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The Pictures on Juno's Temple in the "Aeneid"

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## THE PICTURES ON JUNO'S TEMPLE IN THE *AENEID*

Vergil's description of the pictures on the Temple of Juno in Carthage (*Aen.* 1.453-493) has increasingly attracted attention, but commentators have often focused less on the actual depictions than on Aeneas' emotional response to them.<sup>1</sup> An important step in the analysis of this ephrasis was taken over twenty-five years ago when G. N. Knauer and Keith Stanley independently connected the pictures on the temple with specific scenes in the latter half of the *Aeneid*;<sup>2</sup> and, more recently, Diskin Clay has pursued these parallels. Nevertheless, questions still remain. First, are the temple reliefs related to the later narrative scenes in subject only or also in diction?<sup>3</sup> Stanley and Clay have observed parallels in language, but a complete analysis on

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<sup>1</sup> Reference to the following works is made by author's name and date of publication (when necessary): W. S. Anderson, "Vergil's Second *Iliad*," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 17-30 and *The Art of the Aeneid* (Englewood Cliffs 1969); R. G. Austin (ed.), *Aeneidos Liber Primus* (Oxford 1971); W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1987); D. Clay, "The Archaeology of the Temple to Juno in Carthage (*Aen.* 1.446-93)," *CP* 83 (1988) 195-205; M. Di Cesare, *The Altar and the City: A Reading of Vergil's Aeneid* (New York 1974); R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 4th ed. (Darmstadt 1957); N. Horsfall, "Dido in the Light of History," *PVS* 13 (1973-74) 1-13; W. R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1976); K. C. King, "Achilles in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *Materiali e discussioni* 9 (1982 [1984]) 31-57; G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen 1964); R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford 1987); J. J. O'Hara, *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton 1990); B. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1963); V. Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*, tr. G. Seligson (Ann Arbor 1970); M. C. J. Putnam, "Pius Aeneas and the Metamorphoses of Lausus," *Arethusa* 14 (1981) 139-56, "Daedalus, Virgil, and the End of Art," *AJP* 108 (1987) 173-98, and "Anger, Blindness and Insight in Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Apeiron* 23 (1990) 7-40; K. Stanley, "Irony and Foreshadowing in *Aeneid* I, 462," *AJP* 86 (1965) 267-77; R. F. Thomas, "Virgil's Epiphastic Centerpieces," *HSCP* 87 (1983) 175-84; A. Traina, "Ambiguità virgiana: *monstrum infelix* (*Aen.* 2,245) e *alius Achilles* (*Aen.* 6,89)" in *Mnemosynum. Studi in onore di Alfredo Ghiselli* (Bologna 1989) 547-55; G. Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid* (New Haven 1983); R. D. Williams, "The Pictures on Dido's Temple (*Aeneid* I. 450-93)," *CQ* 10 (1960) 145-51; H. Williamson, "Virgil, *Aen.* I., 460," *CR* 33 (1919) 30.

<sup>2</sup> Knauer 305-09, 328-29, 349-50; Stanley 274-77.

<sup>3</sup> In contrast with the pictures on the Temple of Apollo, which are explicitly said to be engraved on the doors (6.18-20), Vergil does not specify whether the depictions on the Temple of Juno are carved or painted. K. Saatmann, E. Jungst, and P. Thielscher, "Der Junotempel in Karthago nach Vergil, *Aeneid* I 446-506," *PhW* 53 (1933) 813-14, argued that the pictures, like the Ionic frieze of the Parthenon, appeared on the outer cella walls; cf. A. Boethius, "Nixae aere trabes," *Eranos* 50 (1952) 148, and especially Thomas 182, n. 25. I call the pictures reliefs like C. M. Bowra, "Aeneas and the Stoic Ideal," *G & R* 3 (1933-34) 8-21, Otis, Di Cesare, and Putnam (1987); but Austin, Johnson, Thomas, and O'Hara call them murals. Vergil does not provide the evidence to resolve the question.

this topic has not been undertaken. Second, why are the particular subjects of these reliefs chosen, or why are the specific narrative scenes with which they correspond selected? That is, are there some unifying motifs between the pictures themselves or between the later episodes? Finally, does an analysis of diction and motif lead to any new conclusions about the meaning of the ecphrasis?

## I

Six scenes are represented on Dido's temple.<sup>4</sup> The first is general: in one place the Greeks are seen fleeing, while in another the Trojans are chased by Achilles (1.466-468). This scene sets the stage for the following pictures. It is not connected with the other reliefs in diction, nor does it directly correspond with later narrative scenes. Nevertheless, the general motif is found in the battle between the Trojans and Italians, each side of which is alternately shown as successful (10.308-361, 11.597-647).<sup>5</sup>

In contrast, the second scene is specific: while Rhesus is betrayed by sleep, he is slaughtered by Diomedes before his horses can taste Trojan grass or water (*Rhesi niveis tentoria velis/ . . . prodita somno/Tydidēs multa vastabat caede cruentus*, 1.469-471). This story, primarily known to us from the tenth book of the *Iliad*,<sup>6</sup> served as Vergil's model for the death of Rhamnes and his Italians during the night mission of Nisus and Euryalus (9.176-449, especially 314-375). The resemblance between the scene on the temple and the narrated episode extends also to the diction. Just as Diomedes is characterized as *cruentus* in his slaughter (1.471), Nisus is compared to a lion with bloody mouth (*ore cruento*, 9.341). Diomedes lays waste with much

<sup>4</sup> Commentators differ on how many separate pictures are shown on the temple. Details that have been seen as distinct are 1) Greeks fleeing, 2) Trojans routed, 3) Rhesus, 4) Troilus, 5) Trojan women, 6) Hector, 7) Aeneas, 8) Memnon, and 9) Penthesilea. Most critics believe that some of the pictures are composed of more than one of these details, and no one considers the appearance of the Atridae (1.458) to be a separate relief. Knauer 349 sees four scenes with special meaning (#3-6), preceded by an introductory scene (#1-2 joined) and followed by three transitional pictures (#7-9). Stanley 275 lists five pictures (#3-6 and 9), while R. D. Williams counts seven (#1-6 and 7-9 joined as one). Austin *ad* 1.466ff. interprets four pairs of scenes (#1-2, 3-4, 5-6, and 8-9). Di Cesare 12 sees eight panels (#1-7 and 8-9 joined), as does Clay 202 (#1-6, 7-8 joined, and 9). Thomas, 180 and n. 18, considers all nine details to be separate pictures.

I distinguish scenes mainly by the guide-words: *nec procul hinc . . . parte alia . . . interea . . . quoque*. There is no transition at 1.483, where the subject changes abruptly. The correlatives *hac . . . hac* of 1.467-468 seem to me to indicate two sides of the same picture.

<sup>5</sup> Clay 203 sees the first panel, which he splits into two, not as a general scene but as one corresponding to 9.756-818 and 12.554-613. I do not share this view because, as will be seen below, the other pictures on the temple correspond with later scenes in the *Aeneid* not only in subject but also in motif and diction.

<sup>6</sup> Heinze 216-19, Knauer 266-69, and R. R. Schlunk, *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid* (Ann Arbor 1974) 59-81. Euryalus' loss of control, however, reflects the characterization of Odysseus and Diomedes in [Euripides'] *Rhesus*. See B. Fenik, "*Iliad X*" and the "*Rhesus*" (Brussels 1964) 21, n. 4.

bloodshed (*multa vastabat caede*, 1.471), the very intent which Nisus both articulates (*ingenti caede*, 9.242; *haec ego vasta dabo*, 9.323) and actually accomplishes (*nimia caede*, 9.354; cf. 9.342, 453, 456). Rhesus and his tentmates are asleep when the enemy arrives, as are Rhamnes and his companions (*somno*, 1.470; *somnum*, 9.326; cf. *somno*, 9.189, 236, and 316). And whereas Rhesus' horses have not tasted Trojan water or food (*pabula*, 1.473), Nisus is compared to a lion who has not eaten (*impastus*, 9.339). The lion image is stressed by the fact that Nisus is wearing a lionskin (9.306-307), and in the corresponding scene in Homer Diomedes is compared to a lion (*Il.* 10.485-487). Finally, a point of connection that will prove significant is that Rhesus and his men are deceived by sleep (*prodita*, 1.470), while Nisus and Euryalus are betrayed by the latter's greed in despoiling the Rutulian corpses (*prodidit*, 9.374).

The third relief on Dido's temple depicts Troilus as he is dragged by his chariot, from which he has fallen head-first (1.474-478). The youth had been slain by Achilles and is characterized as *infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli* (1.475). Although duels in the *Aeneid* tend to be unevenly matched (and *congressus* is often associated with the idea of inequality in the poem),<sup>7</sup> the rarer motif of an unfortunate youth killed by an older, stronger warrior is especially prominent in Book 10, where there are two important instances. In the first, Turnus assumes the role that had been played by Achilles in the relief, which seems appropriate because the Sibyl had predicted that Aeneas must confront another Achilles, and Turnus claims that distinction (6.89-90, 9.741-742). When Turnus meets Pallas in battle and the youth is described as inferior in strength (*viribus imparibus*, 10.459), the image of the *impar congressus Achilli* is evoked.

To identify the second occasion on which the *impar congressus Achilli* is recalled, we must consider who assumes the Achilles role in the last half of the *Aeneid*. For even though in some respects Turnus is the Italian Achilles, Vergil plays with the question of whether it is Aeneas or Turnus who should be identified with the violent Achilles and also with the wronged Menelaus, who is justified in seeking redress. Conversely, is it Aeneas or Turnus who follows in the steps of the noble Hector defending his people and perhaps Paris, the thief of other men's women?<sup>8</sup> The identifications are not obvious, and there

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *congressum . . . nec dis nec viribus aequis* (5.809, where Aeneas is unequal to Achilles), *pugna congressus iniqua* (10.889), and *nec pede congressos aequo* (12.465).

<sup>8</sup> Although Knauer exhaustively treats the parallels between the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*, one misses a sense of proportion. For instance, Knauer seems to make a great deal more of the correspondence between Helen and Lavinia than Vergil does. Much more interested in the literary use of the parallels is Anderson (1957), who argues that an Agamemnon-Menelaus-Achilles figure is juxtaposed with a Paris-Hector in the latter half of the *Aeneid* (24). Further, he argues that the parallels that Turnus (and the Italians) draw between Achilles (and the Greeks) and themselves are not in fact valid. While I do not disagree with Anderson, I believe that one should not miss the dramatic instrument through which the poem questions Aeneas' intentions (cf. Lyne 108-10).

are marked similarities between Aeneas and Achilles. Consequently, when the young Lausus meets Aeneas in combat shortly after Turnus has killed Pallas and once again inferior strength is mentioned (Aeneas tells Lausus, *maioraque viribus audes*, 10.811), the death scene of Troilus is recalled for a second time. Like Troilus, Lausus is characterized as *infelix* (1.475, 10.829). Also, as Clay points out, Lausus' hair is fouled with blood from his wound, just as Troilus' hair is sullied as it is dragged through the dust (1.477-478, 10.831-832).<sup>9</sup> Hence, both Pallas and Lausus correspond to Troilus, the *impar congressus*, and this point is emphasized when Jupiter announces that the two Italian youths must be slain by stronger foes (*maiore sub hoste*, 10.438).

The fourth scene on Dido's temple shows the supplication of Pallas Minerva by the Trojan women (1.479-482). This relief, which is based on a passage in the *Iliad* (6.297-312), finds an exact parallel when Amata and the Italian matrons supplicate Minerva (11.477-485). Similar motif leads to similar diction: *ad templum non aequae Palladis*, 1.479; *ad templum summasque ad Palladis arces*, 11.477. The Trojan women carry a robe (*peplumque ferebant*, 1.480), while Amata brings unspecified gifts (*dona ferens*, 11.479). And, when the

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Especially in Books 10-11, we are forced to ask ourselves whether Aeneas is justified in his actions. Is he in fact another pillaging wife-snatcher or an instrument of the gods committed to a high mission? And indeed the problem had already been raised in Carthage, when Aeneas was first compared to Paris (4.215 and 541-542). This technique of requiring the audience to question the protagonist may be taken from the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus' great suffering raises the question of whether his woe was deserved; see G. Dimock, "Crime and Punishment in the *Odyssey*," *Yale Review* (1971) 199-214.

When the Sibyl informs Aeneas that there is "another Achilles in [or for] Latium, also born of a goddess" (6.89-90), it is not clear who is meant (see T. E. Kinsey, "Virgil, *Aeneid* VI 88-90," *Maia* 31 [1979] 267, for the grammatical ambiguity; but cf. Traina). We do not learn that Turnus' mother is a goddess until 10.76. Turnus is said to have Greek blood (7.372), acts as the aggressor as he surrounds the Trojan camp, claims the role of Achilles (9.741-742), is led away from the city by a phantom as Achilles was in Book 21 of the *Iliad* (10.636-660), arms in an elaborate scene (11.486-497), and speaks to his spear as Achilles to his horses (12.95-100). All these details connect Turnus with the Achilles figure (see King 37 for a psychological link). Meanwhile, Aeneas is repeatedly associated or identified with Paris (7.321-322, 363-364; 9.140-142; 10.92-93). Aeneas of course has also been identified with Achilles by holding funeral games and receiving divine armor, but ultimately the question of whether Aeneas or Turnus should be identified with Achilles must be determined by who chases his antagonist around the city and ultimately kills him (cf. Traina 553). By that point Aeneas has been transformed from being associated with an immoral wife-stealer to being connected with an unbridled killer, although, of course, Aeneas is neither. For the identification of both Aeneas and Turnus with the Homeric figures, see W. R. Nethercut, "The Imagery of the *Aeneid*," *CJ* 67 (1971-72) 136-43, especially 137; T. Van Nortwick, "Aeneas, Turnus, and Achilles," *TAPA* 110 (1980) 303-14; King 37-55; E. Valgiglio, "*Alius Latio iam partus Achilles*," in *Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a Francesco Della Corte* II 507-15 (Urbino 1987); and Traina 553-54. A. J. Boyle, *The Chaonian Dove* (Leiden 1986) 154ff., insists that *alius Achilles* refers exclusively to Aeneas.

<sup>9</sup> Clay 204, n. 26. The detail of the stained hair is probably based on the Homeric description of Hector being dragged in the dust (II. 22.401-403), as was first pointed out in Hartung's sixteenth-century commentary (see Knauer 350, n. 1).

Trojans beseech her, Minerva turns away and stares at the ground (*oculos aversa*, 1.482); while, when Amata and the Italians come to pray, it is Lavinia who averts her eyes (*oculos deiecta*, 11.480). This refusal to face the divinity (and vice-versa) has thematic significance, as will be shown below.

The fifth picture on Dido's temple depicts the dragging and selling of Hector's body (1.483-487). This relief is loosely based on the last book of the *Iliad*,<sup>10</sup> which also served in part as the model for the last scene of the *Aeneid*: each story involves the ultimate fate of the hero's main antagonist. Although Vergil's artistry required his audience to note the differences between Hector and Turnus and especially between Achilles and Aeneas, Aeneas is ultimately placed in Achilles' role, and Turnus suffers Hector's fate. The descriptions of the picture on Dido's temple and the final scene in the *Aeneid* are further connected by diction. The depiction of Hector's death draws a groan from Aeneas; and similarly the Rutulians moan as they watch Turnus fall (*gemitum*, 1.485; *gemitu*, 12.928). Degrees of despoiling also play a role in each scene. Aeneas sees Hector's bare body and the plundered armor (*spolia . . . ipsum corpus*, 1.486); and Turnus recognizes the possibility that his body will be deprived of life (*corpus spoliatum lumine*, 12.935). Austin may be right in commenting that *ipsum corpus* in 1.486 indicates "the mere body, without the attributes of life," thereby bringing the two passages even closer.<sup>11</sup> Details of supplication also correspond: Priam implores Achilles, just as Turnus begs Aeneas (*tendentemque manus*, 1.487; *tendere palmas*, 12.936).

The scene of Hector's ransom is one of the first pictures that Aeneas sees among the reliefs, although it is described by Vergil among the last. When Aeneas first approaches the temple, he catches a glimpse of the Atridae, Priam, and cruel Achilles (*saevum ambobus Achillem*, 1.458). Two themes are revealed by this last phrase, the first of which is savagery. In the last book of the poem Aeneas is similarly relentless (*saevus . . . / Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitatur ira*

<sup>10</sup> Vergil departs from Homer in saying that Achilles dragged the body of Hector three times around the walls and also in presenting the ransom as a commercial transaction, the first feature of which echoes Euripides' *Andromache* 107-108 (R. D. Williams 150, Stanley 270, E. C. Kopff, "Virgil and the Cyclic Epics," *ANRW* II 31.2 [1981] 930-31). According to Euripides, Achilles dragged Hector around Troy once, while on two occasions in Homer the body is drawn three times around Patroklos' body or monument (*Il.* 23.13-14, 24.16; cf. the original occasion: 22.395-404). The selling of Hector's body for gold (1.484) may be based on Achilles' exaggerated language in the *Iliad* (22.349-352), but Aeschylus actually depicted the gold-weighing in his *Phryges*, also called *Hektoros Lytra* (*Scholium* AT to *Il.* 22.351), as did Lycophron (*Alexandra* 269-270; cf. scholia to 270). It is possible that later versions of the myth by Dionysius, Timesitheus, Accius, and Ennius included the same detail. The weighing with scales is first shown in art on a Melian terracotta relief dating to 450/440 B.C.; see J. W. Graham, "The Ransom of Hector on a New Melian Relief," *AJA* 62 (1958) 313-19. The motif with scales was popular in Roman art: A. Kossatz-Deissmann, "Achilleus," *LIMC* I.1 (1981) 151-56; #664, 667, 674, 685-686, 688, 706, 711.

<sup>11</sup> Austin *ad* 1.486.

(12.107-108), and in the last scene he is described as having a savage heart (*saevo . . . pectore*) and grief (*saevi . . . doloris*).<sup>12</sup> Both Aeneas and Achilles are driven to brutality by their loyalty to lost friends. The description of Achilles' hostility to both the Atridae and Priam, however, evokes the other motif, that of the false friend. Achilles is vicious to both comrade and foe. As the *Aeneid* unfolds, we also see Aeneas, however justified, become hostile to his former friends (e.g., Dido and Latinus), although the Trojan's enmity is typically tinged with regret.

The last relief that the Trojans see on Dido's temple pictures the latecomers to the war, beside whom Aeneas himself fought: Memnon, his Aethiopians, and especially Penthesilea (1.488-493). This last portrait, as has often been noted,<sup>13</sup> immediately calls to mind Camilla. Both Penthesilea and Camilla are called *bellatrix* (1.493, 7.805), the only two instances of this word in the poem (one imagines the adjective could have been applied to Dido, Diana, or Harpalyce). Camilla resembles an Amazon or is numbered among them (*Amazon*, 11.648), as is the case with Penthesilea (*ducit Amazonidum . . . agmina*, 1.490). Each fights with one breast bared (*subnectens exsertae cingula mammae*, 1.492; *unum exserta latus pugnae*, 11.649; *exsertam . . . papillam*, 11.803). Both women are characterized as *furens* (1.491, 11.709, 11.762). Each takes on the task of a man: of Penthesilea we are told *audetque viris concurrere virgo* (1.493), to which can be compared the first picture of Camilla: *non illa colo calathisve Minervae/ femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia virgo/ dura pati* (7.805-807). Penthesilea and Camilla are connected not only by similar descriptions but also by explicit statement: Camilla is directly compared to Penthesilea (11.661-663). In the relief, Penthesilea is described as leading a band with lunate shields (*lunatis agmina peltis*, 1.490), a phrase that recurs in the simile comparing Camilla to Penthesilea (11.663).

All six reliefs on Dido's temple depict events of the Trojan War that will be echoed by incidents occurring in the Italian War as described especially in Books 9-12 of the *Aeneid*. Although some of the parallels are very close (especially the supplications of Minerva, the arrivals of Penthesilea and Camilla, and the deaths of Rhesus and Rhamnes), certain prominent details, such as the position of Troilus as he hangs from his chariot and the weighing of gold in the ransom of Hector, are unparalleled. The absence of complete correspondence, however, should not throw doubt on the connection between the Trojan War reliefs and the description of the Italian War. Although Vergil's depictions of art works always bear some relation to the surrounding narrative events, there is never exact correspondence.

<sup>12</sup> 12.888, 12.945, and *saevum . . . caedem/ suscitata* (12.498-499). Cf. *acer* (12.938), *terribilis* (12.947), and *fervidus* (12.951).

<sup>13</sup> Knauer 309; R. D. Williams 150; Johnson 104; G. Williams 68-70; Clay 203-04 and n. 25; A. La Penna, "Gli Archetipi epici di Camilla," *Maia* 40 (1988) 222-26.

Many unparalleled details, for instance, occur in the ecphrasis most similar to that of Dido's reliefs: the engravings on Apollo's temple (6.14-33). Vergil makes Dido's reliefs vivid and memorable by including unique details, while those elements that agree most closely (such as the supplications of Minerva) do not stand out as distinctly. Hence, ecphrases resemble similes in that a perfect correspondence does not result from the material compared.<sup>14</sup>

The reliefs in the first book are also connected with the events in the second half of the poem by another important means: their order. For the pictures on the Carthaginian temple are not described in the chronological order that we would expect: Troilus' death is not shown before that of Rhesus; and while Homer places the supplication of Athena before the night mission, Vergil reverses the order. We are forced, then, to ask what is meant when we are told that Aeneas saw the Trojan battles in order (*videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas*, 1.456).<sup>15</sup>

The order of the Carthaginian reliefs is determined neither by the chronology of Trojan events nor by their treatment in Homer but by Vergil's arrangement of the Italian War scenes to which the reliefs correspond: Nisus and Euryalus (9.314-449), Pallas and Lausus (10.439-509 and 769-832), supplication of Minerva (11.475-485), Turnus' entreaty of Aeneas (12.887-952).<sup>16</sup> There is one exception to this arrangement: Camilla's arrival and aristeia take place in Books 7 and 11. Nevertheless, the reason that Penthesilea appears last in the description of Dido's reliefs has been noted and explained by many critics: "The Amazonian queen inwardly prepares the reader and Aeneas for the appearance of Dido which follows immediately."<sup>17</sup> Like Penthesilea, Dido has fought with men (1.364, 4.40-44). The Carthaginian queen is also repeatedly called *furens* (the first such characterization occurs at 1.659, shortly after the description of Penthesilea). When Dido first enters the temple as Aeneas views the reliefs, she is compared to Diana surrounded by a thousand Oreades (*mille . . . Oreades*, 1.499-500). Eight lines earlier, we had been told that Penthesilea too was to be seen amid the thousands (*mediis in milibus*, 1.491). In short, as Anderson says, "Dido is not now Penthesilea, but the tragic death of the frenzied Amazon is destined to

<sup>14</sup> For more direct connections between similes and ecphrases in Vergil, see S. H. Lonsdale, "Simile and Ecphrasis in Homer and Virgil: The Poet as Craftsman and Choreographer," *Vergilius* 36 (1990) 7-30, especially 11-12.

<sup>15</sup> Servius *ad* 1.456 suggests that, while the whole war (*pugna*) was depicted on the temple, only the scenes involving Diomedes and Achilles are described by the narrator. The essential question, however, is how to explain the rationale of the order in Book 1. Clay 202 mysteriously states that the order is not historical but "psychological, psychagogic, and protreptic."

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Knauer 350, who considers these four reliefs "von besonderer Bedeutung" and ignores four others, which he considers less important. Stanley similarly considers the same four panels and states that "the panels provide clues *in sequence* to what lies ahead" (his emphasis).

<sup>17</sup> Pöschl 147. Cf. R. D. Williams 150, Di Cesare 14.



be Dido's, and the juxtaposition of the two women is a skillful instance of Vergilian foreshadowing."<sup>18</sup> Hence, the secondary role of the Penthesilea relief—to introduce Dido—forces it to appear last in the description, though this picture does not correspond with the last episode of the poem. In a curious way, however, the Camilla episode is associated with the end of the epic. The line closing Camilla's death scene is identical with the one ending the story of Turnus and the poem as a whole (11.831 = 12.952). In some small way, then, the identification between the Camilla and Turnus scenes in the second half of the *Aeneid* diminishes the reversal in the order of the reliefs with which they are connected.<sup>19</sup>

## II

Hence, the six reliefs described in Book 1 correspond with later episodes in diction and theme, but the connection is even more significant. The pictures on Juno's temple prefigure episodes in the last half of the *Aeneid* that illustrate a major motif of the poem. Again, the first and last pictures are transitional: the first introduces the wavering fortunes of war with different sides prevailing at different times, while the last scene contains some general material (Aeneas combatting the Argives, 1.488) and prepares for the arrival of Dido, with whom Aeneas will soon be in conflict. Nevertheless, all the reliefs in some way comment upon the limitations of *pietas* when confronted by *furor*.

The interaction between loyalty and irrationality is especially evident in the Nisus and Euryalus episode.<sup>20</sup> A noble cause impels the young men to undertake the night mission. In fact, we almost find a textbook definition of *pietas*: the piety of Nisus and Euryalus will preserve the gods of Troy, their patriotism will save their countrymen, and Euryalus' family devotion will safeguard his mother (*pietatis*, 9.294).<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, the two men are overcome by a lust for slaughter, as Nisus himself recognizes (*nimia caede atque cupidine*, 9.354). Euryalus burns and rages (*incensus et ipse/ perfurit*, 9.342-343). It is this madness that leads to their deaths.

<sup>18</sup> Anderson (1969) 28. Cf. G. B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation*, tr. S. George et al. (Ithaca 1986) 194-95.

<sup>19</sup> The connection in diction between the deaths of Camilla and Turnus imitates the repetition of lines marking the deaths of Patroclus and Hector in the *Iliad* (Knauer 310). Penthesilea's appearance in the last relief may also be connected with the fact that her arrival in Troy is announced in the last (variant) lines of the *Iliad* ( $\Sigma$  T ad 24.804, Knauer 309), although the order of the reliefs is not otherwise determined by the sequence of events in the *Iliad*.

<sup>20</sup> On the role of *furor* in the Nisus and Euryalus episode, see Otis 347-48 and M. C. J. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965) 51-52 and 57-58.

<sup>21</sup> The three aspects of *pietas* are indicated by the rewards promised to Nisus and Euryalus, who will be honored by the gods (9.253-254; cf. 247-248), by the people's leader (9.254-261), and by the safekeeping of Euryalus' mother (9.297-302).

It was noted earlier that Rhesus' horses never taste Trojan sustenance (*pabula*) and that this detail corresponds with the characterization of Nisus as a lion compelled to fast (*impastus*). At first glance this link may appear forced, but there is a thematic explanation. The fasting of Rhesus' horses foreshadows Troy's fall and the failure of the Trojan cause.<sup>22</sup> Nisus, too, is doomed by Euryalus' lack of moderation, which moves him to despoil his victims' bodies. After Euryalus removes Rhamnes' belt and horse-trappings, which he hangs from his shoulders in vain (*nequiquam*, 9.364), he takes Messapus' helmet, the piece of booty that ultimately betrays him. When Euryalus is caught, Nisus is impelled by *pietas* and *amor* to sacrifice his life. Hence, in contrast to Diomedes, who safely despoils Rhesus of his fasting horses and thereby dooms Troy (cf. *prodita*, 1.470), Nisus and Euryalus ruin themselves (*prodidit*, 9.374) through their immoderate slaughter and plunder (but they do end their lives heroically). The episode, which begins with Nisus' curiosity about the source of *cupido* (9.184-187), shows not only the origin but also the channeling of ardor (*nimia caede atque cupidine*, 9.354). The account also indicates that heroic action, even when predicated on virtue, can succumb to an irrationality that compromises all noble goals.<sup>23</sup>

The relief depicting Troilus' fate prefigures the deaths of Pallas and Lausus, all three of whom are youths overcome by stronger opponents (Vergil explicitly points out the similarities between Pallas and Lausus at 10.433-438). The juxtaposition between the two deaths in Book 10 is striking. Pallas has been raging (*furit*, 10.386) on the battlefield and, motivated chiefly by his zeal for glory, fatally meets Turnus in combat. Lausus, on the other hand, is driven by love for his father (10.789), by too much *pietas* according to Aeneas (*fallit te incautum pietas tua*, 10.812).<sup>24</sup> Important, too, are the responses of Turnus and Aeneas. The former allows Pallas' body to be returned but first despoils it, a lapse which Vergil castigates and whose fatal consequences he anticipates (10.501-505). Like Euryalus, Turnus allows his greed for booty to doom him. In contrast, although Aeneas rages madly (*furit*, 10.802; *demens*, 10.813), his respect for Lausus' filial devotion impels him to try to avoid battle with Lausus and, after

<sup>22</sup> Servius *ad Aen.* 1.469; cf. EbT *ad Il.* 10.435.

Parallel foreshadowing occurs in the next panels. When Achilles kills Troilus, he incurs Apollo's wrath and thereby dooms himself (Knauer 306 and R. D. Williams 149 with references). Similarly, when Achilles kills Hector, he brings on his own death (*Il.* 18.94-99). These allusions to the tradition are important as Aeneas becomes increasingly identified with Achilles.

<sup>23</sup> This point is illustrated by a significant detail: impressed by the virtue of Nisus and Euryalus, Ascanius had offered Turnus' helmet and shield as a reward (9.267-271). Instead, Euryalus takes Messapus' helmet and other booty and thereby dooms their mission.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago*, 10.824 (Aeneas' recognition of Lausus' dutifulness), to *animam patriae strinxit pietatis imago*, 9.294 (Ascanius' recognition of Euryalus' devotion). Similar diction is used in 6.405 of Aeneas' commitment to Anchises. Cf. Putnam (1981) 155, n. 10.

slaying him, to return the body undespoiled. Nevertheless, Aeneas, who stresses his own *pietas* at this moment (10.826), only succeeds in expressing this virtue after the fact, when he has killed the very youth whose *pietas* he admires.<sup>25</sup> Hence, once again loyalty is confronted and tested by irrationality, and the results are not entirely satisfactory.<sup>26</sup>

The fourth relief calls to mind the Rutulian women making supplication to Minerva as the Trojans are attacking. We are told that Turnus is arming himself in rage (*furens*, 11.486) after the bloody signal has been given (*signum . . . cruentem*, 11.474). Lavinia is caught between the violent hatred of Turnus and the *pietas* owed to Minerva,<sup>27</sup> whom she is too ashamed to face. Lavinia is innocent but is unwittingly the cause of the war (*causa mali tanti*, 11.480). While the relief in the first book focuses on Minerva, whose refusal to face the Trojans (*oculos aversa*) foreshadows the failure of their prayers, the latter scene depicts Lavinia with averted eyes (*oculos deiecta*), poised between *pietas* and *furor*, incapable of attaining either. Later she is compared to ivory stained by dye (*violaverit*, 12.67). The implication is that she retains her purity but has not avoided pollution.<sup>28</sup>

The relief portraying Hector's fate corresponds with the last scene of the *Aeneid*, in which, as is well known, irrationality (*furor*) again plays a major role. Aeneas is tending toward clemency for Turnus when he sees Pallas' belt, which drives him into rage (*furiis accensus et ira terribilis*, 12.946-947). Although some critics continue to focus exclusively on Aeneas' ultimate capitulation to the pervasive forces of irrationality, the matter is not so simple. The Trojan is faced with several irreconcilable claims demanded by *pietas*. Turnus makes an appeal for Daunus and himself by reminding Aeneas of his *pietas* for his own father. This petition for mercy coincides with another claim

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Otis 359: "[Aeneas] does not yet grasp the nature and nobility of Lausus. But when he turns to look at his victim's body, his mood changes completely . . . All he can actually do, however, is to hand over the body *undespoiled* . . ." (his emphasis). Nevertheless, Otis 360 sees "moral justification" in Aeneas' actions. Putnam (1981) 143 is closer to the mark when he writes "through his son's sacrifice the *contemptor divum* [Mezentius] elicits a vivid demonstration of *pietas* which in turn forces *pius* Aeneas to become a killer of the pious."

<sup>26</sup> Putnam (1981) 141 may overstress Aeneas' offense when he comments that "*pius* Aeneas performs the greatest act of *impietas* by killing first the son who protects, then his wounded father." Because the context is war, Aeneas' actions cannot be entirely faulted, but nevertheless Aeneas' response to Lausus' *pietas* is disquieting.

<sup>27</sup> Lavinia must also witness Amata's frenzy of hatred. E. Henry, "Virgil and the Monuments," *PVS* 18 (1986) 35, comments that "When Minerva rejects the prayers of the Trojan people, and later those of the Latins, the reason is the same. Those peoples have rejected her by choosing a course that is blindly irrational."

<sup>28</sup> La Penna lxiii goes too far in one direction when he calls Lavinia colorless, but Lyne (114-22 and *Words and the Poet* [Oxford 1989] 80-82 and 129-31) goes too far in the other direction when he delineates her feelings at length. The beauty of Vergil's characterization of Lavinia is its mysteriousness. She does not speak, nor can we read her thoughts.

of *pietas*, the advice of Anchises to spare the vanquished (6.853), which would also lead to a more amicable peace and meet some ideals of humanity.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the sight of the sword belt reminds Aeneas of the vengeance demanded by Aeneas' *pietas* to both Evander and Pallas. In choosing to kill Turnus, Aeneas honors one form of *pietas*, rejects other claims for such loyalty, and expresses his decision by means of *furor*.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, the Penthesilea relief corresponds with the Camilla scenes. As in the case of Euryalus and Turnus, Camilla's desire to despoil the dead leads to her death;<sup>31</sup> and, as in the previous parallels, she is characterized as *furens*. Hence, with the exception of the transitional first relief, all the scenes corresponding with the temple pictures involve some aspect of *furor* explicitly expressed: *perfurit* (9.343), *furit* (10.802), *furens* (11.486), *furiis* (12.946), *furens* (11.709 and 762).<sup>32</sup> This frenzied activity has a curious relation to piety.

Although *furor* may not be inherently *impius*,<sup>33</sup> it denotes a loss of control that can betray higher goals. Euryalus, Camilla, and Turnus, for instance, are led astray by their desire for booty. Turnus adds gratuitous cruelty to his *virtus* (10.443), and Aeneas, although eager for an equitable peace (12.189-194), is driven to burn down Latinus' city (12.567-573, 654-656, 672-675). There is a unity between the later scenes connected with Dido's reliefs that the reliefs themselves may not immediately reveal. As a whole, the episodes corresponding with the reliefs comment on the nature of frenzy and

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Servius *ad* 12.940: *ex eo quod hosti cogitat parcere, pius ostenditur* (quoted by Putnam [1990] 7, n. 1). See also Anderson (1969) 99 and S. Farron, "The *Furor* and *Violentia* of Aeneas," *Acta Classica* 20 (1977) 204-08, especially 208.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Clausen 100: "this terrible, final act of *pietas* required of the hero . . . the poet . . . will not explain away." Cf. Traina 554. Putnam, especially in his 1990 article, presents the most cogent and thoughtful case against exonerating Aeneas' slaying of Turnus as an acceptable act of *pietas*. Despite my admiration for King's article, I believe she overstates Aeneas' "dreadful perversion of *pietas*" when she asserts that in the last scene of the poem, "When Aeneas kills Turnus and says that Pallas 'sacrifices' him, he is exhibiting not an enthusiastic *pietas* but a sanctimonious Homeric fury." Karl Galinsky, "The Anger of Aeneas," *AJP* 109 (1988) 321-48, justifies Aeneas' *furor* by arguing that "To the contemporary Greek and Roman . . . the picture of the avenging Aeneas, who is stirred to anger and meting out punishment in proportion to the crime, would have looked anything but odd and out of place" (327).

<sup>31</sup> Another similarity between Nisus and Camilla is that their battle *furor* contrasts with the simple serenity of their earlier lives, as suggested by their rural hunting (9.244-245; 11.567-584).

<sup>32</sup> In addition, Nisus, who had been compared to a lion with bloody mouth (*fremet ore cruento*, 9.341), is identified with *Furor impius*, who is similarly described: *fremet horridus ore cruento* (1.296). The dying Pallas too has a bloody mouth (*ore cruento*, 10.489); *cruentus* is emphasized in the Pallas episode (10.462, 10.498) and appears in the supplication to Minerva (11.474) and Camilla (11.668) scenes also.

<sup>33</sup> *Furor* is characterized as *impius* in 1.294, but there can also be a proper *furor*, as in the public anger directed against Mezentius (*furiis . . . iustis*, 8.494); Putnam (1990) 27 (cf. 23) asserts that the latter case is the sole "instance of wrath which the narrator deems justifiable." Aeneas' frenzied desire for revenge and Camilla's battle fury are also commendable in many senses.

demonstrate the difficulty of performing one's duty with propriety. *Pietas* is not a simple goal that requires only dedication and great sacrifice; in fact, one must question whether it is attainable.<sup>34</sup> For not only does loyalty sometimes require means that insidiously divert one from the original intent, but the irreconcilable claims of piety preclude purity of choice. In a civilized culture, the pursuit of *pietas* always entails compromise and subsequent suffering.

As mentioned above, the reliefs themselves may not immediately disclose a unified theme, but the narrative scenes corresponding with them are highly suggestive. If we return to the reliefs, we are struck by the salient role Achilles plays. Even in the general first picture, he is seen routing the Trojans. He reappears in the Troilus and Hector reliefs and is implicitly recalled in the pictures of Memnon and Penthesilea, both of whom he killed. Clausen comments: "The figure of Achilles dominates these scenes . . . .The intended effect? The man of sensibility contemplates the man of violence."<sup>35</sup> But the reliefs also foreshadow the Italian War. The man of sensibility observes the man of violence he will become, the man whose route to *pietas* is repeatedly impeded.

If the reliefs in the first book evoke acts of *furor* destined to occur in the Italian War, why should this message be presented at this early point in the poem?<sup>36</sup> When Aeneas approaches Dido's temple, he sees representations of past suffering: between scenes depicting the vacillating fortunes of battle and the arrival of new recruits, the deaths and fates of Rhesus, Troilus, and Hector are portrayed; and Minerva is shown unwilling to spare the mismatched Trojans.<sup>37</sup> Although one picture compels him to groan, Aeneas is uplifted by reliefs that exhibit the *furor* of war. Earlier with false hope, he had attempted to encourage his men by asserting that the memory of past ordeals might some day prove pleasurable (1.198-209). Inspired by the recognition that Trojan suffering has appeared memorable to a compassionate people, Aeneas seems to experience this very gratification at Dido's temple:<sup>38</sup> "In this place Aeneas first dared to hope for safety and to be more confident amid his troubles" (1.451-452). The

<sup>34</sup> Cf. King 54: "An individual person, no matter how intrinsically good, has little control over [war and wrath] that threaten both from within and without."

<sup>35</sup> Clausen 131, n. 8. Cf. Servius *ad* 1.456, Horsfall 8, Putnam (1987) 186, Clay 204.

<sup>36</sup> For the role of *furor* in Vergil's treatment of the Trojan War, see B. Fenik, "Parallelism of Theme and Imagery in *Aeneid* I and IV," *AJP* 80 (1959) 7-8. For the role of *furor* in the *Aeneid* as a whole, see Pöschl 13ff.; Otis 226-34 and *passim*; Lyne 28, 31, 182-83, and 185-88; and Traina 554. For *furiae* in the poem, see Putnam (1990), especially 27-34.

<sup>37</sup> The motif of inequality, evident in Book 2, is emphasized in the ecphrasis: Rhesus must confront Diomedes while still asleep, Troilus is an *impar congressus*, Pallas is *non aequa*, Priam must approach Achilles with *inermes* hands, and a *virgo* must combat men (for the last detail, compare Johnson 104 on Camilla).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Servius *ad* 1.461, Williamson, Austin *ad* 461ff.

enshrinement of past griefs indicates not only some recognition for memorable suffering but also a termination to such distress. But the *pictura* on which Aeneas feeds his hope is indeed *inanis* (1.464). The irony is that the scenes comforting him prefigure similar tribulations that he must soon undergo, trials in which *pietas* either will prove ineffective or in some sense must yield to *furor*. At the very point that Aeneas first gains hope from past ordeals, new ordeals are suggested.<sup>39</sup> Dido's reliefs look both backwards and forwards: they recall past anguish and prefigure endless suffering to come.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> For some comments on *pictura inani*, see A. Parry, "The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Arion* 2.4 (1963) 66-80, especially 79-80; and Johnson 103-05. For the idea that the reliefs foreshadow future toils, see Heinze 400, Knauer 289 and *passim*, Anderson (1957) 18, G. Williams 93; King 36; Clay 196. For the irony of Aeneas taking comfort from works of art on a Temple of Juno depicting Trojan sufferings, see Otis 66 and 238, Stanley 273-74, Di Cesare 11-12, Johnson 103-05, Horsfall 7-8, Lyne 209-10, Putnam (1987) 186, O'Hara 134 and 183.

<sup>40</sup> A version of this article was presented at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association in 1980. I am grateful to Richard Thomas for suggesting many years later that I revive it. Despite their differences with the views expressed here, E. Christian Kopff and Nicolas Horsfall made useful suggestions from which I have benefited. I am also grateful to Sarah Spence, Jerry Clack, and the *CW* referees.

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