Virgil's Augustan Temples: Image and Intertext in the *Aeneid**

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the most memorable works of art described in Virgil's Aeneid *(the paintings at the temple in Carthage, the doors of the temple in Cumae, the shield of Aeneas, and the baldric of Pallas) as visual models for the poem's organization of its own intertextual memory. The multi-dimensionality of memory enacted in the viewing of these pictorial programmes emerges as a metaphorical visualization of the semantic density created by the overlapping intertexts within the narrative itself and, what is more, urges the reader to perceive works of Augustan monumental art as embodiments of a similarly complex universe of memory.*

Keywords: Virgil; *Aeneid*; intertextuality; temples; text and image; poetic memory; emotions in literature; Homer; Apollo; the Danaids

In the prologue to the third book of the *Georgics*, Virgil famously pledges to build a marble temple dedicated to Octavian with the statue of the *princeps* prominently located in the middle (Virg., *G.* 3.16 'in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit'). He envisions sacrifices and triumphal processions taking place in front of the temple, golden doors decorated with images of Octavian's conquests in the East, and marble statues of his Trojan ancestors and of Apollo, the divine builder of Troy (Virg., *G.* 3.21–36). This ritual celebration of Octavian's triumphant conclusion of the civil wars, immortalized in imaginary pictorial images, has often been thought to point to Virgil's alleged intention to compose an epic account of Octavian's military campaigns.[1] However, the obvious discrepancy between the hypothetical *Augusteid* and the *Aeneid* that Virgil did write has understandably been a matter of puzzlement and debate.[2] Even those who think that the literary temple whose construction Virgil is contemplating in the *Georgics* may in fact

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[1] See V. Pöschl, 'Herrscher und Dichter in Vergils *Georgica*', in H. Zehnacker and G. Hentz (eds), *Hommages à Robert Schilling* (1983), 393–402; R. F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics*, 2 vols (1988), vol. 1, 1–3; K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (1996), 250; and most recently, J. F. Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets* (2009), 140: 'Virgil's heroic epic of course turned out to be "Augustan" in a manner quite different from the impression created by the Georgic poet; the latter leads us to expect an historical epic that will focus squarely on the mighty deeds of Octavian rather than projecting those deeds into a prophetic future.'

[2] See discussions in Thomas, op. cit. (n. 1), vol. 2, 41–7; E. Kraggerud, 'Vergil announcing the *Aeneid*: On *Georgics* 3.1–48', in H.-P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil's* Aeneid: *Augustan Epic and Political Context* (1998), 1–20; W. Kofler, *Aeneas und Vergil: Untersuchungen zur poetologischen Dimension der* Aeneis (2003), 43–61; C. Nappa, *Reading after Actium: Vergil's* Georgics, *Octavian, and Rome* (2005), 115–24; M. Schauer, *Aeneas Dux: Eine literarische Fiktion in augusteischer Zeit* (2007), 48–56.

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refer to the *Aeneid* find it somewhat difficult to account for the fact that, far from occupying the central position accorded to him in the *Georgics* prologue ('in medio'), Augustus appears in Virgil's mythological epic only in rather brief flash-forwards and descriptive excursuses.[3]

The goal of this article is to reveal in what sense the *Aeneid* can in fact be read as a metaphorical temple celebrating Augustus' triumphs. I will argue that the obvious difference between the *Georgics* temple and the *Aeneid* is not due to Virgil's sudden change of heart, but can be interpreted as a difference between the language of description, which by verbal means aims to produce in the recipient a schematic visual image of an empirical or imaginary object,[4] and the activation of poetic memory,[5] which stages the gradual emergence of a symbolic image by establishing a multi-tiered analogy between past and present. Further I will show that, by repeatedly foregrounding the kind of text/image analogy exemplified by the imaginary temple of the *Georgics* prologue, Virgil draws attention to the partial kinship between the reading of the *Aeneid*'s intertextuality and the viewing of pictorial images, which productively employ their natural limitations (silence and immobility) to enable their viewers to see much more than meets the eye and thus to urge them to change the way they perceive empirical reality.

I THE TEMPLE OF JUNO

The first set of pictorial images, with which Aeneas is confronted on his journey, are the paintings depicting scenes of the Trojan War at the temple of Juno in Carthage. The very fact that these images are displayed in a temple dedicated to the divine archenemy of the Trojans inevitably suggests that their main objective must be to celebrate the Greek victory.[6] And indeed, all those scenes of the murals that recognizably point to specific episodes of the Trojan War portray the Greeks prevailing over the Trojans and their allies:[7] Diomedes killing Rhesus and abducting his horses; Achilles dragging Troilus' corpse hanging down from the chariot; Minerva rejecting the *peplos* offered to her by the Trojan women and thus denying Troy her support; Hector's body dragged by

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[3] Note, however, that in the *Aeneid*, too, Augustus is located not only in the middle of the shield of Aeneas (8.675 *in medio*; cf. A. Barchiesi, 'Virgilian narrative: ecphrasis', in C. Martindale (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (1997), 276), but also roughly in the middle of the poem, in the *Heldenschau* at the end of Book 6, where he is in turn located roughly in the middle (791–805) of the catalogue of heroes (755–846). For a recent brief summary of the discussion, see Schauer, op. cit. (n. 2), 49, n. 49 and 50. He imagines the following scenario (50): 'Vergil gibt in diesem Proöm vor, an der Fertigstellung der *Georgica* eine *Caesareis* zu schreiben, in Wirklichkeit plant er aber von vornherein eine *Aeneis*. Mit diesem Vorgehen hätte Vergil mehrerlei gewonnen: In Form eines Selbstkommentars zur geplanten, wenn nicht bereits enstehenden *Aeneis* stellt Vergil Octavian gegenüber klar, in welchem Licht das neue Epos gelesen werden soll.'

[4] In ancient rhetorical theory, description, or ekphrasis, is a type of speech that by means of vividness, ἐνάργεια, engenders in the recipient the illusion of presence and vision (e.g., Ps.-Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata*, p. 22, 1.10 ἔκφρασίς ἐστι λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ἐναργῶς ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον). On the mechanism of visualization in ekphrasis, see R. Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (2009), 87–106. Some of the ekphrastic passages in the *Aeneid* will be discussed in Section III of this article.

[5] cf. G. B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets* (1986), 66.

[6] cf. R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (1987), 210: 'We realize that they [sc. the pictures] were erected on triumph over the defeated, and in celebration of the victors. For this is the temple of Juno, one of the arch-enemies of Troy.' Cf. W. R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid* (1976), 99–105.

[7] Quite significantly, pictorial representations displayed during Roman triumphal processions concentrated primarily on the sufferings of the defeated. See I. Östenberg, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (2009), 258. Cf. E. Dekel, *Virgil's Homeric Lens* (2011), 83–5.

Achilles around the city walls and ransomed by Priam; Achilles killing Memnon and Penthesilea.[8]

There is a salient discrepancy, however, between the triumphal import that the murals seem so pointedly to convey in the context and Aeneas' reaction to them. Seemingly unaware of Juno's presence, Aeneas cannot help but see the images from the Trojan perspective. He naturally identifies with the Trojan figures that he immediately recognizes (1.461 'en Priamus'), is moved to tears by what he sees, and even interprets the pictorial programme as a whole as an expression of the Carthaginians' compassion with the fate of the defeated Trojans.[9] To him, in other words, this is not a triumphal monument to the Greek victory but rather a notional tombstone of Troy, which prompts him to re-live the tragedy of the city's fall and to mourn the victims.

The text thus seems to go out of its way to draw attention to the inherent ambivalence of the images. No doubt, the individual images possess a clear referential value in that they trigger specific memories of the *Iliad* and the epic cycle. And yet, when put together, they seem to possess no unified meaning of their own. In order to have a meaning, they first have to be activated by the viewer's memory, and this, depending on whether they are viewed by a pro-Greek or by a pro-Trojan recipient, can lead to radically different results. This is by no means to say that Aeneas' understanding of the images cancels their triumphal significance for Juno. What it emphasizes instead is the obvious fact that, depending on the viewer's perspective, a triumphal monument can simultaneously function as a locus of mourning.[10]

But Juno and Aeneas are obviously not the only viewers whom the text enables to endow these images with meaning. As readers of the *Aeneid*, we, too, are implicitly invited not only to ponder on the irony of the conflicting viewpoints enacted in the text, but also to construct and to evaluate our own mental images of the murals on the basis of Virgil's description. The first thing that springs to mind in this connection is that it is in fact impossible to tell for sure what the images would really look like or how they would be arranged in the temple in relation to each other. The viewing process is seemingly focalized in this passage through Aeneas' perception, as we are constantly told of his emotional reactions to what he sees.[11] As we have already observed, however, Aeneas is presented in this scene as a rather unreliable beholder (after all, he completely misses the monument's obvious triumphal intention).[12] In addition, the text repeatedly, albeit rather subliminally, emphasizes the tension between his viewing and our reading.

To begin with, there is a notable discrepancy between Virgil's implication that the paintings depict the Trojan War chronologically as a linear visual narrative (1.456 'Iliacas ex ordine pugnas') and Aeneas' attention to single details (1.453 'singula dum

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[8] The list of specific scenes follows what appears to be a brief summary of the *Iliad* and the epic cycle (Virg., *Aen.* 1.466–8): 1.469–73 (Rhesus, cf. *Iliad* 10), 1.474–8 (Troilus, cf. *Cypria*, Procl. *Chrest.*, ed. Allen, p. 105 καὶ Τρωΐλον φονεύει), 1.479–82 (the offering of the *peplos* to the statue of Pallas; cf. *Iliad* 6.263–311, especially 311 ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη), 1.483–8 (the maltreatment of Hector's corpse by Achilles and its ransoming by Priam; cf. *Iliad* 22–4), 1.489 (Memnon; cf. *Aethiopis*, Procl. *Chrest.* ed. Allen, p. 106 ἔπειτα Ἀχιλλεὺς Μέμνονα κτείνει), 1.490–3 (Penthesilea; cf. *Aethiopis*, Procl. *Chrest.*, ed. Allen, p. 105 καὶ κτείνει αὐτὴν ἀριστεύουσαν Ἀχιλλεύς). Cf. Barchiesi, op. cit. (n. 3), 273: 'The Virgilian hero is meeting his own past, but this act of recollection through images is inscribed in a literary work where the past is also equivalent to the literary tradition.'

[9] Virg., *Aen.* 1.461–3. Cf. Lyne, op. cit. (n. 6), 210; M. C. Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the* Aeneid (1998), 24–5.

[10] For the mixture of joy, relief, contempt, and pity in literary accounts of Roman triumphal processions, see Östenberg, op. cit. (n. 7), 265.

[11] Virg., *Aen.* 1.459 'lacrimas', 465 'multa gemens, largoque umectat flumine vultum', 470 'agnoscit lacrimans', 485 'ter vero ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo'.

[12] On the use of 'deviant focalization' in the *Aeneid* in general, see D. Fowler, 'Deviant focalization in Virgil's *Aeneid*', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 36 (1990), 42–63.

lustrat'), which possibly takes a more erratic course. Of course, the process of viewing, like that of reading, does unfold in time.[13] Unlike reading, however, it is anything but pedantically linear. Rather, it is governed by patterned visual signposts and emotional attention-catchers, which can differ greatly for each individual viewer.[14] For this reason, Aeneas does not seem to be 'reading' the chronological visual narrative 'ex ordine' the way one would read the epic cycle,[15] but instead allows his gaze to follow his emotions when he, for instance, cries out in surprise, both pleasant and painful, upon his recognition of Priam (1.461 'en Priamus'), whom his gaze automatically picks out of a longer series of identifiable figures (1.459 'Atridas Priamumque et saevum ambobus Achillem').[16]

Further, there is a certain contrast between the general statement that Aeneas saw the images of the battles around Troy, in which the Greeks and the Trojans alternately gained the upper hand (1.466–8),[17] and the specifically identified scenes, beginning 'nec procul hinc' (1.469), which, as we have already seen, unanimously portray the Greeks as ruthless victors. The text provides here next to no clues as to what this arrangement as a whole would look like *in situ* (such markers as 'nec procul hinc', 'parte alia' and, especially, 'interea' are of rather little help), nor, in fact, is there any way of telling whether Aeneas sees exactly what Virgil makes us see, however darkly, and whether he sees it in the same order. As far as Aeneas' viewing process is concerned, Virgil emphasizes only his emotional response to the images, rather than their order: quite conspicuously, the only *tum* that occurs in his description refers to Aeneas' groaning at the sight of Hector's corpse, and not to the turning of his gaze to the next picture (1.485–7). This is perfectly understandable, as all these images activate Aeneas' personal memories of his native city's tragic past, which his mind can retrieve at will without having meticulously to reconstruct their temporal succession, and which, moreover, already possess for him a preconceived emotional colouring. As a consequence, an image portraying a single episode easily triggers the memory of the whole sequence, which can then be emotionally reinforced by further images (cf. 1.464 'animum pictura pascit inani'). The order of the identifiable episodes of the Trojan War is, therefore, primarily intended to be appreciated by us: Virgil constructs his description in such a way as to guide *our* virtual gaze, to manipulate *our* memories of the epic tradition, and to encourage *us* to draw analogies between the complex ensuing patterns and the narrative context of the *Aeneid*.

Unsurprisingly, Virgil's description of the specific scenes, contrary to what he says earlier, does not reflect any chronological order.[18] What Virgil does instead is to make these episodes fall into a nearly symmetrical pattern, which seemingly serves as a visual

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[13] On the temporality of viewing, *pace* Lessing, who is ultimately responsible for the widespread (un)critical cliché postulating the incompatibility between viewing and reading (cf. P. Salzman-Mitchell, *A Web of Fantasies: Gaze, Image, and Gender in Ovid's* Metamorphoses (2005), 5: 'The most obvious difference between reading and viewing is that viewing is a synchronic experience performed *all at once*. Reading, on the contrary, is a diachronic process performed *in time* and which is carried out by appreciating one element after another.'), see L. Giuliani, *Bild und Mythos: Geschichte der Bildererzählung in der griechischen Kunst* (2003), 25–7.

[14] For a comparison between the linear reading and the non-linear viewing, see Giuliani, op. cit. (n. 13), 27–9. Cf. G. Didi-Huberman, *Confronting Images: Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art* (2005).

[15] Note that the preservation of the correct chronological order of the epic events was sometimes considered to be the most valuable thing about the poems of the epic cycle: Photius, *cod.* 239f. 318b λέγει δὲ [sc. ὁ Πρόκλος] ὡς τοῦ ἐπικοῦ κύκλου τὰ ποιήματα διασώζεται καὶ σπουδάζεται τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων.

[16] Aeneas' reaction to the pictorial representation of Priam on the murals anticipates his emotionally charged account of Priam's death in *Aeneid* 2 (526–58).

[17] Is this neat summary of the *Iliad* and the Trojan cycle supposed to be identical with the representation of the battles fought 'ex ordine', mentioned earlier?

[18] cf. D. Petrain, 'Moschus' *Europa* and the narratology of ecphrasis', in M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit and G. C. Wakker (eds), *Beyond the Canon* (2006), 249–69.

enhancement of the triumphal purport of the monument as a whole. By emphasizing this symmetry, he in a way turns his text into a verbal approximation of a visual image: he urges us, as it were, to translate the unidirectional linear reading sequence of his description ('ex ordine', from left to right) into a two-directional repetitive viewing pattern (from the attention-catching, meaning-laden centre in both directions to the edges and then back again, as often as we would like), and thus to enact the process of viewing through reading.

The scene that most conspicuously stands out from the rest is, of course, the only one portraying a goddess — the statue of Minerva rejecting the offering of the *peplos*. To emphasize the singular thematic significance of this image, it is located more or less exactly in the middle of Virgil's verbal arrangement (four lines, 479–82, preceded by ten, 469–78, and followed by eleven, 483–93).[19] Obviously enough, the pictorial representation of the statue of Juno's most important divine ally, portrayed as expressly refusing to provide any assistance to the Trojans and thus ultimately sealing the future tragic fate of Troy, acquires in the context of Juno's temple the character of a *mise en abîme*, which further emphasizes the triumphal significance of the monument as a whole. The remaining images surrounding this central picture serve to strengthen the visual effect of this straightforward message. In Virgil's text, it is, rather tellingly, bordered by the images of Achilles killing two sons of Priam, Troilus and Hector (with the latter scene extended by the portrayal of Priam ransoming Hector), whose corpses are described as maltreated in a nearly identical manner.[20] It is of utmost importance that these episodes not only form a symmetrical pair, but are also sometimes mentioned among the main reasons for the fall of Troy — along with the removal of the Palladium, the statue of Athena located in the middle of the description, from the Trojan citadel.[21] These three central images are in turn flanked by the representations of more marginal, but no less successful, military exploits by Greek heroes killing Trojan allies — Diomedes killing the Thracian Rhesus and Achilles killing the Ethiopian Memnon and the Amazon Penthesilea. The overall visual programme thus forms a perfectly coherent unity, both thematically and visually, with each pair of nearly symmetrical correspondences working in concert to stress the significance of the central image.

It has repeatedly been pointed out that individual scenes of the paintings in Juno's temple find numerous thematic parallels in the subsequent narrative of the *Aeneid*, as it were, proleptically anticipating some of its events.[22] But much more importantly, the images conjured up in Virgil's description spill over into the immediate narrative context and, by doing so, subtly urge us to apply to the text as a whole the same kind of translation of the linear reading into a more-dimensional virtual viewing as we have practised while reading the description itself.

The most stunning scene of the murals is the only one I have intentionally left unmentioned so far, because it not only undercuts the carefully constructed symmetry of the rest, but also blurs the boundary between the world of the image and the world of the viewer: between the mentions of Hector and Memnon, the text says that Aeneas saw

[19] cf. R. F. Thomas, 'Virgil's ecphrastic centerpieces', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 87 (1983), 175–84, at 180–1. Unlike Thomas, I do not consider ll. 466–8 (the Greeks and the Trojans alternately defeating each other) part of the sequence, as these lines do not refer to specific episodes, but can be read as a brief summary of the *Iliad* (or the Trojan War) as a whole.

[20] cf. Virg., *Aen.* 1.475–8 and 483–4.

[21] The death of Hector is already associated with the impending fall of Troy in the *Iliad*, e.g. 22.410–11. For the theft of the Palladium and the death of Troilus as causes of Troy's defeat, see e.g. Plaut., *Bacchides* 953–5.

[22] See e.g. D. Clay, 'The archaeology of the temple of Juno in Carthage (*Aen.* 1.446–93)', *Classical Philology* 83 (1988), 195–205; S. Lowenstam, 'The pictures on Juno's temple in the *Aeneid*', *Classical World* 87 (1993), 37–49; Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 36–47.

a representation of himself (1.488 'se quoque principibus permixtum agnovit Achivis'). This line is not simply unique in the history of Graeco-Roman narrative in that it postulates an identity between the viewer and the subject of a pictorial representation.[23] It is also clearly marked as sitting somewhat uncomfortably in the context. On a more superficial level, its hypothetical removal would restore the perfect formal symmetry of the remaining description (the four lines of the Pallas scene would then be flanked by ten lines on each side). But more crucially, unlike the descriptions of the remaining panels, its formulation is too vague to be unequivocally matched with any specific episode of the Trojan War.[24] Instead of the system of transparent one-to-one correspondences displayed by the other images, 'Aeneas mixed up with the Achaean leaders' evokes memories of at least three different contexts of the *Iliad*, none of which, however, can make Aeneas perfectly fit into the symmetrical structure formed by the remaining scenes. Instead, each of these memories tentatively imposes an additional pattern on the pictorial programme as a whole, subtly diluting its seemingly incontrovertible triumphal tone in the process.

If we were to see in this line a reference to our first encounter with Aeneas in *Iliad* 5 (and, as I will show below, there are in fact a number of compelling reasons for us to remember this particular scene in the context), in which Diomedes attacks Aeneas and prides himself on abducting his horses (Hom., *Il.* 5.319–30), the panel would probably appear like a mirror image of the first scene in the series, in which Diomedes abducts Rhesus' horses. As a consequence, the figure of Aeneas would almost mirror that of Rhesus and thus align itself with the rest of the Trojan victims. It would not fit this pattern entirely, however, because, unlike the rest of the Trojans and allies in the murals, Aeneas has obviously survived the war so that he can now see himself in the picture. A different tentative pattern would emerge if the mention of Aeneas were to make us think of his successful battles against the Greeks at Hector's side in the middle books.[25] In this case, the representation would probably look like a continuation of the Hector sequence (by which it is immediately preceded). Aeneas' viewing of these images would, however, shift the emphasis from the defeat of the greatest Trojan hero to Aeneas as a survivor ready to carry on Hector's fight. Aeneas' final major appearance in the *Iliad* takes place in Book 20, where he is threatened and almost killed by Achilles (Hom., *Il.* 20.75–287), which, in the context of the murals, could in principle make him an integral part of the series of Achilles' other Trojan victims (Troilus, Hector, Memnon, Penthesilea). But again, the parallel is an incomplete one at best, because in the same scene of the *Iliad* the gods decide to save Aeneas, lest Dardanus' progeny may disappear, and by doing so, lay the foundation for the very possibility of the *Aeneid*.[26]

We can thus clearly see that Aeneas' double presence here — both as a viewer and as an object of pictorial representation — undermines the seemingly transparent meaning of this triumphal monument, turning it into something that prompts not only joy but also mourning and that indicates continuation, or even reversal, rather than closure. Moreover, by serving in this scene as a living link between the pictorial representation of the Trojan War and the narrative of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas effectively imports this

[23] Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 23. This scenario is, however, sometimes envisaged in other genres, e.g. in satyr plays (Aesch., *Theoroi*); see I. Männlein-Robert, *Stimme, Schrift und Bild: Zum Verhältnis der Künste in der hellenistischen Dichtung* (2007), 24–7.

[24] See F. Ahl, 'Homer, Vergil, and complex narrative structures in Latin epic: an essay', *Illinois Classical Studies* 14 (1989), 27; R. J. Hexter, 'Sidonian Dido', in R. J. Hexter and D. Selden (eds), *Innovations of Antiquity* (1992), 353–4; Dekel, op. cit (n. 7), 84.

[25] Hom., *Il.* 13.463–544, 16.608–31, and, most notably, 17.319–760, where Aeneas continually fights alongside Hector.

[26] Hom., *Il.* 20.302–4 μόριμον δέ οἵ ἐστ᾽ ἀλέασθαι, / ὄφρα μὴ ἄσπερμος γενεὴ καὶ ἄφαντος ὄληται / Δαρδάνου, ὃν Κρονίδης περὶ πάντων φίλατο παίδων. Cf. Hexter, op. cit. (n. 24), 353; R. A. Smith, *Poetic Allusion and Poetic Embrace in Ovid and Virgil* (1997), 34–7; Dekel, op. cit. (n. 7), 84.

quality of the polysemic visual image into the very text that he inhabits. Aeneas' presence in the murals activates memories of a variety of Homeric contexts and, as a result, destabilizes the finality of Juno's triumph, replacing it with Aeneas' well-grounded 'hope of rescue' (1.451–2 'hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem / ausus'). As I will show now, the *Aeneid* as a whole similarly relies on intertextuality as a trope for the elusively image-like quality of its own narrative, using its transformation of the Greek epic tradition into a Roman epic as a metaphor for the transformation of the fall of Troy into the triumph of Rome.[27]

Not only individual images of the paintings, but also the context of their viewing by Aeneas can be regarded as a reminiscence of the *Iliad*. As I mentioned above, the figure of Aeneas surrounded by Greek generals could be read, among other things, as a reference to Diomedes attacking Aeneas and abducting his horses in *Iliad* 5, which would then visually echo the Rhesus scene mentioned first in Virgil's description.[28] There are, however, further, more compelling, parallels between this Iliadic episode and the dramatic setting of *Aeneid* 1.[29] Curiously enough, the way Aeneas is presented in the narrative strongly evokes some elements of his portrayal in *Iliad* 5: in the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is made invisible by Venus prior to his arrival in Carthage (1.411–14) and is only perceptible in the form of a mimetic (pictorial) image of the murals; similarly, the only reason why Aeneas survives Diomedes' onslaught in the *Iliad* is that Aphrodite first makes him invisible by covering him with her *peplos* (Hom., *Il.* 5.311–17), and then, after she is wounded by Diomedes, Apollo hides him in his temple (νηός), creating a mimetic image (εἴδωλον) as a substitute (Hom., *Il.* 5.445–53). This indirectly suggested analogy produces quite palpable reverberations in the text — not only in Aeneas' substitution by a similar mimetic image in *Aeneid* 10 (636–52). To begin with, the temple of Apollo conjured up by this evocation of the Iliadic context can be understood as a silent (and invisible) precursor of the visually perceptible materialization of the two temples of Apollo that will loom large in the further course of the narrative — the one in Cumae in *Aeneid* 6 and the one on the shield of Aeneas.[30] More tangibly, when Aeneas, at the moment visible only as a picture, reappears from his invisibility, he is virtually transformed into a mimetic image of the Homeric Diomedes: prior to his *aristeia* in *Iliad* 5, Athena turns Diomedes into a god-like creature, awe-inspiring by his very appearance;[31] likewise, before revealing him to Dido, Venus makes Aeneas similar to a god (1.589 'deo similis'), or rather, to a statue thereof — made of ivory, silver, or Parian marble decorated with gold (1.592–3 'quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi flavo / argentum Pariusve lapis circumdatur auro'). That Venus turns Aeneas into a dazzling artefact-like reminiscence of Diomedes, which would probably eclipse Diomedes' portrayal in the murals, reads almost like an attempt to take revenge for wounding her and for defeating her son in the *Iliad* (Hom., *Il.* 5.330–42). This revenge will eventually come to fruition in *Aeneid* 11, where Diomedes, who, like Aeneas, has in the meantime migrated to Italy, will in fact acknowledge his defeat by refusing to fight

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[27] On parallels between Aeneas' transference of Troy to Italy and Virgil's creation of a Roman epic on the basis of the Homeric tradition, see e.g. Kofler, op. cit. (n. 2), 63–74. Cf. Dekel, op. cit. (n. 7), 109–15.

[28] As if retrospectively to corroborate this connection, one of the things that Dido wants to learn from Aeneas at the end of *Aeneid* 1 (752) is 'quales Diomedis equi'.

[29] Notably, it is in *Iliad* 5 that the chariot belonging to Hera is described in a lengthy passage (Hom., *Il.* 5.722–32), whereas at the very beginning of Book 1 Virgil explicitly states that Juno has transferred both her chariot and her arms to the newly founded city of Carthage (Virg., *Aen.* 1.16–17 'hic illius arma, / hic currus fuit'), to be preserved, one would assume, as votive gifts in her own temple.

[30] Curiously enough, Aeneas can as a result be perceived as enjoying Apollo's protection as early as in Book 1 — even if only intertextually. See Sections II and III, for my discussion of the two temples of Apollo. On Apollo's function in the *Aeneid* in general, see Miller, op. cit. (n. 1), 95–184.

[31] Hom., *Il.* 5.4–7. Note also that Pandaros is unsure whether Diomedes may in fact be a god: 5.180–91, especially 183 σάφα δ᾽ οὐκ οἶδ᾽ εἰ θεός ἐστιν.

alongside the Latins against such a strong warrior (11.252–95).[32] In other words, Aeneas' intrusive presence in the murals (albeit rather marginal by comparison with their true protagonists, Diomedes and, even more so, Achilles, and as marginal as, by comparison with Hector, his presence in the *Iliad* itself) serves to adumbrate his gradual transformation in the *Aeneid* into a hero of Diomedes', Hector's, and Achilles' calibre.

Diomedes' *aristeia* in *Iliad* 5 is, however, not the only episode of the *Iliad* evoked by Aeneas' invisibility and beautification in *Aeneid* 1. We should not forget that the reasons for Aeneas' disappearance from sight and for the subsequent embellishment of his looks are quite different from each other: Venus makes him invisible to protect him from the potentially inimical inhabitants of Juno's city, but she makes him similar to a god in order to increase the degree of his attractiveness to Dido.[33] In *Iliad* 3, Aphrodite does a similar thing to Paris: she makes him disappear, in order to save him from being killed in a single combat with Menelaos, and then, enhancing his beauty and erotic appeal, transfers Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής (Hom., *Il.* 3.16) into Helen's sleeping chamber.[34] The ambivalent status, intertextually enacted here by the invisible/god-like Aeneas, between a noble Greek hero, who punishes his enemies' injustice, and an effeminate Oriental, who unchains wars by stealing other people's wives, is echoed in the further course of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas, on the one hand, acts like Achilles, using a shield elaborately wrought by Vulcan and avenging the death of a younger male companion,[35] but, on the other, is perceived as a reincarnation of Paris by Iarbas in *Aeneid* 4 and then, in *Aeneid* 7, is compared to Paris while being unfavourably contrasted with Turnus, who has in turn already been explicitly identified with Achilles.[36] Are we then to see Aeneas killing Turnus as Achilles killing Hector or as Paris killing Achilles?[37] The ambivalence caused by Aeneas' appearance in, and in front of, the murals in *Aeneid* 1 in fact anticipates this intentionally unresolved ambiguity, which, in the manner of the *Iliad*, prevents us from dividing up the characters of the *Aeneid* too neatly into good guys and bad guys.

The link between Aeneas' and Paris' disappearance / enhanced erotic appeal unleashes another complex chain of associations that takes us back to the murals. Among the gifts with which Aeneas presents Dido, there are two pieces of clothing that used to belong to Helen (1.648–50, a 'palla' and a 'velamen, ornatus Argivae Helenae'), the one embroidered with golden figures, the other with saffron leaves. One of the things that

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[32] Note that in his reported speech Diomedes understands his current exile as a punishment for wounding Venus (Virg., *Aen.* 11.276–7 'caelestia corpora demens / appetii et Veneris violavi vulnere dextram') and declares Aeneas to be paramount, or even superior, to Hector (Virg., *Aen.* 11.291–2 'ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis, / hic pietate prior').

[33] Venus in fact stages a highly complex interplay of images here. First, she appears to Aeneas in the guise of (a companion of) Diana (cf. Virg., *Aen.* 1.329 'an Phoebi soror?'), which Aeneas deplores as a 'false image' (1.407–8 'quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis / ludis imaginibus?') and which, at the same time, makes him particularly receptive to the Diana-like appearance of Dido (1.498–9 'qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi / exercet Diana choros'). Then, to beguile Dido, she not only makes Aeneas similar to a god, but also induces Cupid to assume the appearance of Aeneas' son Ascanius (1.657–722). It is quite interesting to see how Virgil here adapts a reference to Apollonius Rhodius (*Arg.* 3.281–2; cf. D. Nelis, *Vergil's* Aeneid *and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (2001), 93–4) to his characteristic play of images: whereas in Apollonius Eros is simply invisible when he shoots Medea with his arrow, in Virgil Cupid becomes a mimetic image.

[34] Hom., *Il.* 3.380–2 τὸν δ᾽ ἐξήρπαξ᾽ Ἀφροδίτη / ῥεῖα μάλ᾽ ὥς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ᾽ ἠέρι πολλῇ, / κὰδ δ᾽ εἷσ᾽ ἐν θαλάμῳ εὐώδεϊ κηώεντι· 391–4 κεῖνος ὅ γ᾽ ἐν θαλάμῳ καὶ δινωτοῖσι λέχεσσι, / κάλλεΐ τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν·οὐδέ κε φαίης / ἀνδρὶ μαχεσσάμενον τόν γ᾽ ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ χορόνδε / ἔρχεσθ᾽, ἠὲ χοροῖο νέον λήγοντα καθίζειν.

[35] cf. K. W. Gransden, *Virgil's Iliad: An Essay on Epic Narrative* (1984), 59–60.

[36] Virg., *Aen.* 4.215 'et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu', 7.363–6 'at non sic Phrygius penetrat Lacedaemona pastor, / Ledaeamque Helenam Troianas vexit ad urbes? / quid tua sancta fides? quid cura antiqua tuorum / et consanguineo totiens data dextera Turno?' For Turnus as Achilles, see 6.89–90 'alius Latio iam partus Achilles, / natus et ipse dea'. Cf. J. D. Reed, *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid* (2007), 85.

[37] cf. Dekel, op. cit. (n. 7), 109–10.

this description indirectly evokes is, of course, the tapestry that Helen weaves before the single combat between Paris and Menelaos in *Iliad* 3. Incidentally, this tapestry provides a compositional prototype of a section of the murals at Juno's temple: Helen's bipartite design (Hom., *Il.* 3.126 δίπλακα), which depicts battles that the Trojans and the Achaeans fought because of her,[38] is indeed quite similar to the Greeks and the Trojans portrayed on the murals as alternately attacking each other.[39] At the same time, the lavishly adorned garments that Aeneas here gives to Dido hark back to the *peplos* presented by the Trojan women to Athena in the central scene of the murals, which in its original context in *Iliad* 6 is also linked to Helen: Paris is said to have obtained it on the same voyage as he abducted Helen from Sparta.[40] The association between the Iliadic *peplos* and Helen's garments in the *Aeneid* is in fact even more cogent, as in the *Iliad* Paris brings it from Sidon, while Aeneas is at the moment being welcomed by *Sidonia Dido* in the *urbs Sidonia*.[41] From this perspective, Aeneas appears, as it were, to be returning the votive gift, rejected by Athena, to the place of its origin. Needless to say, the garments mentioned in the *Aeneid* cannot be identified with either of the two Iliadic objects.[42] What matters more, however, is that their juxtaposition with the images of the tragic fall of Troy in the murals makes them evoke memories of both Helen's tapestry and Athena's *peplos*, whereby Aeneas' seemingly innocent present, like his rather inconspicuous presence in the murals, begins to develop quite an ominous significance for his host and her city.

Another salient characteristic of the paintings at Juno's temple is the particular prominence of horses (Rhesus' horses, accorded an entire two lines of the description, as well as the horses dragging the corpses of Troilus and Hector). This emphasis on horses cannot help but draw attention to the notable absence of the horse that, more than any other, contributed to the eventual fall and destruction of Troy — namely *the* Trojan horse. Of course, this episode is left for Aeneas to tell in Book 2, and its absence here may simply be explained by the desire to avoid repetition. And yet its absence leaves a gaping void in the context — both because it strikes one as odd that the monument, seemingly so keen on celebrating Juno's (and Athena's) triumph over Troy, fails to depict the event that ultimately brought about the victory, and, even more crucially, because one of Demodocus' songs at Alcinous' banquet in *Odyssey* 8 (499–520) — the episode to which the scene of Aeneas' viewing of the paintings structurally corresponds[43] — has the Trojan horse as its theme. In other words, even though the Trojan horse is, strictly speaking, not there, we are probably meant to think of it as we read the description of the murals. It is, however, the comparison between Aeneas' account of the fall of Troy in *Aeneid* 2 and Virgil's account of Aeneas' stay in Carthage that finally allows us to fill in this gap. The Trojan horse, of course, still fails to materialize in the murals. Instead, Virgil's narrative of Aeneas' arrival in Carthage in *Aeneid* 1 begins in hindsight to look like an anticipation of Aeneas' narrative of the Trojan horse in *Aeneid* 2.

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[38] Hom., *Il.* 3.125–8 ἥ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὕφαινε, / δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ᾽ ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους / Τρώων θ᾽ ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων, / οὕς ἕθεν ἔπασχον ὑπ᾽ Ἄρεος παλαμάων.

[39] Virg., *Aen.* 1.466–8 'namque videbat uti bellantes Pergama circum / hac fugerent Grai, premeret Troiana iuventus; / hac Phryges, instaret curru cristatas Achilles'.

[40] Hom., *Il.* 6.288–93 αὐτὴ δ᾽ ἐς θάλαμον κατεβήσετο κηώεντα, / ἔνθ᾽ ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλα ἔργα γυναικῶν / Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής / ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν, ἐπιπλώς εὐρέα πόντον, / τὴν ὁδὸν ἥν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν / τῶν ἕν᾽ ἀειραμένη Ἑκάβη φέρε δῶρον Ἀθήνη.

[41] Virg., *Aen.* 1.446, 613, 619, 677–8. Cf. Hexter, op. cit. (n. 24).

[42] cf. Virg., *Aen.* 1.650–2 'quos illa Mycenis, / Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque hymenaeos, / extulerat, matris Ledae mirabile donum'.

[43] cf. Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 47–54; D. Beck, 'Ecphrasis, interpretation, and audience in *Aeneid* 1 and *Odyssey* 8', *American Journal of Philology* 128 (2007), 533–49.

The Trojan horse is a particularly complex and fraught artefact, both subverting the naive expectation of harmony between the signifier and the signified (by its unabashedly literal discrepancy between content and appearance) and insidiously self-reflexive (created 'divina Palladis arte', 2.15, supposedly in order to give divine protection to the city by serving as a votive substitute for the stolen Palladium, 2.183–4). The Trojans' tragic failure to perceive the ruse, despite Laocoon's express warning that this contraption is designed 'to spy on the houses and to descend upon the city' (2.47 'inspectura domos venturaque desuper urbi') is further underscored by their welcoming response to Sinon's fictive account — a verbal equivalent of the Trojan horse: as is the case with any lie, its apparent content markedly diverges from its intended performative effect, while its success is based on the speaker's pretended similarity to the recipients, as Sinon portrays himself, like the Trojans, as a victim of the Achaeans (2.116–44). As a result, by taking both the Trojan horse and Sinon (cf. 2.148 'noster eris') into the city, the Trojans themselves pave the way to their city's destruction.

Aeneas' arrival in Carthage effectively anticipates some of the most salient details, as well as the overall performative effect, of the Trojan horse's and Sinon's introduction into Troy. By analogy with Laocoon's view of the Trojan horse's intended function, Aeneas begins his visit by inspecting the new city from above and then literally descending upon it from a hill.[44] First, like the Greek warriors concealed within the Trojan horse, he is made invisible and contemplates, among other things, a painting (a mimetic substitute) of the Palladium, for which the Trojan horse is said to function as a symbolic substitute in *Aeneid* 2 (183–4). Then he is transformed, by means of Venus' divine art, into an equivalent of a god-like statue — into an artistic image, which essentially continues to conceal him. When Dido first confronts him at Juno's temple, she is consequently as unaware of the content of this image as are the Trojans of the content of the Trojan horse when they bring it into the temple of Pallas. Furthermore, Aeneas gives Dido an ominous gift, which, as we have seen, indirectly alludes to the Trojans' first futile attempt to propitiate Pallas. Aeneas' account of the fall of Troy and his subsequent wanderings is of course a structural allusion to Odysseus' *apologoi* at Alcinous' banquet[45] — to many Hellenistic and Roman readers of Homer a notorious epitome of self-evident fiction.[46] Even though there is no indication in the text that Aeneas is telling fairy tales (on the contrary, it is essential for the overall functioning of the *Aeneid* that Aeneas' account be perceived as truthful within its fictional universe), his performative success is based on the same foundation as that of Sinon's account: just as Sinon increases his credibility by effectively assimilating himself to his listeners, so Aeneas' story of a refugee looking for a new city is essentially a story in which the Phoenician exile Dido can recognize herself.[47] As a result, she, too, beguiled by beautiful images and moving stories, takes both the insidious gifts and their bringer into her city and pays for this foolhardy decision with her own life.[48]

The most important consequence of Aeneas' notional anticipation of his own account is that it puts additional emphasis on the process of Carthage's transformation into an image of fallen Troy. Dido's funeral pyre, which Aeneas sees from his ship at the beginning of *Aeneid* 5, makes the entire city appear to be burning (5.3–4 'moenia […] quae iam

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[44] Virg., *Aen.* 2.240 'ille subit mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi' and 1. 439–40 'infert se saeptus nebula (mirabile dictu) / per medios, miscetque viris neque cernitur ullis'.

[45] G. N. Knauer, *Die* Aeneis *und Homer: Studien zur poetischen Technik Vergils mit Listen der Homerzitate in der* Aeneis (1964), 181–99; Dekel, op. cit. (n. 7), 75–89.

[46] cf. J. S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction* (1992), 183–96.

[47] On Aeneas as narrator see, most recently, J. F. G. Powell, 'Aeneas the spin doctor: rhetorical self-presentation in *Aeneid* 2', *Vergilius* 27 (2011), 185–202.

[48] For the juxtaposition of gifts and feigned words, see Virg., *Aen.* 1.709–10. By 4.259–64, Aeneas has practically gone native, which echoes Priam welcoming Sinon at 2.148: 'noster eris'.

infelicis Elissae / conlucent flammis'), which in turn evokes the image of burning Troy described by Aeneas in Book 2. Aeneas does not seem to know the cause of this conflagration (5.5 'causa latet'), while the immediate cause indicated in the text is the violation of Dido's love (5.5–7). But within the *Aeneid*'s timeless historical framework, these burning city walls simultaneously evoke one of the greatest Roman triumphs — the ultimate destruction of Carthage.[49] To facilitate this connection, Carthage is already presented at the very beginning of the poem as a kind of anti-Rome (1.13 'Italiam contra'), which Aeneas' descendents are destined to destroy (1.20–3). Moreover, Aeneas' abandonment of Dido is explicitly mentioned as an *aition* of the future enmity between Carthage and Rome (4.624–9). For this reason, it hardly comes as a surprise that the funeral games for Anchises, which Aeneas celebrates on Sicily immediately after he leaves Libya, not only form an analogy with Achilles' funerary games for Patroclos in *Iliad* 23,[50] but also contain notable elements of a prophetically triumphal ritual, which in the context seems to celebrate both Aeneas' future victories in Italy and the Romans' conquest of Carthage: in addition to reminding one of a military parade demonstrating the superiority of the Trojan/Roman forces, they point to the origin of a few Roman aristocratic families (Memmii, Sergii, Cluentii, 5.114–23) and enact the *aition* of the so-called *lusus Troiae* — an Augustan circus game designed to promote military prowess and patriotism (5.577–602).[51] The verbal echo between Carthage, which, from the Roman perspective, is no more (1.12 'urbs antiqua fuit'), and the destruction of Troy (2.363 'urbs antiqua ruit') further underscores Aeneas' rôle as an aetiological harbinger of the Roman destruction of Carthage, which as a consequence turns into a notional re-enactment of the destruction of Troy by the Greeks.

The Carthage episode of the *Aeneid* thus enacts a gradual transformation of Juno's triumph over Troy into the Roman triumph over Carthage. This transformation is made possible by the semantic polyvalence of Aeneas' seemingly marginal presence in the pictorial programme of Juno's triumphal monument. It is from this pictorial image that, like the Greek warriors from the Trojan horse, Aeneas gradually emerges in order to enact a notional *aition* of the future Roman victory. The subsequent course of the narrative is marked by Aeneas' gradual development from a figurative impersonator of the Trojan horse into a proto-Roman empire-builder, whose activity is, among other things, metaphorically conceived of as the construction of a temple dedicated to Apollo.

II DAEDALUS' TEMPLE OF APOLLO IN CUMAE

Aeneas' arrival in Italy is framed in a manner reminiscent of his arrival in Carthage, as one of the first things that Aeneas encounters in Cumae is also a temple decorated with a complex pictorial narrative. Like the temple of Juno, this temple is essentially a triumphal monument celebrating achievements of its creator: just as Juno dedicates her own implements of war to the temple built in celebration of her victory and decorated with the most crucial episodes that made that victory possible (1.16–17), so the archetypical Greek artist Daedalus, too, dedicates the wings, which allowed him to escape from Crete, to the temple of Apollo, which he builds *ex voto* for the successful completion of his flight and decorates with representations of his own most outstanding

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[49] cf. P. Hardie, *Virgil's* Aeneid: *Cosmos and Imperium* (1986), 282–5.
[50] F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (1989), 215–48.
[51] cf. E. Theodorakopoulos, 'The name of the game: the *Troia*, and history and spectacle in *Aeneid* 5', *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 25 (2004), 63–72. On the games in the *Aeneid* in general as signalling the Trojans' transition from losers to winners, see R. Dunkle, 'Games and transition: *Aeneid* 3 and 5', *Classical World* 98 (2005), 153–78.

artistic accomplishments (6.14–33). The presentation of individual images here, as in Juno's temple, is anything but chronological. Rather, it is symmetrically distributed between the two temple doors ('in foribus') that correspond to two different locations (Athens and Crete), with the scenes pertaining to the Attic background of Daedalus' artistic activity (the death of Androgeos and the yearly selection of seven prospective victims of the Minotaur, 6.20–2) on the one side, and the catalogue of Daedalus' Cretan inventions on the other ('contra', 6.23–33) — the wooden cow to allow Pasiphae to copulate with the bull, the Labyrinth to incarcerate the offspring of this unholy union, and the thread to lead the Minotaur's killer Theseus out of the Labyrinth and thus to allow Ariadne's incipient love for him to come to fruition. In combination with Daedalus' wings dedicated to Apollo, these pictorial representations, despite their highly disturbing character, indeed amount to a visually coherent triumphal celebration of Daedalus' art.[52]

As is the case with the Carthaginian temple of Juno, however, the text immediately undermines the seemingly self-congratulatory tone of these images. Unlike in Book 1, the weakening of the optimistic message is initiated here not by Aeneas, who this time is not allowed to linger on the images at all (6.37 'non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit'), but by Virgil. For it is Virgil's poetic expression that inadvertently transforms Daedalus' monumental celebration of his own art into a gravestone-like commemoration of the death of his son Icarus — by pointing, at the same time, to Daedalus' overpowering grief as the cause of his failure to achieve that effect through images (6.30–1 'tu quoque magnam / partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes'):[53] Daedalus' two attempts to represent Icarus' 'fall' (6.32 'casus') result in nothing but the 'falling' of the father's otherwise so skilful hands (6.33 'bis patriae cecidere manus'). Daedalus' grief is thus not directly visible in the monument, even though, as Virgil implies, it constitutes the indispensable subtext of its creation. Paradoxically, it is only Virgil's punning language that allows this repressed grief to come to the fore, in order to turn what seems at first to be a self-referentially celebratory monument to artistic skill into a locus of emotions that are as complex and as conflicting as those caused by Daedalus' other, similarly lugubrious, creations.[54] What Virgil's words do is analogous to the effect that Aeneas' memory has on the paintings in Juno's Carthaginian temple. They also bring out the inherent ambiguity of the monument, which the images have in vain tried to suppress: for Daedalus' wings (the votive gift around which the temple is built) are not only his greatest invention, but also the cause of his son's death. As we shall see, Virgil makes it excessively clear in the subsequent course of his narrative that, as a Roman builder of poetic triumphal temples, he is indeed no purveyor of the exemplary Greek sculptor's regrettable reluctance to give an artistic expression to his own conflicting emotions.

Daedalus serves here as a foil not only for Virgil, but also for Aeneas. On the one hand, Daedalus and Aeneas are both portrayed as refugees, who come to Italy under Apollo's protection, losing a loved one along the way. But on the other, unlike Daedalus, whose grief prevents him from creating an image of his dead son, Aeneas does not refrain from confronting his father's 'tristis imago' (6.695).[55] It is particularly symptomatic in this connection that, prior to his descent into the underworld, which, like Daedalus'

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[52] For Daedalus' sculptures as 'a metaphor for the progress of any artist', see Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 75.

[53] cf. Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 82: 'Death renders this artist artless'.

[54] *Pace* Michael Putnam, who sees in Daedalus not so much a contrastive foil as an artistic paradigm followed by Virgil: Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 82: 'My thesis is that this treatment by one artist of the spiritual biography of another serves as paradigm of the Virgilian career.'

[55] Note, however, the parallel between Aeneas' inability to touch with his hands the elusive, bird-like image of Anchises and Daedalus' inability to create with his hands the pictorial image of winged Icarus leaving him forever: Virg., *Aen.* 6.700–2 'ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum / ter frustra comprensa manus effugit

Labyrinth, is easy to enter but almost impossible to leave,[56] Aeneas pledges to build a marble temple dedicated to Apollo and Diana and to use it to preserve the Sibylline books (6.69–76). This promised temple is presented here not only as a reflection of Daedalus' Cumean temple, but also as a recognizable anticipation of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, to which Augustus famously transferred the Sibylline oracles.[57] Since immediately after this pledge, the Sibyl predicts to Aeneas a victorious completion of the impending horrible wars (6.83–97), Aeneas' future votive temple is clearly conceived of, like Augustus' temple, as a triumphal monument.[58] As a result, the two temples — Aeneas' and Augustus' — effectively merge into one.

In the immediate context of Book 6, however, Daedalus' temple primarily serves as one of the elements in the series of symbolic transitions preparing Aeneas' descent into the underworld. It is hardly coincidental in this connection that the images of Daedalus' temple may appear in retrospect to anticipate the pronounced pictorial quality of the Virgilian underworld. It is indeed quite conspicuous that Virgil conceives of his underworld as a complex visual image — comparable in its manner of signification to the temple doors in Cumae and to the paintings in Carthage. Like these two pictorial programmes, the underworld exists as a simultaneous and changeless presence of multiple figures (from Greek epic heroes to Augustus) that in empirical reality, or in a literary narrative for that matter, could only come into (and go out of) existence sequentially over a period of time.[59] And it is besides hardly surprising that Virgil presents his underworld as a metaphor not only for the timeless mode of signification characteristic of visual images, but also for the function of poetic memory. On the one hand, it is quite noteworthy that Virgil's Elysian fields are home, first and foremost, to those who perform memorable deeds (heroes) and to those who preserve memories of those deeds (poets).[60] On the other, the very fact that the radical transcendence of time between Homeric Greece and Augustan Rome is achieved here on the basis of the idea of metempsychosis constitutes an ingenious intertextual gesture towards Virgil's Roman epic predecessor Ennius, who by means of his notorious *somnia Pythagorea* in the prologue to the *Annals* could present himself as a reincarnation of Homer.[61]

Virgil, however, not only extends this composite Pythagorean vision of the Homeric and the Ennian epics into the time of Augustus, but also endows the resulting image with notable ritual and monumental overtones. The procession of Roman heroes, which Aeneas witnesses in the underworld, has sometimes been compared both to a triumphal procession and to a monumental memorialization thereof.[62] But the succession of heroes in the underworld does not simply look like a series of generic statues. Conspicuously

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imago, / par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno' (=2.792–4) and 6.32–3 'bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro, / bis patriae cecidere manus'.

[56] cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6.27 'hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error' and 128–9 'sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras, / hoc opus, hic labor est'. See R. Armstrong, 'Crete in the *Aeneid*: recurrent trauma and alternative fate', *Classical Quarterly* 52 (2002), 338.

[57] Galinsky, op. cit. (n. 1), 216; Kofler, op. cit. (n. 2), 54–5. On associations between Daedalus' Cumean temple and Augustus' temple on the Palatine, see Miller, op. cit. (n. 1), 133–49.

[58] On the Augustan temple of Apollo as a triumphal monument, see P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (1990), 90–6; Galinsky, op. cit. (n. 1), 213–24; Miller, op. cit. (n. 1), 185–252.

[59] On the population of Virgil's underworld, see A. Powell, 'The peopling of the Underworld: *Aeneid* 6.608–27', in Stahl, op. cit. (n. 2), 85–100.

[60] Virg., *Aen.* 6.648–50 'hic genus antiquum Teucri, pulcherrima proles, / magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis, / Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor' and 6.645–7 'Threicius sacerdos' (Orpheus).

[61] Hor., *Epist.* 2.1.48–50. Cf. Enn., *Ann.* frg. 2–11 (Skutsch). See Hardie, op. cit. (n. 49), 77–83; Kofler, op. cit. (n. 2), 75–93; I. Gildenhard, 'Virgil vs. Ennius, or the undoing of the annalist', in W. Fitzgerald and E. Gowers (eds), *Ennius perennis: The* Annals *and Beyond* (2007), 73–102; J. Elliott, 'Ennian epic and Ennian tragedy in the language of the *Aeneid*: Aeneas' generic wandering and the construction of the Latin literary past', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 104 (2008), 241–72.

[62] D. C. Feeney, 'History and revelation in Vergil's underworld', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological*

enough, the division of the figures into descendents of Aeneas (= ancestors of Augustus) and other significant Roman statesmen clearly anticipates the arrangement of statues in a specific Augustan triumphal monument built after the completion of the *Aeneid* — namely on the Forum of Augustus.[63] Besides, Anchises' deictic gestures, coupled with his brief explanations of each figure's particular achievements in broadening the empire's boundaries, make the *Heldenschau* retrospectively appear like a virtual tour of the future Forum of Augustus, consisting in viewing the statues and reading both their identifying *tituli* and the *elogia* enumerating the represented figures' deeds.[64] Relying on his prophetic ability, Anchises transforms these statue-like — mute and essentially motionless — images into carriers of rich temporal and spatial information, which enables the viewer to see behind every figure a specific military campaign contributing to Rome's expansion — the process culminating in the figure of Augustus, which indeed stands for a veritable *imperium sine fine*, for Rome synonymous with the entire known world.[65]

What one is thus made to see by looking at this series of statue-like images is nothing less than the growth of the Roman Empire. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that Anchises ultimately declares Rome to be a notional work of art and its rulers to be notional artists. What is more, he explicitly contrasts the characteristically Roman art of empire-building and just governance (6.651–3 'tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, / parcere subjectis et debellare superbos') with the Greek arts, among which he singles out the creation of deceptively live-looking statues, traditionally associated with Daedalus (6.847–8 'excudent alii spirantia mollius aera / (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus').[66] Aeneas, cast as a deceitful mimetic image — as a Trojan horse of sorts — in the first four books of the *Aeneid*, is implicitly presented here as such a proto-Roman artist, who as a consequence becomes radically opposed to Daedalus, the creator of clever subterfuges, of notional Trojan horses.[67] In retrospect, this implied contrast between Aeneas and Daedalus makes the images on the doors of Apollo's temple in Cumae appear highly relevant to Aeneas' ongoing transformation from a Greek artwork (and a Homeric epic hero) into the prototype of a Roman empire-builder: all these images — Pasiphae's wooden cow (a particularly scurrilous version of a Trojan-horse-like subterfuge, placed in an erotic context), the Labyrinth (a kind of man-made underworld), and the thread (a symbol both of the male hero's rescue by a woman and the woman's lovelorn tragedy, for Theseus ends up breaking Ariadne's heart in the same way as Aeneas breaks Dido's)[68] — indeed echo different elements of

Society 32 (1986), 5; H. I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (1996), 113; J. Geiger, *The First Hall of Fame: A Study of the Statues in the Forum Augustum* (2008), 50, with bibliography.
[63] Galinsky, op. cit. (n. 1), 210–11; Geiger, op. cit. (n. 62), 59–61.
[64] cf. Galinsky, op. cit. (n. 1), 197–213, especially 206: 'Virgil is likely to have been one of the inspirations behind the Augustan idea for an equivalent in his forum.' See also Zanker, op. cit. (n. 58), 211–17; Geiger, op. cit. (n. 62), 53–115. For a discussion of the arrangement of individual statues in the Forum of Augustus as well as of the extant fragments of the accompanying inscriptions, see Geiger, op. cit. (n. 62), 117–62, with bibliographical references. See also M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (2007), 43, on the Forum of Augustus as a triumphal monument.
[65] Virg., *Aen.* 6.760–76 (Silvius, Procas, Capys, Numitor, kings of Alba Longa, and the list of their conquests), 777–87 (Romulus, the founder of Rome: 782 'imperium terris, animos aequavit Olympo', etc.), 791–805 (*Augustus Caesar*, his conquests will surpass those of Hercules and Liber), etc. Note that Augustus, like Minerva in the Carthaginian murals and like Augustus in the *Georgics* prologue, is located roughly in the middle of this catalogue (755–846).
[66] On the tradition of Daedalus as the inventor of life-like artefacts, see S. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (1992).
[67] On Virgil's Daedalus as a producer of artistic deceits, see Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 78–80.
[68] On Catullus' Ariadne (C. 64) as a model for Virgil's Dido, see W. Clausen, *Virgil's* Aeneid *and the Tradition of*

Aeneas' story, which he is in the process of leaving behind, as he proceeds to earn heroic glory in the triumphs of the *Aeneid*'s second half.

As was the case with Daedalus' temple, the triumphal imagery of the *Heldenschau* is, however, thoroughly tinged with tragic overtones.[69] The conjunction between triumph and grief particularly comes to the fore at the end of the scene, when Aeneas notices among the other heroes the figure of Augustus' young heir Marcellus (6.863–6). The young Marcellus, unlike all other heroes frozen in the underworld at the moment of their highest glory, is presented here as if literally attending his own funeral.[70] As if to stress both the contrast and the intimate connection between triumphs and funerals, this funerary procession is immediately preceded by the appearance of Marcellus' namesake, M. Claudius Marcellus, who, wearing the *spolia opima*, is most emphatically portrayed as a *triumphator*.[71] This final image of the *Heldenschau* completes the transformation of the triumphal procession of future Roman heroes into a notional *pompa funebris* consisting of *imagines* of Marcellus' (and Augustus') ancestors.[72] As a result, what at first may appear to be just a locus of triumph again, as in Daedalus' temple, becomes a locus of mourning as well. Unlike in Daedalus' temple, however, the melancholy colouring is not an afterthought superimposed on the purportedly celebratory artefact by the narrator's poetic memory, but an integral part of a single emotionally complex prophetic vision.[73]

III THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO ON THE PALATINE

A similar intertwining between triumph and mourning also determines the progression of the *Aeneid*'s second half. And once again, the text underscores this inherent emotional ambivalence by evoking the image of a temple. This time, however, the image conjured up is not that of an imaginary artefact serving to arrange the reader's intertextual memories into a complex meaningful pattern, but that of a monument empirically familiar to Augustan readers — the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, whose construction has already been anticipated in Aeneas' promise to the Sibyl in *Aeneid* 6 (69–76).

Aeneas' advent in Pallanteum — the future site of Rome — in *Aeneid* 8 coincides with a celebration of the annual festival of Hercules based on the aetiological myth of Hercules' murder of Cacus.[74] Curiously enough, Aeneas gradually emerges in the course of this

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Hellenistic Poetry (1987), 40–60; R. Armstrong, *Cretan Women: Pasiphae, Ariadne, and Phaedra in Latin Poetry* (2006), 56–61.

[69] See primarily the abhorrence of civil bloodshed at Virg., *Aen.* 6.832–3 'ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella / neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris'.

[70] Virg., *Aen.* 6.868–86, especially 872–4 'quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem / campus aget gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis / funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!' On the significance of the figure of Marcellus in Virgil's underworld, see Feeney, op. cit. (n. 62), 15; R. F. Glei, 'The show must go on: the death of Marcellus and the future of the Augustan Principate: *Aeneid* 6. 860–86', in Stahl, op. cit. (n. 2), 119–34.

[71] Virg., *Aen.* 6.855–9. On the rôle of M. Claudius Marcellus in the tradition of the *spolia opima* and on the Augustan appropriation of this tradition, see H. I. Flower, 'The tradition of the *spolia opima*: M. Claudius Marcellus and Augustus', *Classical Antiquity* 19 (2000), 34–64.

[72] Flower, op. cit. (n. 62), 109–14 (the chapter entitled 'Virgil and the Funeral Procession'), at 110: 'The identification with a funeral procession depends on the allusions to the funeral of Marcellus at the end.'

[73] cf. Feeney, op. cit. (n. 62), 15: 'There is no question of seeing this lament as a late addition to an existing parade. The melancholy coda was part of the basic conception from the very beginning.'

[74] For a discussion of the central position of the Hercules and Cacus episode for the ideological thrust of the *Aeneid*, see L. Morgan, 'Assimilation and civil war: Hercules and Cacus. *Aeneid* 8', in Stahl, op. cit. (n. 2), 175–97, with bibliography. On the significance of aetiology in the Pallanteum section of *Aeneid* 8, see M. A. Tueller, 'Well-read heroes: quoting the *Aetia* in *Aeneid* 8', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 100 (2000), 361–80.

ceremony as a kind of Hercules redivivus[75] and thus effectively fulfils the priests' prayer soliciting Hercules to appear before them (8.302 'et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo').[76] What the priests' prayer additionally implies is that Aeneas is now expected notionally to re-enact Hercules' murder of Cacus. The subsequent narrative, in which Aeneas is made to fight against the Cacus-like figure of Mezentius (8.7 'contemptor deorum'), who poses a great threat to Pallanteum and whom Evander portrays as a veritable bloodthirsty monster (8.481–91), and against Turnus, whose cruelty, too, can occasionally be compared to that of Cacus,[77] does reveal Aeneas as a worthy imitator of Hercules.

But there is a further level of re-enactment superimposed on the ritual framework of *Aeneid* 8. From the very first moment of Aeneas' stay in Pallanteum, we are encouraged to exercise double vision — both to discern the future glory of Rome behind the descriptions of modest pre-historical living conditions and to see the primitive past behind the familiar lavish cityscape: what Aeneas sees when he disembarks from his ship are a citadel and a few scattered houses; what we are used to observing in the same location is 'the Roman power that equals the sky';[78] but what the text makes us perceive is both at the same time.[79] This elision of the temporal gap between the mythical past and the empirical present serves to pave the way for the introduction of the images of Augustus on the shield of Aeneas at the end of Book 8. The fact that Aeneas is portrayed here as holding in his hands images of several centuries of Roman history, simultaneously present within the narrow confines of a portable material object, clearly echoes and reifies Jupiter's timeless perception of myth and history in Book 1.[80]

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[75] Both Hercules and Aeneas are demigods deified, or destined to be deified, after death (cf. 8.301 'vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis' and 1.259–60 'sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli / magnanimum Aenean'); they are both forced by Juno's wrath to undergo privations and to accomplish heroic deeds, including a descent into the underworld (see the mention of Hercules in *Aeneid* 6 (123 'quid memorem Alciden?') as one of the models for Aeneas' descent into the underworld; cf. M. Labate, 'In search of the lost Hercules: strategies of the fantastic in the *Aeneid*,' in P. Hardie (ed.), *Paradox and the Marvellous in Augustan Literature and Culture* (2009), 141–4); and they both appear in Pallanteum after crossing roughly a half of the Mediterranean world (Hercules the western and Aeneas the eastern half). More specifically, Aeneas' passage to Pallanteum is facilitated by the Tiber benevolently flowing back, which is precisely what the river did, albeit out of fear, when Hercules pulled out the tree obstructing the entrance into Cacus' cave (Virg., *Aen.* 8.86–9, especially 87); the cave opened up by Hercules bears a marked resemblance to the underworld visited by Aeneas in Book 6 (Virg., *Aen.* 8.243–6; on connections between Cacus' cave and the underworld, see Hardie, op. cit. (n. 49), 114–15); and the fact that Aeneas is twice brought into close proximity with a lion hide, one of Hercules' most salient visual attributes, reads like an additional element in the notional merger between the two heroes (Virg., *Aen.* 8.177–8 and 551–3). In another similar gesture, reinforced by an intertextual reference, Aeneas follows in Hercules' footsteps in deigning to come under the roof of Evander's humble house and thus in imitating the scenario previously elaborated in Callimachus' two famous aetiological narratives — in the *Hecale* and in the Molorchos episode of *Aetia* 3 (*Victoria Berenices*), the latter, quite suitably, featuring Heracles defeating the Nemean lion (see Tueller, op. cit. (n. 74), 371–5).

[76] On the rôle of epiphany in Graeco-Roman religion from the early Classical period to the Second Sophistic, see V. Platt, *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature, and Religion* (2011).

[77] Cacus vs. Turnus: 8.196–7 'foribusque adfixa superbis / ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo' and 10.465–7 'quin ipsa arrectis (visu miserabile) in hastis / praefigunt capita et multo clamore sequuntur / Euryali et Nisi'. On parallels between Turnus and Cacus, see Hardie, op. cit. (n. 49), 118–19, with further references. See also K. Galinsky, 'The Hercules-Cacus episode in *Aeneid* VIII', *American Journal of Philology* 87 (1966), 18–51.

[78] Virg., *Aen* 8.97–100 'sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem / cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum / tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo / aequavit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat'.

[79] Virg., *Aen.* 8.306–61 with P. T. Eden, *A Commentary on Virgil: Aeneid VIII* (1975), ad loc., especially 360–1 'passimque armenta videbant / Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis'. For the Saturnian golden age as an aetiological model for the golden age of Augustus, see 8.324–5 'aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere / saecula' and 6.791–4 'hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis, / Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet / saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva / Saturno quondam'. See E. Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (1996), 10–11.

[80] Virg., *Aen.* 1.257–96. On Jupiter's prophecy, see J. J. O'Hara, *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid* (1990), 132–63; D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (1991),

But in juxtaposition, and by analogy, with the ritual setting of the Pallantean festival of Hercules, these images additionally emphasize the status of history as a re-enactment of myth.

The central image of the shield is tripartite: it consists of the representation of the naval battle of Actium in the middle ('in medio') flanked by the scenes depicting defeated Cleopatra fleeing to Egypt and Augustus celebrating a triumph in Rome.[81] It is quite noteworthy that the battle is presented here as taking place not only between its human protagonists, but also between the theriomorphic monstrous gods of Egypt (8.698 'deum monstra et latrator Anubis') and the Graeco-Roman anthropomorphic gods, among whom it is, quite conspicuously, Apollo who delivers the decisive final blow (8.704–5). Even more importantly, the celebration of Augustus' triumph, which involves sacrifices and the singing of hymns at three hundred Roman temples (8.714–19), finds its culmination at Apollo's temple on the Palatine, where Augustus is portrayed as receiving spoils from the entire conquered world (8.720–8).[82] Quite tellingly, with this localization of the triumphal ritual we find ourselves again at the place where Aeneas participated in the festival of Hercules.[83] The unity of space, already emphatically stressed in the description of Aeneas' tour of Pallanteum, indirectly turns Augustus' triumph not only into a symbolic image of his victory,[84] but also into a re-enactment of the myth-and-ritual conglomerate consisting of Hercules and Aeneas, which was established earlier in the book.[85] This conjunction is further deepened by the way Augustus' victory is presented in the description of the shield, where Augustus, too, is portrayed as defeating almost subhuman monsters.[86] It thus begins to transpire that the relationship between the *Aeneid* and Augustus' triumph over Antony and Cleopatra is analogous to that between the *Herculeid* performed in Pallanteum (8.288–302) and Aeneas' triumph over Turnus: just as Aeneas 'ritually' re-enacts Hercules' triumph over Cacus, so Augustus re-enacts both Hercules' and Aeneas' victories.[87]

It is of utmost significance that both the death of Pallas and the revenge that Aeneas takes for it on Turnus are effectively inscribed in the ritual framework of the triumphal

138–41. On the representation of Roman history on the shield, see Hardie, op. cit. (n. 49), especially 346–66; A. G. McKay, '*Non enarrabile textum*? The shield of Aeneas and the triple triumph of 29 BC', in Stahl, op. cit. (n. 2), 199–221; Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 119–88.

[81] Virg., *Aen.* 8.671–705 (the battle of Actium), 705–13 (barbarians fleeing; Cleopatra fleeing to the Nile), 714–28 (Augustus' triumph). On the shield of Aeneas as a piece of 'triumphal art', see McKay, op. cit. (n. 80). Cf. Barchiesi, op. cit. (n. 3), 276.

[82] On the depiction of the triumphal procession on the shield in comparison with historical triumphal processions, see McKay, op. cit. (n. 80), 203–14.

[83] Other sources, too, indicate that the temple of Apollo on the Palatine stood more or less exactly where Evander used to live: e.g., Prop. 4.1.3–4 'atque ubi navali stant sacra Palatia Phoebo, / Euandri profugae procubuere boves'.

[84] On the Roman triumphal procession as a kind of mimetic re-enactment of the victory, see Beard, op. cit. (n. 64), *passim*; Östenberg, op. cit. (n. 7), 258–92.

[85] See Philip Hardie's remarks on the Hercules-Cacus episode anticipating 'the elemental confusion' of Actium in 'Virgil: a paradoxical poet?' in Hardie, op. cit. (n. 75), 100 n. 14. See also G. Duncan, 'The Hercules/Cacus episode in *Aeneid* VIII: *monumentum rerum Augusti*', *Ancient History* 33 (2003), 18–30, on connections between the Cacus episode and the shield of Aeneas. On the connections between Aeneas and Augustus in *Aeneid* 8, see G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus: Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der* Aeneis (1971).

[86] Virg. *Aen.* 8.698 'omnegenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis'. On theriomorphic gods as a symbol of 'another, foreign, and hostile culture, which Augustus had fought against and defeated at Actium', see G. Rosati, '*Latrator Anubis*: alien divinities in Augustan Rome, and how to tame monsters through aetiology', in Hardie, op. cit. (n. 75), 272.

[87] Hardie, op. cit. (n. 49), 97–110. See also K. W. Gransden, *Virgil*: Aeneid *Book VIII* (1976), comm. ad *Aen.* 190–305: 'Vergil emphasizes typological parallels between Cacus, Turnus and Antony as enemies of civilization, and between Hercules, Aeneas and Augustus as defenders of it, so that the exploit becomes a model of the "heroic encounter" with evil.' For an 'anti-Augustan' reading of the Cacus episode, see Lyne, op. cit. (n. 6), 27–35. For a more balanced view, see P. Gordon, 'Dido the Phaeacian: lost pleasures of an Epicurean intertext', *Classical Antiquity* 19 (1998), 188–211.

celebrations of *Aeneid* 8. Naturally, Evander, sending his young son Pallas into battle as Aeneas' companion in *Aeneid* 8, prays for his safe return, as he hopes for the triumphal conclusion of his son's involvement in this campaign (8.560–83). Before he is killed by Turnus, Pallas in effect echoes the priests' prayer to Hercules in *Aeneid* 8 by asking the demigod to enable him to triumph over his enemy,[88] while Aeneas bemoans the impending funeral as a tragic substitute for the triumph expected by Evander.[89] Pallas' funeral, which takes up a great portion of *Aeneid* 11, takes place at the future site of Augustus' temple of Apollo on the Palatine, thus turning it, too, into a place that triggers conflicting emotions, not only joy, but also, in equal measure, grief.[90]

To underscore its emotional complexity at this juncture, the narrative once again engages with an intertextually polyvalent pictorial image. Conspicuously enough, Turnus' killing of Pallas and Aeneas' killing of Turnus are tied together by the image of the Danaids murdering their husbands, which decorates Pallas' golden sword-belt (10.497–8 'impressumque nefas: una sub nocte iugali / caesa manus iuvenum foede thalamique cruenti'): Turnus' despoiling Pallas of this sword-belt is singled out by the text as a presage of Turnus' own death (10.503–5 'Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum / intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque / oderit'), while Aeneas' recognition of these images in the final scene of the poem is presented as the primary reason for his decision to proceed with the killing of Turnus (12.940–52).

The image of the Danaids is intrinsically capable of triggering quite diverse associations.[91] By the time Virgil wrote the *Aeneid*, the myth had received two major interpretations in literature and art. The fifty daughters of Danaus, forced into marriage by their cousins, the sons of Danaus' brother Aegyptus, and, on their father's instigation, killing them all but one on their wedding night, were, on the one hand, understood in the original Greek myth as an image of filial piety and justified self-defence.[92] On the other hand, in Roman poetry the Danaids inextricably belonged to the standard list of those punished for their unspeakable crimes by perennially toiling in the underworld — carrying water in sieve-like vessels.[93] Although Virgil fails to mention the Danaids in his description of the underworld in *Aeneid* 6,[94] he by and large seems to align himself with the Roman tradition by portraying the Danaids' deed as an act of *nefas*. It is worth noting, however, that the unequivocally negative valuation of this motif in the *Aeneid* is primarily due to the dramatic context, which encourages one to draw connections between the Danaids' murder of their husbands and Turnus' murder of Pallas.[95] Similarly, it is natural for Aeneas to associate the image of the Danaids with his memory of Pallas when he despoils Turnus of the baldric in the final

[88] Virg., *Aen.* 10.462–3 'cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma cruenta / victoremque ferant morientia lumina Turni'.
[89] Virg., *Aen.* 11.53–4 'infelix, nati funus crudele videbis! / hi nostri reditus exspectatique triumphi?'
[90] The identity between Pallanteum and the Palatine in Virgil is additionally based on an etymological wordplay. See J. J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (1996), 202.
[91] cf. Barchiesi, op. cit. (n. 3), 279.
[92] This seems to be the emphasis in Aeschylus' *Danaid* trilogy, of which only the *Suppliants* is extant. Cf. R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *Studies in Aeschylus* (1983), 55–72; S. Harrison, 'The sword-belt of Pallas: moral symbolism and political ideology. *Aeneid* 10. 495–505', in Stahl, op. cit. (n. 2), 228–9. Note that, according to Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.1.4, the Danaids were ritually purified after their murder — the tradition that probably goes back to Aeschylus. Cf. Winnington-Ingram, op. cit., 70.
[93] E. Keuls, *The Water Carriers in Hades: A Study of Catharsis through Toil in Classical Antiquity* (1974), argues that it was only in Rome that the iconography of water carriers in the underworld, who originally represented the uninitiated, was reinterpreted as portraying the murderous Danaids. For the moralistic portrayal of the punishment of the Danaids in Roman poetry from Lucretius onwards, see E. W. Leach, 'Hypermestra's *querela*: co-opting the Danaids in Horace Ode 3.11 and in Augustan Rome', *Classical World* 102 (2008), 13–32.
[94] Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 196–7.
[95] Conte, op. cit. (n. 5), 185–95; U. Schmitzer, 'Turnus und die Danaiden: Mythologische Verstrickung und personale Verantwortung', *Grazer Beiträge* 20 (1994), 109–26, at 112–13; Harrison, op. cit. (n. 92), 223–30,

scene of the poem (12.945–6 'oculis postquam monimenta doloris / exuviasque hausit'). It is, at the same time, equally conspicuous that Virgil allows us to view the image of the Danaids not only through the sympathetic eyes of someone moved by the *nefas* of Pallas' death, but also from the perspectives both of Pallas himself and of Turnus, both of whom wear the baldric in succession and, for that reason, implicitly endow its imagery with a less negative meaning.

The baldric begins its travel through the final books of the *Aeneid* as Pallas' possession. Now, is it at all conceivable that Pallas would have worn on his sword-belt either a representation of what he himself would have regarded as a *nefas* or a symbolic representation of himself as a potential victim? Quite unlikely *per se*, it becomes even more so, if one considers the Virgilian passage's most obvious Homeric intertext — the description of Heracles' baldric in *Odyssey* 11. Here, the images on the baldric are clearly designed to instil fear in the enemy by their portrayal of dangerous animals, battles, and killings of men.[96] These images, in other words, serve as a transparent expression of their carrier's frightening character as a warrior. The murderous Danaids are obviously no less threatening than the images on the Homeric baldric. For that reason, a similar effect could easily be read into the baldric worn by Virgil's Pallas, who, despite his emphatically stressed youthful femininity (comparable to that of the Danaids), is ready to fulfil his father's command to take up the sword (the way the Danaids do).[97] Since immediately before his death Pallas prays to Hercules to assist him in killing and despoiling Turnus and since Turnus, as we shall see, is portrayed as brandishing the image of Io on his shield, which clearly stresses his links with Egypt (cf. the sons of Aegyptus), the image of the Danaids all the more appears like an expression of menace directed in the context specifically at Turnus.

The killing and despoiling of Pallas by Turnus is simultaneously an act of realignment of the baldric's images. Once in Turnus' possession, the baldric is placed in a thoroughly different context and develops a different set of connotations. In fact, the Danaids become part of a significantly more coherent narrative unity here by being combined with the images on Turnus' shield. Represented on that shield, as we learn from *Aeneid* 7, is the long story ('argumentum ingens') of Io — already transformed into a cow, guarded by Argus, and mourned by her inconsolable father Inachus.[98] The emphasis on the 'hugeness' of the *argumentum* makes one think, in addition to the three elements singled out in the description, of the entire extent of the Io myth, as known for instance from Aeschylus — her wanderings around the world until she reaches Egypt, her 'immaculate conception' by Zeus' touch, and her birth of Epaphos (Aesch., *PV* 640–876). When worn by Turnus next to his shield, the images of Danaus' daughters, who, along with the sons of Aegyptus, belong to Epaphos' rich mythological progeny, constitute a seamless continuation of this *argumentum ingens*. Moreover, when juxtaposed with the shield, the baldric effectively makes the story come full circle by depicting the return of the Danaids from Egypt to Io's hometown of Argos.[99] Most

with a summary of different approaches to the symbolism of the Danaids in the context. See also Reed, op. cit. (n. 36), 54–5.

[96] Hom., *Od.* 11.609–12 σμερδαλέος δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ περὶ στήθεσσιν ἀορτὴρ / χρύσεος ἦν τελαμών, ἵνα ἔργα τέτυκτο, / ἄρκτοι τ᾽ ἀργότεροί τε σύες χαροποί τε λέοντες, / ὑσμῖναί τε μάχαι τε φόνοι τ᾽ ἀνδροκτασίαι τε. Cf. Schmitzer, op. cit. (n. 95), 114; Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 193–4.

[97] On the gender ambiguity of Pallas, as well as of other young men dying in the second half of the *Aeneid*, including Turnus, see Reed, op. cit. (n. 36), 16–72.

[98] Virg., *Aen.* 7.789–92 'at levem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io / auro adsignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos, / argumentum ingens, et custos virginis Argus, / caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna'.

[99] The Danaids effectively retrace Io's journey: Aesch., *Supp.* 11–18 Δαναὸς δὲ πατὴρ καὶ βούλαρχος / καὶ στασίαρχος τάδε πεσσονομῶν / κύδιστ᾽ ἀχέων ἐπέκρανε, / φεύγειν ἀνέδην διὰ κῦμ᾽ ἅλιον, / κέλσαι δ᾽ Ἄργους γαῖαν, ὅθεν δὴ / γένος ἡμέτερον τῆς οἰστροδόνου / βοὸς ἐξ ἐπαφῆς κἀξ ἐπινοίας / Διὸς εὐχόμενον τετέλεσται.

importantly, however, both Io and Danaus count among Turnus' ancestors.[100] As a result, Turnus ends up wearing on his body a cursory representation of the most salient moments of his family's tragic mythological past.[101] From this perspective, the Danaids almost naturally belong to Turnus, so that even the name of Turnus' father Daunus begins to sound, in keeping with Virgil's usual propensity for poetic etymology,[102] like an etymological wordplay on the name of his distant ancestor Danaus: Turnus is not only a notional Danaid, but is also justifiably proud of it. In addition, irrespective of whether in Aeneas', or the sympathetic reader's, eyes the Danaids appear like an epitome of Turnus' *nefas*, to Turnus himself they are a particularly welcome addition to the overall pictorial programme of his armour, as they allow him to express more cogently his determination to kill Aeneas, who, at least from Turnus' own perspective, is engaged, not unlike the sons of Aegyptus, in unlawfully forcing a marriage upon Lavinia.

The confrontation between Turnus and Aeneas in the last scene of the poem is simultaneously a confrontation between the pictorial programmes depicted on the two warriors' shields — the Greek mythological past on the shield of Turnus and the Roman historical future on the shield of Aeneas; the quasi-cartographical emblem of the Greek East (the *argumentum ingens* of Io's journey from Greece to Egypt) on the shield of Turnus and the battle of Actium prominently positioned in the middle of the shield of Aeneas, flanked by the defeat of Egypt and the triumph of Rome. This clear distribution between past and future, as well as between East and West, is alone sufficient to encode symbolically the inevitability of Aeneas' victory. In addition, the character of the images themselves underscores this inevitability even more. Since Turnus flaunts his connection with Egypt by carrying the image of Io on his shield, while Aeneas' shield contains a depiction of Augustus' triumph over Cleopatra, who emphatically looks like Isis, the mythological double of Io,[103] Aeneas' killing of Turnus becomes essentially an aetiological prefiguration of this Augustan triumphal imagery.

The image of the Danaids itself, however, fails to produce any clear-cut allegorical result in the context: Turnus can, with equal justification, be understood both as a son of Aegyptus (cf. his associations with Io and Cleopatra) and as a Danaid (by virtue of his genealogical link with Danaus), just as Aeneas can be cast both as a Danaid killing a son of Aegyptus[104] and as a just punisher sending the Danaids into the underworld to suffer eternally (cf. 12.932 'vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras').[105] Such one-to-one identifications do not seem to be the point here, however. Now that both the war and the narrative are over, Aeneas, in contrast to Pallas and Turnus, can have no intention of using the baldric in battle and of communicating with its help a transparent menacing message to his enemies. Instead, he is concerned with nothing but returning the spoils that used to belong to Pallas (12.947–8 'tune hinc spoliis indute meorum / eripiare mihi?'). This is, conspicuously enough, Aeneas' final action, which marks the end of the poem. The images on the baldric, in other words, can play no further rôle in the temporal progression of the narrative and can, for that reason, only be meaningfully combined with other static images — the images on Aeneas' shield.

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[100] For Turnus' family tree, see Schmitzer, op. cit. (n. 95), 118.
[101] cf. Schmitzer, op. cit. (n. 95), 118–19.
[102] O'Hara, op. cit. (n. 90).
[103] Virg., *Aen.* 8.695 'regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro'. Reed, op. cit. (n. 36), 70.
[104] See e.g. the typically 'pessimistic' reading in Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 197: 'As he acts, the hero assumes many roles as does his humbled antagonist, but the one most directly etched before us is of Turnus as a youth basely slaughtered and of Aeneas as a type of Danaid enforcing the vendetta of her father.'
[105] This is comparable to the radically diverging interpretations in scholarship of the symbolic significance of the portico of the Danaids in the context of the Apollo temple on the Palatine. See Harrison, op. cit. (n. 92), 232–6, with bibliography.

The final image of the poem (Aeneas' despoiling of Turnus) visibly integrates the image of the Danaids into the pictorial programme of his shield and, more specifically, juxtaposes it with the image of the triumphal temple of Apollo on the Palatine. Moreover, the very act of Aeneas' taking spoils explicitly reproduces the shield's image of Augustus accepting spoils at the threshold of that very temple. Aeneas can thus be perceived as symbolically dedicating the baldric to Apollo.[106] Most importantly, however, the Danaids in this context inevitably conjure up a memory of the portico of the Danaids — perhaps the most memorable part of the pictorial programme of Augustus' temple of Apollo: according to Propertius, it was so dazzling that it could even make one forget a rendezvous with one's mistress.[107] The analogy may in fact be even more compelling, since the fifty (or forty-nine?) statues of the Danaids displayed between the columns of that portico are likely to have also been spoils plundered by Augustus' army from some rich city of the Greek Orient.[108] It thus begins to look as though, by combining the baldric with his shield, Aeneas in effect enacts the symbolic addition of the portico of the Danaids to the temple of Apollo and thus not only completes the building programme left unfinished on the shield by Vulcan, but also effectively fulfils the promise he gave the Sibyl in Book 6 (69–76). As a result, Aeneas forcefully transfers the image of the Danaids from Turnus' mythological past into the reader's Augustan present.

Quite significantly, the effect of the figurative addition of the Danaids to the representation of Augustus' temple of Apollo is similar to that produced by Aeneas as a viewer of the paintings in Juno's temple and by Virgil as a describer of the doors of Daedalus' temple.[109] As we have seen, the triumphal images of the Carthaginian temple are made less straightforward by Aeneas' presence both in and in front of them, while it is Virgil's language that turns Daedalus' temple into a memorial not only of his artistic skill but also of his personal grief. In the case of the Palatine temple, Virgil achieves a similar effect by somewhat different means. He does not conjure up the mental image of an imaginary monument by describing it in detail. Instead, he stages within his narrative a symbolic drama of constructing a civil war memorial, which can most cogently convey the inextricable mixture of triumph and mourning. Of course, it is the image of the Danaids that in the last scene of the *Aeneid* triggers Aeneas' final blow and becomes a symbol of his triumph. Thus, it could in principle be perceived as a further enhancement of the triumphal imagery of the shield. At the same time, this image arrives at the poem's finale burdened with emotionally complex memories of the unflinching determination to kill and to die in battle displayed by the young men on both sides of the war — by Pallas and by Turnus in equal measure. Both of them fight and die to defend their mutually exclusive 'truths'. By travelling from the one to the other and by successively symbolizing both of these truths, the inherently tragic, incongruously split image of the Danaids, who murder their kin (cousins/husbands) to obey their father,

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[106] This would agree with Aeneas' usual practice. On the contrast between Turnus and Aeneas in this respect, see Harrison, op. cit. (n. 92), 228: '[…] Turnus keeps the sword-belt of Pallas and puts it on; he is clearly wearing it at the end of the poem. This is wrong in terms of ancient religious thought and practice: the spoils of the dead were in some sense taboo and should be dedicated to the gods. […] Aeneas himself always dedicates spoils to the gods, and those who keep or seek to keep the spoils of the dead in the *Aeneid* usually come to grief.'

[107] Prop. 2.31.1–4 'Quaeris, cur veniam tibi tardior? aurea Phoebi / porticus a magno Caesare aperta fuit. / tantam erat in speciem Poenis digesta columnis, / inter quas Danai femina turba senis'. On the portico of the Danaids in Augustan poetry, see Leach, op. cit. (n. 93), 21–3, especially 21: 'Literary references that virtually equate the portico with the temple fabric itself bear witness to the strong impression they made.' Cf. Putnam, op. cit. (n. 9), 198–202; Harrison, op. cit. (n. 92), 230–7; Galinsky, op. cit. (n. 1), 220–2. For the appearance of the statues, see Leach, op. cit. (n. 93), 23–6 and 29–32, with bibliography and plates. For a recent tentative reconstruction of the portico as a whole, see C. K. Quenemoen, 'The Portico of the Danaids: a new reconstruction', *American Journal of Archaeology* 110 (2006), 229–50.

[108] Harrison, op. cit. (n. 92), 236–7.

[109] On different interpretations of the Danaid sculptures in the context of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, see Leach, op. cit. (n. 93), with bibliography.

cannot really be forced to function as a transparent moralizing allegory anymore. Instead, its integration into the triumphal context of the shield creates a multi-dimensional image that stages the recipient's encounter with the moral complexity of war in general and of civil war in particular — both its dire necessity and the high price one inevitably has to pay for embracing that necessity.

The figurative temple constructed by Virgil at the end of the *Aeneid* is thus, like the Carthaginian temple of Juno, Daedalus' temple of Apollo, and Aeneas' *Heldenschau* in the underworld, both a triumphal and a funerary monument. As always, Virgil's narrative and the pictorial images that he makes part of his narrative mutually complement each other. And it is precisely this tight nexus between narrative and image that allows Virgil to bridge the gap between the mythological past and the historical present. On the one hand, the inherently ambivalent image of the Danaids forces one to contemplate the war waged by Aeneas in Italy from different viewpoints at once — to celebrate Aeneas' triumph, and yet to do so without losing the ability to sympathize with his enemies, who after all are also destined to become part of the common Latin people once the war is over.[110] On the other hand, the fact that the text emphatically enables us to mourn not only Pallas but also Turnus[111] functions as a comment on the Augustan triumphal imagery, indirectly invoked in the last scene of the *Aeneid*, and thus turns Augustus' victory at Actium, too, into an occasion for significantly more complex emotions than those implied by the purely celebratory temple description in the *Georgics* prologue.

<div align="center">CONCLUSION</div>

One of the most important lessons that one learns from the way Virgil integrates pictorial images into his narrative is that self-reflexivity in the *Aeneid* is, contrary to the widespread modern stereotype, not a matter of purely formalist (meta-)poetic play, but functions as one of the primary carriers of meaning. The carefully constructed homology between pictorial programmes and narrative sequences in Virgil's text does not simply urge one to exercise one's structural wit or one's scholarly ability to spot intertextual references. Rather, it has a calculated performative effect on the recipients, subliminally, and yet quite profoundly, influencing their perception of the extra-textual (contemporary) reality. To achieve this effect, the text self-reflexively encourages the recipient to construct his/her reading experience as a notional imitation of the encounters with visual images enacted within the narrative and then to use the experience thus gained to modify his/her perception of empirically familiar visual images. The pictorial programmes of the Carthaginian and the Cumean temples trigger in their creators and viewers specific memories of the past, which, however, can simultaneously be made to cohere into different stories guided by radically diverging emotions. The text then invites one to understand the multi-dimensionality of memory enacted in the viewing of these pictorial programmes as a metaphorical visualization of the extraordinary semantic density created by the overlapping intra- and intertextual memories within the narrative

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[110] Virg., *Aen.* 12.830–40. In this respect, too, the *Aeneid* resembles the *Iliad*, which can be understood as a funerary memorial set up by Homer to both the Greeks and the Trojans. Cf. O. Taplin, *Homeric Soundings: The Shaping of the* Iliad (1992), 279–84.

[111] The function of the *Aeneid* to commemorate the dead on both sides of the conflict is particularly stressed in the similar poetic pledges Virgil makes upon the death of Nisus and Euryalus (9.446–9 'fortunati ambo! si qui mea carmina possunt, / nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo, / dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum / accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit') and the death of Mezentius' son Lausus (10.791–3 'hic mortis durae casum tuaque optima facta, / si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas, / non equidem nec te, iuvenis memorande, silebo').

itself. Finally, by drawing analogies between legend and history and by invoking images of Augustan monuments, the narrative makes those very images appear like embodiments of a similarly complex universe of memory. The effect of this double projection can perhaps still be called propaganda. But the goal of this propaganda is not to force the readers into accepting an ideologically simplified view of reality, but rather to glorify the familiar world by uncovering in it the meaningful complexity of an epic poem.

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