely an Ennian adaptation or reminiscence such as is frequent in Virgil; it is an exact quotation, just modified for the needs of syntax - Ennius had *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem*;Virgil has *unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem*. Virgil at the end looks back not only at the glory of his country's history, but at the glory of her poets who have commemorated it.

9. *Summary* (847-853).

On the famous Roman claim much might be said, but a few words must here suffice. The Greek achievement in the fine arts,[16] in oratory,[17]

[16] This is surprising when we think of the achievements of Roman portraiture in Virgil's time; it seems that Virgil's intention is to concede even Rome's great achievements in order to emphasise her greatest of all.

in pure science is granted, and the Romans claim for themselves art of government - justifiably and correctly so. It is a tremendou important claim, and it cannot be contradicted. *Pacique impo morem*: 'on top of peace to place a civilised way of life'. First to conc the proud, sparing them when conquered, and giving them peace; on top of that adding *mos* (a moral way of life; the word is n frequent in the plural, but is used in precisely this sense in the sing in *Aen.* 8.316 *quis neque mos neque cultus erat*). *Pax* then and *mos*; nature of the mission both of Aeneas and of the Roman people is l presented very clearly in its bipartite form. We think again of Jupit words in *Aen.* 4.229f.:

> *sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem*
> *Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri*
> *proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.*

The first task is to conquer in war, and the second to establis peace in which the people are ruled with mercy, and given the bene of Roman civilisation and settled ways of life. It is a proud claim, one which, incompletely realised though it may have been, is wor of Virgil's salutation.

[17] This is also surprising, as Cicero could be put in the scales against the grea Greek orators, and Roman skill in oratory (a very practical part of governn was of the highest order.