VERGIL'S CONTRIBUTION TO EKPHRASIS

DISSERTATION

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By

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This is dedicated to my Mother and Father, who did so much to make it possible.
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I. Ancient and Medieval Sources

All quotes from and references to Vergil are based upon
R.A.B. Mynors, ed., P. Vergili Maronis: Opera, Oxford

Quotes from and references to other ancient and
medieval sources are based upon the following texts:

Apollocdorus = Sir James G. Frazer, ed. and trans.,
Apollocdorus: The Library, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library,
G.P. Putnam's, New York (1921).

Apollonius Rhodius = R.C. Seaton, ed. and trans.,
Apollonius Rhodius: The Argonautica, Loeb Classical
Library, G.P. Putnam's, New York (1912).

Catullus = Kenneth Quinn, ed., Catullus: The Poems, 2nd

Dictys Cretensis = Richard M. Frazer, ed. and trans., The
Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete, Indiana


II. Modern Sources

The titles of journals are abbreviated according to the system used in L'Annee Philologique.


INTRODUCTION

Vergil contributed more to the development of the epic than any poet after Homer. In Vergil's hands the old form maintained its original power and gravity while gaining a complexity and sophistication the Alexandrians would have admired. In bestowing so great a bounty upon the epic, Vergil also lavished a similar bequest upon the epic technique known as ekphrasis.

Ekphrasis is the literary term for the description of a work of art.\(^1\) As a type of epigram it held special interest for the literary critics of the second century A.D.; amongst these were Nicostratus of Macedonia, the device's first major critical exponent, and Philostratus, whose Eikones offers the earliest extant collection of ekphrases.\(^2\) But ekphrasis had initially flourished in such narrative forms as the epic and the epyllion. Homer provided the earliest example of the technique with the shield of Achilles in the Iliad (Iliad 18.483 ff.). A poem of 480 lines, sometimes attributed to Hesiod, contains a

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prolonged depiction of the shield of Heracles. Aeschylus adapted the epic device of ekphrasis for dramatic purposes in the *Seven Against Thebes*; indeed he devoted so much of the play to describing the emblems on the Argive shields that one translator contends that the play's "main event is the recital of the blazonry."³

The Hellenistic poets also enjoyed elaborating on the details of an intricate object of art. In attempting to renew the tradition of the lengthy epic, Apollonius continued the tradition of ekphrasis in an epic by portraying the embroidery on the cloak of Jason (*Argonautica* 1.721 ff.). Most Hellenistic poets, however, agreed with Callimachus that "a long book is a long evil" (*Callimachus, fr.359*), and shunned the writing of an epic. Instead, they turned their hands to shorter forms like the idyll and the epyllion, but their disdain for the epic did not keep them from working ekphrases into their poems. In his first idyll Theocritus described the carvings on a cup (*Theocritus 1.29 ff*). Moschus disregressed from his epyllion about *Europa* to describe the pictures of Io engraved on Europa's basket.

Catullus brought ekphrasis into Latin poetry when he interrupted his epyllion on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis to portray their bridal bedspread (*Catullus 64.50 ff*.). This bedspread depicts scenes from the romance of
Theseus and Ariadne. Its description takes up over half of the epyllion.

Vergil used ekphrasis in his early work and continued to use it throughout his career. In the Eclogues he described two pairs of wooden cups carved with figures representing science and poetry (Eclogues 3.36). In the Georgics he employed ekphrasis to expound his program for a Roman epic (Georgics 3.26 ff.): the poet imagines temple doors adorned with gold and ivory engravings of Roman triumphs in the east, Rome's Trojan ancestors and the punishment of the damned in the Underworld.

Vergil makes his most frequent and complex use of ekphrasis in the Aeneid. The three engravings described in the Georgics seem to have foreshadowed the epic's three major ekphrases: the Roman triumphs presaged the shield of Aeneas (8.625 ff.), the Trojan ancestors looked ahead to the scenes of the Trojan War on the temple wall at Carthage (1.450 ff.), and the depiction of the Underworld suggests the temple doors at Cumae where Aeneas meets the Sibyl and begins his own journey to and from the Underworld (6.14 ff.). Besides these three longer ekphrases, the epic also contains several shorter ones, such as the Ganymede cloak (5.249 ff.) and the baldric of Pallas (10.495 ff.).

The shield of Aeneas is the most widely discussed of Vergil's ekphrases, but the temple wall at Carthage and the temple doors at Cumae provide his greatest contributions to
the technique. All three of these ekphrases work on several levels of meaning and display an artistic richness and complexity unequalled in the ekphrases of any previous poet, but the temples offer something especially new in the manner of their presentation. Before Vergil described the two temples, poets had depicted works of art objectively and without reference to the emotional response of a specific viewer. Vergil changed this by depicting the temples subjectively and filtering them through the eyes of a viewer or an artist. The emotions of Aeneas shape and color the reader's impression of the temple wall at Carthage, while the emotions that inspired Daedalus to create the temple doors at Cumae and that prevented him from completing them are also revealed to the reader. This change typifies the changes wrought by what Brooks Otis calls Vergil's subjective style. Otis argues that Vergil's epic, as opposed to those of Homer and Apollonius, was primarily "psychological and empathetic," and that the Roman poet linked his symbols and motifs to the emotional elements in his narrative. By presenting the temples in a subjective manner, Vergil internalized ekphrasis just as he internalized the epic. Consequently, the temples provide good illustrations for Poschl's dictum that:

In Vergil's poetry everything participates in the inner drama and reflects the poet's awareness of the stirrings within the souls of his characters....
I intend to define Vergil's contribution to ekphrasis and to confirm the assertion that the temples at Carthage and Cumae best exemplify that contribution. In pursuing these goals, I will first establish the limits of ekphrasis prior to Vergil by surveying how Homer, Apollonius and Catullus used the technique; these three poets will provide an overview of ekphrases in both epic and epyllion during the early Greek, Hellenistic and Roman Republican eras in literature. After this survey I will examine three ekphrases from the *Aeneid*: the Ganymede cloak, the baldric of Pallas and the shield of Aeneas; the cloak and the baldric will offer some insight into Vergil's treatment of less ambitious ekphrases, while the shield will show the poet working with a long set piece. Next, I will study in some detail the foci of this dissertation: the temple wall at Carthage and the temple doors at Cumae. In the final chapter I will discuss the parallels between the uses of these temples, especially their subjective presentation, and conclude with a summary of my findings on Vergil's contribution to ekphrasis.
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION


CHAPTER ONE: HOMER, APOLLONIUS AND CATULLUS

Vergil offers his readers a mature and civilized artistry. He did not so much invent his own forms and devices as master and expand upon those of earlier poets, polishing and refining them to a remarkable lustre and purity. Vergil's poetry is the triumph of a long tradition, the distillation of grapes ripened through a centuries-long summer. To appreciate fully such a vintage requires a taste of what has gone before it. This chapter will provide that taste with a sampling of ekphrases by Homer, Apollonius and Catullus. All three of these poets influenced Vergil's poetry, and their work displays three crucial points in the development of ekphrasis. Homer introduced the device at the beginning of the epic tradition, Apollonius injected it with the allegorizing sophistication of the Alexandrians, and Catullus brought it into Latin poetry with an example Vergil would echo in describing the temple doors at Cumae.¹
I. The Shield of Achilles (Iliad 18.478-607)

The shield of Achilles is part of the invulnerable armor Hephaestus made at the request of Achilles' mother, Thetis. This armor replaced the armor lost when Hector killed and stripped Patroclus. Like other Homeric shields, the shield of Achilles is round; unlike the others, it consists of layers of metal rather than layers of hide.²

Hephaestus arranged the many scenes on the shield in five concentric circles.³ At the center he set the cosmos: the earth, the sky, the sea, the sun, the moon and the stars (18.483-489).

In the next circle he put two earthly cities (18.490-540). The first city is at peace, with citizens participating in a wedding and a trial. The second city is at war, with attackers arguing over their plans and defenders springing an ambush.

The third circle portrays the four seasons of agriculture (18.541-589). In the spring farmers plough the fields. In the summer a king watches as his workers reap and bind the sheaves. In the fall young men and women pick the fruit of the vineyards. In the winter oxen and sheep graze in the fallow fields, and two lions drag off a bull as dogs and herdsmen pursue them.⁴
In the fourth circle rows of youths and maidens dance on an elaborate floor (18.590-605).

The river Ocean flows around the outermost circle of the shield just as it flows around the rim of the Homeric world (18.606-607).

These five scenes follow a symmetrical arrangement, falling into an ABCBA pattern.\footnote{The cosmos in the center and Ocean on the rim both represent nature devoid of man (A). The cities in the second circle and the dancers in the fourth circle represent human culture (B). The agricultural scenes in the third circle represent man working with nature (C). This ABCBA pattern may reflect the influence of the geometric pottery of Homer's age; the simile of the potter's wheel used to describe the dancers on the shield seems to support this conjecture.}{5} The cosmos in the center and Ocean on the rim both represent nature devoid of man (A). The cities in the second circle and the dancers in the fourth circle represent human culture (B). The agricultural scenes in the third circle represent man working with nature (C). This ABCBA pattern may reflect the influence of the geometric pottery of Homer's age; the simile of the potter's wheel used to describe the dancers on the shield seems to support this conjecture.\footnote{The scenes on the shield of Achilles contrast dramatically with the rest of the Iliad. War dominates the days and nights of the saga, but it is only one of the many activities depicted on the shield.\footnote{The shield summarizes the whole world of man and nature, not just the epic world where heroes fight and die, but the everyday world where common people work and play.}{7}} The scenes on the shield of Achilles contrast dramatically with the rest of the Iliad. War dominates the days and nights of the saga, but it is only one of the many activities depicted on the shield.\footnote{The shield summarizes the whole world of man and nature, not just the epic world where heroes fight and die, but the everyday world where common people work and play.}{7} The shield summarizes the whole world of man and nature, not just the epic world where heroes fight and die, but the everyday world where common people work and play.\footnote{The shield comes as a still point between the death of Patroclus and the rampage of Achilles, and it offers rest from the violence and the emotional extremes of those episodes.}{8} The shield comes as a still point between the death of Patroclus and the rampage of Achilles, and it offers rest from the violence and the emotional extremes of those episodes.\footnote{This still point emphasizes the tragic}{9} This still point emphasizes the tragic
reversal in Achilles' situation following the death of Patroclus. The pause heightens the tragedy just as a brief silence sharpens the impact of a final burst of thunder.\textsuperscript{10}

The scenes of peace alongside those of war widen the scope of the *Iliad* and provide a background or context for viewing the war.\textsuperscript{11} The anonymity of the figures and events on the shield makes this context a universal one. The poet names none of the people or places shown on the shield, nor does he refer to any particular mythic or historic episode except in one brief simile; the people on the shield could be any people at any time.\textsuperscript{12} This universality leads us to step back from the sorrows of Troy and Achilles, and to remember that while nations and heroes fall, the world abides.\textsuperscript{13} The immortal nature of the shield underlines this point: the shield and its scenes will endure long after the warrior who carries it dies.\textsuperscript{14}

Was Homer fully conscious of everything the shield suggests? Probably not in a way he could express verbally.\textsuperscript{15} Homer and his contemporaries did not first think of a concept or an idea and then seek an appropriate deed or object to symbolize it; for them the thought and its symbol were inseparable. For example, Homer did not play the allegorist and use Athena's intervention to show how Achilles' good judgement prevented his slaying Agamemnon in Book 1 of the *Iliad*; later more rational generations would see the goddess as an image representing
a specific idea, but to Homer's mind she was a goddess who intervened in the situation, and the result of her intervention was Achilles' behaving with more discretion. Similarly, Homer did not think of using the shield to symbolize the world existing outside the *Iliad*; his mind gave him that idea in the form of a shield rather than in the form of a logical statement. As Pöschl says:

...(the) invention of images in which symbol becomes allegory (is) alien to Homer. Completely free of the symbolism in the sense of an intentional transformation of statement into Symbol, Homer is symbolic in spite of himself.16

II. The Cloak of Jason (*Argonautica* 1.721-773)

Early in its voyage the *Argo* reaches the island of Lemnos. A year before the island's women had killed all of their men; these men were pirates, and they had made the mistake of paying too much attention to the women they had captured and not enough to their own wives and daughters. After a year without men the Lemnian women grew lonely, and when the *Argo* arrived, they decided to ask the Argonauts to stay on Lemnos as their new husbands. Hypsipyle, the island's queen, invited Jason to come before her to discuss this proposal. Before setting out to meet her, Jason donned a purple and crimson cloak embroidered with several scenes from mythology. Athena had given it to him when she was teaching him to measure timbers for the *Argo*.17
Seven scenes adorn the cloak of Jason. The first scene shows the Cyclopes forging a thunderbolt for Zeus (1.730-734). The second scene depicts Amphion and Zethus building Thebes (1.735-741); Zethus moves boulders with muscle and sweat, but Amphion works twice as quickly using the magical charm of song and lyre. In the third scene Aphrodite holds the shield of Ares in her hands and admires her own reflection in it (1.742-746). The fourth scene portrays a battle in a pasture where Taphian pirates slay the sons of Electryon and steal their cattle (1.747-751). Next comes the chariot race of Pelops and Oenomaus with Hippodameia, daughter of Oenomaus, as its prize (1.752-758); Pelops and Hippodameia have bribed Myrtilus, the driver for Oenomaus, to throw the race by sabotaging an axle. The sixth scene shows Apollo felling Tityos, an earth giant, for trying to rape Leto (1.759-762). The seventh and final scene portrays the ram with the golden fleece speaking to Phrixus the Minyan (1.763-767).

The cloak shows an advance upon the unconscious symbolism of the shield of Achilles. The cloak is allegorical and, as befits a gift from Athena, didactic. The first six scenes on the cloak expound a set of rules or lessons for successful action, while the seventh shows the goal of that action: the golden fleece.18

One lesson the cloak teaches is piety. Zeus will use the thunderbolt forged in the first scene to punish the
presumptuous, and Apollo destroys Tityos in the sixth scene because of the giant’s insolent attack on Leto. To survive, one must avoid the displeasure of the gods and cultivate their favor and assistance. 19

The next lesson demonstrates the effectiveness of charm and treachery over physical strength and direct action. In the second scene the charm of Amphion’s song accomplishes more than the muscle of Zethus, while in the fifth scene treachery enables Pelops to win a race in which all previous challengers had lost their lives. Cunning and persuasion will achieve more than the brute force and frontal assault heroes like Achilles or Heracles would employ. 20

The moral of this second lesson comes close to that of the final lesson which teaches the superiority of love and seduction to war and violence. In the third scene Aphrodite has seduced Ares and won control of his shield. The beauty of this episode contrasts with the brutality of the fourth scene, where pirates kill the sons of Electryon during a cattle raid. Love and war both achieve victories, but the goddess of love overcomes the god of war, and seduction proves stronger than the sword. 21

These lessons foreshadow the means of Jason’s success in Colchis. By avoiding insolence himself, Jason wins Olympian aid against insolent foes like Pelias and Aeetes. Jason charms Medea into betraying her father just as Pelops
charmed Hippodameia into betraying Oenomaus. Aphrodite aids Jason in seducing Medea, and the hero, following the advice of Argus, calls upon the love goddess rather than the war god for help on the plain of Ares.\textsuperscript{22}

Unlike Homer, Apollonius drew the scenes for his ekphrasis from the literary source of mythology rather than from everyday life,\textsuperscript{23} and he used those scenes for consciously allegorical purposes. The cloak of Jason offers an emblem for its wearer's quest and suggests the methods he will employ in pursuing that quest. The scenes of Aphrodite and Pelops particularly foreshadow Jason's actions in Book 3. All of this does not make the art of Apollonius more moving than that of Homer, but it does make it more sophisticated. The \textit{Argonautica} and the cloak of Jason, therefore, provided important examples for Vergil in creating an epic and ekphrases as emotionally powerful as Homer's, yet suited to a far more complex, urbane and civilized world.

III. The Bedspread of Peleus and Thetis (Catullus 64.50-266)

The description of the bedspread of Peleus and Thetis occupies over half of Catullus 64, the longest and most ambitious of the poet's works. The bedspread shows Ariadne lamenting her desertion by Theseus on the island of Dia,
and Dionysus arriving to rescue and marry the girl. This lengthy ekphrasis bears a complex and controversial relationship to the rest of the poem, and so it is best to begin with a synopsis of the entire poem.

The marriage of Peleus and Thetis provides the first major topic of Catullus 64. The poem opens with the meeting and betrothal of the mortal hero and the sea goddess during the voyage of the Argo (64.1-30). In the next section the mortal wedding guests arrive at the house of Peleus and tour its rooms, including the bridal chamber (64.31-49). They gaze upon the bedspread and its depiction of the romance of Theseus and Ariadne (64.50-266). After looking at the bedspread, the mortal guests depart (64.267-277), making room for the wedding’s immortal guests (64.278-302). Once the immortals have settled themselves, the three Fates, described as three old women spinning wool (64.303-322), sing the marriage hymn (64.323-383). This hymn begins by prophesying the happiness in store for Peleus and Thetis, but ends ominously with the brutal glory of the couple’s son, Achilles, and the sacrifice of Polyxena on the warrior’s tomb. After this hymn Catullus closes by bemoaning the decadence of his own age (64.384-408).

The ekphrasis of the bedspread presents only two scenes, the abandoned Ariadne (64.50-250) and the arrival of Bacchus (64.251-266), but the poet greatly expands the
first of these scenes by introducing flashbacks and two long speeches. The description of the first scene opens with Ariadne alone on the beach at Dia watching Theseus sail away (64.50-75). From there the poet jumps back in time to tell why Theseus came to Crete, how Ariadne fell in love with him and helped him kill the Minotaur, and how the two lovers fled to Dia (64.76-123). This flashback ends where it began, with Ariadne waking to find herself abandoned (64.124-131). Ariadne then delivers a long speech lamenting her plight and cursing Theseus (64.132-201). Zeus hears the curse and grants it by causing Theseus to forget the instructions of his father, Aegeus (64.202-214). The poet makes a second flashback, this time to when Theseus left Athens for Crete. In bidding farewell to his son, Aegeus tells Theseus to hoist white sails on his ship if he returns from Crete alive (64.215-237). The curse of Ariadne causes Theseus to forget these orders, and Aegeus, seeing ochre sails instead of white ones, kills himself from grief before his son's ship reaches port (64.238-250). After finishing this protracted revelation, the poet turns to the second scene on the bedspread and describes the arrival of Bacchus and his retinue of satyrs and maenads on Dia (64.251-266).

The 1960's brought considerable attention to Catullus 64. Douglas F.S. Thomson and Michael C.J. Putnam argued for the unity of the poem's two major topics: the marriage
of Peleus and Thetis and the romance of Theseus and Ariadne. Both include a voyage, love at first sight and the arrival of gods. 26

The marital happiness which the Fates predict for the faithful Peleus and Thetis counterbalances the grief caused Ariadne by the forgetfulness of Theseus. 27

Thomson and Putnam also argue for the unity of Catullus 64 with the rest of the poet's work. Putnam contends that Catullus used the characters in the epyllion as masks to deal with his own emotional situation. 28 The happiness of Peleus and Thetis represents the ideal relationship Catullus had hoped for with Lesbia. The sorrow Theseus caused Ariadne and Aegeus recalls the sad realities of the poet's life. Ariadne's pain over Theseus' deserting her parallels Catullus' own disillusionment with Lesbia. 29 Aegeus' grief when he thinks Theseus dead echoes Catullus' own sorrow at the death of a family member, his brother. 30

T.E. Kinsey dismisses these autobiographical interpretations of the poem and their attempts to equate its characters with Catullus and his loved ones. Kinsey argues that Catullus is ironic throughtout 64, and that the story depicted on the bedspread and that story's relationship to the rest of the poem are more complicated than most critics have realized. 31 Theseus shows a sympathetic side in his willingness to risk his life to stop the sacrifice of Athenian youths to the Minotaur.
Ariadne is not entirely innocent because she willingly betrayed her family and her country to satisfy her own desires. Furthermore, Ariadne's suffering is only temporary; the final scene on the bedspread shows Bacchus coming to rescue, marry and immortalize her. If this final scene is taken into account, Ariadne's story turns out happily for her in spite of Theseus' abandoning her. 32

Ironically, sorrow awaits Peleus and Thetis, whose romance and marriage seem blessed from the start. The song of the Fates predicts an early death for Achilles, the only child of Peleus and Thetis. It also shows the heroism of Achilles as a career of slaughter and brutality climaxing with the pointless sacrifice of Polyxena. 33

Though Thomson, Putnam and Kinsey all argue for the unity of the two halves of Catullus 64, Kinsey alone pays sufficient attention to the arrival of Bacchus and the ominous ending of the song of the Fates. Kinsey goes too far, perhaps, in dismissing the autobiographical elements in the poem. Romantic disillusionment and grief at losing a family member are important themes in Catullus' life and work. A critic can, at best, only speculate on how far the poet related these themes to his own experience when he came to treat them within the elaborate mythological context of poem 64.

Catullus brought ekphrasis into Latin poetry. He also gave it a sharper tang of irony than had Homer and
Apollonius. Furthermore, Catullus followed the lead of Moschus in the *Europa* and concentrated his ekphrasis upon scenes from a single myth rather than a series of individual scenes from several different lives or myths; as Moschus had used the basket of Europa to present the story of Io, so Catullus employed the bedspread of Peleus and Thetis to depict the romance of Theseus and Ariadne.

This brief survey of current scholarship on ekphrases by Homer, Apollonius and Catullus provides some idea of how these poets developed the technique of ekphrasis and the state in which Vergil found it. Homer introduced the device with his presentation of scenes from everyday life on the shield of Achilles, and he showed, albeit unconsciously, that the description of a work of art could symbolically contrast with and illuminate the epic around it. Apollonius was more sophisticated in his portrayal of the cloak of Jason; he took the scenes for the cloak from literary and mythological sources, and he consciously used those scenes to allegorically represent specific themes and to foreshadow certain episodes within the *Argonautica*. Catullus focused the scenes on the bedspread of Peleus and Thetis upon a single saga, the story of Theseus and Ariadne, and he artfully adapted that saga to parallel, contrast and ironically comment upon the story of Peleus and Thetis. In the following chapters we shall see the effect that these developments were to have upon Vergil.
1 The ekphrasis in Catullus 64 deals with the saga of Minoan Crete as do the scenes on the temple door at Cumae in Aeneid 6. Vergil echoes Catullus 64.115 in Aeneid 6.27. Poem 64 also greatly influenced Eclogue 4 and the Dido story in the Aeneid. See Gerard Kilroy, "The Dido Episode and the Sixty-Fourth Poem of Catullus," SO 44 (1969) pp. 48-60.


4 Willcock, Companion to Iliad, pp. 210-214, argues in contrast to Atchity and Redfield that the oxen and sheep appear in the fourth ring.

5 Redfield, Nature and Culture in Iliad, p. 188.


7 Atchity, Homer's Iliad, p. 175, and E.T. Owen, The Story of the Iliad, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor (1966), p. 188. Some recent critics, such as Øivind


10 Owen, Story of Iliad, pp. 186-187, and Whitman, Homer and Heroic Tradition, p. 204.

11 Aitchity, Homer's Iliad, p. 160, Beye, Iliad, Odyssey and Epic Tradition, p. 143, and Owen, Story of Iliad, p. 188.

12 Aitchity, Homer's Iliad, pp. 174-175.

13 Owen, Story of Iliad, p. 188. Compare this thought with that of Thomas Hardy's "In the Time of 'The Breaking of Nations.'"

14 Aitchity, Homer's Iliad, p. 176.

15 Aitchity, Homer's Iliad, p. 160, calls the shield "a prephilosophical conceptual statement whose cognitive mode is intuitive rather than rational." In simpler language E.R. Dodds notes in The Greeks and the Irrational, University of California Press, Berkeley (1951) p. 14, that the Homeric era lacked the language to deal with many abstractions and had to present them in "a concrete pictorial form."

16 Pöschl, Art of Vergil, p. 1.


23 George, "Poet and Character in Apollonius," p. 49.

24 The story of Ariadne has been attractive to poets from Homer onwards. T.B.L. Webster, "The Myth of Ariadne from Homer to Catullus," G&R 13 (1966) pp. 22-31, discusses its various treatments up to the time of Catullus.


32 Kinsey, "Ironic and Structure in Catullus 64," pp. 917-920.

33 Kinsey, "Ironic and Structure in Catullus 64," pp. 925-927. Putnam, "Art of Catullus 64," pp. 192-194, notes the ominous quality of the song of the Fates, but has already dismissed it as the poet's admission that "the ideal is never reached, even in the union between Peleus and Thetis, which to ancient authors was above all others the most perfect." (p. 168).
CHAPTER TWO: THE GANYMEDE CLOAK, THE BALDRIC OF PALLAS AND THE SHIELD OF AENEAS

Besides the two temple ekphrases the *Aeneid* contains descriptions of several other works of art. These include the Ganymede cloak (5.249-257), the baldric of Pallas (10.495-499) and the shield of Aeneas (8.625-731). These three descriptions are interesting in themselves, but they also provide a useful backdrop for the study of the temple ekphrases. We can examine the cloak, the baldric and the shield more easily than the temples. The descriptions of the cloak and the baldric are more compact than those of the temples, and the vast amount of attention scholars have paid to the shield provides a firmer bibliographical foundation for discussing it than is available for the temples. The cloak, the baldric and the shield also suggest much, though not all, of the complexity involved in Vergil's use of ekphrasis, a complexity which found its pinnacles in the temple ekphrases. The cloak, the baldric and the shield, therefore, offer us a convenient route of
entry to the realm of Vergilian ekphrasis and should prove valuable to our study of the temples at Carthage and Cumae.

I. The Cloak and the Baldric

Aeneas gives Cloanthus the Ganymede cloak as a prize for winning the naval race in Book 5. The race is the first of the funeral games held in honor of Anchises. Cloanthus and his ship, the Scylla, triumph over a field of three other captains and their vessels. He narrowly defeats the challenge of Mnestheus and the Pristis by making a homestretch vow to sacrifice a bull to the sea gods. The cloak awarded for this victory shows the abduction of Ganymede by Jove's eagle.

ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores: victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum purpura maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit, intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida ueloci s iaculo ceruos curusque fatigat acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida sublimen pedibus rapuit Iouis armiger uncis; longaeui palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt custodes, saeuitque canum latratus in auras.

(5.249-257)

Ganymede was the son of Tros, the king who gave his name to Troy. Ganymede was also the handsomest of youths. Because of this beauty, Jove chose the boy to replace Hebe as his cupbearer and also to serve as his bedfellow. The god took the shape of an eagle, swooped down on the Trojan
plain where the boy was hunting, snatched him up to Olympus and immortalized him.\(^1\)

In recalling this legend from Troy's early history, the Ganymede cloak also recalls one reason why Juno persecutes Troy's survivors. Juno was always jealous and vengeful because of Jupiter's infidelities, and this particular episode also slighted her daughter, Hebe. The goddess bitterly resented her husband's catamite and hated Troy in part because of him. Vergil mentions this along with the judgment of Paris at the start of the *Aeneid*, when he explains the motives behind Juno's enmity, the primary obstacle for Aeneas to overcome.

\[...manet alta mente repsectum
iudicum Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae
et genus inuisum et rapti Ganymedis honores: (1.26-28)

The depiction of Ganymede on the cloak also reflects the victory the cloak rewards. The abduction of Ganymede was an apotheosis of the boy, for Jupiter was to honor him with a permanent place on Olympus. For the ancients victory in athletic contests like those in Book 5 offered another type of immortality and apotheosis. The sea gods' helping Cloanthus across the finish line enhances this comparison. When it looks as if Mnestheus may tie with him for first place, Cloanthus prays to the divinities of the waves and promises them a sacrificial bull (5.232-238).
They hear the prayer and honor Cloanthus by pushing him to the apotheosis of victory in the same way that Jupiter honored Ganymede by lifting him to the apotheosis of being his cupbearer.

\begin{quote}
dixit, eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis Nereidum Phorcique chorus Panopeaque uirgo, et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem impulsit: illa Noto citius uolucrique sagitta ad terram fugit et portu se condidit alto. 
\end{quote}

(5.239-243)

Jove's eagle itself makes a fine emblem for victory, but Vergil's description of the naval race in Book 5 improves upon it. As the ship of Mnestheus overtakes those of Sergestus and Gyas, Vergil compares it to a pigeon in rapid flight (5.213-219). When Mnestheus loses the race to Cloanthus, the eagle on the cloak given to the winner contrasts strongly and appropriately with the pigeon used to describe Mnestheus' ship because the eagle, a bird of prey, frequently pursues and overcomes the gentle pigeon. Later in Book 5, Vergil enhances the reader's sense of the pigeon as a victim when a pigeon tied to a ship's mast provides the target for the archery match (5.485-489). This may lead the reader to recall not only that the losing ship in the naval race was compared to a pigeon, but also that the winning ship was compared to a speeding arrow (5.242-243).
The apotheosis of Ganymede suggests even greater honors in the *Aeneid* than those of athletic victory. Apotheosis is the epic's primary reward for the *pietas* and heroism of those who bring peace and order to Latium. Hercules, the predecessor of Aeneas in this task saved the Arcadians from the monster Cacus, winning their gratitude and divine honors. Romulus, as founder of Rome, will also be marked for deification. In Book 1 Jupiter promises Venus that she will one day carry Aeneas himself to the heavens where he will become a god. Later in the same speech the king of Olympus pledges a similar reward for Aeneas' descendant, Caesar.²

...cernes urbem et promissa Lauini moenia, sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli magnanimum Aenean....
...hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum accipies secura; uocabitur hic quoque uotis.
(1.258-260, 289-290)

In Book 12 Jupiter finally settles Juno's wrath by stating the fact of Aeneas' divinity and heavenly destiny to her (12.794-795).

All of these heroes exemplify what Brooks Otis calls the *theios aner* or divine man who attains godly status through good deeds. In Vergil apotheosis provides the central motivation behind the noble behavior of such men. The concept of the divine man seems to combine elements of popular religion and Stoic philosophy, and it achieved
considerable popularity during the Augustan age. Prior to the *Aeneid*, Vergil had fashioned Daphnis as a divine man in *Eclogue* 5, and Horace treats Augustus as one in *Odes* 3.3. The cloak's depiction of Ganymede being lifted to Olympus, therefore, provides an emblem for one of Vergil's most important and recurrent figures, the divine man, a type including Augustus himself; by providing this emblem, the cloak also foreshadows the eventual fate of Aeneas and the Caesars.

The Ganymede cloak works on several levels of meaning, and Vergil achieves a variety of purposes with it. The cloak recalls an important episode from Troy's legendary past, an episode which helps to explain Juno's persistent hatred of the Trojans. The cloak also reflects the victory of Cloanthus which it rewards. Furthermore, the cloak suggests the major theme of the apotheosis of the divine man, foreshadowing the deification of several of Vergil's protagonists. All of these connotations make a clash of dark and light elements in which the brutal image of rape and the roots of Juno's wrath contrast with the promise of divine honors for Ganymede and the Trojan line. This contrast makes the cloak a fitting victory gift for Cloanthus because it reminds both him and the reader that no truly worthy victory in Vergil's world comes without some degree of struggle and suffering. The brief ekphrasis of the Ganymede cloak demonstrates Vergil's ability to turn
a seemingly incidental piece of description into a complex
piece of artistry and to weave it seamlessly into the
overall tapestry of his epic. ⁴

The baldric of Pallas offers an equally impressive
demonstration of this ability. The baldric shows the
murder of the fifty sons of Aegyptus. Their brides, the
fifty daughters of Danaus, killed all but one of them on
their wedding night. Aegyptus and his twin brother Danaus
had inherited Egypt and Libya respectively from their
parents, Belus and Anchinoe. The brothers feuded over this
inheritance, and Danaus fled to Argos with his daughters.
Aegyptus proposed to end the fraternal quarrel by marrying
his sons to the daughters of Danaus, but he secretly
plotted to slay the girls. Danaus discovered this plot and
checked it by arming his daughters with sharp pins and
having the girls stab their new husbands through the heart
as soon as they entered the bridal chambers. Only one of
the girls, Hippodamia, disobeyed her father and allowed her
new husband to escape. ⁵ But Vergil ignores this in his
description of the baldric, thus selectively shaping the
myth to emphasize the enmity and bloodshed.

Turnus stripped the baldric from Pallas, son of
Evander, after killing the boy on the battlefield. This
happened on the first day Pallas ever went into combat.
 Later, when Aeneas sees Turnus wearing the captured
baldric, the sight enrages him so much that he refuses to spare the life of the suppliant Turnus.

...et laeuo pressit pede talia fatus
exanimem rapiens immania pondera baltei
impressumque nefas: una sub nocte iugali
caesa manus iuuenum foede thalamique cruenti,
quae clonus EURytides multo caelauerat auro.

(10.495-499)

The murders shown on the baldric reflect three events in the Aeneid: the war in Latium and the deaths during that war of Pallas and Turnus, the two young men who wore the baldric. These unhappy events suggest three of Vergil's major concerns in the Aeneid: the horror of civil war, the suffering and early death war inflicts upon the young, and the dangers of an impious romance.

The death of the sons of Aegyptus ends a struggle between brother and brother, husband and wife, cousin and cousin. This bitter struggle within a family provides a small-scale model for the larger conflict within a state, the conflict known as civil war. The war that raged between Antony and Octavian, upsetting Italy during Vergil's youth, was such a conflict and so was the war Aeneas fought in Latium. Vergil shows neighbor battling neighbor, Latinus quarreling with his wife on earth, Jupiter quarreling with his wife in heaven, Mezentius struggling against his former subjects, Aeneas taking arms against the kin of the girl he seeks to marry, and tribes
destined to share the Roman name drawing swords against each other. As the war enters its final hours, Vergil emphasizes its internecine nature.

...tanton placuit concurrere motu:
Juppiter, aeterna gentis in pace futuras?
(12.503-504)

The slaughter of husbands by their brides shown on the baldric, therefore, is an emblem for the domestic carnage of the war in Latium and the internal strife of all civil wars.

Vergil knew that civil war is especially hard on the young, who usually must bear the bulk of the fighting. Lausus, Camilla, Nisus and Euryalus are all young warriors who fall in Latium. The murder of the bridegrooms on the baldric suggests the general idea of dying young, but it foreshadows the death of two young men in particular. These two unfortunates are the wearers of the ominous belt: Pallas and Turnus.

The sons of Aegyptus die as young men on their wedding night, an important first in any life. Pallas also dies young, not on his wedding night, but on another important first in his life, his first day in battle.

"haud ignarus eram quantum noua gloria in armis et praedulce decus primo certamine posset. primitiae iuuenis miserae bellique propinqui dura rudimenta...."
(11.154-157)
Pallas and the sons of Aegyptus suffer similar tragedies. Fate cuts them down at the pinnacles of their young lives, their initiations into martial glory and marital bliss.\(^7\)

Besides Pallas another young man dies while wearing the baldric: Turnus. The sight of the baldric pushes Aeneas to slay him. Turnus and the sons of Aegyptus meet early and violent deaths, deaths springing from the marriages they would make. The sons of Aegyptus enter their wedding chambers only to have their brides murder them. Turnus wants to marry Lavinia, and he fights Aeneas for her hand.

"...nosto dirimanus sanguine bellum, illo quaeratur coniunx Lavinia campo...."  
(12.79-80)

When Turnus surrenders, he renounces his claim on the girl.

"...uicisti et uictum tendere palmas Ausonii uider; tua est Lavinia coniunx, ulterius ne tende odiis...."  
(12.936-938)

But it is too late. Aeneas sees the baldric and kills Turnus.\(^8\) Like the sons of Aegyptus, Turnus seeks marriage and finds death. The baldric depicting the murdered bridegrooms foreshadows the death of one more suitor.

The fatal consequences of the marriage between the sons of Aegyptus and the daughters of Danaus suggest a third prominent theme in the \textit{Aeneid}: the danger of persisting in
an impious romance. The marriages depicted on the baldric were neither hallowed nor harmonious; both husbands and wives entered the bridal chambers seeking revenge rather than love, and the results were catastrophic. The *Aeneid* presents several marriages or romances which fly in the face of Fate and the will of Jupiter, and these impious relationships invariably lead to disaster. We have just seen how Turnus' obstinate desire to wed Lavinia led to the death of Turnus and a blood bath in Latium. Vergil's epic contains at least two other ruinous love affairs. The adultery of Helen and Paris brings on ten years of war between Greece and Troy, the downfall of Priam and his city, and the exile and flight of Aeneas. The unbridled passion of Dido for Aeneas destroys the Punic queen and gives rise to centuries of hatred and warfare between Rome and Carthage. Vergil ominously links these two affairs by having Aeneas give Dido the cloak and scarf Helen wore when she eloped with Paris (1.647-652). Such forbidden loves lie at the roots of almost every major disaster in the *Aeneid*, and the bloody nuptials shown on the baldric of Pallas provide an emblem for all such misalliances.

The baldric exemplifies the complexity permeating even the shorter ekphrases in the *Aeneid*. These few lines of description succeed in reflecting the war in Latium and the deaths of Pallas and Turnus and in symbolizing the crucial themes of civil war, youthful death in such wars and the
fatal nature of impious love. This success testifies to
Vergil's power to do as much in one scene as most poets do
in an entire book, and to integrate such scenes into the
many-faceted thematic structure of a powerful and
sophisticated epic.

In the Ganymede cloak and the baldric of Pallas Vergil,
following the examples set by Homer, Catullus and
especially Apollonius, fashions ekphrases that work on
multiple levels of meaning. But these two Vergilian
ekphrases are far more compact than those of Vergil's three
predecessors. The shield of Achilles runs to 129 lines,
the cloak of Jason to 52 lines and the bedspread of Peleus
and Thetis to 216 lines. The Ganymede cloak and the
baldric of Pallas only come to eight and four lines
respectively. These shorter ekphrases are triumphs of
condensation in much the same tradition as the hundreds of
epigrammatic ekphrases found in the Planudean appendix to
the Palatine Anthology, but their brevity enables them to
evade the problems of scope and organization posed by
longer ekphrases with many lines and several scenes.
Vergil came to face those problems just as he came to face
the problems of writing an epic, and he created longer
ekphrases in the shield of Aeneas and the temple ekphrases
at Carthage and Cumae.
II. The Shield of Aeneas (8.625-731)

The shield of Aeneas is the longest and best known ekphrasis in Vergil. The shield occupies 106 lines and presents a multitude of scenes from Roman history. Over the years the shield has drawn more comment from critics than any other ekphrasis in the Aeneid and possibly as much or more than any other passage of comparable length in the epic.

Vulcan created the shield of Aeneas as a gift from Venus to her son. Scenes depicting the battle of Actium (8.675-713) and the triumph of Augustus (8.714-728) occupy the center of the shield, and the dolphin-filled sea borders them (8.671-674). Scenes taken from the early history of Rome adorn the shield's rim. These scenes include: the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus (8.630-634); the rape of the Sabine women, the war between the Romans and the Sabines, and the peace treaty ending that war (8.635-641); Tullus punishing Mettus (8.642-645); Porsenna and Tarquinius besieging Rome, and the heroism of Cloelia and Horatius (8.646-651); Manlius defending the Capitoline against the Gauls (8.652-662); the rites of the Salii, the Luperci and the matrons (8.663-666); the punishment of Catiline and the beatification of Cato in the Underworld (8.666-670).
The number and variety of critical disputes about the shield testify to its complexity. Opinions differ on so simple a question as how many scenes occupy the shield's rim. West reduces the number to six, while Eden counts as many as nine. A second argument rages over whether the scenes can be visualized as actual pictures. West, Szantyr and Williams defend the visual character of the scenes, but Fowler and Eden deny it.

Conflict also reigns over the central theme uniting these pictures from Roman history. Heyne finds no good reason for Vergil's selection of these particular episodes. Fowler sees them as "escapes from terrible perils." Drew regards them as examples of virtus, clementia, justitia and pietas, the four Augustan virtues. Otis thinks the scenes represent the struggle of Roman virtus, consilium and pietas against barbaric evil and violence. Eichholz dismisses the idea of a main theme, and argues that narrative tempo links the scenes on the shield. Griffith notes the absence of most of the figures and events on the shield from the parade of heroes in Book 6, and claims the shield and the parade combine to give "a selective yet satisfyingly inclusive epitome of the Roman past." Eden sees "successful warfare" as the main theme of the shield, but stretches his definition of "successful warfare" to include "preliminaries."
personalities and consequences" and "not only actual hostilities. 21

Like the Ganymede cloak and the baldric of Pallas, the shield works on several levels of meaning. Williams summarizes many of these levels in a recent article. 22 First, by presenting examples of Rome's coming greatness, the shield offers some justification for the war Aeneas is preparing to fight in Italy. Second, the shield joins with the parade of heroes in Book 6 to give an overview of Roman history. 23 Third, the shield depicts the glorious events destined for the sites Evander showed Aeneas earlier in Book 8. 24 Fourth, the scenes typify the Roman character and the traits crucial to Rome's survival, growth and triumph in the face of foreign menaces.

R.J. Rowland suggests an ironic or admonitory aspect to this fourth level of the shield's meaning. He bases this suggestion upon the dangers inherent in any success as great as the victory at Actium. In the Aeneid the moment of greatest triumph is often the moment of greatest danger. The Trojans joyously taking the Wooden Horse inside their walls, and Turnus gleefully stripping Pallas exemplify this principle. Faced with success at Actium, the Romans of Vergil's day needed to strive to maintain the piety and industry of their ancestors, the traits exemplified on the rim of the shield; otherwise, they
themselves risked falling into the hubris and luxury of the barbarians they had defeated. 25

The shield of Aeneas is comparable in length to the ekphrases of Homer, Apollonius and Catullus. But it also compares to them in more important ways, ways involving situation and artistic treatment. The most obvious of these comparisons is to the shield of Achilles in Homer. Both shields belong to sets of invulnerable armor forged for their epic's hero by the smith god at the request of the hero's goddess mother. The shield of Aeneas is one of many recollections of Homer in the Aeneid. These recollections are scenes, devices and phrases which echo elements from the Iliad or the Odyssey. Besides the shield these include the catalogue of troops, the funeral games and the katabasis. Such recollections emphasize Vergil's attempt to be Homer's Latin peer in the epic form, and they help transfer some of the Greek poet's prestige to Vergil's poem. 26

But the shield of Aeneas owes much of its artistry to Apollonius. The cloak of Jason provides an emblem for the goal of Jason's quest, the golden fleece off the ram of Phrixus. The shield also depicts the eventual goal of its owner's labors, the glory of Rome. The cloak of Jason, moreover, is didactic, portraying the qualities Jason needs to reach his goal, qualities like piety, charm, deception and seduction. The shield serves similar instructive
purposes, with the scenes of early Rome depicted on its rim presenting the virtues which will make Roman glory possible.

Catullus and the bedspread of Peleus and Thetis also influenced Vergil's description of the shield of Aeneas. Both ekphrases seem to contain subtle and bitter ironies. On the bedspread Ariadne progresses from betraying her family and being abandoned by her lover to winning immortality and the love of a god. Her eventual bliss contrasts sharply with the fate of Peleus and Thetis, a mortal and a goddess who begin their marriage in happiness, but whose only son is destined for a career of brutality and slaughter ending in an early death. The irony of the shield is, as Rowland suggests, that the Roman success it depicts, the success towards which Aeneas and his descendants strive, may prove the greatest threat of all to Roman virtue.

Besides these traits the shield of Aeneas shares with the ekphrases of Vergil's predecessors, the shield offers some striking differences. One difference comes from the sources of subject matter for these ekphrases. Homer chose to portray scenes from the daily life on the shield of Achilles. These scenes were anonymous but universal, the work and play of every man in any time and any place. Apollonius and Catullus took the scenes for the cloak of Jason and the bedspread of Peleus and Thetis from Greek mythology, the same source Vergil used for the scenes on
the Ganymede cloak, the baldric of Pallas and the temples at Carthage and Cumae. Although they lack the common touch of the shield, these scenes possess an equal universality because of their firm place in the religious and literary traditions of the Greco-Roman world. When Vergil came to create the shield of Aeneas, he turned to new sources, Roman legend and history. By framing specific scenes from Roman history within a device previously reserved for more universal subjects, Vergil claims a new importance for his nationalistic material. This transference works in much the same way that the various recollections of Homer in Vergil impart some of the prestige of Homeric epic to the Aeneid.

Vergil suggests another new element for ekphrasis in depicting the shield of Aeneas, but he does not fully develop it there. This new element is subjective presentation. Before Vergil poets had described works of art objectively or photographically, paying little or no attention to the mental or emotional response of a given viewer or artist to the work being described. Vergil continued this tradition of objective presentation with the cloak and the baldric, but he portrayed the shield and especially the temples at Carthage and Cumae in a more subjective manner, paying increased attention to the thoughts and feelings these works evoked in their viewer or artist. As he finishes describing the scenes on the
shield, Vergil notes the ignorance and inability of Aeneas to fathom what he admires there.

Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis, miratur rerumque ignorus imagine gaudet attollens umerqo famamque et fata nepotum. (8.729-731)

The poet emphasizes this comment by placing it at the very end of Book 8. Considered alone, however, it may well be insufficient to build an argument upon. But taken in combination with the more extensively subjective treatments that we shall see Vergil give to the temples, this brief comment about the ignorance of Aeneas implies a new way of describing a work of art within a poem. This new way reflects Vergil's interest in the internal life of his characters, an interest which goes beyond classical epic's traditional attention to things as they are seen or heard rather than as they are thought or felt. 27

This study of the Ganymede cloak, the baldric of Pallas and the shield of Aeneas has yielded several important similarities and some equally important differences between the three ekphrases. The cloak, the baldric and the shield all present scenes drawn from legendary material. All three use these scenes to achieve manifold purposes, such as mirroring characters and episodes from the past and the present, anticipating ones from the future and typifying some of the Aeneid's central motifs. But the shield varies
from th cloak and the baldric in its far greater length and in the problems of organization created by its many scenes. Furthermore, the shield offers a certain irony and a hint of subjectivity that the two shorter ekphrases lack.

These similarities and differences suggest some questions to ask in examining the temple ekphrases. These questions concern length, scope and arrangement, levels of meaning, irony and subjective presentation. To these one more might be added: Why does Vergil so extensively describe two different temples? The answers to these questions should allow us to look upon the temples at Carthage and Cumae with more understanding than Aeneas had when he gazed upon his shield.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1 Homer, Iliad 20.231-235, and Ovid, Metamorphoses 10.155 ff.

2 Critics dispute whether Vergil means Julius or Augustus Caesar in this passage. R.D. Williams discusses this dispute and argues strongly for Augustus in his commentary on The Aeneid of Virgil: Books 1-6, Macmillan, London (1972) ad v.286.

3 Otis, Virgil pp. 219-220.


5 Apollodorus, The Library 2.1.5.

6 S.G.P. Small, "The Arms of Turnus: Aeneid 7.783-792," TAPHA 90 (1959) p. 251, n.24: "One reason for the impiety of the conflict is that it is a kind of civil war by anticipation, since the adversaries are destined in the end to form a single people."


offers a recent discussion of the wrath of Aeneas when he 
sees the baldric on Turnus, and a brief overview of 
scholarship on the closing of the Aeneid.

9 P.T. Eden, "The Salii on the Shield of Aeneas: 
8-9, summarize the scenes on the shield and discuss their 
arangement.

10 D.L. West, "Cenere erat- The Shield of Aeneas," 


12 Williams, "Shield of Aeneas," pp. 8-10. West, 
"Cenere erat," pp. 1-6, and A. Szantyr, "Bemerkungen zum 

13 W. Warde Fowler, Aeneas at the Site of Rome, 
Oxford (1918) pp. 100-101, and P.T. Eden, A Commentary on 

14 I base my summary of opinions on the theme of 
these pictures upon the summary in Eden, "Salii on Shield 

15 C.G. Heyne, "Excursus IV to Aeneid 8," in Virgilii 
Opera, 4th ed., ed C.G. Heyne, Leipzig and London, 
(1830-1841).

16 Fowler, Aeneas at Site of Rome, p. 103.

17 D.L. Drew, The Allegory of the Aeneid, Blackwell, 

18 Otis, Virgil, p. 341 f.

19 D.E. Eichholz, "The Shield of Aeneas: Some 

20 J.G. Griffith, "Again the Shield," PVS 7 


23 Griffith, "Again the Shield," p. 57 f. Also see 
Harry Rutledge, "The Opening of Aeneid 6," CJ 67 
(1971-1972) pp. 112-113. Rutledge links the parade of
heroes in Book 6 with the shield and the temples at Carthage and Cumae. He compares the description of the parade to various Roman mural reliefs.


26 Beye, Iliad, Odyssey and Epic Tradition, p. 220.

27 Pöschl, Art of Vergil, p. 2.
CHAPTER THREE: THE PICTURES ON THE TEMPLE WALL AT CARTHAGE

The first major ekphrasis in the *Aeneid* is the series of pictures that Aeneas finds on the wall of Juno’s temple at Carthage (1.450-493).¹ These pictures present Aeneas’ past by synopsizing several key episodes from the Trojan War. They also provide emblems for many of the *Aeneid*’s most poignant and important themes. Finally, they foreshadow both the war Aeneas will fight in Italy and the love affair he will have with Dido. In this chapter we shall look at the subject matter and themes of the temple wall at Carthage, and examine the ways it foreshadows the war in Italy and the affair with Dido.²

I. Subject Matter and Arrangement

Vergil draws the subject matter for the temple wall at Carthage from the cycle of stories dealing with the Trojan War. Aeneas sees this wall as he waits to meet Dido, queen of Carthage, for the first time. In an introductory
Vergil tells how Aeneas is both surprised and encouraged to find the Trojan story depicted on the temple. Aeneas believes the fame which the scenes on the wall represent will guarantee him and his men a safe welcome in Carthage. Vergil follows this introductory passage with descriptions of nine different scenes from the Trojan cycle (1.466-493).

These nine scenes divide into four pairs and one unmatched scene. The first pair presents the pendular motion of the Trojan War by showing the opposing armies in flight from each other (1.466-468). In the first scene of this pair the Greeks flee the Trojans (1.466-467), while in the second scene the Trojans, routed by Achilles, flee the Greeks (1.468).

namque uidebat uti bellantes Pergama circum
hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuuentus;
hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.
(1.466-468)

The anaphora of hac...hac in 467-468 serves both to emphasize the pairing of these two scenes, and to prepare the reader for the pairing of the following scenes.

The second pair of scenes depicts two unfair deaths (1.469-478). The first of these is the death of Rhesus (1.469-473). The story of Rhesus is best known from the Iliad 10.433-501 and the Rhesus, a tragedy dubiously ascribed to Euripides. Rhesus was a Thracian king who came
to the aid of Troy. The first night they bivouacked on the Trojan plain. Rhesus and a dozen of his men were killed in their sleep by Odysseus and Diomedes. Odysseus and Diomedes also stole the snow-white horses of Rhesus. An oracle had prophesied that Troy would be unconquerable once those horses had eaten the grass of the Trojan plain or drunk the water of the Xanthus river.  

\begin{quote}
\textit{nec procul hinc Rhesi niueis tentoria uelis agnoscit lacrimans, primo quae prodira somno Tydides multa uastabat caede cruentus, ardentisque auertit equos in castra prius quam pabula gustassent Troiae Xanthumque bibissent.}
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
(1.469-473)
\end{flushright}

The second scene in this pair shows the death of Troilus (1.474-478). Troilus was an adolescent son of Priam and Hecuba. He was exercising his horses near the temple of Thymbraean Apollo when Achilles, a more experienced and far greater warrior, ambushed and killed him. It had been foretold that Troy would not fall if Troilus reached the age of twenty.  

\begin{quote}
\textit{parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis, infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli, fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani, lora tenens tamen; huic ceruixque comaeque trahuntur per terram, et uersa puluis inscriptur hasta.}
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
(1.474-478)
\end{flushright}

Two points help to reinforce the pairing of these unfair deaths. First, there is the prominence of the victim’s horses and chariot in the action of each
scene. Second, and more important, there are the oracles which link each victim's fate to the impregnability of Troy. Vergil hints at this connection by emphasizing that Rhesus' horses have not yet eaten Trojan grass or drunk from the Xanthus (1.472-473), and that Troilus is still just a boy (*infelix puer* 1.475).8

The third pair of pictures presents two supplication scenes (1.479-487). The first scene shows the Trojan women unsuccessfully supplicating Pallas Athena (1.479-482). This scene is closely based on *Iliad* 6.286-311, where Hecuba leads the Trojan women in taking a robe to the temple of Pallas Athena.9 The women plea for the goddess' help against Diomedes, but their plea is in vain, and the goddess turns her head away.

interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant
cri nibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant
suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis;
diuas solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat.

(1.479-484)

The second scene depicts Priam ransoming Hector's body from Achilles after Achilles defiled it. Here again the supplication scene comes almost directly from the *Iliad* (*Iliad* 24.485 ff.). Vergil changes Homer, however, by having Achilles drag Hector's body around the walls of Troy three times. In the *Iliad* Achilles chases Hector around the walls of Troy, but he drags Hector's body around the tomb of Patroclus three times (*Iliad* 24.14-18).10 We
shall discuss the significance of this change later in this chapter.

ter circum Iliacos raptauerat Hectora muros
examinumque auro corpus uendebat Achilles.
tum uero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo,
ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici
tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis.

(1.483-487)

Two factors strengthen the connection between these supplication scenes. First, as we have noted, both scenes come from the Iliad. Second, each scene contains one of Hector’s parents as its principal supplicant. Hecuba would appear in the earlier scene as the traditional leader of the Trojan women in Homer.

τῶν ἐν ἀειραμένη Ἐκάβη φέρε Ἔφυρον Ἀθήνη,
ὡς κάλλιστος ἐν ποικιλισσεύν ἥδε μέγιστος,
ἄστηρ ὡς ἀπέλαμπεν· ἔκεκτο δὲ νεκρός ἄλλων.
Βὴ δ’ ἔλεαι, πολλὰς δὲ μετοσσεύσατο γεραλαί.

(Iliad 6.293-296)

Priam is specifically mentioned in the later scene.

The next scene is the only unmatched scene on the temple wall. It shows Aeneas alone in combat with the Greeks.¹¹

se quoque principibus permixtum agnouit Achiluis

(1.488)

This introduction of an unmatched scene among the pairs of pictures on the temple wall, and the use of Aeneas as its subject casts extra emphasis upon the hero, but it also
serves several other purposes. Aesthetically, an unmatched scene breaks the monotony of matched pairs and adds variety to the overall pattern, preventing it from becoming too formulaic or mechanical. Psychologically, the reader's surprise at coming upon an unmatched scene reflects Aeneas' own surprise at suddenly coming upon a picture of himself on a temple wall in a strange, new city. Finally, the use of Aeneas as the subject for the one unmatched scene on the temple wall fits the solitary nature of Aeneas' own life and character.

Throughout the Aeneid Aeneas is portrayed as a solitary man, distant and isolated from those around him. As a leader, he stands apart from his men. He stays awake, worrying and planning, while they sleep (1.305-309), and he hides his true feelings from them to maintain their morale (1.208-209). He must go on living and struggling even though he would rather have fallen with his closest comrades at Troy (1.94-101). 12

Aeneas is not just isolated in his role as a leader of men, he is also isolated from his loved ones. In the course of the Aeneid Aeneas loses his father, his wife and his beloved. Although he does come to encounter their shades, this contact is never as complete as Aeneas wishes. Dido scorns him outright when they meet again on the Mournful Plains of the Underworld (6.467-474). Creusa
and Anchises welcome Aeneas, but he is repeatedly thwarted in his attempts to embrace them (2.790-794 and 6.695-702).

Aeneas is even isolated from those loved ones he does not lose. He bitterly reproaches his goddess mother for appearing to him in disguise rather than meeting with him openly. 13

"quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis ludis imaginibus? cur dextrae iungere dextram non datur ac ueras audire et reddere uoces?"

(1.407-409)

While much is made of Aeneas' love for his son, Ascanius, he only speaks with the boy once in the whole of the Aeneid. This talk is characteristically concerned with the difference between Aeneas and other men.

"disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem. fortunam ex aliis...."

(12.435-436)

All of these examples support the contention that Aeneas' solitary place on the temple wall parallels his solitary place in life. While this may not be what Aeneas wants for himself, it is necessary and appropriate. As the leader of Troy's last survivors and the founder of a lofty, new people, Fate has set Aeneas apart from other men. He is a Roman in a Homeric world. Solitude and isolation are part of the price he must pay for fame and glory.
The fourth and final pair of scenes on the temple wall shows two warriors who came from the far ends of the earth to help Troy (1.489-493). The first scene here depicts Memnon, the son of Aurora. Memnon was the black-skinned king of the Ethiopians. He arrived in Troy after the death of Hector, and he fell in combat with Achilles.  

Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis arma.  
(1.489)

The second scene in this final pair presents Penthesilea (1.490-493). Penthesilea was the queen of the Amazons, a tribe of warrior women from Scythia. She came to Troy after Hector's death and died there on Achilles' sword. This Amazon queen was so beautiful that Achilles fell in love with her after fighting her to the death.  

ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis  
Penthesilea furens medisique in milibus ardet,  
aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae  
bellaatrix, audetque uiris concurrere virgo.  
(1.490-493)

A variety of elements link Memnon and Penthesilea. Most prominent are their exotic origins and appearances. They are also both post- Iliadic allies of Troy who come to the war only to meet early death at the hands of Achilles.  

Before discussing the themes which the pictures on the temple symbolize, we should note a problem with the pairing
of the pictures and offer a solution. The problem springs from the grammatical link which the *que* of *Eoasque* (1.489) makes between the Aeneas scene and the Memnon scene. Why does Vergil thus tie the Aeneas scene to the final pair of scenes?

The emotional progression of the scenes on the temple wall suggests an answer to this question. The emotional pitch of the scenes seems to grow as they move towards the Aeneas scene. The subjects of each successive pair of scenes comes closer and closer to the hero's heart, building up to the shock of his finding himself portrayed among them. The first pair shows two general battle scenes. The second pair shows Rhesus and Troilus, a specific Trojan ally and a specific Trojan, but neither of them closely associated with Aeneas. The third pair shows the Trojan women in fruitless supplication, and Aeneas' kinsman, Priam, ransoming the body of one of Aeneas' closest comrades, Hector. This third pair brings Aeneas' sorrow to a new plateau and draws a "huge groan" (*ingentem gemitum* 1.485) from him.17

But the hero's grief peaks and begins to diminish with the surprise of suddenly recognizing himself depicted on the wall. The abruptness of this recognition is underlined by the placement of *se* at the start of the one-line description of the Aeneas scene.
So far, the scenes have wrapped themselves ever tighter around the events of the Trojan War until they have trapped Aeneas in their coils. After this climax the coils begin to loosen. The grammatical link of *Eoasque* helps to speed the reader into the final pair of scenes and away from the emotional peak created by the Aeneas scene. Memnon and Penthesilea in the final scenes are exotic and distant enough in their relationship with Aeneas that their depiction allows the hero and the reader some respite from grief before the entrance of Dido (1.494 ff.). So Vergil ties together the Aeneas scene and the final pair of scenes with *Eoasque* to conclude the ekphrasis on the temple wall with an emotionally diminishing triad.  

II. Themes

The main theme linking the pictures on the temple wall at Carthage is the cruelty and injustice of war. The predominant symbol of this cruelty and injustice is Achilles. Achilles is named in the passage introducing the pictures and in each of the first three pairs of scenes. Vergil always depicts him as fierce and brutal and emphasizes his name by placing it at the end of a line.
Atridas Priamumque et saeuum ambobus Achillem.

hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatus Achilles.

infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli,

exanimumque auro corpus uendebat Achilles.

In the introductory passage Achilles is hostile to Greek and Trojan leaders alike (1.458). This hostility is accented by the diacritical marks between et and saeuum which divides Achilles from Priam and the sons of Atreus.21 The elision of que and et enhances this division by creating a long unit of sound before the diacritical marks and so forcing the reader to take a longer pause for breath following et. That Priam and the Atreidae, normally the worst of enemies, are here set together in opposition to Achilles also strengthens the sense of hostility.

In the first pair of scenes on the temple wall, Achilles single-handedly routs the Trojans (1.468). Achilles' fierceness is emphasized by the harsh alliteration of the c's in curru cristatus Achilles.

In the second pair of scenes Achilles slays Troilus, a much younger and less experienced warrior (1.474-478). Vergil underlines Troilus' youth and inadequacy by calling him an "unlucky boy" (infelix puer 1.475) who has "lost his weapons" (a missis...armis 1.474). Vergil shows Troilus "battling unequally" with Achilles (impar congressus
1.475), and he dwells upon the brutal details of the boy's death.  

```
fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,  
lora tenens tamen: huic ceruixque comaeque trahuntur  
per terram, et uersa puluis inscribitur hasta.  
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(1.476-478)

Vergil's preoccupation with the pathetic Troilus strengthens his picture of Achilles by contrast.

The third pair of scenes shows Achilles selling Hector's body back to Priam. The ransom of Hector may be Achilles' finest moment in the *Iliad*, but Vergil adapts the Homeric material to suit his own artistic purposes. First, Vergil transforms the noble ransom scene into a cold commercial transaction by limiting his description of Achilles' behavior during the ransom to the phrase "sold for gold" (*auro...uendebat* 1.484).

Second, as we have noted, Vergil has Achilles drag Hector's body around the walls of Troy three times (1.483), while Homer had Achilles drag the body around Patroclus' tomb three times (*Iliad* 24.14-18). When he eliminates Patroclus' tomb from the scene, Vergil eliminates the reminder of Achilles' own grief and need for revenge, a reminder which makes Achilles' savagery more understandable in the *Iliad*. By changing Homer in these two ways, Vergil makes Achilles colder and crueler to fit him better into the symbolic role he plays on the temple wall.
Achilles goes unmentioned in the final pair of scenes on the temple wall (1.489-493). But he is latently present in each of these scenes. Memnon and Penthesilea are the subjects of these final pictures, and Achilles killed both of them.²⁷

Achilles, therefore, appears throughout the pictures on the temple wall as a fierce and brutal killer. This makes him the perfect symbol for the cruelty and injustice of war, the main theme linking the pictures.

Each pair of scenes represents some aspect of this main theme. The first pair (1.466-468) portrays the senseless vicissitudes of war. In these scenes the Trojans rout the Greeks, and then Achilles routs the Trojans. Each side gains the field for a day, only to lose it the next day, and neither side gains any advantage or anything of lasting value. Death is the only winner.

The next pair of scenes (1.469-478) symbolizes the injustice of combat with two different types of unfair fight. The first scene here shows the death of Rhesus (1.469-473). Dolon, a captured Trojan scout, betrayed Rhesus to Odysseus and Diomedes. These two Greeks then staged a night raid on the camp of Rhesus and murdered him and twelve of his followers in their sleep. Vergil draws attention to the betrayal with the alliteration of primo guae prodita somno (1.470), and he underlines the brutality
of the killings with the harsh alliteration of **caede cruentus**.\textsuperscript{28}

The other scene in this pair depicts young Troilus falling before the older and more experienced Achilles (1.474-478), a scene epitomizing the suffering war inflicts upon the young. We have already discussed the details of this scene, but we should also note the special poignance the sufferings of the young at war hold for Vergil. Throughout the **Aeneid** Vergil dwells on the deaths of young men like Troilus. Coroebus, Polites. Nisus, Euryalus, Pallas, Lausus and Turnus all provide examples of young men whose lives are unfairly snuffed out by war.\textsuperscript{29}

The next pair of scenes (1.479-487) shows the griefs war imposes upon women and fathers, two types of non-combatants who also earn Vergil's sympathy. The first scene here presents the Trojan women vainly supplicating the goddess of war, Pallas Athena (1.479-482). Like the young, women are especially victimized by war in the **Aeneid**. Cassandra, Hecuba, Creusa, Andromache, Amata, Lavinia and the mother of Euryalus all suffer because of the wars their men fight.\textsuperscript{30}

\begin{verbatim}
interea ad templum nonaequae Palladis ibant
 crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant
 suppliciter, tristes et tunsae pectora palmis.
\end{verbatim}

(1.479-481)
The frenzy of the Trojan women in this passage contrasts dramatically with the calm disdain of the goddess with "her eyes fixed on the ground" (solo fixos oculos 1.482), a description chilling in its simplicity.\textsuperscript{31}

Athena's disdain suggests another theme of this supplication scene. This theme is the unfair and inexplicable hostility the gods often show towards the pious and the innocent, a theme Vergil reinforces by stating outright that Athena is unfair or unsympathetic (non aequae Palladis 1.479). The hostility of the gods is the most important religious problem Vergil wrestles with in the Aeneid. It is appropriate to find this problem highlighted on the temple of Juno because she is the primary agent of divine hostility throughout the epic. Vergil draws attention to her enmity towards Aeneas in the poem.

\begin{quote}
Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso quidue dolens regina deum tot uoluere casus insignem pietate uirum, tot adire labores impulerit, tantaene animis caelestibus irae?
\end{quote}

(1.8-11)

The poet openly ponders the incomprehensible malice of the gods once more in the epic's final book.

\begin{quote}
Quis mihi nunc tot acerba deus, quis carmine caedes diversas obtiumque ducum quos aequore toto inque uicem nunc Turnus agit, nunc Troius heros, expediat? tanton placuit concurrere motu, Iuppiter, aeterna gentis in pace futuras?
\end{quote}

(12.500-504)
So Vergil brackets his epic with the theme of divine hostility, a theme the unsuccessful supplication of Pallas represents.

The other scene in this pair epitomizes the sufferings of fathers during a war by showing Priam ransoming Hector's body back from Achilles (1.483-487). Fathers, like women and the young bear a large share of the Aeneid's grief. Laocoon, Priam, Daedalus, Evander and Mezentius are all fathers who look upon their dead sons, giving substance to the thought that in peace sons bury their fathers, but in war fathers bury their sons.

The depiction of Priam ransoming Hector may be the most touching scene on the temple wall. It certainly draws a more pronounced emotional response from Aeneas than any other scene on the wall. We have noted two ways Vergil adds extra pathos to this scene: the adaption of Homeric material to make Achilles seem more brutal, and the groan this ransom scene draws from Aeneas (1.485). A third way is the anaphora of ut in 1.486, reflecting how Aeneas' eyes keep stopping to dwell upon each detail of the ransom scene.32

\[ \text{tum uero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo}
\text{ut spolia, ut currus, utque ipsum corpus amici}
\text{tendentemque manus Priamum conspexit inermis.}
\]

(1.485-487)
Besides the suffering of fathers this ransom scene also highlights the proper return of a dead hero's body and belongings. This is an important motif in ancient epic. In the *Iliad* Zeus laments Hector's stripping of Patroclus and declares that this was something Hector should never have done.

(\textit{Iliad} 17.200-206)

As we shall see, similar plunder will seal the fate of one of the \textit{Aeneid}'s major characters.

The final pair of scenes (1.489-493) shows the black warrior Memnon and the Amazon Penthesilea. These exotic figures traveled from the far ends of the earth to help the Trojans. Memnon came from Ethiopia in the south, while Penthesilea rode out of Scythia in the north. Troy's fate posed no threat to them, but they came there to fight and to die. Their presence on the temple wall is a reminder that once a war breaks out, it can not be confined to a local conflict, but will spread until it draws in the whole world.

The portrayal of Memnon and Penthesilea on the wall transforms the struggle between Greece and Troy into one of
global scope. The two antipodal allies emphasize the universal significance of the Trojan War and of Aeneas' participation in it. This amplifies the hero's importance in the eyes of both Dido and the reader.

The scenes on the temple wall at Carthage are linked by the common theme of the cruelty and injustice of war, a theme which finds its most powerful representative in the figure of Achilles. The scenes also present a variety of subsidiary themes: the senseless vicissitudes of war; betrayal and ambush; the hardships war inflicts upon fathers, women and the young; the hostility of the gods; the proper return of a dead hero's body and belongings; the isolation of Aeneas; and the way war spreads past local boundaries to engulf the far ends of the earth. How these scenes foreshadow the war Aeneas will fight in Italy and his romance with Dido remains to be explored.

III. The Italian War

The scenes on the temple wall at Carthage look back to the Trojan War, but they also look forward to the war in Italy. The events depicted upon the temple wall will all be replayed upon the battlefields of Italy. These parallels between the wars of Troy and Italy are not coincidental. Vergil has the Cumaean Sibyl specifically describe the Italian War as if it were a second Trojan War.
...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 oraeris urbes!
causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris
externique iterum thalami.

(6.88-94)

Nor are these parallels mere literary foreshadowings.
They fit into the cyclical theory of history Vergil borrows
from neo-Pythagorean and Platonic thought. Anchises
expounds upon this theory in 6.724-751. Anchises speaks of
the cycle of events coming around every thousand years so
that Troy will rise again as Rome and the line of Aeneas
will return as the Caesars.

"has omnis, ubi mille rotam uoluere per annos,
Lethaeum ad fluum ad� Deus euocat agmine magno,
scllicit immemore supera ut convexa reuisant
rursus, et incipient in corpora uelle reuerti."

(6.748-751)

Although a thousand years does not separate the Trojan and
the Italian wars, given the principle that history repeats
itself, it is a short step to arguing that the basic,
recurrent crises of the human condition, crises such as
wars, give rise to similar characters and episodes so that
the events of one war will repeat themselves in the next.

The first pair of scenes on the temple wall (1.466-468)
depicts the shifting fortunes of the Trojan War presented
in the \textit{Iliad}, and looks forward to the vicissitudes of the
war in Italy. In the first scene the Trojans rout the Greek invaders (1.466-467). This recalls how the Trojans drove the Greeks back into their camp by the sea, besieged them there and began to set fire to their ships while Achilles, the Greek champion, was absent from combat. In the second scene Achilles routs the Trojans (1.468) just as he did when he returned to the field after the death of his friend Patroclus.

The same pattern will apply to the war in Italy, only there the Trojans will be the invaders, and Aeneas will be the invading champion. In Book 9 the Latin defenders besiege the Trojan camp and set the Trojan ships afire while Aeneas is away seeking allies. When Aeneas returns in Book 10, he leads the Trojans in driving back the Latins, and in Book 12 he besieges Laurentum and, enraged by the death of his friend Pallas, slays the Latin champion, Turnus, just as Achilles slew Hector. Turnus underlines the parallel between Aeneas and Achilles by comparing the two invading champions.

"ibo animis contra, uel magnum praestet Achillem factaque Volcani manibus paria induat arma ille licet...."

(11.438-440)

The first scene in the second pair on the temple wall shows the death of Rhesus (1.469-474) and foreshadows the fatal adventures of Nisus and Euryalus in Book 9.
Odysseus and Diomedes staged a night raid on the camp of Rhesus, a Thracian king and Trojan ally. They killed Rhesus in his sleep along with several of his men. They also stole the chariot and horses of Rhesus.

In Book 9 Nisus and Euryalus, two young Trojans, go on a night mission behind enemy lines. They come upon the camp of Rhamnes, one of the Italian defenders. Nisus and Euryalus slaughter Rhamnes and several of his men in their sleep (9.314-366) just as Odysseus and Diomedes slaughtered Rhesus and his men. After the gleam of plunder from Rhamnes' camp gives them away, Nisus and Euryalus are soon caught and killed by the Italians.38

Vergil underlines the similarity between these bloody night raids in two ways. First, he gives Rhamnes a name alliteratively similar to Rhesus. He also gives Rhamnes two followers with names similar to Rhesus: Remus (9.330) and Rhoetus (9.344). Second, Vergil emphasizes the role of plunder in each raid. Two of the five lines describing the Rhesus massacre deal with the theft of the chariot and horses (1.472-473). In the Nisus and Euryalus episode the helmet Euryalus stole betrays the Trojans to their enemies (9.373-374).

The other scene here shows the unfair fight between young Troilus and the older and more experienced Achilles, and foreshadows several such fights in Italy. The first two encounters we shall discuss are the death of Pallas at
the hands of Turnus and the death of Lausus at the hands of Aeneas. Like Troilus, both Pallas and Lausus are the adolescent sons of kings, and they both die in battle with older and greater warriors. Vergil specifically links Pallas and Lausus in their youth, their handsome appearances and their deaths.

...hinc Pallas instat et urget, hinc contra Lausus, nec multum discrepat aetas, egregii forma, sed quis Fortuna negaret in patriam reditus. ipseos curriere passus haud tamen inter se magni regnator Olympi: mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste.

(10.433-438)

Turnus and Aeneas return the bodies of these young victims (10.491-494 and 10.825-832), but Turnus makes the mistake of stripping Pallas of his baldric and other armor (10.495-500 and 11.91-92), a mistake which will prove fatal.

Turnus himself may be the Aeneid's most prominent example of a youth slain in combat by an older and more experienced warrior. As the final battle between the Trojan and Rutulian champions approaches, Vergil dwells upon the unfairness and unevenness of the match and upon the youth of Turnus.

At uero Rutulis impar ea pugna uideri iamdudum et uario misceri pectora motu, tum magis ut propius cernunt non uiribus aequos. adiuuat incessu tacito progressus et aram suppliciter uenerans demisso lumine Turnus pubentesque genae et iuuenali in corpore pallor.

(12.216-221)
The use of *impar* in 12.216 to describe the coming fight between Turnus and Aeneas recalls the word's use in 1.475 to describe the struggle of Troilus with Achilles.

Although Turnus is older than Pallas or Lausus, he is also younger than Aeneas. Vergil suggests this in several ways. The poet makes much of Turnus' youth and good looks (7.473), and even goes so far as to call Turnus more handsome than young Lausus (7.649-650). Turnus is courting a first wife, while Aeneas is a widower about to make a second marriage. Turnus has no children, while Aeneas has an adolescent son. Turnus, like Pallas and Lausus, has a living father, while Aeneas' father died a year before the Trojans reach Latium. Turnus' final plea for mercy reminds the reader of this contrast, adding extra pathos to the plea.

"...miseri te si qua parentis
tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
Anchises genitor) Dauni miserere senectae
et, seu corpus, soliatum lumine maulis,
redde meis...."

(12.932-936)

Aeneas' advantage over Turnus is not just one of years. It is more importantly one of experience. Aeneas is a Trojan War veteran who spent ten years dueling with the best of the Greeks. While Turnus' combat experience would have been limited to local conflicts within Italy. This inexperience shows in some of Turnus' rash actions.
When he breaks into the Trojan camp in Book 9, he loses a great chance for early victory because he is too excited to open the gates for his men (9.756-761). In Book 12 Turnus forgets to bring the divine sword he needs to pierce Aeneas' divine armor (12.735-741). These are hot-headed mistakes that a more seasoned warrior would avoid. For all of these reasons, the death of Turnus is one more instance of a green youth unfairly pitted against an older and more experienced adversary.

The first scene in the third pair (1.479-482) shows the Trojan women unsuccessFully supplicating Pallas, and looks forward to the griefs women will suffer during the war in Italy. These griefs touch women on both sides of the conflict. Vergil shows the Arcadian women watching in fear as their young men ride off to war (8.592-593), and mourning as the dead are brought home (11.146-147). Similar cries of mourning come from the women of Laurentum (11.215-216) and the mother of Euryalus (9.473-502).

While the scene on the temple wall symbolizes the grief of women during war in general, it looks forward to one episode of the Italian war in particular. This episode comes at 11.477-485, where the women of Laurentum try to supplicate Pallas. The first four line of this passage bear some striking similarities to the four line description of the supplication scene on the temple wall at Carthage.
interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant
crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant
suppliciter, tristes et tunae pectora palmis:
diua solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat.
(1.479-483)

nec non ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces
subuehitur magna matrum regina caterua
dona ferens, iuxtaque comes Lavinia uirgo,
causa mali tanti, oculos deicta decoros.
(11.477-480)

The women in each example go to the temple of Pallas
(ad templum...Palladis 1.479 and 11.477) and they "bear"
gifts (ferebant in 1.480 and ferens in 11.479). Each
example contains a virgin with downcast eyes. In the
earlier scene it is the virgin goddess Pallas (1.482),
while in the later scene it is the virgin princess Lavinia
(11.479-480). Both supplications fail. This is perhaps
the most carefully constructed set of parallels between a
scene on the temple wall and a specific episode in the
Italian War. Such care may well reflect the special
concern Vergil felt for the helpless sufferings of women
during a war.

The second scene in the third pair (1.483-487) depicts
the paternal grief of Priam, a grief echoed by Evander and
Mezentius in the Italian War. Like Priam, Evander and
Mezentius are kings who lose their sons in battle with an
enemy champion. 41 Evander's son Pallas falls before
Turnus, and Mezentius' son Lausus dies at the hands of
Aeneas. Evander's lament for Pallas (11.152-181) is over twice as long as Priam's lament for Hector in the Iliad (Iliad 22.415-428), but Mezentius is even more like Priam in his behavior. When he learns of his son's death, Mezentius befouls his head in the dust just as Priam did when Hector died.

\[\text{λαοὶ μὲν ὁ θανάτος μόνοις ἔχον ἄραλάνων,}
\text{ἐξεπλήνυ τε μεμάφτα πυλῶν θανάτου.}
\text{πάντας δὲ λυτάνευε κυλνόδομος κατὰ κόπρον,}
\text{ἐς ὀνομακλήθην ὄνομαξιῶν ἀνθήρα ἐκείον.}
\]

(Iliad 22.412-415)

canitiem molto deformat puluere et ambas
ad caelum tendit palmas et corpore inhaeret.

(10.844-845)

Mezentius also recalls Priam's behavior by daring to confront his son's killer. Priam goes to Achilles to ransom Hector's body (Iliad 24), while Mezentius actually faces Aeneas on the battlefield (10.873-908).

Besides the sufferings of Evander and Mezentius this picture of Priam, Hector and Achilles anticipates the suffering of Priam as recounted in the flashback in Book 2. There Aeneas tells how Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, cut down Polites, one of Priam's many sons, right before the old king's eyes and then slew the king himself (2.526-558). The link between this flashback and the scene on the temple wall is enhanced by Priam being a suppliant in both scenes, for in the flashback Priam is
slain at an altar where he had come seeking sanctuary: the old king had begun to arm himself for his final battle, but then, at his wife's insistence, had taken refuge at the altar (2.523-525 and 2.550-554). Furthermore, in the flashback Priam specifically recalls the ransom of Hector's body and how Achilles had honored his plea (2.540-543). Oddly enough, this may be the only place in the Aeneid where Achilles receives any praise, even though the praise comes as a rebuke to Neoptolemus.

In addition to the grief of fathers this scene evokes the theme of the proper return of a dead hero's body and belongings, a theme which looks ahead to the stripping of Pallas by Turnus. This scene shows Achilles ransoming Hector's body back to Priam after killing and defiling the Trojan hero. In the Iliad Hector slays Achilles' friend Patroclus, strips Patroclus of his armor and wears it himself. Zeus, as we have noted, calls these actions a mistake on Hector's part, especially stripping and wearing the armor (Iliad 17.200-206). The death of Patroclus draws Achilles back into battle, and he kills and defiles Hector to avenge his friend.

In the Aeneid Turnus, Pallas and Aeneas form a triangle similar to that of Hector, Patroclus and Achilles in the Iliad. Turnus slays Aeneas' friend Pallas, and although he returns Pallas' body, he strips the youth of his armor and dons his baldric (10.495-500). Vergil
laments this stripping in the same way Zeus lamented the stripping of Patroclus.

nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae
et servare modum rebus sublata secundis!
Turnus tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque
derit....

(10.501-505)

Aeneas then battles Turnus, and enraged by the sight of Pallas’ baldric on Turnus, kills him. Aeneas, it should be noted, returned Turnus’ young ally Lausus with his belongings intact after killing the boy in battle.

While the wrathful Achilles may not have been swayed from slaying Hector by the return of Patroclus’ armor, the more levelheaded Aeneas would probably have spared Turnus if not for the baldric. Aeneas is touched by Turnus' plea for mercy, and he holds his final blow until the baldric reminds him of Pallas.

...stetit acer in armis
Aeneas uoluens oculos dextramque repressit;
et iam iamque magis cunctanten flectere sermo
copperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
balterus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri, uictum quem uulnere Turnus
straerat atque ueris insigne gerebat
ille, oculis postquam saeui monimenta doloris
exuuiiasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
terribilis: "tune hinc spolii indute meorum
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc uulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit."

(12.938-949)
It was not killing Pallas, therefore, but stripping him that sealed Turnus' fate.

The final pair of scenes shows the black Memnon (1.489) and the Amazon Penthesilea (1.490-493), the most exotic of Troy's allies. Troy had many other allies, and Homer catalogues them at the end of Book 2 of the Iliad (Iliad 2.816-877). Latium is also defended by a multitude of allies (Aeneid 7.641-817), several of them with exotic traits despite their Italian origins. Amongst these exotic allies are: Aventinus, a son of Hercules, draped in a lion's hide (7.655-669); Caeculus, a son of Vulcan, whose men wear wolf-skin caps and march with one foot bare (7.678-690); Umbro, a snake charmer (7.750-760); and Virbius, son of the resurrected Hippolytus (7.761-782).

The catalogue of Italian allies begins with Mezentius (7.647-654) and ends with Camilla (7.803-817), the two leading allies and the two most closely recalling Memnon and Penthesilea. Mezentius was an exiled tyrant whose name is alliteratively reminiscent of Memnon. Like Memnon, Mezentius was a major ally of the defenders, and he is killed in battle with the leading invader. Mezentius' strongest claim to being an exotic ally like Memnon, however, comes from his origin and career.

Mezentius was an Etruscan. The Etruscans were a non-Italic people who supposedly came to Italy from the east. Although they once flourished and even provided Rome
with some of her kings, the Etruscan people and their
culture had declined greatly by Vergil's time. 44

haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata uetusto
urbis Agyllinae sedes, ubi Lydia quondam
gens, bello praeclara, iugis insedit Etruscis.
(8.478-480)

As an exiled Etruscan tyrant, Mezentius bears some
similarity to Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome.
Vergil underlines this similarity by calling Mezentius a
rex whose rule was superbus.

hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo
imperio et saeuis tenuit Mezentius armis.
(8.481-482)

According to Evander, the Etruscans overthrew and exiled
Mezentius because of his cruel and bizarre tortures.

quid memorem infandas caedes, quid facta tyranni
effera? Di capiti ipsius generique reseruent!
mortua quin etiam iungebat corpora uius
componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora,
tormenti genus, et sanie taboque fluentis
complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.
(8.483-488)

Mezentius, therefore, is one of Turnus' most exotic
allies. This, combined with the sound of his name and the
manner of his death, makes him a reminder of Memnon on the
temple wall.

Penthesilea (1.490-493), the other exotic ally on the
temple wall, foreshadows the appearance of Camilla in the
Camilla, like Penthesilea, is an Amazon (11.648) who dies defending a besieged city. Vergil directly compares these two Amazons (11.655–663). Both are virgins (virgo 1.493 and 7.806), both are warrior-women (bellatrix 1.493 and 7.805) and both dare to fight against men. 47

...audetque uiris concurrere virgo.

(1.493)

audeo et Aeneadum promitto occurrere turmae solaque Tyrrenhos equites ire obuia contra.

(11.503–504)

Penthesilea and Camilla share similar ways of dressing. Each of them goes into battle with one breast bare (exsertae...mammas 1.492 and unum exserta latus pugnae 11.649). 48 This recalls the tradition that Amazons rode with one breast bare, or even amputated one breast so they could shoot their bows better.

Both Amazons like golden trappings. Penthesilea wears a golden sword belt (aurea...cingula 1.492). Camilla wears a golden clasp in her hair (fibula crinem auro 7.815–816) and carries a golden bow (aureus...arcus 11.652). This female penchant for gold eventually leads Camilla to drop her guard long enough for an enemy to slay her (11.778–784).

Penthesilea and Camilla lead columns of followers who carry the crescent or half-moon shaped shields of Amazons
(lunatis aqmina peltis 1.490 and 11.663). By recalling the moon, these shields recall the moon-goddess Diana. Diana was the patroness of the Amazons and of Camilla in particular (11.532 ff.).

The one major difference between Penthesilea and Camilla is their deaths. Penthesilea dies on her lover's sword while Camilla is ambushed by Arruns, a man who flees and seeks no credit for the kill. But there is a third woman the temple wall foreshadows. She bears many similarities to Penthesilea and Camilla, and she dies on the sword of a lover who flees and seeks no credit for the kill. This woman provides the topic of the next section.

IV. Dido

Besides Camilla, the figure of Penthesilea on the temple wall foreshadows Dido, Queen of Carthage. Dido has much in common with Penthesilea and Camilla, and she can even be considered an Amazon of sorts. But it is not just the Penthesilea scene that foreshadows Dido. The temple pictures taken as a whole and the fame those pictures represent foreshadow and set the groundwork for the love affair between Dido and Aeneas.

Dido first appears (1.494 ff.) immediately after the Penthesilea scene which concludes the ekphrasis on the temple wall. Penthesilea and Camilla lead columns of
followers and their troops surround them. Dido also enters with a column of followers (1.497) and amidst her troops (saepta armis 1.500).

Penthesilea and Camilla are women battling on equal terms with men (1.493 and 11.504-506). Dido is another such woman who undertakes masculine tasks. When the Tyrians fled the murderous Pygmalion, Dido led them (1.364). In Carthage Dido makes the laws and assigns responsibilities to men (1.507-508).

Dido shares the fondness Penthesilea and Camilla show for golden trappings.

cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum, 
aurea purpuream subnectit fibula uestem.  
(4.138-139)

When she goes hunting with Aeneas, Dido wears a golden clasp and binds her hair with gold as Camilla does (fibula crinem auro internectat 7.815-816). The Queen's golden quiver parallels Camilla's quiver (pharetrata Camilla 11.650) and golden bow (aureus...arcus 11.652).

Vergil calls these weapons "the arms of Diana" (arma Dianae 11.652), reminding the reader that Diana is the patroness of the Amazons. Dido is also linked to Diana. Immediately after the Penthesilea scene, when the Carthaginian queen makes her first appearance, Vergil compares her to the goddess (1.498-503).
So Dido resembles the Amazons in several ways. She is a leader and a woman who is the equal of men, she has a penchant for gold adornments, and she is associated with the goddess Diana. But the similarities do not end here.

Dido's death also ties her to the Amazons. Penthesilea dies on the sword of her lover, Achilles, just as Dido dies on the sword of her lover, Aeneas.

conscendit furibunda rogos ensemque recludit Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus. ...atque illam media inter talia ferro conlapsem aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore spumantem sparsasque manus....

(4.646-647 and 663-665)

Camilla's killer, Arruns, refuses to take credit for killing her (11.790-793) and stealthily flees from her death (11.806-808). Aeneas wants no blame for Dido's death (6.456-464) and seeks to sneak away from the damage he has done (4.288-291). Since Aeneas left Carthage and Dido under orders from Jupiter, this final comparison may be unfair, but it does represent Dido's view of the matter.

Because of Dido's many similarities to the Amazons, the temple wall foreshadows her and her fatal love for Aeneas through its Penthesilea scene. The temple wall also foreshadows the Queen and her love through the fame which the scenes on the wall represent. This fame provides the basis for that love.\textsuperscript{54}
When Aeneas first sees the temple wall, he weeps because it reminds him of painful events in his past. But he also takes heart because it proves the fame of these events has spread throughout the world. Aeneas believes this fame will bring him and his men safety and assistance from the Carthaginian queen.

constitit et lacrimans 'quis iam locus,' inquit, 'Achate, quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? en Priamus, sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi, sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortaliam tangunt. solue metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.'

(1.459-463)

This optimism is initially correct. With some prompting from Jupiter and his messenger Mercury (1.297-304), Dido bases her welcome to the Trojans upon their fame. Vergil underlines this by making the Queen's words recall Aeneas' response to the scenes on the temple wall. Dido opens with soluite corde metum (1.562), echoing the solue metus (1.463) of Aeneas. Like Aeneas at 1.459-460, Dido believes Troy's fame to be universal.

'quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem, uirtutesque uirosque aut tanti incendia belli?''

(1.565-566)

This fame does more than influence Dido's welcome to Aeneas and his men. It also influences her personal response to and growing love for Aeneas. When Dido first sees Aeneas, Vergil compares him to a work of art.
It is almost as if Aeneas was stepping out of the temple wall and coming to life before the Queen's eyes.

Later, Dido will feed her love with Aeneas' tales of Troy. She will ask him many questions about the war and its heroes. All of these questions deal with figures from the temple wall, including Memnon (Aurorae filius). Even the position of the name Achilles at the end of a line in this passage parallels its regular position in the description of the temple wall.

So the scenes on the temple wall do not just foreshadow Dido's love for Aeneas; they spur it on.

Despite these strong links to the romance between Dido and Aeneas, the emphasis of the scenes on the temple wall at Carthage is upon public and military events. The scenes look back to Aeneas' career as a soldier at Troy, and they look ahead to that career's continuation in Italy. The reliefs on the temple door at Cumae, however, are primarily concerned with Aeneas' personal and emotional life, and we shall now turn our attention to them.
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1 Are the scenes on the temple painted, sculpted or both? There seems to be no real way of telling this from the text. Nevertheless, R.D. Williams, "Pictures on Dido's Temple," CQ n.s.10 (1960) p. 150, R.G. Austin, Aeneidos liber I with commentary, Oxford University Press, Oxford (1971) ad v.456, and E. Riess, "On Vergil, Aeneid 1.466-493," CW 12 (1919) p. 133, all call the scenes "paintings." Riess even suggests a relationship between these scenes and a painting by Apelles in the Forum of Augustus that Pliny mentions in Natural History 35.93-94.

2 For a nineteenth century discussion of this ekphrasis, see J. Kvicala, Vergil-Studien, Prague (1878) pp. 133 ff.

3 Keith Stanley, "Irony and Foreshadowing in Aeneid I. 462," AJPh 86 (1965) pp. 273-274, notes that Aeneas should be surprised if he realizes this is the temple of Juno, his greatest enemy among the gods. In the same vein, A. Cartault, L'art de Virgile dans l'Enéide, Les Presses universitaires de France, Paris (1926) p. 119, notes that "il est piquant que ce soit justement dans un temple de Junon que les Troyens renaissent a l'esperance..." and Otis, Virgil, p. 238 says "...the frieze of the temple of Juno- the irony of the setting is obvious enough-...."

4 Austin, Aeneidos liber I, ad v.466 ff., Riess, "On Vergil," p. 132, and Williams, "Pictures on Dido's Temple," pp. 148-151, discuss the division and arrangement of the scenes. Some earlier critics, such as Kvicala, Vergil-Studien, pp. 133 ff., and Cartault, L'art de Virgile, p. 122, have suggested different arrangements of the scenes.


8 Austin, *Aeneidos liber I.*, ad *v.*474. Williams, "Pictures on Dido's Temple," p. 149, notes that "Vergil does not make the oracular prediction of Troilus' fate explicit, but as he had done this with Rhesus, he could expect the reader to be ready to do the same with Troilus."


11 Riess, "On Vergil," pp. 132-133, argues that the separate Aeneas scene is the central scene of the series.

12 Pöschl, *Art of Vergil*, p. 35, comments that "Aeneas' wish to have died ante ora patrum expresses not only longing for glory but also for love and warmth of home."


14 Dictys Cretensis 4.6, and Philostratus *Heroicus* 3.4.


17 Pöschl, *Art of Vergil*, p. 163, comments that: "The Trojan War reliefs in the Carthaginian temple of Juno increase in tragic intensity, culminating in Hector's death."

19 Austin, *Aeneidos liber I. ad v*. 458. Stanley, "Ironic and Foreshadowing," p. 278, notes: "In Vergil Achilles appears as the arch-enemy, the embodiment of the Greek destroyer in this climax to a panorama of Greek cruelty."

20 The placement of Achilles at the end of the line may also reflect its traditional position in the Homeric hexameter.

21 Stanley, "Ironic and Foreshadowing," p. 278, comments that both Priam and the Atreidae feel the cruelty of Achilles.


23 Homer *Iliad* 24.468 ff.

24 Austin, *Aeneidos liber I. ad v*. 484, contrasts this treatment of the ransom scene with 2.540 ff. where Vergil has Priam recall the magnanimity of Achilles. Stanley, "Ironic and Foreshadowing," p. 270, believes that the use of *vendebat* in 484 transforms the ransom scene into a "heartless commercial transaction."


26 Williams, "Pictures on Dido's Temple," p. 150.

27 Riess, "On Vergil," p. 133, suggests that Achilles may also appear in the Aeneas scene. This fits my argument that Achilles is the predominant figure connecting the pictures, but Riess gives no solid support for his suggestion.

28 Williams, "Pictures on Dido's Temple," p. 149, on 1.470-471, notes the explicit cruelty of the murder of men asleep.

29 Cartault, *L'art de Virgile*, p. 121, comments that: "Il faut noter que Troilus est le prototype de ces jeunes heros trahis par leurs forces, que Vergile a multiplies dans les derniers livres de l'€néide, Euryale, Pallas, Lausus." Williams, "Pictures on Dido's Temple," p. 149, says that the Troilus scene is "typical of Vergil's sorrow over youthful death." Also see G.N. Knauer, *Die


32 Austin, Aeneidos liber I, ad v.486.


34 Otis, Virgil, p. 312 ff., discusses the Iliadic nature of the Aeneid's later books. Stanley, "Irony and Foreshadowing," p. 274, says: "the panels...not only reflect the past but prefigure...the events of Books VII-XII, Vergil's Iliad.

35 Otis, Virgil, pp. 300-301, notes the neo-Pythagorean sources of Vergil's cyclical theory of history and comments on its relationship to the Myth of Er in Plato's Republic.

36 Stanley, "Irony and Foreshadowing," p. 274: "the roles of Greek and Trojan, the besieger and the besieged, will be reversed in the war between Trojan and Latin." L.A. Mackay, "Achilles as Model for Aeneas," TAPhA 88 (1957) pp. 11-16, also points out this role reversal.


39 Stanley, "Irony and Foreshadowing," p. 275, suggests that the death of Troilus anticipates the death of Lausus. Cartaud, L'art de Virgile, p. 121, sees Troilus as a prototype for both Pallas and Lausus. Also see Knauer, Die Aeneis und Homer, pp. 305-308.

40 Stanley, "Irony and Foreshadowing," p. 275, and Austin, Aeneidos liber I, ad v. 479.


47 Stanley, "Irony and Foreshadowing," p. 276, and Austin, Aeneidos liber I, ad v. 493.

49 Austin, Aeneidos liber I. ad v. 490.


52 Austin, Aeneidos liber I. ad v. 466.

53 Pöschl, Art of Vergil, p. 190, n.6.

54 Otis, Virgil, p. 238.


58 The final draft of this dissertation was almost completely typed when Professor Charles Babcock brought my attention to a recent article of interest. Richard F. Thomas, "Virgil's Ecphrastic Centerpieces," HSPh 87 (1983) pp. 175-184, points out the structural importance Vergil gives to the central scenes in his ekphrases. The central scene on the wall at Carthage shows the Trojan women carrying a peplum to Minerva. Since a peplum is a traditional subject for ekphrasis, Vergil creates the stunning effect of a "work of art within a work of art within a poem" (p. 184).
CHAPTER FOUR: THE RELIEFS ON THE TEMPLE DOORS AT CUMAE

The second temple ekphrasis in the *Aeneid* is the series of reliefs Aeneas finds sculpted on the doors of Apollo's temple at Cumae (6.14-33). These pictures are as artistically impressive as the pictures on Juno's temple at Carthage, which they parallel in several ways. The reliefs at Cumae present the mythical past by summarizing key episodes from the saga of Minoan Crete, they symbolize several major themes of the *Aeneid*, and they reflect and foreshadow much found in Aeneas' own life, especially in his trip through the Underworld. In this chapter we shall examine the subject matter and themes of the reliefs at Cumae and explore how these scenes relate to the life of Aeneas.¹

I. Subject Matter and Arrangement

Vergil draws the subject matter for the temple doors at Cumae from the saga of Minoan Crete.² Aeneas gazes upon these doors as he waits to meet the Cumaean Sibyl. In an
introductory passage (6.14-19) Vergil tells of the flight of Daedalus, and how the artist landed at Cumae, built the temple there, and produced the reliefs on the temple doors. Vergil follows this introductory passage with descriptions of at least five different reliefs presenting episodes from the Cretan saga in chronological order.

These reliefs divide into two finished pairs and one unfinished section. The first pair deals with events that took place in Athens. The first relief in this pair shows Androgeos, the son of Minos, being murdered by the Athenians.

In foribus letum Androgeo....

(6.20)

The next relief depicts the Athenians choosing the seven sons Minos forced them to sacrifice annually as a punishment for his own son's murder. Vergil breaks the flow of his verse with a one-word editorial comment to heighten the pity one feels for these victims.

...tum pendere poenas
Cecropidae iussi (miserum!) septena quotannis corpora natorum. Stat ductis sortibus urna.

(6.20-22)

Vergil uses a whole line to emphasize the division between this pair of Athenian reliefs and the pair of Cretan reliefs on the opposite door.
contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus

(6.23)

This use of contra to contrast the Athenian reliefs and the Cretan ones may recall its use in 1.13 to contrast Rome and Carthage.

Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe ostia....

(1.13-14)

This echo possibly likens the enmity of Athens and Crete to that of Rome and Carthage.

The first Cretan relief shows Pasiphae's lust for a bull, and her monstrous child, the Minotaur. The poet dwells upon this creature's half-breed nature, and emphasizes its hideousness with a multitude of m's and n's echoing the sound of the creature's name.

hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto
Pasiphe mixtumque genus prolesque biformis
Minotaurus inest. Veneris monimenta nefandae.

(6.24-26)

The other relief in this Cretan pair shows the young Theseus during his most famous trial, the braving of the Labyrinth with the help of a clue Daedalus provided to Ariadne.4

hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;
magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem
Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resoluit,
In addition to their setting these Cretan reliefs are linked by the anaphora of hic at the start of the descriptions of each relief (6.24 and 6.27).

They are also linked by the important roles women play in them in contrast to the Athenian reliefs, where women go unmentioned. Vergil manipulates the legendary material to create this contrast. Previous versions of the Labyrinth story, such as Catullus 64, had called for a sacrifice of both young men and maidens. Vergil eliminates the maidens from the sacrifice in the second Athenian relief, thus heightening the contrast between the Athenian pair of reliefs and the Cretan pair. This male-female contrast throws extra emphasis on the regal women of Crete who fall prey to their own passions. As we shall see, this emphasis links these women to the Queen of Carthage in much the same way the use of contra in 6.23 links Crete with Carthage.

The Cretan reliefs are also bound by the importance of Daedalean devices to the action of each. Daedalus built the wooden cow that made Pasiphae's bestial mating possible, and he devised the ambiguities of the Labyrinth to hold the offspring of that mating. Vergil also uses a variant of the Labyrinth story in which Daedalus provides the clue to enable Theseus to find his way out of the Labyrinth. This variant increases the involvement of
Daedalus in the scenes he depicted on the temple doors. We shall expand on this point in the next chapter with a discussion of the relationship between the artist and his work.

The Cretan reliefs parallel the sequence of the Athenian reliefs. The first Athenian relief shows Androgeos, a son of Pasiphae, while the first Cretan relief portrays the Minotaur, also a son of Pasiphae. The second Athenian relief depicts the seven youths picked to be sent to the Labyrinth, and the second Cretan relief presents Theseus, one of the seven youths, making his way through the Labyrinth.

Just as he uses line 6.23 to emphasize the break between the Athenian and Cretan reliefs, Vergil uses a bucolic diaeresis in line 6.30 to underline the split between the Cretan reliefs and the final section of the doors.

\[
\text{caeca regens filo vestigia. tu quoque magnam partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes. bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro, bis patriae cecidere manus.} \ldots
\]

(6.30-33)

This final section of the temple doors would have shown the fall of Daedalus' own son, Icarus. "Would have shown" because grief prevented the father from finishing this section, even though he tried twice. The poet emphasizes
these two tries with the anaphora of *bis.../bis...*, and with the word play of *casus/cecidere*. 7

There is an ambiguity in the Latin as to whether Daedalus twice failed to complete the same relief, or whether he failed to complete a pair of Icarus reliefs to match the pairs of Athenian and Cretan reliefs. This ambiguity exists perhaps because the very incompleteness of this final section would have made it impossible for the viewer to determine how many Icarus reliefs Daedalus had intended.

Vergil uses a type of ring structure to frame this passage about the temple doors. The passage begins with Daedalus' flight from Crete, and the final relief on the doors would have presented an episode from that flight. This brings our exploration of the subject matter and arrangement of the scenes full circle, and the time has come to consider the theme linking the various reliefs and then examine the themes of the Athenian, Cretan and Icarian sections of the doors.

II. Themes

The main theme of Daedalus' work on the doors at Cumae is the endangered offspring. Daedalus himself had lost a young son when he came to Cumae. It is, therefore, psychologically appropriate that each of the episodes
Daedalus chose to depict includes at least one son in a fatal or potentially fatal situation. Athenian rivals murder Androgeos, the son of Minos. The Athenians must send seven of their sons to Crete to die in the Labyrinth. Pasiphae's monstrous son, the Minotaur, is doomed to imprisonment in the Labyrinth and eventual death there on the sword of Theseus. Theseus, the leader of the seven Athenian sons, risks entering the Labyrinth and battling the Minotaur. Daedalus loses his own son, Icarus, while escaping from Crete.

So the endangered offspring is the common element linking these reliefs on the doors at Cumae. It is, as we have said, an appropriate theme for the work of a bereaved parent like Daedalus. It is also an appropriate theme to highlight at the start of Book 6 because it complements the parade of his heroic progeny which Aeneas sees in the Underworld at the end of the book (6.765-886). When Vergil added the ill-fated younger Marcellus (6.860-886) to this parade, he did so in a way that enhanced the parallel between the legendary offspring on the temple doors and those in the Underworld. The description of the reliefs on the temple doors closes with an apostrophe to Icarus.

...tu quoque magnam partem opere in tanto, sineret dolore, Icare, haberes. (6.30-31)
In writing the Marcellus passage, Vergil echoed this apostrophe to the doomed Icarus with a closing apostrophe to the doomed Marcellus. Just as Icarus would have had a great part on the temple doors, so Marcellus, the chosen heir of Augustus, would have had a great part in Roman history if he had survived.⁹

heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas!
   tu Marcellus eris....

(6.882-883)

Vergil further reinforces the connection between Icarus and Marcellus by quickly following these apostrophes with images of the hands of grief-stricken father figures. The hands of Daedalus, the father of Icarus, fall from attempting to portray the boy on the temple doors.

bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,
   bis patriae cecidere manus....

(6.32-33)

After his apostrophe to Marcellus, Anchises, the youth's forefather, calls for his hands to be filled with lilies to scatter in honor of his ill-fated descendant.

"...manibus date lilia plenis
   purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotes
   his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani munere." ....

(6.883-886)
Thus the figure of the doomed or endangered offspring and the hands of the bereaved father figure bracket the Aeneid's central book.

The doomed or endangered offspring is also a common figure throughout the epic, and one to which Vergil was particularly sensitive. 10 Polites, Pallas, Lausus, Turnus, and Euryalus all exemplify this figure. Vergil shows the father or mother of each of these young men, except Turnus, looking upon their dead sons just as Daedalus saw Icarus falling into the sea, and as the Athenians saw their sons being chosen for death in the Labyrinth. Although Vergil does not actually depict the corpse of Turnus spread out before his father, he does portray the dying Turnus as being worried by this possibility (12.932-936).

Aeneas himself is an endangered, if not doomed, offspring. The many perils he faces cause frequent concern and anxiety for his mother Venus. Vergil further emphasizes his hero's role as an endangered son by following the Marcellus passage with Anchises' warning to Aeneas about the coming wars in Italy.

quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit incenditque animum famae uenientis amore, exim bella uiro memorat quae deinde gerenda, Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini, et quo quemque modo figiatque feratque laborem. (6.888-892)
Now we shall look more closely at the individual pictures on the temple doors. The first pair of reliefs (6.20-22) depicts a crime and its punishment, a punishment so severe as to be a second crime. The first relief shows the murder of Androgeos. Androgeos was the son of Minos and Pasiphae. He was killed by rivals he had bested at the Panathenaic games. Some version implicate the Athenian king, Aegeus, in this crime. Vergil, however, limits his description of the crime to a half-line (6.20).

The other relief (6.20-22) in this pair shows the seven Athenian youths Minos demanded in sacrifice to the Minotaur as punishment for the murder of Androgeos. Some versions of this story, such as that in Catullus 64.76-79, provide this punishment with the divine sanction of a plague, but Vergil neglects this and concentrates on the moment when the victims are chosen. As we have noted, the poet uses the editorial interjection of miserum to increase the pathos of this scene where parents watch their children being picked for sacrifice (6.21). The extremely brief note of the murder of Androgeos, the poet's expression of sympathy for the Athenian youths, and his silence about the divine sanction for their sacrifice combine with the severity of the punishment to make the punishment itself seem like a second crime.

The second pair of reliefs (6.23-30) shows two women ruined by forbidden passions. The first of these reliefs
(6.24-26) depicts Pasiphae's union with a bull, and the Minotaur that resulted from the union. Pasiphae was the wife of Minos, who had refused to sacrifice a certain beautiful bull to Poseidon, and Poseidon cursed Minos by making Pasiphae lust for the bull. Pasiphae satisfied this lust by hiding in a wooden cow Daedalus built for her to allow her to mate with the bull. The man-beast Minotaur was the offspring of this mating, and Minos imprisoned this monster in the Labyrinth and fed to it the regular tribute of seven youths he received from the Athenians.\textsuperscript{12}

The second relief in this pair shows a \textit{regina} helping Theseus through the Labyrinth with a clue provided by Daedalus. Traditionally, this \textit{regina} would have been Ariadne, the daughter of Minos. She fell in love with Theseus when he posed as one of the seven sacrificial youths from Athens and came to Crete to kill the Minotaur. Ariadne gave Theseus the clue to find his way out of the Labyrinth after slaying the man-beast. Ariadne fled Crete with Theseus, but he abandoned her on the island of Dia.\textsuperscript{13}

Vergil's Latin, however, offers some ambiguity as to the identity of the \textit{regina}.

\textit{hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;}\textit{ magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem} \textit{Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resoluit, caeca regens filo uestigia}.... (6.27-30)
Ariadne was a princess, not a queen or a *regina* as Vergil describes her here. Furthermore, since Ariadne is not mentioned here by name, *regina* grammatically would have to refer back to its antecedent, Pasiphae in the preceding relief, who really was a queen. Why does Vergil allow this confusion to occur?

Some critics argue that Vergil uses *regina* here for metrical reasons. Ariadne is a difficult name to fit into hexameters, and Vergil uses *regina* to avoid this difficulty here just as he uses it to solve a similar problem with the name Rhea Silvia at 1.273.14 Metrical difficulty, however, seems a minor problem for a poet of Vergil's caliber. If he had wished, he could have found a way to make the name Ariadne fit into a hexameter, or else have used a less ambiguous epithet than *regina*.

I would propose two better reasons for Vergil's use of *regina* in 6.28. First Vergil confuses Ariadne and Pasiphae to suggest that Daedalus, provider of the device which allowed Pasiphae to beget the Minotaur, so pitied the queen's shame that he also provided the device to destroy that shameful offspring. Second, the use of *regina* helps to link Ariadne's *magnus amor* for Theseus with the love of another *regina* for another hero in the *Aeneid*. We shall more fully discuss this link later in this chapter.

The last and unfinished section (6.30-33) of the reliefs would have shown the fall of Daedalus' own son,
Icarus. This section, which dolor prevented Daedalus from completing, is one of the clearest examples of an endangered offspring on the temple doors. It is also a poignant display of the love between father and son, a love transcending even death. Finally, by recalling the exile and flight of Daedalus which introduced the reliefs, the section suggests the theme of exile and flight which pervades the Aeneid. To fully understand the importance of this theme, the modern reader must keep in mind the prominence of the city for the ancients. One's city played much the same role in the life of an ancient as one's country and religion plays in the life of a modern man. In the Greco-Roman world, therefore, an exile or a man who had lost his city was a man who had lost a large part of his self-definition and meaning in life. Aeneas himself is an exile and fugitive like Daedalus and Icarus, and we shall discuss this parallel in a section on "Aeneas and the Temple Doors." For now we shall note the importance of exile and flight to the Aeneid as a whole. The epic abounds in characters who have lost their homeland. Andromache and Helenus were carried off from Troy as prisoners of war. Dido fled from Trye to Carthage to escape the evil Pygmalion. Because of his own cruelty, Mezentius was driven from his Etruscan kingdom. Camilla's father took her into exile with him when she was an infant. Evander migrated from Arcadia to Italy. All of
these examples place exile and flight among the Aeneid's most poignant and recurrent themes.

The reliefs at Cumae are linked by the primary theme of the endangered offspring. They also present a variety of other themes: crime and punishment, the uncontrolled passions of women, the love between father and son, exile and flight. But these themes also pertain in a more extended sense to the Aeneid and Aeneas.

III. Aeneas and the Temple Doors

The life of Aeneas, like those of the figures on the doors at Cumae, was full of violence, passion and grief. Just as the pictures on the temple at Carthage foreshadowed Aeneas' love affair with Dido and the war Aeneas will fight in Italy, the reliefs on the doors at Cumae parallel and foreshadow Aeneas life in general and his journey through the Underworld in particular. Three characters from the Cretan saga appear in the Underworld, and much else from the saga will be recalled there obliquely.

The first link to Aeneas is with Daedalus in the introduction to the doors. Daedalus and Aeneas both came to Cumae as fugitives from the Greek east. Daedalus fled from Athens to Crete, where he found refuge at the court of Minos. When he angered Minos, Daedalus escaped to Cumae.15
Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna praepetibus pennis ausus se credere caelo insuetum per iter gelidas enauit ad Arctos Chalcidicaque leuis super astitit arce. redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe, sacrauit remigium alarum posuitque immania templa. (6.14-19)

Just as Daedalus was "fleeing" (fugiens 6.14) when he came to Cumae, Aeneas was a "fugitive" (profugus 1.2) to the shores of Italy. 16 Like Daedalus, Aeneas failed in attempting to start a new life in Crete (3.102 ff.) before heading to Italy. Having left Crete, Daedalus dedicated his wings to Apollo at Cumae, while Aeneas dedicated a set of captured arms to Apollo at Actium (3.286-288) and will later dedicate the golden bough to Persephone during his journey through the Underworld (6.629-636).

Finally, Daedalus came to Cumae as a grieving father seeking to memorialize a lost son, while Aeneas came there as a grieving son seeking to find a lost father. 17 Daedalus and Aeneas share a strong sense of the obligations between fathers and sons, obligations continuing even beyond the grave. This emphasis upon the father-and-son relationship runs throughout the Aeneid. Priam and Polites, Laocoon and his sons, Anchises and Aeneas, Aeneas and Iulus, Evander and Pallas, Mezentius and Lausus are all prominent examples of this relationship, and Turnus uses Aeneas' sense of filial obligation as the basis of his final plea for mercy (12.932-936).
A major contrast between Daedalus and Aeneas should be noted along with these similarities, a contrast which may reflect an important difference in the Greek and Roman characters. Daedalus fails to complete the doors at Cumae because he can not bear to recall all of the past griefs they depict (6.30-33). Aeneas must also confront his own past griefs as he makes his way through the Underworld to find Anchises. As he told Dido at the start of Book 2, the memory of these disasters makes him shudder (2.12). But in the Underworld Aeneas must come face to face with his losses, such as lost comrades and a lost love, and he must then leave them behind once more to complete his mission. The Greek Daedalus gives in to grief and leaves his work unfinished, while the Roman Aeneas, bound to fulfill his duty, is forbidden that luxury.

The depiction of the Athenians murdering Androgeos in the first relief at Cumae (6.20) symbolizes the way a personal vendetta can give rise to a global catastrophe. Androgeos was murdered by jealous rivals at the Panathenaic games, but that single crime led to the sacrifice of Athens' youth and the downfall of Minos' kingdom. The experience of Aeneas holds several such explosions of individual grudges into international disasters. The adultery of Helen and Paris brings about the Trojan War, the fall of Troy and Aeneas' flight to Italy. Turnus' claim to the hand of Lavinia plunges Italy into war with
the Trojan refugees. The failed romance of Aeneas and Dido leads to centuries of conflict between Rome and Carthage. In each of these examples, as in that of Androgeos, a personal quarrel brings death and destruction to whole nations.

The sacrifice of the seven Athenian youths in the second relief at Cumae parallels the many youths Aeneas sees sacrificed for their country's sake in wars at Troy and in Italy. 19

...tum pendere poenas
Cecropidae iussi (miserum!) septena quotannis
corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.

(6.20-22)

Vergil was especially sensitive to how wars ruin the lives of the young and innocent. Coroebus, Polites, Nisus, Euryalus, Pallas, Lausus and Turnus are all sacrificed for cause or country like the seven Athenians. Even Aeneas himself is a type of sacrifice. Although Aeneas does not lose his life, he does lose his home, his wife, his father and the sort of life he had wanted. It is Aeneas' fate to sacrifice all the things that have made life worth living. This fate is revealed to him by "lot" (sors 4.346), the same way the fate of the seven Athenian youths was revealed (sors 6.22). 20

me si fata meis paterentur ductere uitam
auspicis et sponte mea componere curas,
urbem Trojanam primum dulcisque meorum
reliquias colorem, Priami tecta alta manerent, 
et recidiva manu posuisse Pergamam uictis, 
sed nunc Italiam magnum Gryneus Apollo, 
Italiam Lycia iussere capessere sortes; 
hic amor, haec patria est....

(4.340-347)

The third relief at Cumae shows Pasiphae's unnatural 
intercourse with a bull and the monster that resulted.

hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto 
Pasiphae mistumque genus prolesque biformis 
Minotaurus inest, Veneris monimenta nefandae.

(6.24-26)

On a specific level, this foreshadows the appearance of 
Pasiphae in the lugentes campi, a section of the Underworld 
filled with women who died for love. The third line of 
this passage particularly echoes the hic crudelis amor that 
opens the description of the Pasiphae relief.

Nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem 
Lugentes campi; sic illos nomine dicunt. 
hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit 
secreti celant calles et myrtea circum 
silua tegit; curae non ipse in morte relinquunt. 
his Phaedram Procrinque locis maestamque Eriphylem, 
crudelis nati monstrantem uulnera cernit, 
Euadnenque et Pasiphaen; his Laodamia 
it comes et iuuenis quondam, nunc femina, Caeneus 
rursus et in ueterem fato reuoluta figuram.

(6.440-449)

This passage, recalling the catalogue of women in 
Odyssey 11, presents a wide range of women. Phaedra lusted 
for her stepson. Procris was mistakenly killed by her 
husband. Eriphyle betrayed her husband for a bribe.
Evadne was so devoted to her husband that she threw herself on his pyre. Pasiphae mated with a bull and gave birth to the Minotaur. Caeneus changed sexes. The list includes saint and sinner, innocent and guilty.  

This makes it an appropriate introduction to Aeneas' meeting with Dido's shade, another victim of <i>crudelis amor</i>. The ambiguous variety of women in the <i>lugentes campi</i> fits Vergil's ambiguous attitude towards Dido, a woman both sinned against and sinning.

<i>inter quas Phoenissa recens a uulnere Dido errabat silua in magna....</i>  
<i>(6.450-451)</i>

Just as Pasiphae on the temple doors was left with the Minotaur as a reminder of her accursed love (<i>Veneris monimenta nefandi</i> 6.26), so Dido in Book 4 was left with reminders of her accursed lover, Aeneas (<i>nefandi...uiri monimenta</i> 4.497-498).  

"<i>tu secreta pyram interiore sub auras erige, et arma uiri thalamo quae fixa reliquit impias exuuiasque omnislectumque iugalem, quo perii, super imponas: abolere nefandi cuncta uiri monimenta iuuat monstratque sacerdos.</i>"  
<i>(4.494-498)</i>

Thus the relief of Pasiphae and the Minotaur on the doors at Cumae foreshadows the appearance of both Pasiphae and Dido in the Underworld and recalls the Dido of Books 1 and 4.
As a dangerous reminder of love a hero must overcome, the Minotaur itself foreshadows Aeneas facing and overcoming his own past in the Underworld before he meets his future in Elysium. On the way to Elysium, Aeneas encounters the shades of lost comrades, fallen friends and a former lover, yet he must leave these shades behind if he is to complete his mission and fulfill his destiny. In the Underworld, Anchises and Dido, representatives of family gone by and romance forsaken, make their final appearances in the epic. Like the Minotaur, all of these shades are reminders of love, dangerous reminders threatening to hold Aeneas in the dark Labyrinth of his emotional past unless he has the strength and courage to conquer them and struggle forth into the light of the future.23

The fourth relief on the doors at Cumae portrays the Labyrinth and Ariadne's love for Theseus.

hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error; magnum regnae sed enim miseratus amorem Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resoluit, caeca regens filo uestigia....

(6.27-30)

This is the longest and most complex description given for any of the reliefs at Cumae. The dark maze of the Labyrinth, a death trap for nearly all who enter it, will be recalled by the Sibyl's description of the Underworld.

"...sate sanguine diuum, Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Auerno;
noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis; 
sed reuocare gradum superasque euadere ad auras, 
hoc opus, hic labor est...."  
(6.125-129)

The final half-line here is particularly reminiscent of 
6.27. ²⁴

hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;  
(6.27)

Both the Labyrinth and the Underworld are inescapable for most, but there are devices to permit escape for the chosen few. Daedalus himself provides the filus or clue allowing Theseus to retrace his steps out of the Labyrinth. The Sibyl tells Aeneas that the Golden Bough will permit him to return from his journey through the Underworld. ²⁵

...latet arbores opaca 
aureus et foliis et lento uimine ramus, 
Iunoni infernae dictus sacer; hunc tegit omnis lucus et obscuris claudunt conuallibus umbrae. 
sed non ante datur telluris operta subire auricemos quam quis descerpserit arbores fetus. 
hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus instituit....  
(6.136-143)

Ariadne's love for Theseus, the magnum reginae amorem of the fourth relief, anticipates Aeneas' encounter with Dido in the Underworld (6.450-476) perhaps even better than the figure of Pasiphae did in the third relief. ²⁶

Vergil's calculated misuse of regina to describe Ariadne in
6.12 helps to emphasize the parallels between Ariadne and the queen of Carthage.27 Ariadne betrayed her family and country to aid Theseus, a foreigner who won her love and took her help and then made her curse him when he abandoned her on the island of Dia. Dido neglected her duties as queen to help Aeneas, another foreigner who would sail off and forsake the woman who had loved and assisted him. Like Ariadne in Catullus 64, Dido curses her former lover, and in Book 6 she even snubs his attempts to approach her in the Underworld. Dido's silence in this scene also recalls Ajax's scorn for Odysseus in Odyssey 11.543-564.

\[
\text{talibus Aeneas ardentem et torua tuentem}
\text{lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat.}
\text{illa solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat}
\text{nec magis incepto uultum sermone mouetur}
\text{quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.}
\text{(6.467-471)}
\]

Ariadne finds a new lover to comfort her, the god Bacchus. Dido also finds another lover, though not a new one, when she is reunited with her husband Sychaeus in the Underworld.28

\[
\text{tandem corripuit sese atque inimica refugit}
\text{in nemus umbriferum, coniunx ubi pristinus illi}
\text{respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem.}
\text{(6.472-474)}
\]

Theseus, Ariadne's lover and the conqueror of the Labyrinth, is mentioned three times in the Underworld. In asking the Sibyl to help him make this journey, Aeneas uses
Theseus as an example of another hero of divine lineage who travelled to the Underworld.29

"...quid Thesea, magnum quid memorem Alciden? et mi genus ab Ioue summo."

(6.122-123)

Both Theseus and Aeneas dare to make the journey to the Underworld while still alive. If, as we have argued, the Labyrinth is emblematic of the Underworld, and the clue is emblematic of the Golden Bough, then the story of Theseus' successfully making his way through the Labyrinth is emblematic of Aeneas' making his way through the Underworld.

But this simple parallelism is complicated by Vergil's depiction of Theseus in Tartarus. Theseus and Perithous once tried to kidnap Persephone from the Underworld. The two heroes were caught in the Chair of Forgetfulness, and they spent four years sitting there in the Underworld being tortured. When he came to steal Cerberus, Hercules rescued Theseus, but was unable to help Perithous.30 Charon refers to this series of adventures when he is reluctant to ferry Aeneas across the Styx.31

"nec uero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem accepisse lacu, nec Thesea Perithoumque, dis quamquam geniti atque inuicti uiribus essent."

(6.392-394)
Vergil changes the traditional ending to this tale by having Theseus remain stuck to his seat among the damned in Tartarus.

"...sedet aeternumque sedebit infelix Theseus...."

(6.617-618)

Theseus, therefore, offers both a positive and a negative example for Aeneas in Book 6 rather than just a simple parallel for his heroism. As the conqueror of the Labyrinth, he is an inspiration to Aeneas to brave the journey through the Underworld. As a prisoner in Tartarus, however, he is a warning to Aeneas that even a hero of divine lineage must make that journey in a proper and pious manner. Aeneas does just that by first obtaining the Golden Bough, an object which immediately dispels Charon's doubts about ferrying Aeneas across the Styx (6.407-410). The contrast here between Theseus and Aeneas typifies the difference between Greek and Roman. The Greek has the bravery to undertake great projects, but the Roman has both the bravery to undertake them and the sense of responsibility to complete them.

The final and unfinished relief on the temple doors would have shown the fall of Icarus.

...tu quoque magnum
partem opere in tanto sineret dolor, licare, haveres.
bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,
Icarus was a young son who fell to his death because he neglected his father's instructions and flew too high. The portrayal of his death would have come at the end of a procession of figures preceding him in the Cretan saga. Icarus' death was so great a grief for his father that the father was unable to finish depicting it.

As we have noted, Book 6 closes with the portrayal of another son figure who dies young, Marcellus (6.863–886). This portrayal comes at the end of a long procession of figures who precede Marcellus in the "saga" of Roman history (6.755–887). The grief of Marcellus' unfulfilled destiny is so great that father Anchises hesitates to tell Aeneas about it.

\[ tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis; "ognate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum; ostendent terris hunc tantum fata nec ultra esse sinent."
\] (6.867–870)

The fall of Icarus at the start of Book 6, therefore, foreshadows the unhappy fate of Marcellus at the Books' end. It is an appropriate counterpoint that this Book, chronicling Aeneas' quest for his lost father, should be bracketed by the figures of Icarus and Marcellus, two lost youths.
A second theme suggested by the Icarus scene is the importance of following a father's advice. Icarus fell to his death because he disregarded his father's order not to fly too close to the sun. By contrast Aeneas takes the guidance of his father Anchises throughout their flight from Troy in Book 4. After Anchises dies, his shade appears to his son in Carthage (4.351 ff.) and Sicily (5.723 ff.) to provide further instructions which Aeneas obeys. Aeneas even comes to the doors of the temple at Cumae so he might descend to the Underworld and seek his father's advice.

Ascanius does begin to disregard the instructions of his father, Aeneas, but Apollo intervenes. When Aeneas leaves the Trojan camp in Latium to seek allies, he gives Ascanius command of the camp, but charges him to stay inside the walls and avoid open combat (9.40-43). But enraged by the insults of Remulus, Ascanius takes up his bow and shoots that Latin prince (p. 621-634). Apollo congratulates the boy on his valor, but pulls him back from battle, reminding him of his father's orders and rescuing him for the future.

'macte noua uirtute, puer, sic itur ad astra, dis genite et geniture deos. iure omnia bella gente sub Assaraci fato uentura resident. nec te Troia capit....

...sit satis, Aeneide, telis impune Numanum oppetisse tuis. primam hanc tibi magnus Apollo concedit laudem et paribus non inuidet armis:
cetera parce, puer, bello.'...
(9.641-644 and 653-656)

This divine restraint spares the boy from the fatal dangers he may have met if, like Icarus, he had continued disobeying his father in pursuit of glory.

The temple doors at Cumae parallel and foreshadow the life of Aeneas in much the same way the pictures at Carthage did. The emphasis at Carthage, despite the anticipation of the Dido affair, was upon public and military events. The reliefs at Cumae dwell more on the emotions and the internal life, the monstrous offspring of love which run rampant through the dark Labyrinth of the soul. Aeneas succeeds in overcoming these monsters even though Daedalus, the man who depicted their emblems on the doors at Cumae, failed to do so.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1 For some earlier views see Eduard Norden, ed., P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI, 4th ed., B.G. Teubner, Stuttgart (1957) ad v.14 ff., and Richard Heinze, Vergil’s epische Technik, 3rd ed., B.G. Teubner, Leipzig (1915) p. 146. Norden sees the pictures as a tale from early Italian history and tries to connect them with the poem, but he and Heinze fail to see how the pictures symbolically reflect the fate of Aeneas. R.D. Williams, "The Sixth Book of the Aeneid," G&R, series 2, 11 (1964) p. 50, also dismisses the Labyrinth as no more than a symbol from folklore used to create an atmosphere of awe and dread. These men seem to miss the point, and I agree with Otis, Virgil, p. 284, that "Their voluminous and learned commentary has greatly obscured a most significant episode." Poschl, Art of Vergil, pp. 149-150, also thinks that Heinze and Norden overlook the true importance of these pictures by not recognizing that they symbolize the destiny of Aeneas.

2 Catullus also uses this saga as the subject of a lengthy ekphrasis in 64.50-266.


4 Austin, Aeneidos liber VI, ad v.30, and Quinn, Catullus, ad v.64.115, note that this passage recalls the description of the Labyrinth in Catullus 64.112-115.

inde pedem sospes multa cum laude reflexit
errabunda regens tenui uestigia filo,
ne labyrintheis e flexibus egredientem
tecti frustraretur inobservabilis error.
Vergil describes this Labyrinth relief at greater length than any other relief on the doors atCumae. He also uses the Labyrinth in Book 5.588-591 as an extended simile for the intricate maneuvers of the Troy Game.

ut quondam Creta furtur Labyrinthus in alta parietibus textum caecis iter a cipitemque mille ulis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi frangeret indepressus et inremeabilis error;

This fascination with the Labyrinth has been a commonplace among writers from ancients like Callimachus to moderns like Borges and Ayrton, perhaps because the complexity and ambiguity of the Labyrinth is inherently symbolic of the complexity and ambiguity every artist seeks to build into his own work.


5* Quinn, *Catullus*, *ad v*.64.77.

6 For the children of Pasiphae and Minos, see Pausanias 8.53.2, Diodorus Siculus 4.60, and Apollodorus *Library* 3.1.2.

7 Austin, *Aeneidos liber VI*, *ad v*.33.


10 Kosthorst, *Die Frauen und Junglings*, pp. 98 ff., discusses youths in the *Aeneid*.

11 Apollodorus *Library* 3.15.7, Diodorus Siculus 4.60.4. Servius *ad v*.6.21.

sources of the story are Apollodorus Library 3.1.2-4, Diodorus Siculus 4.13.4, 4.60, 4.77.2, Ovid Metamorphoses 8.155 ff., and Pausanias 7.4.5.


14 Austin, Aeneidos liber VI, ad v.28.

15 Apollodorus Library 3.15.8, Diodorus Siculus 4.76.6, and Ovid Metamorphoses 8.182-235.

16 Aeneas and his followers are described as "fleeing" or are in "flight," or are told to "flee" or take "flight" frequently in the first five books of the epic, such as at 2.619, 2.640, 3.268, 3.459, 3.639, 4.314, 4.565 and 5.629.


18 Otis, Virgil, pp. 284-285 and 290. The Daedalean doors themselves may parallel the Gates of Sleep (6.893-898). Immediately after landing at Cumae and leaving his ships at the start of Book 6, Aeneas meets the Sibyl at the double doors erected by Daedalus. Immediately before returning to his ships and leaving Cumae, Aeneas comes up from the Underworld through the double Gates, or Doors, of Sleep. So Vergil may use the image of double doors to bracket Aeneas' journey with the Sibyl in Book 6. This bracketing, or ring structure, helps to underline the major contrast we have noted between Daedalus and Aeneas. The double gates marking the completion of Aeneas's mission at Cumae recall the double doors Daedalus failed to complete. T.J. Haarboff, "The Gates of Sleep," G&R 17 (1948) pp. 88-90, J. Van Ooteheem, "Somni portae," LEC 16 (1948) pp. 386-390, L.F. Rolland, "La Porte d'ivoire (Virgile, Eneide VI, 898)," REL 35 (1957) pp. 204-223, and N. Reed, "The Gates of Sleep in Aeneid VI," CQ n.s.23 (1973) pp. 311-325, all offer comment on the Gates.

19 Vergil's use of seven as the number of Athenians sacrificed is consistent with other versions of the story, but it also fits the mystical significance attached to the number seven. Vergil seems to play upon this in Book 6. In her opening words, the Sibyl instructs Aeneas to sacrifice seven bulls and seven sheep (6.38-39). Later in Book 6, Vergil refers to the seven-stringed lyre of Orpheus
(6.646), the seven hills of Rome (6.783) and the seven mouths of the Nile (6.800). See M. De G. Verrall, "The Instances of Symbolism in the Sixth Aeneid," CR 24 (1910) p. 44.

20 The drawing of lots in this scene may also foreshadow the appearance of Minos as a judge in the Underworld.

hos iuxta falsa damnati crimine mortis;
 nec uero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice sedes;
quaesitor Minos urnam mouet; ille silentium
consiliumque uocat uitasque et crimina discit.

(6.430-443)


22 Austin, Aeneidos liber VI, ad v.626. In light of this parallel, it seems for the best that Dido never had the parvaulus Aeneas she wanted (4.328-329).


25 Verrall, "Instances of Symbolism," p. 44.


27 Pöschl, Art of Vergil, p. 207.


CHAPTER FIVE: CARTHAGE AND CUMAE

Significant parallels exist between the pictures on the temple wall at Carthage and those on the temple doors at Cumae. These two sets of pictures share similar settings, arrangements, sources for their subject matter and ways of relating this subject matter to events in the Aeneid itself. Furthermore, Vergil presents both sets of pictures subjectively, sifting them through the thoughts and feelings of a viewer or artist, rather than objectively limiting his descriptions to the details of the pictures as previous poets had done when they described works of art. All of these parallels imply an attempt on Vergil's part to connect the two temple ekphrases in the reader's mind, an attempt which, as we shall see, serves an important thematic purpose.

The first suggestion of this connection comes from the setting of the two ekphrases. Both describe scenes on temples that Aeneas reaches soon after landing in a new country. He comes to each temple seeking aid from a woman
of importance, Dido at Carthage and the Sibyl at Cumae. The entrances of these women interrupts the hero's contemplation of the pictures on the temples.¹

Vergil also arranges both of these ekphrases in similar patterns. Each set of pictures breaks down into several pairs of scenes. In each set, however, a single unmatched or unfinished section disrupts the pairing. At Carthage, the scene of Aeneas in combat lacks a mate. As we suggested in the chapter on Carthage, this singular scene throws emphasis upon the hero and his solitary responsibility as the survivor of Troy and the founder of the Roman race. At Cumae, Daedalus failed to complete the Icarus section. This failure sprang from the artist's overpowering grief at the death of his son, and it underlines the poignant sense of parental sorrow and filial loss pervading all of the scenes on the doors of the temple of Apollo. The difference here between the unmatched scene at Carthage and the unfinished section at Cumae offers perhaps the most noticeable departure from the parallelism of the two ekphrases.

Both sets of pictures take their subjects from the legendary past. This in itself would be unremarkable within the context of ancient epic, but here it gains new reality and immediacy from the fact that it is drawn from the past of the viewer or artist of the pictures.² The temple wall Aeneas sees at Carthage includes scenes from
the Trojan War which recall the hero's struggles for him and the reader. The temple doors erected by Daedalus at Cumae present episodes from the saga of Minoan Crete which memorialize the artist's prior griefs. Both sets of pictures strike the reader with a sense of Aeneas' or Daedalus' nostalgia and yearning for things past, lost homes, lost friends, lost loves and lost families. Both sets, to borrow Aeneas' comment on the temple wall at Carthage, exemplify the *lacrimae rerum*, and the mortality of the people and things depicted on the temples touches the hearts of the viewer and the artist and, through them, the reader. This inclusion of material from the lives of the viewer and the artist provides the basis for Vergil's subjective presentation of these pictures, a point we shall discuss more fully later in this chapter.

While recalling the past, the temples also mirror present events and anticipate future episodes in the *Aeneid*. The Trojan War scenes at Carthage look ahead to the romance Aeneas will have with Dido and the war he will fight in Italy: specific figures and adventures depicted on the temple wall anticipate the fates of the Queen of Carthage, Nisus, Euryalus, Turnus, Pallas, Lausus, Camilla, Mezentius and Evander. The Minoan scenes at Cumae reflect the role Aeneas plays as a fugitive and foreshadow his journey through the Underworld. This linkage of past, present and future arises from the fact that the scenes on
the temples symbolize many of the *Aeneid's* most fundamental themes, such as parental grief and the cruelty of war. These themes pervade the *Aeneid* just as they pervade so many other great poems and works of art from the *Iliad* onwards.

We have mentioned that the use of the personal past of the viewer or the artist for the subjects depicted on the temples provides the basis for an additional parallel between the ekphrases. This parallel is Vergil's subjective presentation of both sets of pictures, an especially Vergilian contribution to the technique of ekphrasis. Previous poets had described works of art in a more or less objective way, concentrating on the works themselves and paying little or no attention to how these works touched the hearts and minds of their artists and viewers. Homer and Apollonius held to presenting only what could be seen on the shield of Achilles and the cloak of Jason. Catullus went a step farther by giving a lengthy account of the story behind the two scenes on the bedspread of Peleus and Thetis. But none of these three poets concerned himself with how the scenes of his ekphrasis affected those who made them or gazed upon them.

Vergil followed the objective examples set by his predecessors when he described the Ganymede cloak and the baldric of Pallas. The sight of the baldric does provoke the final wrath of Aeneas, but this wrath springs from the
fact that Turnus stripped the belt off the dead body of Pallas, and not from the scene depicted on it. Vergil added a touch of the subjective to the shield of Aeneas when he concluded his description of it by noting Aeneas' ignorance of the meaning of the pictures on the shield (8.729-731). But the poet uses subjective presentation most fully in portraying the temple wall at Carthage and the temple doors at Cumae. Vergil does not depict the scenes on these temples objectively or "photographically;" he filters them through the thoughts and emotions of their viewer or their artist. He describes these ekphrases not as they are in themselves, but as they seem to Aeneas or Daedalus.³

Vergil gives his readers several clues to the subjectivity of his descriptions of the temples. At Carthage the varying lengths used to describe the individual scenes offers the first clue. The nine scenes described range from one to five lines. These variations may reflect how the eyes of Aeneas would move from scene to scene, lingering on some but only glancing at others. Thus Vergil spends only a line of two on each of the general battle scenes that open the ekphrasis, but devotes four or five lines to each of the four specific pictures of Trojans or Trojan allies that follow (Rhesus, Troilus, the Trojan women, Priam and Hector). The poet gives only one line to the scene of Aeneas, as if the hero turned away quickly
from the depiction of his personal grief. Vergil also allows just one line to Memnon, a late and distant ally of the Trojans, but he spends four lines on Penthesilea, suggesting that Aeneas dwelled upon the Amazon's beauty before Dido's entrance interrupted him, and preparing the hero and the reader for the appearance of the lovely Queen of Carthage.

The second clue comes from the strong Trojan bias of the scenes on Juno's temple at Carthage. Juno was Troy's most steadfast enemy, and Carthage and the Punic peoples took no side in the Trojan War, but the description of the scenes on the temple wall is highly sympathetic to Troy. The Greeks almost always appear as brutal killers, and the Trojans as hopeless victims. This bias is more likely a product of the mind of Aeneas than an actual property of the scenes on the wall themselves.⁴

The most important evidence for subjectivity in this ekphrasis comes from the lengthy description Vergil gives of Aeneas' response to the temple wall (1.450-465). Vergil reinforces this by interrupting his description of the wall itself with the hero's weeping (1.470) and groans (1.485). Furthermore, the repetition of ut in 1.486 emphasizes the hero's stopping to dwell on each detail of the scene showing the ransom of his friend Hector's dead body. These displays of an almost physically painful nostalgia are consistent with Aeneas' opening speech in Book 1, where he
wishes he had died on Trojan soil alongside of Hector and other lost comrades (1.94-101). They also fit his behavior at Epirus, where he weeps and kisses the "Scaean gate" of the "little Troy" built by Helenus and Andromache (3.347-351).

Such subjective elements in the description of the temple at Carthage go far beyond simple statements of the viewer's admiration for a set of pictures or his ignorance of its meaning. They add extra levels of warmth and emotion to the ekphrasis and contribute to the characterization of Aeneas. This is just the sort of contribution we might expect from Vergil, a poet who brought new feeling and poignance to every traditional form and technique he touched.

These subjective elements also bring a certain irony to the temple wall at Carthage. This irony comes from the disparity between the emotions the wall evokes in Aeneas and the events the wall foreshadows. The scenes on the wall make Aeneas weep for the past, but they also inspire him to hope for the future. He believes the fame and glory represented by the scenes will assure him of aid and comfort in Carthage.

constitit et lacrimans 'quis iam locus, 'inquit, 'Achate, quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? en Priamus. sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi, sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt. solue metus; feret haec aliquam tibi firma salutem.' (1.459-463)
Aeneas is partly right. The fame and glory of his Trojan past do win him aid, comfort and even love at first. As we noted in our chapter on Carthage, Dido bases her generous welcome to the Trojans and her romantic feelings for Aeneas largely upon the heroic renown which won a place on the wall for Aeneas and Troy. But the romance soon sours and leads to the death of Dido and centuries of hatred and warfare between Carthage and Rome. Besides this, the scenes on the wall look ahead to the war awaiting Aeneas in Italy, a war as bloody and futile as the Trojan carnage the hero seeks to flee. Aeneas foresees none of this. He takes heart from the temple wall and is as ignorant of the tragedies it portends as he will be ignorant of the triumphs depicted on his shield.

Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis, miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

(8.729-731)

Aeneas did seem to understand those aspects of the Roman future revealed to him in the Underworld, but there Anchises had acted as his divine exegete. When he confronts the temple wall and the shield on his own, however, Aeneas demonstrates the sad truth that no man, not even the best, can fully grasp the tokens of his fate.

The ekphrasis at Cumae also yields clues to its subjectivity. At Cumae the agent of this subjectivity is
the artist, Daedalus. The number of lines given to individual scenes varies as much at Cumae as at Carthage. The two Athenian scenes (6.20-22), where Daedalus and his inventions play no part, total only three lines together. But each of the Cretan scenes and the Icarian section (6.23-33) average nearly four lines apiece. Daedalus provided the devices that made the events in these later scenes possible. He built the wooden cow soPasiphae could mate with the bull, and he constructed the Labyrinth to hold the monstrous offspring of that mating. He gave Theseus and Ariadne the clue to finding the way out of the Labyrinth, and he made the wings Icarus wore when he flew too close to the sun. These scenes involving Daedalus or his devices get the most attention in the description of the temple doors at Cumae. This does not mean the Athenian scenes are intrinsically less interesting than the Cretan scenes or the Icarian section; the murder of Androgeos and the selection of the Athenian youths for sacrifice both have considerable dramatic potential which Vergil develops only cryptically in his descriptions. But the variations between the lengths of the Athenian scenes and those that follow does suggest that the length of the descriptions reflects the subjective importance of the individual scenes to Daedalus and the degree of his personal interest and involvement in each of them.
The ekphrasis of the doors at Cumae also offers emotional reasons for the actions of Daedalus. "Pity" (miseratus 6.28) led Daedalus to give Theseus and Ariadne the clue to the Labyrinth. "Grief" (dolor 6.31) prevented him from finishing the Icarus section on the temple doors. Since these emotional reasons could not be presented pictorially in the scenes, Vergil provides them in his description of the doors because he is trying to emphasize the probable feelings of Daedalus.

This interest in the artist's feelings becomes most vivid in the final lines of the ekphrasis. There Vergil flashes back to the time when Daedalus created the doors and shows the griefstricken artificer's hands repeatedly trying and falling away from the task of depicting the death of Icarus.

\[
\text{bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,}
\text{bis patriae cecidere manus...} \\
\text{(6.32-33)}
\]

The anaphora of bis, the alliteration of conatus–casus–cecidere and the play on casus–cecidere in these lines all serve to highlight the artist's frustration and anxiety.

The subjective presentation of Daedalus' emotions is not without a degree of irony, for the emotions which inspired Daedalus to create also seem to have undone his creations. Indeed, all of the artificer's works tended to cause as many problems as they solved. Out of pity,
Daedalus built the Labyrinth to conceal the offspring of a shameful love, and out of pity for those sacrificed to that offspring, he later provided the clue to unravel the Labyrinth and destroy the Minotaur. When Daedalus came to Cumae, paternal grief led him to memorialize his lost son on the temple doors, but the same grief also prevented him from completing the memorial. The highly emotional and sympathetic nature of the artist both helped and hindered his work. Here we should also note that Vergil avoids specifically citing Daedalus as the contriver of two other devices, the wooden cow Pasiphae used to conceive the Minotaur and the wings on which Icarus flew to his death. Vergil may have expected his reader to know these details, but he may also have been purposely vague to avoid emphasizing Daedalus' culpability in a bestial mating and in the death of his own son, a culpability which might detract from the reader's sympathy for the artist. But the wooden cow and the wings, like all of Daedalus' creations, either fail to achieve their purpose or lead to disaster. All of the artist's wonderful talents seem to have been able to make nothing but grief and mischief, a fact which suggests the dangers of a man, no matter how gifted, who allows himself to be ruled by emotion rather than piety and reason.

It is also interesting to speculate on how much the description of the doors at Cumae reflects Aeneas' state of
mind as he contemplates them. When Aeneas comes to Cumae, his experiences, such as his escape from Troy, his years of wandering, his disastrous affair with Dido, his loss of Anchises and his longing to see him again, have all predisposed him and the reader to respond to certain themes on the doors. These themes include exile and flight, uncontrollable passion, grief for a lost family member, and the dread one feels when faced with a journey from which there may be no return and a task which may be too great to complete. But the doors might inspire an entirely opposite set of thoughts and feelings in a man with other griefs or a happier life than Aeneas. A boy looks at the world through different eyes than a greybeard just as a bridegroom looks through different eyes than a widower, and so the pictures on the doors might suggest a different interpretation if Turnus or Pallas or Achilles, rather than Aeneas, were looking at them.

The subjective aspect of the temple ekphrases allows the reader to peer into the internal life of two legendary figures. It shows the hearts and minds of Aeneas and Daedalus responding to and interacting with works of art. This contributes to their characterizations and adds to the emotional poignancy of the descriptions of the temples.

The many parallels we have just discussed—setting, arrangement, sources of subject matter, ways of relating this subject matter to events and themes within the Aeneid,
subjective presentation—imply a connection between the two temples. But is there a thematic reason behind this connection? A brief comparison of the temples with the shield of Aeneas may suggest one.

Ambitious in scope and rich in levels of meaning, all three ekphrases symbolize crucial themes, reflect the present and foreshadow the future while recalling tales from the past. These works of art enable the living to remember men and women long dead and to anticipate those as yet unborn, and so to transcend the limitations imposed on all of us by time and mortality. This wonderful power testifies strongly for the belief that *ars longa vita breuis*. But though the temples and the shield share much in the way of ambition and artistry, they contrast sharply in their relationship to Aeneas. The Greco-Trojan adventures depicted on the temples took place before the main action of the *Aeneid*. The temples themselves appear in the first half of the epic, while Aeneas is still fleeing from Troy and its Greek destroyers. The episodes from Roman history on the shield, however, will occur long after Aeneas dies. The past depicted on the shield is not the past for the hero, but for Vergil and Augustan Rome. Aeneas receives the shield in the later half of the epic as he prepares to win a new home for his people. A passive, fugitive Aeneas, absorbed in thought of the past contemplates the temples; an active, aggressive Aeneas,
ready to fight for the future, carries the shield into battle. 7

The temple ekphrases epitomize the life Aeneas must leave behind, but they also represent the bittersweet fruit of that life. the experience Aeneas brings with him to Latium. As we have noted, the temple wall at Carthage recalls the military career of Aeneas, while the temple doors at Cumae evoke his emotional life. As a pair, the temples symbolize the arms and the man.

Arma virumque cano.... (1.1)

This phrase opens the Aeneid, and it defines the most important struggle Aeneas and Rome must face: the conflict between personal desires and patriotic responsibilities. Dido and Turnus failed to resolve this conflict, as did Carthage and Greece. But the combination of public and private experiences represented on the temples made Aeneas the first truly Roman hero and enabled him to triumph in Latium just as it would enable Rome to triumph throughout the world.

All of the Vergilian ekphrases we have discussed rival or outstrip Homer, Apollonius and Catullus in their manifold and suggestive levels of meaning, but with the temples at Carthage and Cumae Vergil made his most outstanding and characteristic contributions to the
technique of ekphrasis. By presenting the representations on the temples subjectively, Vergil added new feeling and tenderness to the poetic description of works of art. Furthermore, by paralleling the temples with each other, he created a symbolic epitome for the dual aspects of the life of Aeneas and for the major themes and events of the Aeneid, compressing the import of over 10,000 lines of epic into less than 100 lines of ekphrasis. These masterful contributions, combining poignancy of mood with density of meaning, typify Vergil's bequest to the epic form itself. They show Vergil meeting the Keatsian challenge to "load every rift with ore," surpassing the poetic exemplars of the past and setting a superb example for the poets of the future.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1 Several critics, such as Austin, *Aeneidos liber I*, ad v. 454, Norden, *Aeneis*, Buch VI, ad v. 14 ff., and Föschl, *Art of Vergil*, p. 150, note the parallel of Aeneas being interrupted while contemplating the temples.

2 Williams, "Pictures on Dido's Temple," p. 150.


6 Rutledge, "Opening of Aeneid 6," pp. 110–115, links the temples with the shield of Aeneas and the parade of heroes (6.756–886) as a series of "works of art or scenes that resemble works of art" which depict "the progress of his (Vergil's) pilgrim."

7 In this light it is interesting to note that two temple ekphrases more or less frame the first half of the epic before Anchises reveals the Roman future to Aeneas in the Underworld.
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