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SAEVIT MEDIO IN CERTAMINE: MARS IN THE *AENEID*

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The significance of the god Mars in Virgil's *Aeneid* has been little studied.[1] Our investigation of all the epiphanies and references to the war god in the epic will demonstrate how the poet uses Mars as a key, unifying figure in the development of the political and ethnic revelations of his work. In the final analysis, we shall see that the father of the children of the wolf will be associated with Aeneas' principal antagonist Turnus, and that the poet will thereby illustrate and highlight the ultimate victory of the Italian cause over the Trojan.

The first appearance[2] of Mars comes at a dramatic moment in the speech of Jupiter to Venus in the opening book of the epic,[3] as the supreme divinity announces that Romulus and Remus will be the children of Mars, and that Romulus will found Mavortian walls – walls of Mars – that will take their name from their founder:

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[1] See especially here E. Montanari, "Marte", in *VE* III, pp. 391–4; A. Rossi, "Mars", in *VE* II, pp. 793–4; and C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil*, Oxford 1935, 109–17.

[2] We are in all likelihood compelled to omit consideration of the problematic *Aeneid* 1,1d … *at nunc horrentia Martis*, on which see the spirited treatment of Henry ad loc.; R. Austin, "*Ille Ego Qui Quondam* …", *CQ* 18 (1968) 107–15 (and the same author's commentary ad loc.); P. Hansen, "*Ille Ego Qui Quondam* … Once Again", *CQ* 22 (1972) 139–49; also C. Murgia, "The Donatian Life of Virgil, DS, and D", *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 7 (1974) 257–77. Of course if the lines are genuine, then our god takes on a truly impressive prominence in the theology of the epic.

[3] For a start in exploration of the immense import of this address, see J. Hejduk, "Jupiter's *Aeneid*: *Fama* and *Imperium*", *ClAnt* 28 (2009) 279–327.

hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos
Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet
moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet (1,273–277).[4]

The moment is solemn; Jupiter here announces the shift in focus from the three hundred year sojourn of the kings at Alba Longa to the future Rome. The dominant figures are Mars and Romulus;[5] they appear in chiastic splendor (*Marte*... *Romulus*...*Mavortia*...*Romanos*).[6] Somewhere in the experience of the birth of Romulus and the suckling of the twins by the celebrated she-wolf, we move from Troy (*gente sub Hectorea*...*Ilia*) to Rome (*Romulus*...*Romanos*); somewhere in the process of the nativity and upbringing of the children of Mars we move from the dead city of the past to the living power of Virgil's present and future. The twins' birth mother Ilia will be removed from the scene, as it were (in accord with the reality of the death of the city whose name she shares); a wolf will replace her in the rearing of the offspring of the god of war.[7]

There are two mentions of Mars in Aeneas' great recounting at Dido's banquet of the night Troy fell; both occurrences can be listed under the broad classification of metonymical uses. At 2,335 … *caeco Marte resistunt*, Pandarus reports to Aeneas on the battle situation at the gates of the doomed city; at 2,440 *sic Martem indomitum*, Aeneas describes the martial mayhem at Priam's palace.[8] Significantly, perhaps, Mars would appear to be missing from Venus' revelation

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[4] All quotes from Virgil are taken from R. Mynors, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, Oxford 1969 (corrected reprint, 1972).

[5] On the emphatic Virgilian declaration regarding the name of the future settlement, see J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*, Ann Arbor 1996, 122; cf. G. Bartelink, *Etymologisering bij Vergilius*, Amsterdam 1965, 67.

[6] Virgil often reserves the use of chiastic arrangements for especially dramatic effects; see here D. Quint, "Virgil's Double Cross: Chiasmus and the *Aeneid*", *AJPh* 132 (2011) 273–300; the multiple publications of Gian Franco Pasini. For *Mavors vs*. *Mars*, see Horsfall ad 3,35.

[7] On the intertext of Virgil with Ennius' *Annales* and transposition of the Ennian Mars to the Virgilian Dido story, see J. Reed, *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid*, Princeton 2007, 191–2; more generally on Ennius' influence, see N. Goldschmidt, *Shaggy Crowns: Ennius' Annales and Virgil's Aeneid*, Oxford 2013, 76–9.

[8] On both passages see Horsfall (and Austin) ad loc.

of the divine forces that are active in the destruction of Troy in the extraordinary vision at 2,604–623 – unless the unnamed *ipse pater* of 2,617 is understood to be not Jupiter but the father of the future Rome.[9] We might note the progression from the gates of Troy to Priam's royal enclosure; it would of course make sense to have some appearance of the great war god in the dismantling of Troy.[10]

On arrival in Thrace, at the ill-fated site of the burial of the Trojan prince Polydorus, Aeneas makes offering to *Gradivus pater*, the patron of the Getae:[11]

> *multa movens animo Nymphas venerebar agrestis*
> *Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis* (3,34–35).

The name *Gradivus* has caused puzzlement since antiquity;[12] the mention of the god comes soon after the very land of Thrace is called a Mavortian place (13,13 *terra...Mavortia*), a land once ruled by Lycurgus (3,14).[13] In the name of the Thracian king there is an echo of the lupine theme; this is the first landfall for the Trojan exiles after the departure from Troy, and while of baleful omen, it is under the patronage of the war god whence Romulus will be born in a later age. Jupiter had pledged that Romulus would found Mavortian walls; here, the presence of the Mavortian land might seem to bode well for a Trojan settlement. In point of fact, Thrace is not hospitable to the Trojans – and we may see here a hint that Mavortian lands are not, perhaps, sympathetic to Trojan *mores*.

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[9] Horsfall notes here that *ipse pater* appears elsewhere in the epic of Anchises; Latinus; Metabus; Portunus (*pater ipse*) and Pluto (and cf. 12,701–703, the description of *pater Apenninus*) – of course in each of those cases, there is no ambiguity as to the referent. See below on 6,780, where something of the same situation occurs – and in a context heavy with reminiscences of the opening address of Jupiter to his daughter – though there *superum* makes the Jovian identification clearer – and note 7,306 *ipse … genitor*, clearly of Jupiter.

[10] But if Mars is indeed absent from the divine destruction of Troy, the question remains as to why; the answer may lie in the signal place of the god in Jupiter's speech: we may well be led to imagine that Mars – the lover of Venus – favors the Trojan cause (Venus, of course, would never assist in the ruin of her beloved city of Troy). In the end, though, the god will find association with Aeneas' most fearsome enemy, Turnus.

[11] For a dark reading of Aeneas' repeated actions in this scene, see J. Dyson, *King of the Wood: The Sacrificial Victor in Virgil's Aeneid*, Norman (OK) 2001, 37.

[12] See further Horsfall ad loc., with references both ancient and modern.

[13] See here M. Paschalis, *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names*, Oxford 1997, 114–6 (on Lycurgus' *Mavortia terra*); p. 111 n. 2 (on Gradivus as symbol of Aeneas' *gradus* or ascent and struggle).

At 6,164–165, Aeneas' doomed trumpeter Misenus is said to have been outstanding beyond all others at sounding the call for war: … *quo non praestantior alter* / *aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu*.[14] Once again, we find the metonymy by which the god's name signifies war;[15] interestingly, the mention of the god here once again comes in a Hectorean context: Misenus was a companion of Hector, and the Trojan hero is given emphatic highlight: *Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum* / *et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta* (6,166–167). In Jupiter's great address to Venus, Mars' ravishing of Ilia is announced after the mention of the *gens Hectorea* that holds sway at Alba Longa (1,274–275); now the death of Hector's companion Misenus is announced, and with special reference to the musician's talent at summoning the Trojans (implicitly) to the works of Mars. The Misenus passage is rich in the traditions of the lost city of Troy, the Hectorean past that yields, as it were, to a Romulean future.

In Book I, the mention of the Hectorean race yielded to the great vision of Mars' offspring Romulus; the pattern is maintained in Book 6. From the death of Hector's *comes* Misenus we move inexorably to the great vision in the underworld, the eschatological majesty of the Virgilian *Heldenschau*.[16] Here, *Mavortian* Romulus makes his appearance, in a passage that strengthens and (in a sense) fulfills the predictions of Jupiter:[17]

> *quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet*
> *Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater*
> *educet. viden, ut geminae stant vertice cristae*
> *et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?* (6,777–780)[18]

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[14] On Misenus see *inter al*. M. Dinter, "Epic and Epigram: Minor Heroes in Virgil's *Aeneid*", *CQ* 55 (2005) 153–69.

[15] "Routine" metonymy, Horsfall notes ad loc.

[16] On Norden's connection of the parade of heroes with the statues on both sides of the temple of Mars Ultor, see E. Henry, *The Vigour of Prophecy: A Study of Virgil's Aeneid*, Carbondale (IL) 1989, 41; more generally, R. Smith, *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil's Aeneid*, Austin 2005, 128 ff.

[17] The relevance of the storied *sidus Iulium* to this passage is beyond the scope of the present study; see further G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus: Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der Aeneis*, Meisenheim am Glan 1971, 226 ff.; also B. Grassman-Fischer, *Die Prodigien in Vergils Aeneis*, München 1966, 124 ff.

[18] On this passage see especially M. Putnam, "Romulus Tropaeophorus (*Aeneid* 6.779–80)", *CQ* 35 (1985) 237–40; also W. Basson, *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid*, Amsterdam 1975, 24 ff. On the vast problem of repeated scenes and images in the poem, see as a start D. Quint,

Another *comes*, this time of Numitor; Romulus has an unassailable Trojan lineage, and he is the son of Mars.[19] The double-crested insignia was proper to Romulus and an inheritance of Mars, as it were;[20] Servius thought that the *duplex* image reflected a tradition of the eventual reconciliation of Romulus and Remus, but the key point here is that the son of the god wears the accoutrement of his divine father. *Pater ipse* refers to Jupiter, almost certainly (the genitive plural *superum* helps here, in comparison to 2,617, where the divine referent is rather more ambiguous) – but in the immediate context, the salient fact that Mars was Romulus' father serves almost to shade Mars and Jupiter into one paternal image of protection and patronage for Rome.[21]

Curiously, this moment of triumphant splendor will be transformed into a darker image as the catalogue of heroes draws to a close; the city of Mars will be in mourning over the death of Marcellus:

> *quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem*
> *campus aget gemitus!* (6,872–873)[22]

Almost a hundred verses after the first mention of the god in the underworld vision, we are presented with the image of a city in lament over the loss of a would-be successor of the *princeps* Augustus.[23] But once again, Rome is firmly the city of Romulus and his father Mars.

Aeneas and his Trojans arrive at last in Latium. In Latinus' palace, the wooden statues of the king's storied forebears include those who suffered wounds in war on behalf of their country: … *aliique ab origine reges*, / *Martiaque ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi* (7,181–182). As the commentators have noted, the sentiment is virtually repeated from 6,660 *hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi*, of souls in Elysium; in the immediate context, one thinks of the

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"Repetition and Ideology in the *Aeneid*", *MD* 23 (1989) 9–54.

[19] See Horsfall here for the important note that this Trojan lineage comes from Virgil's sources – though of course the poet could have chosen to give less emphasis to the point than he does.

[20] On this see Basson (*op. cit*. n. 18), 64 ff.

[21] See here R. Stem, "The Exemplary Lessons of Livy's Romulus", *TAPhA* 137 (2007) 435–71.

[22] "The founder's father, the cult of Mars and the city's prowess at arms might all be relevant here" (Horsfall ad 6,873).

[23] Concise and good commentary here can be found at S. Mack, *Patterns of Time in Vergil*, Hamden (CONN) 1978, 71–2.

imminent outbreak of war in Latium, which is foreshadowed by the mention of Janus immediately before the present passage (7,180) – soon enough the gates of the god's temple will be opened for the conflict between Aeneas and the Latins. What had been a mysterious, mystical image in the storied meadows of Elysium is now reality in the statues that are venerated in the king's palace; both the ghosts of the Virgilian underworld and Latinus' cedar works, however, are but prelude to the bloody battle to ensue – the rebirth of the *Iliad*. And, significantly, the souls in Elysium – we might think here, too, of the revelation of the Roman future that climaxed with the ill-fated Marcellus – are here associated with the glorious personages of the Italian past.

Mars figures prominently in Jupiter's speech to Venus from the epic's first book; in this opening book of the second half of the *Aeneid*, Mars reappears as Juno makes her complaint about her inability to suppress the Trojans; as in Book I with the story of Mars and Ilia/Rhea Silvia, so here we find the god in a true mythological sense, as it were, not a simple metonymy for war. Mars is linked with *Diana* (via Jupiter) as an example of an immortal who was able to work his vengeance and frustration on mortal targets:

> *... Mars perdere gentem*
> *immanem Lapithum valuit, concessit in iras*
> *ipse deum antiquam genitor Calydona Dianae* (7,304–306)

The pairing of immortals is interesting; one would not naturally think of them in close association.[24] Juno's point is simple enough, and not dissimilar to her complaints at 1,37–49, where she mentioned Pallas' destruction of the Lesser Ajax: other (implicitly lesser) deities have been allowed to punish their human foes.[25] On one level, the mention of these two immortals and their acts of vengeance can be dismissed as mere mythological cataloging; the matter is minor and quickly forgotten. But on another level, one can draw associations with other passages of the epic. The Lapiths were most famous for their conflict the Centaurs, a battle Virgil mentions at *Georgic* 2,455–457; the poet also notes that the Lapiths were responsible for giving instruction in the art of fighting on horseback (*Georgic*

[24] See Horsfall here for the relatively slender evidence of Mars' anger with the Lapiths.

[25] For the parallelism see E. Fraenkel, "Some Aspects of the Structure of *Aeneid* VII", *JRS* 35 (1945) 1–14 (reprinted in S. Harrison, *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, Oxford 1990, 253–76).

3,115–117).[26] In the case of both the Lapiths and the Calydonians, a failure to render sacrifice provoked the respective angry immortal. The rage of Artemis/Diana at Calydon is much better known than that of Ares/Mars with the Lapiths; it is foundational to the story of Meleager that dominates the great address of Phoenix to Achilles at *Iliad* 9,430–605.[27]

In the mention of Mars and Diana in relation to the Lapiths and the Calydonians we have an introduction to Virgil's Camilla, who will appear at the close of *Aeneid* 7 as the final figure in the catalog of Turnus' forces. The Lapiths were associated with equestrian battles, indeed with the teaching of the art of cavalry warfare; in Camilla's battle scenes in *Aeneid* 11, she will be the central figure in the great equestrian combat before the walls of Latinus' capital – and she will fall as the most prominent casualty of the day's struggle. In some sense the defeat of Camilla is a poetic allegory of the Battle of Actium, with Camilla as Cleopatra and her killer Arruns as Lucius Arruntius, who commanded the center of the Roman fleet that directly opposed Octavian.[28] In Homer, Cleopatra is the wife of Meleager, with whom the hero stays in repose while his Aetolians clamor for his participation in the fight against the Curetes;[29] there is no mention in Homer of the celebrated place of Atalanta in the Calydonian boar hunt, or her part in the ultimate fate of Meleager – but Ovid, for one, saw clear parallels between the lore of Atalanta and Meleager and the Virgilian Camilla.[30] In Virgil, too, we should note that Turnus abandons what might well have been his opportunity to win the war against Aeneas in the wake of the death of Camilla (11,896 ff.) when he gives up his planned ambush for Aeneas and succumbs to the emotional reaction Jupiter demands in order to save the Trojans from destruction (11,901–902). Homer's

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[26] See Erren, Mynors, and Thomas ad loc.; also H. Westervelt in *VE* II, 719.

[27] Little notice has been paid to these references; see M. Putnam, "Virgil's Lapiths", *CQ* 40 (1990) 562–6; note also W. Kühn, *Götterszenen bei Vergil*, Heidelberg 1971, 104.

[28] See further Fratantuono ad 11,759.

[29] Note here *inter al*. S. Swain, "A Note on *Iliad* 9.524–99: The Story of Meleager", *CQ* 38 (1988) 271–6; also J. Rosner, "The Speech of Phoenix: *Iliad* 9.434–605", *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 314–27.

[30] The matter is discussed fully by I. Ziogas, *Ovid and Hesiod: The Metamorphosis of the Catalogue of Women*, Cambridge, 2013, 167–74; see also L. Fratantuono, "*Posse putes*: Virgil's Camilla, Ovid's Atalanta", in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* XII, Bruxelles 2005, 185–93; N. Horsfall, "Epic and Burlesque in Ovid, *Met*. viii. 260ff.," *CJ* 74 (1979) 319–32.

Meleager stayed with Cleopatra; Virgil's Turnus – the new Achilles[31] – abandons his battle plan because of the Cleopatran Camilla. Jupiter and Apollo secure the destruction of Camilla;[32] significantly, at 7,305–306, it is Jupiter who is cited as allowing Diana to vent her anger against Calydon. Diana will, after all, be allowed to work her vengeance in *Aeneid* 11, when her nymph Opis will be permitted to slay Camilla's killer Arruns; Jupiter may be able to destroy Camilla (with the connivance, in the end, of Diana's brother Apollo via the machinations of his devotee Arruns)[33] – but it will be possible for Diana to see to the destruction of the agent of the Jovian and Apollonian will, just as she sent the boar against Calydon – and just as Mars was able to punish the Lapiths.[34] By the time we find Turnus explicitly connected to Mars, we shall understand the full import of Juno's reference here to Mars and Diana; the foreshadowing is of Turnus and Camilla, who will, in an important sense, serve as the prime mortal agents of Juno's will in the Iliadic *Aeneid* – just as the Fury Allecto and, too, the Dira Jupiter employs in *Aeneid* 12 will serve as immortal avatars.[35]

Juno's laments about the limits to her power come just before she summons the Fury Allecto; once the infernal goddess does her work on Juno's behalf, the battle in Latium begins in earnest – and Mars is, appropriately enough, present at least metonymically (7,540 *atque ea per campos aequo dum Marte geruntur*). The mention of the god comes just after the deaths of Almo and Galaesus;[36] once their bodies are brought back to Latinus' city, Amata and her female companions begin to demand war in Bacchic frenzy:

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31 Cf. *Aeneid* 6,89–90.

32 Cf. the Apollonian references at Homer, *Iliad* 9,561–564.

33 A poetic reinvention of the associations of Arruntius/Apollo with the defeat of Cleopatra at Actium. But Virgil will have surprises for the reader in his depiction of the Volscian heroine.

34 And, too, any lycanthropic associations for Camilla might plausibly connect her to the anthropomorphic Centaurs.

35 Cf. Allecto with Turnus and the Dira with Juturna; in the end, both Turnus and Camilla will die (with their deaths linked closely by the poet) – but their cause may prove the victorious one in the final analysis.

36 For the rich associations of the latter name, see M. Putnam, "Silvia's Stag and Virgilian Ekphrasis", *MD* 34 (1995) 107–33; on the scene in general see T. Joseph, "The Death of Almo in Virgil's Latin War", *NECJ* 39 (2012) 99–112.

tum quorum attonitae Baccho nemora avia matres
insultant thiasis (neque enim leve nomen Amatae)
undique collecti coeunt Martemque fatigant. (7,580–582)

The god's name reappears once again in balanced repetition, as the first casualties are identified.[37] Between these appearances, we learn that Allecto has the ability to spread the madness of war throughout the world; she offers to work her infernal magic on a vast scale – a terrifying prospect that triggers the first act of pause and relent on the part of Juno. Here, Allecto defines the god – or at least the spirit of war – as nothing less than insane: *accendamque animos insani Martis amore* (7,550).[38] Mars may be the patron of Rome via the paternity of Romulus – but the power of the god is a dangerous and indeed likely uncontrollable force.[39]

War in Italy has erupted; fittingly, the god's name recurs as Virgil describes the terrible opening of the *Belli portae* that in this particular case the goddess Juno herself will fling open.[40] Father Gradivus had been associated with the Getae (3,35); they reappear now as the poet describes the sort of occasion on which the doors of the temple of Janus might be opened (7,603–604 … *cum prima movent in proelia Martem*, / *sive Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum* [*parant*]). The gates of war are marked by both *religio* and *formido*; the fear, in this case, is of the god who rejoices in their opening: *sunt geminae Belli portae* (*sic nomine dicunt*) / *religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis* (7,607–608). Virgil's description of the gates is reminiscent of his account of the *Somni portae* at 6,893 ff.; while a solution to the vexed problem of the gates of sleep may not be found in Juno's opening of the temple of Janus, the poet clearly wanted the two passages to be associated. We moved from the souls in Elysium that had received wounds on behalf of their *patria* to the statues in Latinus' palace that honored the same sort of heroes; now we advance from the gates that served as a conduit for dreams to exit the underworld to the chilling gates of war at the temple of Janus.

When Vulcan visits his Cyclopic workmen to arrange for the forging of the arms of Aeneas, they are busy with projects that include a chariot for Mars: *parte alia Marti currumque rotasque volucris* / *instabant, quibus ille viros, quibus ex-*

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[37] Note too that Janus is mentioned at VII, 180, just before the first appearance of the name of Mars in the book.

[38] Cf. the *scelerata insania belli* of 7,461.

[39] See further here A. Syson, *Fama and Fiction in Vergil's Aeneid*, Columbus 2013, 25.

[40] On this scene see in particular D. Fowler, "Opening the Gates of War (*Aen*. 7.601–40)", in H.-P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*, Swansea 1998, 155–74.

citat urbis (8,433–434).[41] The reference is of course to the god himself; another metonymical reference comes at 8,495 *regem ad supplicium praesenti Marte reposcunt*, of the war of those Etruscans who wish to see Mezentius punished for his wicked rule *vs*. Turnus' Rutulians, to be followed almost at once by 8,515–516 *… sub te tolerare magistro / militiam et grave Martis opus*, of the apprenticeship in war that Evander's son Pallas will serve (to his eventual doom) under Aeneas.[42] As Aeneas' reinforcements prepare to leave for war, there is fear and trepidation among the women (8,556 *vota metu duplicant matres*) – and, in eerie language, it is almost as if the god himself is making a slow and inexorable epiphany:

> *... propiusque periclo*
> *it timor et maior Martis iam apparet imago.* (8,556–557)

The very image of the god appears now, and it is greater (i.e., than before).[43] There is something of a seeming contradiction in the progression of images; Vulcan's Cyclopes had put aside their work on Mars' chariot – but nonetheless the image of the god has increased – a testament to his power and influence.[44]

This abundance of references to Mars serves as mere prolegomenon to the climactic appearance of the god on the shield of Aeneas in the depiction of the naval battle at Actium.[45] At the very beginning of the ecphrasis, the god appears in another metonymical reference; he will appear in his mythological self later:

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[41] A useful exploration of several of the problems of interpretation of the shield and its provenance = S. McCarter, "The Forging of a God: Venus, the Shield of Aeneas, and Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*", *TAPhA* 142 (2012) 355–81.

[42] Useful here = S. Papaïoannou, "Founder, Civilizer, and Leader: Vergil's Evander and His Role in the Origins of Rome", *Mnemosyne* 56 (2003) 680–702.

[43] See Gransden here, who compares 12,560 (where see Tarrant).

[44] For an introduction to the vast topic of the Lucretian intertext of Mars and Venus that underscores much of Virgil's depiction of the securing of the arms, see A. Powell, *Virgil the Partisan: A Study in the Re-Integration of Classics*, Swansea 2008, 149 ff. In the putting aside of Mars' chariot to make way for Aeneas' shield, there may be a subtle foreshadowing of the forthcoming revelations of Turnus as Mars and the rather complicated associations and implications that are thereby established.

[45] Beyond the scope of this study is the Virgilian association on the shield and in the underworld of Actium with the Gallic invasion of Rome; see here W. Clausen, *Virgil's Æneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1987, 80–1.

in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella,
cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte videres
fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus. (8,675–677)[46]

In the actual depiction of the battle, Cleopatra is in the center of the scene (8,696 *regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro*); significantly, she is unnamed.[47] She is alive and well for now – but she does not see the snakes that lurk behind her (*necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis*). The anthropomorphic gods of Egypt are there, too – Anubis most prominently. Neptune, Venus, and Minerva do battle with them in divine combat.[48] Mars rages in the midst:

... saevit medio in certamine Mavors
caelatus ferro ... (8,700–701)[49]

The Dirae descend from the *aether*; Discordia and Bellona are present, too[50] – and Actian Apollo looms over all (8,704–705). The participial form of the verb that describes his oversight of the scene – *cernens* – is, significantly, identical to that which introduced the whole ecphrasis – *cernere erat* (8,675). The description of Mars is borrowed from Catullus' c. 64,394 *saepe in letifero belli certamine*

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[46] For commentary see especially R.Thomas, "Virgil's Ecphrastic Centerpieces", *HSCPh* 87 (1983) 175–84; M. Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid*, New Haven 1998, 119–88.

[47] See here P. Chaudhuri, "Naming Nefas: Cleopatra on the Shield of Aeneas", *CQ* 62 (2012) 223–6.

[48] Minerva merits close study in conjunction with Mars, given their shared battle bailiwicks; see here *inter al*. M. Wilhelm, "Minerva in the *Aeneid*," in R. Wilhelm – H. Jones (eds.), *The Two Worlds of the Poet: New Perspectives on Vergil*, Detroit 1992, 74–81; L. Fratantuono in *VE* II, 831–2.

[49] On the significance of this scene in the larger contexts of the responses of Virgil both to Homer and to the depiction of Roman history, see E. Vance, "Warfare and the Structure of Thought in Virgil's *Aeneid*", *QUCC* 15 (1973) 111–62, 151.

[50] In the advance from Discordia to Bellona we see something of the progression from the war at Troy to the Battle of Actium (another east-west conflict); the Dirae, for their part, will figure significantly in the closing movements of the poem, as Turnus moves inexorably to his end – and their, too, what we might call the "twinning" theme will be present, as Jupiter chooses one of two Dirae to bring his edict to Juturna that she abandon her aid to her doomed brother (12,853). See further here D. Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius*, Oxford 1998, 116–7.

Mavors, in a passage where the poet concludes his great epyllion on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis with a reflection on how once the immortals visited the earth. Mars, Tritonis, and the Rhamnusian virgin[51] regularly used to lead cohorts of armed men in battle; the clear implication is that this direct divine intervention no longer occurs.[52] In the vision of the shield, Virgil shows something of a reversal of the Catullan paradigm; the immortals *were* present at Actium, just as they were present at the destruction of Troy.[53] And this time, Mars is at the center of the action, even if it Apollo who presides over the victory. If we can associate Cleopatra with Camilla and Mars with Turnus, then the shield displays an elegant ballet of the players in the settlement of not only Rome *per se* but the rebirth of Rome under Octavian.

The first engagement in battle between the Turnus and the Trojans opens with suitably Ennian fanfare (9,503 ff.).[54] The Italians assail the Trojan camp with siege weaponry; they fail in their efforts to take the position, though Turnus will in the end break inside the enclosure. At a moment of frustration and trial for his forces, they decide to use missile weapons to clear the Trojan ramparts – preferring this to the hazards of "blind Mars": … *nec curant caeco contendere Marte / amplius audaces Rutuli* (9,518–519). The scene is reminiscent of the rather different 2,335, as the commentators have noted; in any case, any assault on a Trojan camp would evoke memories of the terrible last night of the great city.

The next "appearance" of the god is the first of three that occur in a simile – and it is one of the most significant mentions of Mars in the epic. Turnus attacks the Trojan hero Lycus – and his action is compared to that of an eagle that snatches a hare or a swan – and to that of a wolf of Mars that steals a lamb (9,563–566).[55] The Homeric antecedents here link Turnus to Hector and Mene-

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[51] I.e., Nemesis, on whose appearance see here M. Skinner, "Rhamnusia Virgo", *ClAnt* 3 (1984) 134–41.

[52] See further M. Fernandelli, *Catullo e la rinascita dell'epos: dal carme 64 all'Eneide*, Hildesheim 2012, 254–5; R. Sklenář, "How to Dress (For) an Epyllion: The Fabrics of Catullus 64", *Hermes* 134 (2006) 385–97; also G. Townend, "The Unstated Climax of Catullus 64", *G&R* 30 (1983) 21–30.

[53] On certain Homeric intertexts and implications for the Virgilian depiction of Mars on the shield, see P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmas and Imperium*, Oxford 1986, 344. For the vast problem of the related Empedoclean influence, see, e.g., D. Nelis, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*, Leeds 2001, 346 ff.

[54] See both Hardie and Dingel ad loc.

[55] Besides the aformentioned commentaries ad loc., see R. Hornsby, *Patterns of Action in the*

laus – but the eagle is associated with no one less than Jupiter himself, and the wolf is explicitly connected to Mars – and, by extension, the key wolf of the epic, the nurse of Mars' children Romulus and Remus.[56] The hare is swift-footed, like Lycus; the swan may well represent something of an attack on none other than the Trojan patroness Venus. Hardie notes ad loc. the affinities of the present simile to 11,721–724, where Camilla's attack on the Ligurian son of Aunus is compared to the evisceration of a dove by an accipiter; we might add that despite the lupine associations of both Turnus and Camilla, Virgil also draws explicit association between Camilla's assassin Arruns and a wolf (11,810–815), a comparison that may connect to traditions of Apollonian wolf-slayers.[57] There may be some point to the use of the Greek *vs*. the Latin names for wolf here; Turnus, in any case, is firmly associated with the latter and all that its traditions imply.[58] The simile associates Turnus with the founding of Rome, and distantly presages the actions of Camilla and her own part in the same lore. From the failure of the Rutulians to take the Trojan camp, Turnus emerges as the wolf of Mars – a sire of the future Rome. The image crowns the initial association of Turnus with a wolf at 9,59–64; the hero has triumphed in ways he could scarcely know, as it were.[59] And soon enough, Turnus will be explicitly associated not merely with the animal of the god, but with the deity himself.

At 9,581–589, Turnus' Etruscan ally Mezentius slays the so-called son of Arcens, who, like Camilla's aforementioned victim Aunides, has no recorded name.[60] Like Camilla's other victim Chloreus (11,768–793),[61] the son of Arcens

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Aeneid: An Interpretation of Vergil's Epic Similes, Iowa City 1970, 67.

[56] Note, too, the Lycian associations of victims of Turnus' aristeia at 12,344 and 12,516, in the latter case with additional direct reference to Apollo.

[57] See here Fratantuono ad loc.

[58] On the connection between Virgil's Lycus and rivers, see V. Koven-Matasy, "Lycus", *VE* II, 770–1; note also the references to the river in P. Jones, *Reading Rivers in Roman Literature and Culture*, Lanham (MD) 2005.

[59] For additional commentary on the lupine imagery here in the wider context of the similes of the book, see S. Wiltshire, "The Man Who Was Not There: Aeneas and Absence in *Aeneid* 9", in C. Perkell (ed.), *Reading Vergil's Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*, Norman (OK) 1999, 162–77, 175–6.

[60] The Servian attempts to play with punctuation to give the ill-fated Sicilian a name are discussed *inter al.* by P. Knox, "Arcens", *VE* I, 117–8.

[61] See also Hardie 9,586–589 for the important detail that Mezentius kills the son of Arcens with a sling – the only appearance of the weapon in the *Aeneid* except for 11,579–580, where

is resplendent in noteworthy, arguably inappropriate vesture for battle; like Turnus' victim Lycus, he is associated with a river – in this case the Symaethus in Sicily:[62]

> *... genitor quem miserat Arcens*
> *eductum Martis luco Symaethia circum*
> *flumina, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici* (9,583–585)

The Palici were twin sons of Jupiter and the nymph Thalia or Aetna; the commentators have wondered here why only *one* of the brothers is named. There may well be an association with the twins Romulus and Remus, one of whom, of course, would be in the ascendant. Macrobius preserves the evidence of Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* that the brothers were named from the idea of having returned from darkness to light;[63] their pregnant mother had been swallowed up by the earth. The possible evocation of the twins Romulus and Remus would be strengthened by the detail about the grove of Mars – but *Martis* has been questioned by editors since Macrobius' reading of *matris*. Here the weight of manuscript authority is heavy; *Martis* is the clear reading of M, P, and R, and the fact that there is no other evidence for a cult of Mars in Sicily does not seem persuasive enough to disregard the capitals.

Significantly, the death of the rather mysterious Arcens comes just before Ascanius has his encounter (under the patronage of Apollo) with Numanus *Remulus*, whose name clearly evokes the ill-fated brother of Rome's progenitor.[64] The death of the son of Arcens – reared, most likely, in a grove of Mars – foreshadows the death of Numanus Remulus, as the son of Aeneas slays a prototypical Italian. Remulus criticizes the Trojans for effeminacy and questionable dress; the son of

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it is used by the young Camilla in sport – another connection between the present passage and the *Camilliad*.

62 Rivers factor significantly, too, on the shield; see here I. Östenberg, "Demonstrating the Conquest of the World: The Procession of Peoples and Rivers on the Shield of Aeneas and the Triple Triumph of Octavian in 29 B.C. (*Aen*. 8.722–728)", *ORom* 24 (1999) 155–62. On certain aspects of the depiction of rivers in the epic, with particular consideration of the associations between the world of war and the pastoral image (not to say ideal), see R. Thomas, *Reading Virgil and His Texts: Studies in Intertextuality*, Ann Arbor 1999, 204–5.

63 *Saturnalia* 5,19,24.

64 On the place of Mezentius' killing of Arcens in the larger context of the battle narrarive, see G. Thome, *Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius bei Vergil – mit einem Ausblick auf die Schlußszene der Aeneis*, Frankfurt am Main 1979, 43 ff.

Arcens wears the *chlamys* (9,582), that article of clothing "always used by V. in contexts of luxurious brilliance or foreignness."[65] Camilla will for her part be fatally distracted by the strange and resplendent dress of the Cybelean Chloreus. The Volscian will seek to slay a priest of Cybele (in the end, it will be Turnus who kills him);[66] Mezentius succeds in killing someone associated with Mars – but the son of Arcens is no priest.

We can pass over the poorly attested *Marti* for *morti* at 9,599, as Numanus Remulus mocks the Trojans; in the unlikely event that *Marti* is the correct reading,[67] the mention of the god is metonymical and of little significance. But at 9,685, *Mavortius Haemon* is one of the Rutulian casualties of the doomed giants Pandarus and Bitias; together with Quercens, Aquiculus, and Tmarus, he is routed at the gates of the Trojan camp. What is particularly significant about this passage is its connection to the Haemonides vignette at 10,537–542, a passage that closes with a powerful apostrophe to *rex Gradivus*.[68] It would appear that both father and son are defeated in successive books; while the exact fate of Haemon is left somewhat unclear, the son's demise is clearly described.

The scene is the immediate aftermath of the death of Mago; Aeneas catches sight of the son of Haemon – we might be led to believe that this is the son of the Haemon who was slain in Book IX.[69] Haemonides is a priest of Apollo and Diana:

> *nec procul Haemonides, Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos,*
> *infula cui sacra redimibat tempora vitta,*
> *totus conlucens veste atque insignibus albis.*
> *quem congressus agit campo, lapsumque superstans*
> *immolat ingentique umbra tegit, arma Serestus*
> *lecta refert umeris tibi, rex Gradive,*[70] *tropaeum.* (10,537–542)[71]

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[65] Hardie ad loc.

[66] Cf. 12,363; the two Chloreuses are likely the same figure.

[67] So Henry, with typically vigorous defensive argument.

[68] For Mars as *rex* see F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic*, Cambridge 1989, 27.

[69] See further the relevant entries of V. Koven-Matasy, *VE* I, 583; Harrison ad loc.

[70] On the apostrophe here see G. Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*, New Haven 1983, 183–5.

[71] On this scene see further C. Renger, *Aeneas und Turnus: Analyse einer Feindschaft*, Frankfurt am Main 1985, 60–8.

The verb *immolare* is key here. It appears just before this scene, at 10,519, where it is used explicitly of the plan to sacrifice four sons of Sulmo to Pallas; most importantly, it occurs in the closing scene of the epic, as Aeneas slays Turnus – in Pallas' name (12,948–949 … *Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas* / *immolat*).[72] The *umbra* is connected both with Aeneas' great size and with the shades of the underworld; in this latter sense of *umbra* we might think, too, of the shared death line of Turnus/Camilla. We might well remember the key role played by Apollo in the death of the Homeric Patroclus; the death of Apollo's priest is directly related to Aeneas' rage over the loss of Pallas – in the death of whom Apollo played no part.[73]

Let us draw together some associations here. In Book 9, Virgil crafts an explicit connection between Turnus and the wolf of Mars that nurtured Romulus and Remus: Turnus, the Mavortian wolf, slays Lycus – the would-be wolf-slayer, as it were. (And the lupine Camilla, for her part, will be slain by another wolf-slayer, Arruns – a devotee of the wolf-slayer patron Apollo). Soon after the introduction of Turnus as a *Mavortius lupus*, we find in quick succession the deaths of the son of Arcens – who was raised in a grove of Mars – and Numanus Remulus, whose name evokes the memory of the ill-fated Remus, another Mavortian child. Apollo is involved directly in the latter killing (just as he will set in motion the death of Camilla).[74] Significantly, it is not the wolf-like Turnus who kills the son of Arcens who was reared in Mars' grove – but the Etruscan Mezentius, the hero who, in Hardie's memorable phrase, makes his entrance to the fray "like some demon from an Etruscan hell".

Next, Mars' son Haemon is likely killed (at least seriously discomfited) in the assault of Pandarus and Bitias; by this point in the narrative, there is a clear association between Mars and the forces of the Rutulian Turnus, an association that will be made dramatically clearer once we arrive at the last book of the epic.[75] Not surprisingly, it is the god Mars who intervenes here in the narrative – the sole appearance of the god in an intervention in what we might term the actual time line of the *Aeneid*, as it were:[76]

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[72] With the verb in the same *sedes* as in the slaughter of the son of blood.

[73] Cf. Apollo's saving of Ascanius and active role in the destruction of Camilla; Aeneas is unaware of the "real" Homeric associations at play in Virgil's epic.

[74] Cf. *A*scaniu*s* and *A*rrun*s*, after one of Virgil's favorite onomastic tricks.

[75] On the casualties at the gate, with special reference to the sanguinary associations of Haemon, see Paschalis (*op. cit*. n. 13), 329.

[76] Cf. his appearance on the shield of Aeneas.

Hic Mars armipotens animum virisque Latinis
addidit et stimulos acris sub pectore vertit,
immisitque Fugam Teucris atrumque Timorem. (9,717–720)

Deimos and Phobos make their allegorical epiphanies in the mythology of the *Aeneid*; the god who is powerful in arms lends his strength to the Latins.[77]

The death of Aeneas' victim Haemonides is crowned by the bringing of spoils to *Gradivus*. This is the second of two appearances of the solemn name in the *Aeneid*; the first was the aforementioned invocation of Aeneas to the nymphs and Gradivus at 3,35. There, Gradivus was *pater*; here he is *rex*. The mood there would soon be heavy with the loss with Polydorus; here, the scene is clouded by the freshness and rawness of the wound of Pallas' death – a loss that will dominate the very last lines of the epic. Haemonides may be a grandson of Mars, in which case the offerings of his arms to Gradivus presents an interesting question: are the spoils appropriately offered to the god or not? The fate of Serestus, the bearer of the arms to the god, is not recorded.[78] Mago was a suppliant; Haemonides is a priest of the divine twins, Apollo and Trivia (i.e., Diana).[79] Aeneas kills the god who represents the union of the children of Latona; the act of the Trojan hero sets the stage for the division of the siblings in the very next book, where they are on rather opposite sides in the drama of Camilla and Arruns. The setting up of a *tropaeum* foreshadows Aeneas' similar action at the start of *Aeneid* 11 in the matter of Mezentius, the slayer of the son of Arcens;[80] that trophy stands prominently at the start of the book that explores in complex detail the aristeia and death of Camilla, Diana's favorite – and a desirable target for Arruns, the fire-walker devotee of Apollo (11,784–793); the Etruscan explicitly states that he does *not* seek a *tropaeum* for any victory over Camilla (11,790). Aeneas kills a priest of the divine twins, while his avatar Arruns slays a devotee of Diana – and trophies are mentioned in connection with both incidents.

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[77] Hardie prefers to consider Mars here as a mere personification of the spirit of war – but it stands to reason that the war god is annoyed at the routing of his son Haemon.

[78] He appears for the last time in the epic at 12,561.

[79] See further the interesting study of E. Hahn, "*Pietas* versus *Violentia* in the *Aeneid*", *The Classical Weekly* 25 (1931) 9–13 – who notes that we learn of the *infula* of this priest, but not any *pietas* – perhaps an unfair observation.

[80] Another victim noted by his filial status. Useful here too = M. Putnam, "Anger, Blindness and Insight in Virgil's *Aeneid*", *Apeiron* 23 (1990) 7–40, with reference to the perennial problem of the *pietas* of Aeneas.

Tropaeum is perhaps a relatively uncommon word in the *Aeneid*.[81] It first occurs at 10,542; it appears next at 10,775, as Mezentius promises a trophy of Aeneas for his son Lausus: the trophy will actual be of Mezentius (11,7). At 11,172, Evander speaks of the *magna tropaea* of Pallas' victims; during the Latin war council, we hear of Turnus (11,224; cf. 11,385). Five occurrences, then, in Book 11, and two in 10; Mezentius and Arruns speak of trophies that will not be – the former in vain promise, the latter in a dismissal of the matter of spoils that will prove no less vain than his fellow Etruscan's boast.[82] Interestingly, the trophy of Haemonides' spoils is explicitly to be erected to Mars; the Mezentius trophy is a more mysterious question, given the ambiguities of 11,7–8, where the deity "powerful in war" (*bellipotens*) may well be Minerva.[83] Minerva would be an eminently attractive deity for the trophy that is erected at the start of Book 11, given that she has significant affinities to Camilla; she would thus complete a divine diad of Mars and Minerva that balances their mortal avatars Turnus and the Volscian heroine Camilla.[84] Both trophies are erected by Aeneas (or at least at his order); in the case of Haemonides, the victory commemorates the death of a priest of two key deities in the Augustan pantheon.[85] Aeneas' arguably impious act here may be the proximate cause for the failure of the healer god Apollo to cure his serious wound at 12,405–406.[86] Aeneas never meets Camilla;[87] her slayer Arruns is something of an eerie doublet for the Trojan hero[88] – but it is significant that Camilla is in pursuit of a priest of Cybele, the Trojan mother goddess, when she is killed: Aeneas, for his part, succeeds in slaying a priest of eminently Augustan immortals.

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[81] See further K. Nielson, "The *tropaion* in the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 29 (1983) 27–33; and her "Aeneas and the Demands of the Dead," *CJ* 79 (1984) 200–6.

[82] Note, too, the memorialized Mezentius in contrast to the forgotten Arruns.

[83] Especially if we read *magnae* (MR) at 11,7; see further Horsfall (and Fratantuono) ad loc.

[84] Note, too, that Camilla has implicit associations with Mars; see below on 11,662.

[85] General commentary here = J. Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets*, Cambridge 2009; and C. Green, *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia*, Cambridge 2007.

[86] See further Tarrant ad 12,391–397.

[87] He merely sees the foreshadowing of her exploits in the image of Penthesilea in the temple of Juno in Carthage (1,490–493); see further W. Johnson, *Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1976, 104–5.

[88] See in particular the important article of L. Kepple, "Arruns and the Death of Aeneas", *AJPh* 97 (1976) 344–60.

Apollo and Diana, then, have reason to be irritated with Aeneas;[89] many inventive reasons (summarized by Tarrant ad loc.) have been assembled to offer explanation for why the doctor Iapyx, the beloved of Apollo, fails in his attempts to cure his leader's wound.[90] Aeneas' killing of Haemonides is perhaps where the answer lies; the death of the Apollonian priest is especially shocking in light of the signal favor of Apollo to the Trojans; it comes, too, in the immediate aftermath of the refusal of the hero to heed the prayers of a suppliant.[91] Apollo, in the end, most prominently defends not the father Aeneas but the son Ascanius (9,638 ff.); in any event, all of this is made the more interesting by the fact that Aeneas at Carthage is explicitly associated with Apollo (4,143–150) – a comparison that may be just as inappropriate as the similar association of Dido with Diana (1,494–504).[92] Virgil's Aeneas does not realize that Camilla is the principal Patroclus of this epic; the Trojan lashes out at the god who had nothing to do with the death of his favorite, Pallas.

Virgil indulges in explicit reflection on the confused and perhaps ultimately pointless world of warfare in the scene where Mars makes his final "appearance" in Book 10:

> *iam gravis aequabat luctus et mutua Mavors*
> *funera* (10,755–756)

The immortals are watching the scene – Venus and Juno in particular (10,760). Both sides conquer and in turn are conquered; their anger is empty (10,758 *iram*...

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[89] Diana, at least, in the matter of her favorite Camilla (even if Aeneas is not directly responsible for her death); cf. the effective mockery of Diana by Venus at 1,314–334.

[90] Best here may be M. Skinner, "Venus as Physician: *Aeneid* 12.41–19", *Vergilius* 53 (2007) 86–99. It is indeed possible that the failure of Iapyx is an indirect *deterior* commentary on the erotic relationship between divine *erastes* and mortal *eromenos*.

[91] Relevant here, too, may be the association of Apollo with the loss of the Homeric Patroclus; cf. Aeneas as incensed over the death of Pallas, and the affinities of Camilla to Patroclus (for the conflict between the divine siblings is itself a type of the civil war that perennially plagues Roman history, alongside the problem of the association of Camilla with Cleopatra at Actium and the patronage of Leucadian Apollo over Octavian's victory).

[92] The pairing may hark back to the image of such sibling marriages as that of Ptolemy and Cleopatra – with interesting implications to ponder for both Aeneas and Dido during the Carthaginian sojourn.

inanem).[93] Few passages in the *Aeneid* so clearly evoke a nihilistic view of martial strife; Mavors treats all equally in the matter of suffering and deaths.

A metonymical reference to war (11,110 … *Martis sorte peremptis*) is soon followed by yet another (11,153 *cautius ut saevo velles te credere Marti*), as both Aeneas and Evander reflect on the war's progress thus far – the first in terms of the question of a burial truce, the latter in the more personal matter of his son's experience of battle. But of greater significance is the full import of the taunt of Drances to Turnus to 11,374–375, where a powerful hemistich is used to call into question the whole image of the Rutulian hero as part of the world of the Mavortian wolf:

> *si patrii quid Martis habes, illum aspice contra*
> *qui vocat* (11,374–375)

Here, *Martis* may be another mere metonymy for war (in this case, the fighting prowess of the Rutulians) – but more pointed may be a reference to Mars as the *pater* in the literal sense, with association to Romulus and the wolf. When Turnus returns the taunt, he evokes the god in his own hemistich:

> *... an tibi Mavors*
> *ventosa in lingua pedibusque fugacibus istis*
> *semper erit?* (11,389–391)[94]

In the immediate aftermath of this retort, Turnus mentions *inter al*. his defeat of Pandarus and Bitias (11,396) – the Trojans most responsible for the defeat of Mars' son Haemon.

Romulus was a son of Mars; so, too, Haemon. A third child of the god is Penthesilea, the Amazon to whom Camilla and her retinue of female warriors is compared in the simile at 11,659–663 – the second of the three similes in the epic that mention Mars in some context.[95] The Martian wolf had been associated with Turnus; now Camilla and her companions are like the Amazons – in particular,

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[93] For an introduction to the vast problem of *ira* in the epic, see D. Armstong *et al*. (eds.), *Vergil, Philodemus, and the Augustans*, Austin 2004, 15–7.

[94] On these passages see especially E. Fantham, "Fighting Words: Turnus at Bay in the Latin Council (*Aeneid* 11.234–446)", *AJPh* 120 (1999) 259–80; and U. Scholz, "Drances", *Hermes* 127 (1999) 455–66.

[95] On Thrace and Mars here see M. Di Cesare, *The Altar and the City: A Reading of Vergil's Æneid*, New York 1974, 208–9.

Hippolyta (with her equine associations) and Penthesilea, the ill-fated victim of Achilles.[96]

Significantly, the last mention of "Mars" in Book 11 comes as Camilla's trusted quasi-sister Acca brings the news of the cavalry battle to Turnus:

> *deletas Volscorum acies, cecidisse Camillam,*
> *ingruere infensos hostis et Marte secundo*
> *omnia corripuisse, metum iam ad moenia ferri.* (11,898–900)

The passage bears close study in comparison to Camilla's actual words to Acca at 11,823–827, where the focus was on Turnus maintaining his battle plan; the Volscian was supposed to maintain the equestrian engagement, while Turnus was supposed to destroy Aeneas by infantry ambush – an attack plan that could have succeeded even in the wake of Camilla's death. Acca, of course, is evocative of none other than Acca Larentia, the foster mother of Romulus and Remus; Camilla, for her part, has perhaps lycanthropic associations with the Romulean she-wolf.[97] Here, it would seem that Mars favors the Trojans and not the side of Turnus and Camilla; the *Mars secundus* of which Acca speaks describes the defeat of Camilla and the routing of her Volscians (we might compare the defeat of Mars' son Haemon in the face of Pandarus and Bitias).

But a crucial detail to note is that Acca does not exactly report Camilla's *mandata novissima*; Mars is associated with fear, to be sure – and Acca's message is a product of fear and dread apprehension. Indeed, Acca "brings a great tumult" to Turnus (11,897 *nuntius et iuveni ingentem fert Acca tumultum*); *iuvenis* has a certain poignant register. The point, in the end, is for Turnus to abandon his ambush and thereby allow Aeneas to pass through the would-be ambush in safety; this is the demand of the will of Jupiter (11,901 … *et saeva Iovis sic numina poscunt*). In this Camilla is a savior of Aeneas and of the future Rome (which, of course, will be Italian and not Trojan)[98] – and Acca, the foster mother of Romulus, is merely conveying the instructions of the lupine Camilla to the lupine Turnus, all with an eye to saving the Trojans, and especially Aeneas, from immediate

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[96] The associations of Volscian and Amazon are neatly summarized by A. Brill, *Die Gestalt der Camilla bei Vergil*, Wien 1972, 7–10.

[97] The matter is discussed in detail at L. Fratantuono, "Chiastic Doom in the *Aeneid*", *Latomus* 68 (2009) 393–401.

[98] Cf. the climactic, indeed something a surprise revelation of Jupiter's speech to Juno at 12, 33 ff.

doom.[99] None of the players in the epic drama are aware of the final ethnic settlement that will portend for Rome – and none are aware of the lore of the god, the wolf, and the sacred twins Romulus and Remus.[100]

Acca's report is echoed in the very opening verses of the poem's final book:

Turnus ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos
defecisse videt ... (12,1–2)

Secundo marte has been replaced with *adverso Marte*; Acca had made a somewhat incomplete report (and one that omitted the actual instructions of her superior) – Turnus now sees for himself that his men are deflated and look to him for guidance (12,2–3). The reaction of the Latins is in part in response to the abandonment of the ambush – did any of Turnus' men realize the colossal strategic blunder of the overly emotional commander's decision to surrender his single best chance to win the war at one stroke? Turnus is now like a lion in Phoenician fields (12,4–9), a lion that has been wounded by hunters. The image is baleful in light of Dido and Carthage;[101] it presages the ultimate destruction of the Rutulian.[102] In an important sense, we have moved from the realm of focus on the ultimate settlement of Rome – the product of the *secundus Mars*, if one will – to reflection on the private fate of the man whose death will close the book – the victim of the *adversus Mars* in the matter of his demise, while the Latins are its victims because of his abandonment of the infantry ambush (unbeknownst to any of them, at the behest of Jupiter).[103] Aeneas was *saevus* at the end of 11 (did he come to understand that Turnus had planned a potentially fatal ambush?), and here the same descriptor applies – Aeneas as true son of Mars, as it were, as he surrenders to *ira*. The Mars of the shield of Achilles raged in the midst of Actium; in this, he was like Cleopatra, the unnamed Egyptian queen who also was identified with

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[99] Cf. how Mars' infant children were nourished by the wolf, and how Camilla eagerly takes charge of the equestrian battle on the fateful day before the walls of Latinus' city.

[100] On these aspects of Camilla, see in particular E. Pyy, "*Decus Italiae virgo*: Virgil's Camilla and the Formation of *Romanitas*", *Arctos* 44 (2010) 181–203.

[101] See here M. Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes: Studies in the Conclusion of Virgil's Aeneid*, Amsterdam 2011, 83.

[102] See here especially P. Schenk, *Die Gestalt des Turnus in Vergils Aeneis*, Königstein 1984, 146 ff.

[103] For relevant reflections of a rather different nature, see C. Pascal, "The Dubious Devotion of Turnus", *TAPhA* 120 (1990) 251–68.

the middle of the shield. Apollo loomed over the whole scene (just as he looms in some sense over the first book of the *Iliad*). Not surprisingly, the children of Mars came into conflict in Romulus slaying of his brother; the progeny of the war god are martial and indeed fratricidal.[104]

The twelfth and last book of the epic opens, then, with a Mavortian tone that will take on different and stronger nuances as the poem advances to its conclusion, and as the first mention of Mars in the poem is refined and somewhat revised in the revelations of the epic's final movements, as the Turnus who reflects on the *adversus Mars* will soon be revealed as the mortal incarnation of the spirit of the very god.

For now, the tension mounts. At 12,73 ... *duri certamina Martis*, Turnus refers to his imminent departure to strife as he addresses the doomed Latin queen Amata, who had prayed for war in a rather different time; now she prays for the Rutulian to abstain from war (12,60 … *desiste manum committere Teucris*); at 12,107–108 *nec minus interea maternis in armis* / *Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitat ira*, we are afforded a brief vignette of Aeneas as he prepares for battle – and we are reminded of his divine arms, on which Mars figured so prominently. *Saevus* harks back both to the language of the shield and, especially, to the prominent use of the adjective in the final movements of Book 11, as Turnus abandoned his ambush.[105]

Soon enough both sides are assembled to watch the prospective single combat between Aeneas and Turnus; it is as if they were preparing for an actual battle engagement betwene the two massed forces:

> *haud secus instructi ferro quam si aspera Martis*
> *pugna vocet.* (12,124–125)

We are reminded, perhaps, of Actium, where Mars was in the midst of the fray – but the present scene is quite different, and the fight is *aspera*, at least in part because of the destined union of the opposing sides that gather to watch the duel.[106]

As a formal treaty is struck, Aeneas solemnly invokes Mavors among other deities:

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[104] Relevant here is R. Pogorzelski, "The 'Reassurance of Fratricide' in the *Aeneid*", *AJPh* 130 (2009) 261–89.

[105] *Saevissimus nuntius*; *saeva Iovis … numina*; *saevum Aenean* (11,895–896; 901; 910).

[106] See Tarrant (and Traina) ad loc. on the possible Homeric antecedent.

iam melior, iam, diva, precor; tuque inclute Mavors,
cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques (12,179–180)

We see here glimpses of the celebrated union of Venus and Mars; in the language of the prayerful invocation we see, too, shades of the connection between Mars and Jupiter (*pater*; *sub numine torques*).[107] And this is the only time we hear of the *numen* of Mars in the epic.[108]

And, too, at this official ratification of the agreed upon truce, Aeneas makes polite reference to the possibility of Trojan victory, referring by hypallage to the idea that Victory might nod favorably on "our Mars": 12,187 *sin nostrum adnuerit nobis Victoria Martem*.[109] Here we see a clear reference to the variable quality of the war god, to the idea that everyone has a potential Mars, that Mars truly does rage in the middle; significantly, the language that ensues – where Aeneas makes his promises about how the Italians will be treated – is rather a foreshadowing of what Jupiter eventually declares to Juno; Aeneas speaks of allowing the Latins their gods and sacred rites, and of permitting Latinus to retain his *arma* and *imperium sollemne* (12,192–193) – all of which invites comparison with the Jovian reflections on *sermones* and *mores* in his conversation with his wife (12,833 ff.).[110]

We now come to the third and last of the similes of the epic that mention Mars in some way – and to the most significant of the powerful progression of images that took us from Turnus as Mavortian wolf to Penthesilea as Mavortian Amazon to Turnus as the veritable reincarnation of the god.[111] The truce has been broken; Aeneas is soon wounded by an unknown assailant (mortal or divine?). Turnus rushes on in battle, and he is like Mars – the only hero in the epic, we should note, who is ever compared to the war god:[112]

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[107] On the Homeric antecedents and general commentary, see K. Gransden, *Virgil's Iliad: An Essay on Epic Narrative*, Cambridge 1984, 196 ff.

[108] See further W. Pötscher, *Vergil und die göttlichen Mächte: Aspekte seiner Weltanschauung*, Hilsdesheim 1977, 96 ff.

[109] On the larger implications of this scene, cf. E. Adler, *Vergil's Empire: Political Thought in the Aeneid*, Lanham (MD) 2003, 184 ff.

[110] For consideration of the implications of the present scene in the wider context of the epic, see M. Lowrie, "Vergil and Founding Violence," in J. Farrell – M. Putnam (eds.), *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, Malden (MASS) 2010, 391–403, 398–9.

[111] The progression is significant for a consideration of the lupine associations of both Turnus and the new Penthesilea, Camilla – wolf; Amazon; Rutulian hero.

[112] See Tarrant ad loc. for the direct Homeric associations of heroes with Ares, which are far

qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri
sanguineus Mavors clipeo increpat atque furentis
bella movens immitit equos, illi aequore aperto
ante Notos Zephyrumque volant, gemit ultima pulsu
Thraca pedum circumque atrae Formidinis ora
Iraeque Insidiaeque, dei comitatus, aguntur (12,331–336)

The present simile expands on the idea that Turnus was like a Mavortian wolf; now he is implicitly not only the wolf of Mars, but Mars himself. The god's power is associated once again with Thrace, and we are reminded of the prayer Aeneas made to the Thracian god on his very first landfall after the departure from the smoking city of Troy; in the final theological assessment of the epic, it is Turnus who is Mars (the father of Romulus) – and no wonder, then, that the Trojans could not settle in the native land of the god in the wild northwest of Greece. This depiction of Turnus as Mars comes after the dramatic prayer of Aeneas to the god, where Jupiter, Juno, Venus and Mars were invoked before the Trojan hero commented on his promises for what the settlement in central Italy would look like in the event that he defeated Turnus; in point of face, he *would* defeat Turnus – but the *sermones* and *mores* in Italy would be the subject of a divine colloquy between two of the addresses of Aeneas' prayer, a conversation that balances the discussion of Jupiter and Venus in Book I. Venus, for her part, is entirely absent from the crucial revelations in the matter of the future Rome; Mars, for his part, is celebrated in this extended image that associates the god with Aeneas' deadliest foe.[113]

Turnus spoke of his advance to the *certamina duri Martis*; at a moment of real trouble for Aeneas, we hear of *durus Mars* again, as the battle rages in the wake of his mysterious wounding (12,409–410 … *it tristis ad aethera clamor* /

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more numerous (Agamemnon, Ajax, Hector, Achilles) – the Virgilian practice is strikingly different.

[113] It is interesting to note here the curious case of 1,263–264 *bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis* / *contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet* (on which see, e.g., C. Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge 1993, 58). That promise to Venus would seem to be at variance with the words of Jupiter to Juno at 12,833–837; one possibility is that in Jupiter's *do quod vis* (12,833) there is a mark of a change in circumstance – put another way, the wrath of Juno was successful in a key sense. Another possibility is that Jupiter knew about the final ethnography, as it were, of the future Rome, even at the time of his conversation with his divine daughter – and that the *mores* and *moenia* are to be taken in a very strict sense indeed. See further A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis*, Heidelberg 1967, 65.

bellantum iuvenum et duro sub Marte cadentum). But once Aeneas returns to battle, anger, rage, and, indeed, "favoring Mars" returns too:

> *multa Iovem et laesi testatus foederis aras*
> *iam tandem invadit medios et Marte secundo*
> *terribilis saevam nullo discrimine caedem*
> *suscitat, irarumque omnis effundit habenas.* (12,496–499)

The gods are perhaps justly angered at the broken truce; the anger of Aeneas, in any case, is now in the plural,[114] as Aeneas here gives free rein to his sentiments of wrath and rage.[115]

The final appearance of Mars in the epic comes just before the divine interlude of Juno and Jupiter that constitutes something of a surprise climax to the epic, as we learn that the future Rome will be Italian and not Trojan. Aeneas and Turnus are armed and waiting to commence their single combat:

> *hic gladio fidens, hic acer et arduus hasta,*
> *adsistunt contra certamina Martis anheli.* (12,789–790)

The reading *certamina* here has firm manuscript support, but Servius noted a variant *certamine*; the question[116] is whether Aeneas and Turnus stood facing the *certamina* of the god, or whether they stood in the contest. And, too, *anheli* presents a problem; it could be nominative plural with the heroes, or genitive singular with the god – the likely deliberate ambiguity does allow the war god and the combatants almost to shade, as it were, into one.[117] The nominative plural would balance the verb; the line would then be book-ended by the gasping warriors, as they perhaps stand – together – before the *certamina* of the dread god: Mars again in the middle, we might note. And if this is Actium – and if we are soon to learn that the future Rome will be Italian and not Trojan in its *sermones* and *mores* – then the associations with the image on the shield of Aeneas become rather telling

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[114] On this scene see especially C. Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas*, Edinburgh 1988, 200–1.

[115] See further M. Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, Chapel Hill 1995, 185–6.

[116] See here Tarrant ad loc.

[117] Elsewhere in the epic, the adjective is used only of the heart of the Sibyl (6,48), and of the horses of the dawn that harries the dream vision of Anchises (5,739).

indeed. Should we prefer to read *certamine*, however, then the image is a powerful one indeed – the two heroes stand opposite (*contra*) each other in the contest of Mars – and one of them has already been explicitly linked to the god the other had solemnly invoked. Turnus, after all, will die – but in an important sense his cause will emerge victorious, and a new cycle of fratricidal stride will begin soon enough for the children of the wolf. The mortal avatar of Mars will ultimately triumph over the Trojan past, and the god who was seemingly absent from the dismantling of the walls of Troy will in some sense preside over the demise of what might have been the dead city's rebirth.

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