FROM *CARCER* TO *META*: VERGILIAN AND HOMERIC FUNERAL GAMES IN THE INTERTEXTUAL AGON

by

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(Under the direction of Sarah Spence)

ABSTRACT

Through a complex network of allusion, Vergil models the funeral games for Anchises in *Aeneid* 5 on the games presented in *Iliad* 23, in part because the thematic content of *Iliad* 23 (competition, father-son relationships, fictional reality) is surprisingly adaptable to his own needs. The Iliadic games thus offer Vergil a means both to imitate and to surpass his predecessor as epic poet. By analyzing the references to and deviations from the Iliadic paradigm, Vergil's adaptation of these games becomes clear. He used the framework of the games in *Iliad* 23 as a starting point for an exploration of particular Roman concepts, especially *pietas*, with the result of creating a text that is derivative, yet innovative, Greek, yet Roman.

INDEX WORDS: *Aeneid* 5, *Iliad* 23, Funeral games, *Pietas*

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Reiko A. Miller, who has single-handedly taught me the definition of selflessness (though she probably does not even realize it, of course). Had she ever doubted me, this would not exist.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Even in an initial reading of *Aeneid* 5, a reader can quickly deduce that Vergil undoubtedly modeled the funeral games for Anchises on Patroclus' games in *Iliad* 23.[1] The references to *Iliad* 23 – some direct, some subtle – constitute a large part of the book, while the framework of the Vergilian games recalls the Iliadic ones in terms of both structure and content. Yet, despite his obvious knowledge of *Iliad* 23, Vergil does not *repeat* instances of the Iliadic games in *Aeneid* 5, he *refers* to them. The parallels between the two games are therefore neither simple nor one-dimensional. An audience already familiar with the Homeric model may have expectations of the characters in *Aeneid* 5 who have an identifiable Iliadic counterpart. Vergil does not, however, limit these characters to the behavior enacted by their precursors, but, instead, disrupts the parallels by varying their actions. So, too, a sequence of events in the Vergilian games that initially recalls an instance in *Iliad* 23 may surprise this audience by its subtle variations on the Iliadic pattern.

Because the nature of *Iliad* 23 is central to the themes of athletic competition, the transformation of a hero, and father-son relationships, it is easily adaptable to a Roman context. In Bloomian terms, Vergil undergoes "daemonization" in his poetic style, where he "opens himself to what he believes to be a power in the parent-poem that does not

[1] The funeral games in *Iliad* 23 are not the only example of Vergil's influences in the composition of *Aeneid* 5. For example, the Phaeacian games in *Odyssey* 8 may have influenced Vergil as well. These games, however, are not funeral games and seem to have few connections with *Aeneid* 5. Also, Apollonius' *Argonautica* includes funeral games with an emphasis on a boxing match. For a comprehensive study on *Aeneid* 5, these sources should be carefully examined. However, the purpose of this study will be to examine Vergil's reliance only on *Iliad* 23.

belong to the parent proper, but a range of being just beyond that precursor."[2] The choice of *Iliad* 23 as a starting point therefore offers Vergil an opportunity not only to imitate Homer,[3] but also to outstrip him as epic poet. In fact, the complexity of Vergil's allusive style suggests a competition between the two poets and their respective works. Vergil acknowledges his Greek predecessor through imitation, yet incorporates Roman concepts, such as *pietas*, perhaps as a reason for the deviations from the *Iliad*. By weaving Roman ideas into a purely Greek structure, Vergil creates a poem consistent with the beliefs of the Augustan era. In this regard, Vergil, "as a literary historian,… is in competition with his predecessors, successors and readers."[4] An analysis of the allusions to and deviations from *Iliad* 23 will be the focus of this project as I attempt to develop an interpretation of *Aeneid* 5 that acknowledges the effects of Vergil's intertextual competition with Homer.

Before examining Vergil's departures from Homer, I will analyze *Iliad* 23 on its own terms. Chapter one will therefore highlight the Homeric conventions of the funeral games for Patroclus. The participants of the Iliadic games, whose "stories" illustrate the importance of divine involvement and the theme of moderation, behave in a manner consistent with their previous actions and outcomes. The Iliadic competitors acknowledge and sometimes invoke the gods to be successful in the contests. The relationship between the competitors and the gods is complex, since the gods interfere sometimes at the invocation of a mortal, sometimes of their own accord. The participants

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[2] Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

[3] For the sake of simplicity, I will collectively refer to the poet(s)/composer(s) of the *Iliad* as Homer.

[4] Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1998), 144.

must also practice moderation, a balance between recklessness and restraint, though the specific requirements differ among the individual competitors. Examples of both divine involvement and moderation are embedded in a fictional reality, where the dangers presented by the games are not truly threatening.

Achilles, unlike the participants, stands apart from the games, acting as the host, judge, and leader of the ceremony. In anticipation of his reconciliation with Priam in book 24, Achilles begins to overcome his μῆνις during the games. Achilles' independent transition contrasts with the other participants, who act within a static fictional reality. Moreover, his character growth addresses the significant father and son relationships involving Patroclus, Priam, and himself. Achilles' transition is at the center of the funeral games, as it exhibits the growth of a hero from boy to man, son to father.

Chapter two will examine the similarities between the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* by analyzing Vergil's technique in reference to the Homeric themes identified in chapter one. Like Homer, Vergil constructs a fictional reality in the games, while acknowledging the importance of divine involvement and moderation as requirements for the competitors' success. The father-son relationship also pervades *Aeneid* 5, which again imitates the thematic framework of *Iliad* 23. Aeneas, much like Achilles, steps into a paternal role as he prepares for his coming exploits. These points of contact between the two texts highlight exactly which themes Vergil adapts from the Homeric model.

Precisely these points of contact illuminate Vergil's innovations, since they are in direct contrast with the instances in which he differs from the Homeric example. As a result, a reader who is familiar with the *Iliad* may perceive these situations as surprising inconsistencies. Thus, the purpose of chapter three will be to investigate Vergil's

departure from Homer in order to illuminate what elements of *Aeneid* 5 differ from *Iliad* 23 and how the recognition of these variations may affect an interpretation of book 5. In particular, the competitors in the Vergilian games, while resembling those in the *Iliad*, are placed in a Roman context, in which Vergil accentuates the significance of *pietas*. *Pietas*, the duty to family, country, and gods, reappears as the justification for various episodes in the contests and insists on the necessity of sacrifice. *Pietas* influences the actions regarding the divine not only of Aeneas, but also of the other characters; it fosters Aeneas' growth into the roles of father and leader, while offering an explanation for Ascanius' development as illustrated by his behavior in the *lusus Troiae*. Though aspects of *pietas*, such as duty to one's family, appear in the Homeric father-son relationships, Vergil presents it as a virtue required not just for one's own development, but also for the benefit of society. In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas' enactment of *pietas* allows him to found Rome.

Aeneid 5 thus provides an opportunity for transition to both Aeneas and Ascanius. Together, the two move forward in order to fulfill their duties as founders and leaders of the future city of Rome. The funeral games for Anchises, which take place in the liminal region of Sicily, serve as a *meta*, a turning point, of Aeneas' journey. There Aeneas glances back at Carthage and then looks forward to Italy. A seeming respite from his travels, the games of *Aeneid* 5 allow Aeneas to prepare for his future role as leader and father, offering him an occasion to acknowledge the death of Anchises and mourn for him properly.

The competitive nature of the games not only affects the development of Aeneas as leader, but also of Vergil as poet. Vergil further departs from Homer with the literal

sense of the *meta*, the turning point and goal, in the Roman Circus. Mindful of this Augustan connotation, Vergil competes with Homer in a metaphorical race. Each Vergilian contest initially recalls some element in the funeral games for Patroclus, as does Aeneas, who recalls Achilles, and so, *Iliad* 23 emblematizes the *carcer*, the starting gate. The plot and character shifts then symbolize the *meta*, the exciting transitional ground crucial to Aeneas' execution of *pietas* and arrival at the future site of Rome. The funeral games in Sicily consist of both Greek and Roman elements; thus, they set the stage for Aeneas, who, having left Troy, but about to found the Roman race, is in a liminal position characterized by both Homeric and Augustan influences. Through Vergil's utilization of *Iliad* 23 as the starting line for the games of *Aeneid* 5, Vergil exhibits knowledge of and reverence for his epic predecessor: he is both a rival and a son to Homer.

CHAPTER 2

THE ILIADIC GAMES AS MODEL

The funeral games in *Aeneid* 5 offer one of the clearest examples of Vergil's dialogue with Homer. Vergil himself makes the reader aware of this Homeric influence by explicitly aligning his boat race with Homer's chariot race in the following comparison:

> Non tam praecipites biiugo certamine campum
> Corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus,
> Nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
> Concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent. (*Aen*. 5.144-7)

> Even chariots, having poured out from their pens
> in racing competition, do not rush and seize the field so
> swiftly nor do charioteers strike their waving reins upon
> their team, having been let out, nor do they lean so hard on their whips.[5]

Such direct references highlight the fact that Vergil used the Homeric funeral games as a model for *Aeneid* 5. There is profit in examining *Iliad* 23 separately from the *Aeneid* in order to understand the structural, thematic and stylistic conventions of Homer in and of themselves. Once this template is established as the basis for *Aeneid* 5, the reader can then extract and analyze the Homeric allusions effectively. Though there are a number of ways to interpret book 23, my focus will be on analyzing the thematic elements of the Homeric funeral games in a manner that will complement an analysis of *Aeneid* 5. This will illuminate the specific Homeric principles that Vergil later utilized to shape his funeral games.

[5] All translations are my own.

The bulk of book 23 consists of the eight funeral contests held in honor of Patroclus. In these games, consistency between the portrayal of the heroes in relation to the gods and their depictions in the rest of the epic enables the theme of moderation to surface as a cultural ideal, one which Achilles himself explicitly espouses by the end of the book. Immediately before the inception of the games, Achilles is in terrible grief as he mourns for his companion. He removes himself from the ranks, sits alone on the shore, and encounters an apparition of his dead comrade. The ghost of Patroclus approaches him and requests that he quickly begin the funeral ceremony in his honor (*Il.* 23.59-110). The subsequent events constitute the initial funeral rites for Patroclus and involve the process of purification, a prerequisite for the games themselves. The participants then erect a funeral pyre for Patroclus, which Achilles describes as a rite essential to the funerary process:[6]

> ἠῶθεν δ᾽ ὄτρυνον ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν ᾽Αγάμεμνον
> ὕλην τ᾽ ἀξέμεναι παρά τε σχεῖν ὅσσ᾽ ἐπιεικὲς
> νεκρὸν ἔχοντα νέεσθαι ὑπὸ ζόφον ἠερόεντα,
> ὄφρ᾽ ἤτοι τοῦτον μὲν ἐπιφλέγῃ ἀκάματον πῦρ
> θᾶσσον ἀπ᾽ ὀφθαλμῶν, λαοὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ ἔργα τράπωνται. (*Il.* 23. 49-53)
>
> But at dawn, Agamemnon, lord of men,
> urge them both to send forth wood and to furnish whatever
> is fitting for a dead man to have who goes beneath the gloomy dark,
> so that the undying fire may burn him quickly away from sight
> and so that the people may turn to their work.

Patroclus' corpse must be completely eliminated so that the bereaved can continue living. The building of the funeral pyre and the cremation process force Patroclus' comrades to take time out of their daily lives in order to face the reality of Patroclus' death. The

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[6] In this passage, Achilles is giving orders to Agamemnon. André Sauge suggests that Achilles' transition in book 23 is geared toward his attempt to usurp the power of Agamemnon and undertake the role of the "*roi-juge*." "*Iliade* 23: Les jeux, un procès," *ZAnt* 44 (1994) : 22.

interruption allows the bereaved to mourn properly. As James Redfield states in his analysis of the funeral process in the *Iliad*, "…the others who survive the dead man mark the fact of his death and assert his absence…. The funeral rites serve as a definite way of defining the social status of the dead."[7] Just as the characters must acknowledge the social status of Patroclus, so, too, must the audience of the *Iliad*. With the funeral occurring in book 23, immediately after the death of Hector in book 22 and before Achilles' interaction with Priam in book 24, the audience is likewise forced into the respite from the story and recognition of Patroclus' status as a Greek warrior and comrade of Achilles. Ceremonial rituals allow the characters and audience to acknowledge these aspects of Patroclus' death.

The funeral is divided into halves, the first of which concerns the physical aspect of the dead. Patroclus, who is in a transitional state during the time between his death and his cremation, is not completely absent from society, as long as his corpse is not cremated. The cremation process thus "purifies the dead man by setting a definite period to his existence and converting him into something not subject to change."[8] Once Patroclus is cremated, he physically ceases to exist within the lives of his comrades. The second half of the funeral, the games, addresses the social status of the dead.[9] The games thus mark a liminal period in which the bereaved may enter a new phase of life, a phase without Patroclus.

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[7] James M. Redfield, "Nature and Culture in the *Iliad*: Purification," in *Homer's* The Iliad, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House, 1987), 72.

[8] Ibid., 77.

[9] Ibid., 76.

The games create a fictional reality in which the participants are given a glimpse of a new life without Patroclus and are thus forced to complete the mourning process. On the one hand, the games present the opportunity for one final display of Homeric themes. They reintroduce the heroes presented throughout the epic to the audience and solidify the descriptions of each character in preparation for the conclusion of the epic. As Willcock states, the purpose of the games is "to show people acting consistently in character; and therefore [Homer's] choice of incidents is normally for the purpose of illustration."[10] In conjunction with this "panorama of the army,"[11] the games present an opportunity to reassess the recurring Homeric themes. Among them are the themes of divine involvement and moderation, which further defines the Homeric paradigm of funeral games. The integration of these two ideas within the fictional reality constructed in the games allows the participants to redefine their roles while undergoing the process of mourning for Patroclus.

On the other hand, the funeral games function for Achilles in an opposite manner. The games in book 23 occur between two events crucial to the advancement of the plot: the death of Hector in book 22 and the reconciliation between Achilles and Priam in book 24. Book 23 thus serves as a transitional period for Achilles. While the majority of the participants act as the audience expects throughout the various contests, Achilles stands apart from the games and undergoes a significant change. As the host and leader, he is not able to participate directly in the contests, and this enables him to develop independently. Moving anomalously among the static characters in the games, Achilles presents a contrast to this backdrop and, as a result, highlights the transitional force of the

[10] M. M. Willcock, "Funeral Games of Patroclus," *BICS* 20 (1973) : 2.

[11] C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 262.

funeral ceremony. In the events immediately preceding the funeral games, Achilles is forced to address the philosophical notion of death by engaging in ritual purification. During the cremation scene and in the course of the funeral games, Achilles begins a character transformation that will eventually enable him to overcome his μῆνις. This transformation hinges upon his relationship to Patroclus and the father/son roles which they enact.[12]

The Heroes and the Gods

Once the funeral pyre has been erected and Patroclus' body has been properly cremated and purified, Achilles can announce the first contest. The showcase of the heroes acting in accordance with their predefined character then begins. With the onset of the first contest, the chariot race, the audience is reintroduced to the heroes; the funeral games offer an opportunity for them to display their virtues one final time.[13] While book 24 only involves Achilles, Priam, the women of Troy, and the gods, book 23 brings to the forefront famous heroes, such as Ajax, Odysseus and Diomedes.[14] These heroes are portrayed as acting consistently in character, which solidifies the Homeric portrayal of them in the epic. Even at the announcement of the games, Achilles illustrates this idea:

[12] For discussions on father/son relationships, see R. Finlay, "Patroclos, Achilleus and Peleus: Fathers and sons in the *Iliad*," *CW* 73 (Feb 1980) : 267-74; S. Mills, "Achilles, Patroclus and Parental Care in Some Homeric Similes," *G & R* 47 (2000) : 3-18.

[13] Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition*, 3.

[14] William Hailey Willis. "Athletic Contests in the Epic." *TAPhA* 72 (1941) : 411.

εἰ μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ ἀεθλεύοιμεν ᾽Αχαιοὶ
ἦ τ᾽ ἂν ἐγὼ τὰ πρῶτα λαβὼν κλισίηνδὲ φεροίμην.
ἴστε γὰρ ὅσσον ἐμοὶ ἀρετῇ περιβάλλετον ἵπποι·
ἀθάνατοί τε γάρ εἰσι, Ποσειδάων δὲ πόρ᾽ αὐτοὺς
πατρὶ ἐμῷ Πηλῆϊ, ὃ δ᾽ αὖτ᾽ ἐμοὶ ἐγγυάλιξεν. (*Il*. 23.274-8)

If now we Achaeans would compete for another man,
I, having taken the first place prizes, would bring them to my hut.
For you know how much superior in prowess my horses are.
For they are immortal; Poseidon gave them
to my father Peleus, who in turn gave them to me.

Meeting audience expectation, Achilles, proud and arrogant, boldly states his superiority over the other Greeks. He then boasts of his immortal horses and mentions his own connection to the divine. Achilles is, following the instructions he once received from Peleus, "always to excel and to outstrip all others" [αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων] (*Il.* 11.784), principles which have influenced his character throughout the *Iliad.*[15] Because it is Patroclus whose funeral is being held, however, Achilles is not able to participate and, instead, hosts the games, though he maintains his image as a superior competitor by making such announcements.

Diomedes, too, is depicted in the contests in accordance with his previously delineated character. In light of his previous achievements (especially those in book 5), the audience expects Diomedes to win the chariot race and he does. Though he is challenged by Eumelus, "a man with an excellent pedigree, but one who has taken no part whatsoever in the *Iliad*,"[16] Diomedes follows the standard Homeric requirement for success in the contest: he invokes a god. Once Diomedes prays to Athena for assistance, he is able to overcome Eumelus in the race. This type of divine involvement is found

[15] Jasper Griffin, *Homer* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 43.

[16] Willcock, "Funeral Games for Patroclus," 3.

throughout the *Iliad*, with the most notable example occurring in book 22 when Achilles requires Athena's assistance in defeating Hector. Only the outstanding characters are privileged by the help of the gods and Diomedes' excellent performance in the *Iliad* proves that he is indeed one of these fortunate persons. For example, in *Iliad* 5, Diomedes' *aristeia* is illustrated by his numerous victories on the battlefield. The opening passage in book 5 introduces his relationship to Athena:

> ἔνθ᾽ αὖ Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδεϊ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
> δῶκε μένος καὶ θάρσος, ἵν᾽ ἔκδηλος μετὰ πᾶσιν
> Ἀργείοισι γένοιτο ἰδὲ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἄροιτο·(*Il.* 5.1-3)
>
> There Pallas Athena gave to Tydeus' son, Diomedes, in turn strength and courage, so that he would become distinct among all of the Argives and so that he would win noble glory.

Clearly, Diomedes is destined to have much success on the battlefield, which parallels his success in the funeral games. Furthermore, Athena emphasizes Diomedes' relationship with the gods by allowing him to attack Aphrodite in battle (*Il.* 5.124ff). By permitting him to wound and thus have direct contact with the divine, Athena assigns Diomedes the highest mortal status, just below that of the immortals.

In direct contrast is Telemonian Ajax, who is unsuccessful in the games. Though an excellent fighter, Ajax has no status as one worthy of divine assistance. Instead, he experiences the cruelty of Athena, who assists her favorites, while punishing those not in her favor.[17] Ajax exists among the second tier of warriors, under Diomedes, and is always second best, as the following description suggests:

> Αἴας, ὃς περὶ μὲν εἶδος, περὶ δ᾽ ἔργα τέτυκτο
> τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ᾽ ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα. (*Il.* 17.280)

[17] Albin Lesky exemplifies this dual-sidedness of Athena through her involvement in Hector's death, though it is equally applicable to her treatment of Ajax in book 23. *A History of Greek Literature,* trans. James Willis and Cornelis de Heer (New York: Crowell, 1966), 68.

> Ajax, who looked and acted more like a hero
> than the other Danaans, except illustrious Achilles.

As illustrated in this passage, Ajax, "constantly referred to as the greatest of the Achaeans after Achilles, …is nevertheless given no *aristeia*, and no scene of distinction which is his alone."[18] Ajax is unique because he is a famous Homeric hero who has no direct relationship to the immortal world and who does not receive divine aid.[19] In all the contests Ajax enters, he is never given the first-place prize, though he comes close. In the wrestling match, he and Odysseus seem to be on the same level. Ajax lifts Odysseus up, but Odysseus clips the back of Ajax's knee and sends him down. Again, Odysseus hooks his knee around Ajax's leg and both hit the ground. Here Achilles calls the match to a halt and proclaims them both winners and assigns equal prizes. Though neither one has won outright, Ajax has fallen twice as often as Odysseus, thus implying that Odysseus is in fact the winner.[20] In the fifth contest, the fight in armor, Diomedes and Ajax compete for the prize. Again there is no definite winner and Achilles stops the match when it begins to frighten the spectators, and he awards Diomedes the first-place prize. Finally, Ajax enters the iron-throwing competition as his final contest and finishes second behind Polypoetes.[21] As shown through these examples, Ajax acts in accordance with his status as second best and as one who never receives assistance from a deity.

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[18] Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition,* 169.

[19] Ibid., 173.

[20] Whitman also associates this episode with the famous "Judgment of Arms," regarding Ajax's crazed state and suicide after losing the arms of Achilles' to Odysseus. The suggestion that Odysseus has won the wrestling match over Ajax mirrors the conclusion to the "Judgment of Arms." Ibid., 170.

[21] Though Polypoetes' action in the games is limited to this episode, he could be regarded as another character whose behavior meets audience expectation. Because he is depicted as a successful warrior in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 12.182-7), his victory in the iron-throwing contest is no surprise.

Homer varies the amount of divine assistance each participant receives in the games according to their status in the ranks. All participants must respect the gods and some are even required to invoke them in order succeed in an event. The involvement of the gods with humans is complex, as they intervene sometimes on their accord, sometimes at the invocation of a human. Throughout the funeral games, the encounters between the divine and mortals are enacted on what Burkert calls "the double stage," where "divine action and human action influence one another."[22] As a result, the specific requirements concerning divine invocation differ according to the character's status among his comrades. In the chariot race, Homer makes this explicit. At the beginning of the race, Eumelus takes the lead and Diomedes follows closely behind. Apollo then takes action against Diomedes, though without any request or invocation from Eumelus:

> καί νύ κεν ἢ παρέλασσ᾽ ἢ ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν,
> εἰ μὴ Τυδέος υἷϊ κοτέσσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
> ὅς ῥά οἱ ἐκ χειρῶν ἔβαλεν μάστιγα φαεινήν. (*Il.* 23.382-4)
>
> Diomedes would have passed him by, or rivaled him,
> if Phoebus Apollo, who threw the shining whip from his hands,
> had not become angry at the son of Tydeus.

As this counterfactual condition makes clear, Diomedes is the superior driver and only lags behind Eumelus because of the intervention of Apollo. A few lines later, however, Athena acts on Diomedes' behalf. Again, no one invokes Athena, but because of her love for Diomedes, she assists him, as she had earlier in book 5:

> οὐδ᾽ ἄρ᾽ Ἀθηναίην ἐλεφηράμενος λάθ᾽ Ἀπόλλων
> Τυδεΐδην, μάλα δ᾽ ὦκα μετέσσυτο ποιμένα λαῶν,
> δῶκε δέ οἱ μάστιγα, μένος δ᾽ ἵπποισιν ἐνῆκεν·
> ἢ δὲ μετ᾽ Ἀδμήτου υἱὸν κοτέουσ᾽ ἐβεβήκει,
> ἵππειον δέ οἱ ἦξε θεὰ ζυγόν· (*Il.* 23.388-92)

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[22] Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion,* trans. John Raffan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 121-2.

> But Apollo, having tricked the son of Tydeus, did not escape the notice
> of Athena. Especially quickly, she made for the shepherd of the people,
> and gave to him a whip, and placed strength in his horses.
> Then becoming angry, she went after the son of Admetus,
> and the goddess broke his horses' yoke.

Though the gods are involved in this chariot race, Diomedes is exempt from inoking them. Eumelus did not pray to the gods, but neither did Diomedes. Nevertheless, Diomedes finishes in first place while Eumelus comes in last. This indicates Diomedes' superior status and his affinity with the divine. As seen throughout the *Iliad*, Athena loves Diomedes and often assists him.[23] Eumelus, on the other hand, is not loved by the gods, but could have received some divine assistance if he had acted more reverently, as Antilochus suggests at the end of the chariot race that Eumelus:

> ἀλλ᾽ ὤφελεν ἀθανάτοισιν
> εὔχεσθαι· τό κεν οὔ τι πανύστατος ἦλθε διώκων. (*Il.*23.546-7)
>
> But he ought to have prayed to the immortals.
> Then, he, driving, would not have come in last of all.

Because Eumelus does not have the same status with respect to the gods as Diomedes, he must invoke them to succeed; by not acknowledging this requirement, Eumelus fails in the contest.

The theme of divine involvement reappears when Odysseus invokes Athena, his divine counterpart, in the footrace with Oilean Ajax. When Odysseus notices that Ajax is leading the race, he makes a silent prayer to Athena in hopes that he may surpass Ajax. She, of course, helps Odysseus by putting swiftness in his feet and then by tripping Ajax (*Il.* 23.768-80). Just like Diomedes, Odysseus is loved by the gods and is given ample assistance when needed. As a result of his relationship with the divine, Odysseus has a

[23] E.g., *Il.*5.121ff., 5.835ff., 10.295ff., 10.482ff.

the highest rank among the other Greeks, unlike Ajax.[24] Later, Ajax disputes the conclusion of the race by stating that it was only because of Odysseus' assistance from Athena that he won. Though this may be true, it does not diminish Odysseus' status among his peers; no one criticizes Odysseus for receiving help from Athena, and in fact, Ajax is ridiculed after making such a comment against Odysseus (*Il.* 23.784).[25]

Another feature concerning the necessity for invoking the gods appears in the archery contest in which Teucer and Meriones, less famous contestants, participate. From the initial descriptions given to the competitors, one might expect Teucer to be the more likely winner:

> ὦρτο δ᾽ ἔπειτα βίη Τεύκροιο ἄνακτος,
> ἂν δ᾽ ἄρα Μηριόνης θεράπων ἐὺς ᾽Ιδομενῆος. (*Il.* 23.859-60)
>
> then lord Teucer rose up with might
> and good Meriones, the attendant of Idomeneus.

Despite the regal epithet assigned to Teucer, he does not successfully hit the dove, for reasons which the following line makes clear:

> ...οὐδ᾽ ἠπείλησεν ἄνακτι
> ἀρνῶν πρωτογόνων ῥέξειν κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην. (*Il.* 23.863-4)

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[24] Whitman also suggests that Athena's rough handling of Ajax may be a foreshadowing of Athena's revenge on him for his rape of Cassandra. *Homer and the Heroic Tradition*, 164-5.

[25] Though Diomedes and Odysseus can be grouped together as mortals who receive divine assistance, a distinction should be made since the former did not invoke Athena in the games while the latter made a direct prayer to her. In physical competition, Diomedes is a natural winner and does not need Athena's help. This is the exact reason for Athena's voluntary intervention, which, as Willcock states, "merely achieves what would be the proper result in any case," 7. As a result, the presence of Athena grants a greatness to Diomedes because it shows that the divine were concerned enough about his struggle to intervene. Odysseus, however, invokes Athena before he receives her assistance. This should not lessen his magnitude, as it does not necessarily indicate a need for divine aid; "the gods help those who help themselves." Thus, "she helps [Odysseus] precisely because he is a winner. In all his actions, his prudence and determination and skill are going to bring him out on top," 6-7. M.M. Willcock, "Some Aspects of the Gods in the *Iliad*," *BICS* 17 (1970) : 1-10; Schein, *The Mortal Hero* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 58. Also see E.R. Dodds for an account of the mixture of human and divine motivation for specific behavior, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), 1-27.

…he did not promise to the lord
to perform the fitting sacrifice of first-born lambs.

The fact that Teucer severed the cord to which the dove was tied places Meriones in a difficult situation, since the dove is no longer attached to the pole. Nevertheless, Meriones succeeds in hitting the dove, an accomplishment even more commendable than if he had simply hit it when it was attached by the cord. A few lines later, the same statement is repeated concerning sacrifice to Apollo, this time as the reason for Meriones' success:

αὐτίκα δ' ἠπείλησεν ἑκηβόλῳ ᾽Απόλλωνι
ἀρνῶν πρωτογόνων ῥέξειν κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην. (*Il.* 23.872-3)

straightway he promised to the archer Apollo
to perform a fitting sacrifice of first-born lambs.

The formulaic repetition of the poetic line draws a pointed contrast between the two competitors, Teucer and Meriones, underscoring the importance of sacrifice to a god. Meriones, the less likely winner, not only wins the competition on account of his respect for Apollo, but also succeeds against all odds, whereas Teucer, the expected winner, fails due to his lack of divine invocation.

Rules of the Game

With the participants acting in a manner consistent with their previously established characters, the games begin to serve as a microcosm of reality by mirroring agonistic situations found elsewhere in the epic.[26] The reality defined by the games,

[26]For example, one could examine a dispute over the assignment of prizes in the games as an event parallel to the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles over Briseis. Similarly, one could view any of the contests as an analogue of a battle scene within the controlled environment of the funeral games, with Achilles serving as the judge.

however, is regulated and protected.[27] For example, the participants may have a brush with death, as exemplified in the fight in armor between Telemonian Ajax and Diomedes, but ultimately they all survive and are rewarded for their efforts. Clearly, a battle scene would not end in this way. Though a respite from the battlefield, the games imitate war by setting a stage for the participants to engage in relatively dangerous activities. The games reflect upon the "reality" of the Trojan war as portrayed throughout the *Iliad*, yet construct an artificial environment, a "fictional reality," that is harmless for the competitors. In this fictional reality, the characters practice virtues desired in battle, but do not suffer any penalties should they err. The games thus serve as a vehicle to introduce ideal heroic behavior in setting free from hardships.

The fictional reality is further defined by the benevolent actions of Achilles, who attempts to please all of the participants throughout the games. Achilles is neither greedy nor hurtful to the competitors, and acts as an ideal leader. As Whitman states, "the man who had resented being deprived of prizes and visible rewards becomes the dispenser of them, and he provides them in lavish and lordly quantities."[28] Achilles announces the prizes at the inception of each game, which are usually the same in number as the number of contestants.[29] Even to the losers, he assigns prizes: Eumelus finishes in last place in

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[27] Cf. Whitman, who discusses this theme in book 23 as a reversal of book 2. If book 2 "had shown the Achaean society deceived and disordered, dreaming of glories that were not to be, and mastered by either violence or fraud, this spirit is quite reversed in the *Games*." *Homer and the Heroic Tradition*, 263.

[28] Ibid., 215. This benevolence of Achilles may also be connected with his relationship to Patroclus. The prizes of the games are meaningless, but it is the manner in which Achilles distributes them which is of value. Achilles' generosity and courtesy in the funeral games are transferred from the contestants to Patroclus since the games are in Patroclus' honor: "What the dead wants is burial, burial in human decency, and above all, burial with Achilles himself in token of everlasting friendship"(214-5).

[29] Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," 411.

the chariot race, yet Achilles pities him and gives him a prize anyway (*Il*. 23.535-40). Because Achilles brought out a special prize for Eumelus, there is one remaining, which he then gives to Nestor, who was not even a participant in the race (*Il.* 23.625).[30] Again, Achilles exemplifies his benevolence as a host in the fictional reality during the final match, the javelin-throwing contest, in which he prevents the competitors from performing. Agamemnon and Meriones are both ready to compete for the prize when Achilles steps in with this declaration:

> ᾽Ατρεΐδη· ἴδμεν γὰρ ὅσον προβέβηκας ἁπάντων
> ἠδ᾽ ὅσσον δυνάμει τε καὶ ἥμασιν ἔπλευ ἄριστος·
> ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν τόδ᾽ ἄεθλον ἔχων κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας
> ἔρχευ (*Il.* 23.890-3)
>
> Son of Atreus, we know how much you have excelled us all,
> how much you are the best in power and at throwing spears.
> So, having taken this prize, go to your hollow ships.

Here an idealistic form of resolving disputes among aristocrats is exemplified. Achilles has reconciled his differences with Agamemnon and in contrast to Agamemnon's lust for booty (*Il.* 2.230-45), he displays generosity when he assigns Agamemnon the first-place prize.[31]

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[30] Sauge argues that Achilles' generosity is in fact an affront to Agamemnon. Achilles acts as an ideal *roi-juge* by doling out numerous prizes and even retrieving prizes from his personal collection of booty. This directly contrasts Agamemnon's overbearing avarice as illustrated throughout the *Iliad*. "*Iliade* 23: Les jeux, un procès," 25. Dean Hammer, too, discusses Achilles' distribution of prizes in similar terms. He sees Achilles' generosity as an attempt to surpass Agamemnon in leadership skills, in order to antagonize Agamemnon. But as a sign of his growth in character, Achilles' actions in book 23 illustrate a better understanding of his role as a leader among the Achaeans and the recognition of a diplomacy that has always eluded Agamemnon. " 'Who Shall Readily Obey?': Authority and Politics in the *Iliad*." *Phoenix* 51 No. 1 (1997) : 16-17.

[31] Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition,* 263. Seth Schein agrees with Whitman and describes Achilles as acting "in a courtly and considerate fashion, so as to avoid disappointment or difficulty." *The Mortal Hero*, 156. For a different view, see Sauge, who reads this gesture as an insult, and as Achilles not allowing Agamemnon to display his prowess in the games. Because the contest is during a funeral ceremony, Agamemnon cannot break etiquette by refusing the prize, which could rekindle the quarrel between them. Thus, Agamemnon grudgingly accepts the prize. This, in turn, bestows power upon Achilles, as he is now in the role of prize distributor and arbiter. "*Iliade* 23: Les jeux, un procès," 25.

Unlike a real battle, in which unequal fighters are pitted against one another, the contestants here compete on equal terms, and Achilles tries to please them by sustaining their equality. Before the games, for example, Diomedes is involved in a number of unfair battles in which he outmatches his opponents in strength:

> ὡς δὲ λέων μήλοισιν ἀσημάντοισιν ἐπελθὼν
> αἴγεσιν ἢ ὀΐεσσι κακὰ φρονέων ἐνορούσῃ (*Il.* 10.485-6)
>
> Just as a lion, coming to the unguarded flock
> leaps upon the sheep or goats, thinking of evils.

The comparison of Diomedes to a lion about to attach sheep or goats indicates that Diomedes has the upper hand in an unfair battle. By contrast, in the wrestling match, as outlined above, Ajax and Odysseus are so equally paired that neither is declared as superior to the other. Achilles steps in to stop the match, which indeed suggests a degree of unreality; one can assume that if the two contestants met on the battlefield, they would fight until one overcame the other. In the games, however, if one participant is not clearly the victor after a few rounds of fighting, the contenders remain as equals and both receive prizes. A similar ending occurs in the fight in armor between Diomedes and Ajax; Achilles feels that the two are equally matched and that the danger is beginning to become too great for the games. He then announces the end of the match and assigns the prizes before there is a decisive victor. In the final game, the javelin-throwing contest, Agamemnon and Meriones are the two contestants. Here the participants are unequal in skill, so Achilles does not allow the game even to begin since it would be an unfair contest. He declares that Agamemnon is by the far the better javelin thrower and pronounces him the winner.

Fictional reality is apparent in how each contests ends. As expected in competitions, problems arise and the participants dispute over the assignment of the prizes. These problems, however, are easily resolved, again suggesting that the games are only an illusion of reality. In light of the unresolved quarrels throughout the *Iliad*, such as the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles concerning Briseis, the patterns of conflict and resolution among the participants in the games are unrealistic.[32] In the chariot race, for example, Menelaus is initially angry at Antilochus for driving his chariot so dangerously (*Il.* 23.438). Menelaus then disputes the prize awarded to Antilochus and insults him. Antilochus quickly gives up and apologizes to Menelaus, admitting that Menelaus is the better charioteer, and then forfeits his prize to Menelaus as a gesture of respect to his elder. In turn, Menelaus forgives Antilochus and gives back the prize, ending the argument and allowing the games to continue (*Il.* 23.565-610). This kind of quick resolution between a young warrior and his elder involving apologies and forgiveness is perhaps the desirable approach to any problem, but it is an idealization. The outcome of the dispute between Menelaus and Antilochus recalls, by contrast, the drawn-out quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles.[33] A quick resolution of the quarrel over Briseis would have prevented the countless deaths on the Greek side. Thus, the agreement between Menelaus and Antilochus exemplifies the manner in which the conflict over Briseis should have been handled.

In the footrace involving Odysseus, Oilean Ajax and Antilochus, a dispute arises, but is quickly dismissed, again illustrating the unreal aspect of the games. Odysseus,

[32] Cf. the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.497-508), which also illustrates the fictional reality in its depiction of conflict resolution.

[33] Sauge, "*Iliade* 23: Les jeux, un procès," 13.

who received help from Athena, wins the race, much to Ajax's dismay. Ajax complains of the method in which Odysseus won the race and the spectators simply laugh at his expense. There is no further discussion of the assignment of second prize to Ajax and first prize to Odysseus. Throughout the description of the race, Antilochus' progress is not even mentioned, as he did not challenge the other two superior runners. Surprisingly, however, Antilochus takes his last place finish in stride. He laughs at the contest and comments that the gods indeed love the elders, at which he displays no resentment:

> ... ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν
> ἀθάνατοι τιμῶσι παλαιοτέρους ἀνθρώπους.
> Αἴας μὲν γὰρ ἐμεῖ᾽ ὀλίγον προγενέστερός ἐστιν,
> οὗτος δὲ προτέρης γενεῆς προτέρων τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων·
> ὠμογέροντα δέ μίν φασ᾽ ἔμμεναι· ἀργαλέον δὲ
> ποσσὶν ἐριδήσασθαι ᾽Αχαιοῖς, εἰ μὴ ᾽Αχιλλεῖ. (*Il.* 23.787-92)
>
> …how still even now
> the immortals honor the older men.
> For Ajax is a little older than I am,
> but Odysseus is of a previous generation and of earlier men.
> But they say that he is in lusty old age. For the Achaeans,
> it is more difficult to compete with him with their feet, but not for Achilles.

Instead of expressing jealousy and contempt for his elders, Antilochus praises them and accepts his position as a young competitor. In addition, as a sign of respect to the host of the games, he praises Achilles. To complete the pleasant scene, Achilles smiles and gives an extra bar of gold to Antilochus for handling his loss so cooperatively.

Necessity for Moderation

In the fictional reality constructed by the funeral games, moderation is a prerequisite for success. The fact that the participants observe specific guidelines highlights the orderly nature of competition. Participants who plan ahead and develop

strategies are practicing a form of moderation; such moderation, desirable in the "real" world of battle, and praised by gods and heroes alike, is a recurring theme in the detached fictional world of the games. In the chariot race, Nestor reminds his son, Antilochus, that slow horses can still win the race, and that μῆτις (plan, cunning) is much more important in chariot-racing than speed (*Il*. 23.311-8).[34] Antilochus takes these words to heart as he addresses his horses during the race:

> ἀλλ᾽ ἐφομαρτεῖτον καὶ σπεύδετον ὅττι τάχιστα·
> ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐγὼν αὐτὸς τεχνήσομαι ἠδὲ νοήσω
> στεινωπῷ ἐν ὁδῷ παραδύμεναι, οὐδέ με λήσει. (*Il.* 23.414-6)
>
> So come on and hurry as quickly as possible.
> I myself will plan these things and I will take thought
> how to slip past them on the narrow course, it will not escape me.

Indeed, at the end of the chariot race, the narrator comments that Antilochus finished second behind Diomedes by surpassing Menelaus, "with tactics rather than speed [κέρδεσιν, οὔ τι τάχει γε]" (*Il.* 23.515). Moreover, the terms defining this type of moderation, μῆτις, τεχνάομαι (to plan, devise), and κέρδος (tactic), all belong to the same semantic field.

Nestor further endorses the lesson in moderation when he instructs Antilochus in driving the chariot. He tells Antilochus to carefully but closely turn around the post, lean to the left and pass the opponents there (*Il.* 23.333-48). Antilochus follows the advice of his father and acts with moderation, though he is rebuked for being imprudent and destructive by Menelaus:

> ᾽Αντίλοχ᾽ οὔ τις σεῖο βροτῶν ὀλοώτερος ἄλλος·
> ἔρρ᾽, ἐπεὶ οὔ σ᾽ ἔτυμόν γε φάμεν πεπνῦσθαι ᾽Αχαιοί. (*Il.* 23.439-40)

[34] As further proof of its importance, the term, μῆτις, appears in an isometric anaphora, beginning lines 315, 316 and 318.

Antilochus, no one else of mortals is more destructive than you.
Go, since we Achaeans incorrectly thought that you were prudent.

Nevertheless, Antilochus takes the lead, with Menelaus shortly behind (*Il.* 23.438-41). Here the value of moderation, a balance between destructiveness and prudence, is evident since Menelaus, who is too cautious, finishes behind Antilochus, whom he considers imprudent, but who, in fact, practices moderation.

A counterfactual statement indicates that Menelaus would have been able to pass Antilochus again, given different circumstances:

εἰ δέ κ᾽ ἔτι προτέρω γένετο δρόμος ἀμφοτέροισι,
τώ κέν μιν παρέλασσ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν. (*Il.* 23.525)

And if the race course had been still further for both,
he would have passed him and it would not have been a dead heat.

Menelaus loses because he is too cautious, but his performance is not without merit.

As Antilochus approaches Menelaus, he urges his horses on with a speech that recalls Nestor's advice and expresses his hopes for a realistic finish. Thus, he practices a degree of restraint which counterbalances his audacity and allows him to finish in second place:

ἔμβητον καὶ σφῶϊ· τιταίνετον ὅττι τάχιστα.
ἦτοι μὲν κείνοισιν ἐριζέμεν οὔ τι κελεύω
Τυδεΐδεω ἵπποισι δαΐφρονος, οἷσιν Ἀθήνη
νῦν ὦρεξε τάχος καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ κῦδος ἔθηκεν·
ἵππους δ᾽ Ἀτρεΐδαο κιχάνετε, μὴ δὲ λίπησθον...(*Il.* 23.403-7)

Push on, you two, and run as quickly as possible.
I do not order you to compete with those
horses of the skilled son of Tydeus. Athena
has increased the speed for them and has placed glory upon him.
But catch up with the horses of the son of Atreus, do not be left behind…

Antilochus dismisses any hope of catching up to Diomedes and accepts his position among the participants as a young driver who is still being instructed. While not

expressing envy or bitterness about his lack of divine assistance, Antilochus recognizes that Diomedes is not only a superior driver but also that he has divine support.

Because of Antilochus' second-rate status as a young warrior, he must practice moderation in order to fare well in the games; this is the reason for his simultaneous practice of submissiveness and recklessness. These constraints, on the other hand, are not imposed on Diomedes because he is a mature and supreme warrior whom the gods love. He is therefore able to state boldly that he will win the contest, which is exactly what he does. These two competitors are on unequal levels and both must act according to their assigned status.

That moderation is required only for certain participants is exemplified in the boxing match involving Epeus and Euryalus. Epeus is a youthful contestant who brags of his abilities at the beginning of the match. He tells Achilles and the spectators that the first prize is his and then dares the others to face him in the ring (*Il.* 23.666-75). Although Epeus shows no humility, he easily wins the boxing match.[35] Because Epeus is on a higher level than the other competitors, just like Diomedes, the rules of moderation do not fully apply to him. The themes of divine intervention and moderation define the status of participants in the funeral games. Because the characters do not change during the games but act as they had throughout the *Iliad,* the funeral games provide a static environment for those characters whose depictions will remain fixed to the end of the epic.

[35] It may be noted that later in the iron-throwing contest, Epeus does not challenge the other competitors, Polypoetes, Leonteus and Ajax. The crowd simply laughs and disregards his attempt and the contest continues (*Il.* 23.836-46).

Achilles

Achilles, in contrast with the participants of the games, uses the transitional period offered by the games to develop into a more mature hero. Though removed from the competition as a contestant, he does respond to the behavior of the other participants by also practicing moderation, an act which furthers his growth. While the contestants use moderation in accordance with their previously defined characters, Achilles changes in that he abandons his former heightened level of μῆνις and approaches a calm previously absent in his behavior. Achilles, a renowned slaughterer, who brutally dragged Hector's corpse around the walls of Troy, suddenly feels compelled to practice moderation. This behavior, which allows him to become a sympathizer of Priam, is required for the reconciliation in book 24. Though his harshness is still evident, a calmness emerges in him once he encounters Priam in book 24. For example, when Priam tells Achilles to return Hector's body immediately, Achilles quickly snaps, threatening Priam:

μηκέτι νῦν μ᾽ ἐρέθιζε γέρον... (*Il.* 24.560)

Do not provoke me any more, old man…

Achilles, however, calms down shortly thereafter and orders his servants to anoint Hector's body so that it is presentable for Priam, thus demonstrating his newly-acquired ability to practice moderation.

As Achilles suffers the mourning process for Patroclus, he begins to undergo a transition in character centered around his relationship to the deceased. The gravity of Achilles' mourning is comparable to that of a father mourning the loss of a son. During the cremation ceremony, Achilles clearly accepts the position of the father-figure and

assigns the role of the son to Patroclus. Indeed, he suffers as a father would suffer at the death of his son, which is illustrated in the simile describing Achilles at the funeral pyre:

> ὡς δὲ πατὴρ οὗ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται ὀστέα καίων
> νυμφίου, ὅς τε θανὼν δειλοὺς ἀκάχησε τοκῆας,
> ὣς ᾽Αχιλεὺς ἑτάροιο ὀδύρετο ὀστέα καίων,
> ἑρπύζων παρὰ πυρκαϊὴν ἀδινὰ στεναχίζων. (*Il.* 23.221-5)
>
> Just as a father mourns for a son, burning the bones
> of a bridegroom, who, by dying, caused grief for his wretched parents,
> so Achilles mourned for his comrade, burning the bones
> and moving slowly along the pyre, groaning vehemently.

With this simile, Achilles is equated to a bereaved father and he has thus entered a stage of transition. His role as a father figure to Patroclus, however, is recently developed, as this relationship was initially the opposite. Patroclus, along with Phoenix, was sent by Peleus to accompany Achilles in the war. Though Patroclus was "reared together" with Achilles in Peleus' house (*Il.* 23.84), he was treated as a son by Peleus and in turn shared some of Peleus' responsibility in raising Achilles. As Mills states, "Patroclus is a typical care-giver who subordinates his own needs to those of his friend," and "in his continual care for Achilles, Patroclus amply fulfills, and even exceeds, the expectations laid on him by his father."[36] Patroclus is older than Achilles, but perhaps not by much. Hence, Patroclus "could be both a companion and advisor to the future hero, both older brother and father."[37] Seth Schein identifies this transition as an important element by stating that, "Homer's characterization of Achilles is his alienation from the various men who stand to him, at least symbolically, as father to son: Peleus, Phoinix, Agamemnon, even Patroklos."[38]

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[36] Sophie Mills, "Achilles, Patroclus and Parental Care in Some Homeric Similes," 11,12.

[37] R. Finlay, "Patroklos, Achilleus, and Peleus: Fathers and Sons in the *Iliad,*" 270.

The establishment of Achilles' role as a son-figure to Patroclus begins in book 11 during Nestor's speech to Patroclus. Nestor draws attention to the role of Patroclus in relation to Achilles as proposed by Patroclus' father, Menoetius:

> Πηλεὺς μὲν ᾧ παιδὶ γέρων ἐπέτελλ' Ἀχιλῆϊ
> αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων·
> σοὶ δ' αὖθ' ὧδ' ἐπέτελλε Μενοίτιος Ἄκτορος υἱός·
> τέκνον ἐμὸν γενεῇ μὲν ὑπέρτερός ἐστιν Ἀχιλλεύς,
> πρεσβύτερος δὲ σύ ἐσσι· βίῃ δ' ὅ γε πολλὸν ἀμείνων.
> ἀλλ' εὖ οἱ φάσθαι πυκινὸν ἔπος ἠδ' ὑποθέσθαι
> καί οἱ σημαίνειν· ὃ δὲ πείσεται εἰς ἀγαθόν περ. (*Il.* 11.783-9)
>
> Old Peleus ordered his son Achilles
> to always be the best and to remain preeminent over the others,
> but to you, in turn, Menoetius, son of Actor, ordered thus:
> "My son, Achilles is superior in birth,
> but you are older; he is far better in might.
> But speak a fitting word to him well, advise him
> and counsel him. Indeed, he will be persuaded to a good thing."

Here it becomes clear that Patroclus' relationship to Achilles has a paternal force, despite the reversal of roles which appears later. As Schein argues, "it is Patroklos and Agamemnon who, by virtue of age and position, should be caring for [Achilles]."[39]

The alignment of Patroclus with Achilles' father is exemplified in book 19 immediately after the death of Patroclus. Achilles describes his pain with a conditional sentence anticipating his grief for Peleus:

> οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακώτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι,
> οὐδ' εἴ κεν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο πυθοίμην (*Il.* 19.321-2)
>
> I might not suffer something worse
> Not even if I might hear of my father dying.

Here Achilles compares the potential grief over the death of his father to the actual grief he is experiencing over the death of Patroclus. With this statement, he implies that

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[38] Schein, *The Mortal Hero,* 107.

[39] Ibid.

Patroclus is more important even than Peleus, thus placing friendship over family. Achilles recognizes the generosity and paternity of Patroclus, who has acted as a surrogate father to him in many ways during the war. Another example of Achilles' assignment as son is the symbolic act of shearing his hair. When Achilles went to Troy, Peleus vowed that Achilles would shear his hair and sacrifice it to the river Spercheius. Since Achilles will never return home, he shears his hair during the funeral and sacrifices it to Patroclus (*Il.* 23.140-53). Achilles has rejected the vow of his father and has transferred the act in honor of Patroclus, again replacing Peleus with Patroclus.

The relationship between Achilles and Patroclus, however, is never distinctly defined. Though accompanied to the war by Patroclus, who was initially the father figure, Achilles reverses the roles by acting as father with Patroclus as son. To make this transition, Achilles treats Patroclus as a younger comrade. In book 16, Achilles speaks to Patroclus in this manner:

> τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι Πατρόκλεες, ἠΰτε κούρη
> νηπίη, ἥ θ' ἅμα μητρὶ θέουσ' ἀνελέσθαι ἀνώγει
> εἱανοῦ ἁπτομένη, καί τ' ἐσσυμένην κατερύκει,
> δακρυόεσσα δέ μιν ποτιδέρκεται, ὄφρ' ἀνέληται·
> τῇ ἴκελος Πάτροκλε τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβεις.(*Il.* 16.6-11)
>
> Why are you crying, Patroclus, just as a foolish
> girl who, running to her mother, bids her to pick her up
> grabbing her robe, and restrains her mother who is hurrying,
> and crying, she looks at her mother until she will pick her up.
> Like her, Patroclus, you shed round tears.

By addressing Patroclus in this patronizing fashion, "Achilles attempts to reverse his relationship with Patroklos by denying his friend's greater maturity: no longer the older and wiser figure, Patroklos is seen as an emotional child who needs the protection of a

strong parent."[40] Though this reversal hints at Achilles' transition to a parent role, it is only after the death of Patroclus that Achilles actively pursues it. The two alternate roles between "protector" and "protected," a reversal which develops up to the funeral itself.[41] He has lived within the role of the son with Patroclus as the father figure, but now he must forego that position to supervise the funeral rites and host the games.

The complexity of Achilles' transition is also significant. Though Achilles begins to recognize his new position as a father figure before the inception of the games, there are still hints of his struggle to do so. Homer likens Achilles to a mourning father in lines 221-5 of book 23, but only a few lines earlier Achilles displays evidence of his still-present μῆνις. During the games, he begins to transform and overcome his μῆνις, as a more benevolent Achilles surfaces. His struggle is perhaps best illustrated in the cremation scene immediately before the announcement of the games. Here he sacrifices nine dogs by slitting their throats and then crosses the boundaries of sacrificial ritual by slaughtering twelve Trojan boys. Finally, he fully embraces his μῆνις with the following statement:

> ...Ἕκτορα δ' οὔ τι
> δώσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν, ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν. (*Il.* 23.182-3)
>
> …Hector, son of Priam, though,
> I will not give to the fire to eat, but to the dogs.

This is the manner in which we expect Achilles to act. He has allowed his μῆνις to overcome his better judgment, a mark of his immaturity, until the funeral games.

[40] Finlay, "Patroklos, Achilleus, and Peleus: Fathers and Sons in the *Iliad*," 271.

[41] Mills, "Achilles, Patroclus and Parental Care," 12.

Achilles' transition to a father figure for Patroclus in book 23 anticipates the upcoming events of book 24. His reaction to Priam's arrival is a direct result of his experiences during the funeral ceremony for Patroclus. His ability to overcome his μῆνις and return the body of Hector requires a degree of empathy for Priam. Because Achilles feels as if he has suffered the death of a son with the death of Patroclus, he is able to understand Priam's situation. Indeed, he is even able to recognize the extraordinary task Priam undergoes by confronting the murderer of his son. Achilles' grief for Patroclus is later mirrored by Priam's grief for Hector, thus connecting the two men by similar experiences and allowing Achilles to empathize with Priam. For example, the previously cited passage concerning Achilles' inability to suffer anything worse than Patroclus' death is mirrored by Achilles' comment to Priam concerning the death of Hector. The two passages are as follows:

> οὐ μὲν γάρ τι κακώτερον ἄλλο πάθοιμι,
> οὐδ᾽ εἴ κεν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο πυθοίμην (*Il.* 19.321-2)
>
> I would not suffer anything worse
> Not even if I should hear of my father dying.
>
> οὐ γάρ τι πρήξεις ἀκαχήμενος υἷος ἑῆος,
> οὐδέ μιν ἀνστήσεις, πρὶν καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο πάθῃσθα. (*Il.* 24.550-1)
>
> For you, grieving for your noble son, will not accomplish anything,
> nor will you revive him, before you suffer also some other evil.

Achilles expresses his mourning for Patroclus as the most severe form of grief he could feel and then, with a similar phrase, tells Priam that it will be impossible for him to ever see Hector again.

Achilles' grief in book 23 anticipates Priam's in book 24. Because of Achilles' newly acquired empathy, he attempts to prevent Priam from experiencing any hardships

comparable to what he experienced for Patroclus. Immediately before the cremation ceremony, Achilles orders Agamemnon to erect the pyre. In his command, Achilles urges him to do so for the following reason:

> ὄφρ᾽ ἤτοι τοῦτον μὲν ἐπιφλέγῃ ἀκάματον πῦρ
> θᾶσσον ἀπ᾽ ὀφθαλμῶν, λαοὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ ἔργα τράπωνται. (*Il.* 23. 52-3)

> so that the untiring fire may burn him quickly away from my eyes
> and so that the people would turn to their work.

The grief for Patroclus has kept the bereaved from working and Achilles recognizes the need for the cremation of Patroclus' corpse. Again, at the procession bearing Patroclus, Achilles grieves at the sight of his beloved friend and cradles his head while weeping (*Il.* 23.136-7). In book 24, however, when Priam faces similar adversity, Achilles prevents him from having to experience it to such a degree. Achilles orders the servant-women to remove the body of Hector lest Priam see it, for he fears that Priam, upon seeing his dead son, might continue to grieve and threaten the relative calm created by the truce:

> δμῳὰς δ᾽ ἐκκαλέσας λοῦσαι κέλετ᾽ ἀμφί τ᾽ ἀλεῖψαι
> νόσφιν ἀειράσας, ὡς μὴ Πρίαμος ἴδοι υἱόν,
> μὴ ὃ μὲν ἀχνυμένῃ κραδίῃ χόλον οὐκ ἐρύσαιτο
> παῖδα ἰδών (*Il.* 24.582-5)

> Having called the female servants out, he ordered them both to wash and
> to anoint the body, taking it away, so that Priam might not see his son
> and not restrain the anger in his grieving heart
> upon seeing his child.

By book 24, Achilles has undergone a mourning process similar to a father's mourning for a son and is therefore able to predict and anticipate how Priam might react should he see Hector's corpse unwashed and unanointed.

Achilles makes the connection to Priam as a mourning father again in book 24[42] based on his experience in book 23. During the period between Patroclus' death and the funeral, Achilles did not allow himself to eat. In fact, he argued with Odysseus and Agamemnon in book 19 when they tried to persuade him to allow the soldiers to eat before engaging in battle again (*Il.* 19.200ff). Achilles, however, who was still enraged at the death of Patroclus, would not comply. Once Achilles has been able to participate in a funerary ritual in honor of Patroclus, he allows himself to eat. In book 24, he prevents Priam from repeating his act of fasting and urges Priam to eat.[43] He relates the myth of Niobe who lost twelve children and reminds Priam that even she remembered to eat. He concludes the myth by advising Priam with the following statement:

> ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶϊ μεδώμεθα δῖε γεραιὲ
> σίτου· ἔπειτά κεν αὖτε φίλον παῖδα κλαίοισθα
> Ἴλιον εἰσαγαγών· (*Il.* 24.618-20)
>
> But come, divine old man, let us both remember
> food. Then you may weep for your dear son again
> bringing him into Troy.

By using the first person plural form of μέδομαι along with the dual pronoun, νῶϊ, Achilles has grouped himself with Priam as a fellow sympathizer. It is this communal suffering and empathy which truly allows Achilles to make his transition.[44] Achilles not

[42] Achilles acts not only as a fellow father in mourning, but also as a son to Priam. With the reconciliation between the two in book 24, Achilles is "able, at least symbolically, to pay a father back – not Peleus but Priam" (43). "For Achilles, to return Hector's corpse, graciously and of his own will, is the metaphoric equivalent of repaying Peleus" (49). Nancy Felson, "*Threptra* and Invincible Hands: the Father-son Relationship in *Iliad* 24," *Arethusa* 35 No. 1 (2002) : 35-50.

[43] As Jasper Griffin remarks, "eating together is a universal mark of union, creating a bond…He treats his guest with courtesy and eats with him, then they gaze at each other and admire in each the nobility and beauty which each possesses. This has given the poet here a metaphor which enables Achilles to return to humanity before he meets his death." *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 16.

[44] Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death*, 69.

only advises Priam not to make the same mistake he made after Patroclus' death, but also furthers the notion of his equality as a mourning father.[45]

The themes offered by the games, of divine intervention, lessons in moderation, and the creation of a fictional reality form a backdrop for Achilles, allowing him to undergo his transition as a host and leader; thus, the spotlight shines upon him. The games offer him an opportunity to experience a metaphorical transformation, which looks ahead to the upcoming events of book 24. In *Aeneid* 5, Vergil similarly utilizes the themes illustrated in *Iliad* 23 by creating a parallel environment in which Aeneas makes a transition to a father and leader.

[45] Though I have suggested that Achilles makes a transition into a father figure, his role as son also exists as a parallel to Hector with Peleus and Priam mirroring each other as grieving fathers. In this case, however, Achilles does not mourn the death of a "son," but anticipates his own death, which he knows is threatening. Thus, Priam's mourning of Hector foreshadows Peleus' future mourning of Achilles. As Jinyo Kim states, "when old Priam begs Achilles for pity in the name of his own father, Peleus, on behalf of (the body of) his son, Hektor, Achilles responds therefore not only as son to Peleus, but also as father to Patroklos," *The Pity of Achilles: Oral Style and the Unity of the* Iliad (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 149-50.

CHAPTER 3

POINTS OF CONTACT

In his commentary on *Aeneid* 5, Servius states that:

> cuius pars maior ex Homero sumpta est: nam omnia quae hic commemorat, exhibentur circa tumulum Patrocli, nisi quod illic curule exercetur, hic navale certamen. (*Praef.* 5.1)
>
> The greater part of this book is taken from Homer, for everything which he mentions is exhibited around the tomb of Patroclus, except there a chariot race is employed, here a boat race.

This view of the Vergilian games as derivative of the Iliadic games has greatly affected interpretations of book 5. Yet, the points of contact between *Iliad* 23 and *Aeneid* 5 are rarely documented in a comprehensive and detailed manner.[46] In order to analyze Vergil's highly allusive style in relationship to Homer in *Aeneid* 5, one must establish the similarities between the two before acknowledging the differences. The Homeric themes outlined in chapter one regarding divine involvement, fictional reality, and lessons of moderation are echoed in *Aeneid* 5 with a similar didactic undertone. Vergil also reflects upon the prominent father/son roles delineated in *Iliad* 23, with an emphasis on Aeneas' transition. The adaptation of these themes, embedded in a similar structure, supports the claim that Vergil used the Iliadic games as a template for the funeral games of Anchises.

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[46] See Williams 1960, xxiii-xxx for a survey of opinions on book 5. Joseph Farrell remarks that though there has been substantial scholarship against Servius' claim, this "ascendancy over Homer…has tended to coincide with periods when Homer's poetry was not well know in the West, and it is generally correct to state that Vergil has most often been viewed as Homer's not altogether successful imitator." "*Aeneid* 5: Poetry and Parenthood," in *Reading Vergil's* Aeneid *: An Interpretive Guide*, ed. Christine Perkell (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 101.

For various reasons, a close comparison of the games in the *Aeneid* with those in the *Iliad* has been neglected in recent scholarship. Williams, in the introduction to his commentary of book 5, states that "above all, the games serve to diminish the tension after the powerful and moving tragedy of the fourth book, and to give relief and variation before the majestic unfolding of book VI."[47] Several scholars, however, argue against this interpretation, outlining the significance of and necessity for book 5 to the epic overall. Michael Putnam, for example, analyzes the individual events of the funeral games to determine their purposes within the context of the *Aeneid*. He focuses on how the events of book 5 recall earlier ones, such as in book 3, anticipate later ones, especially in book 9, symbolize pervading themes, and develop characters.[48] Similarly, Karl Galinsky discusses the placement of book 5 by illustrating how it is logically integrated into the larger theme of the *Aeneid*.[49] More recently, scholars have focused on other events of book 5, such as the burning of the ships by the Trojan women, as they discuss the role of women and the importance of fire imagery.[50] While these are important issues concerning book 5 and scholars have offered much insight on the purpose and effects of book 5, a detailed examination of the funeral games themselves within the scope of the epic tradition has been overlooked.

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[47] *Aeneid* V. Edited by R.D. Williams. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.

[48] Michael Putnam*, The Poetry of the* Aeneid*: Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 64-104.

[49] For example, Galinsky connects book 5 to earlier and later books through the appearance/reappearance of characters, such as Acestes and Ascanius. Also, he argues that Sicily is central to the entire epic while referring to *Aeneid* 5 as an *Aeneid in parvo*. G. Karl Galinsky, "*Aeneid* V and the *Aeneid*," *AJPh* 89 (1968), 157-85.

[50] Paul Allen Miller, "The Minotaur Within: Fire, the Labyrinth, and Strategies of Containment in *Aeneid* 5 and 6," *CP* 90 (1995) : 225-40; S. Georgia Nugent, "Vergil's 'Voice of the Women' in *Aeneid* V," *Arethusa* 25 (1992) : 255-92.

Fictional Reality

The two sets of games have a similar structure: Achilles administers the eight contests for Patroclus, which consist of a chariot race, boxing match, wrestling match, foot race, fight in armor, shot-put, archery and javelin throwing. In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas administers five contests in honor of Anchises: boat race, foot race, boxing match, archery, and the *lusus Troiae*. By modeling the basic frame of his games on the *Iliad*, Vergil has created a distinct parallel and even textual competition between the structure of the individual games, the competitors in the games, the overseers, Aeneas and Achilles, and, finally, Homer and himself. In both epics, the funeral games serve as a respite from the exhausting sequence of events. In *Iliad* 23, the participants are allowed to rest from the war and in the *Aeneid,* they are able to take a break from their seemingly endless journey. In both texts, the fact that the games do not advance the main action of the plot enables them to serve as a fictional reality for the participants. The Iliadic games are a reflection of the on-going war, while in *Aeneid* 5 "each of the games anticipates general circumstances of war, glancing at the behavior that makes for victory or defeat,"[51] thus prefiguring events to come. Instead of embedding the funeral games within the second, more war-oriented, "Iliadic" half of the *Aeneid*, Vergil places the games during the first, "Odyssean," half. Vergil thus foreshadows the war that begins in book 7;[52] each game anticipates an aspect of war, focusing on the victor and the loser and

[51] Anderson, *The Art of the* Aeneid, 52.

[52] Though the war begins in book 7, Vergil especially foreshadows the war activities in book 9. For a study on the parallels between book 5 and book 9, see Brooks Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, with a foreword by Ward W. Briggs, Jr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995, 273ff. (page citations are to the reprint edition); Sister Johanna Glazewski, "The Function of Vergil's Funeral Games," *CW* 66 (1972) : 85-96.

the means by which the victor overcomes the loser.[53] As a result, the games serve as a microcosm of war. Vergil incorporates sacrificial imagery within the games and alludes to the importance of reverence to gods, thus creating a religious context applicable to war itself.

The Vergilian games, however, are by no means realistic. Instead, they serve as a representation of order in war, excluding its chaotic and disorderly aspects. As with the funeral games in the *Iliad*, the Vergilian games provide an opportunity for the characters to escape a violent world and enter a controlled and less dangerous reality.[54] In this fictional reality, the contestants come close to death, but survive.[55] The actions of the contests, therefore, do not provide a realistic account of competition, but, instead, illuminate the ethics of the agon by means of exhibiting idealized situations. By staging potentially dangerous circumstances, the contests also recall events outside of the games. Since the danger does not present a truly threatening situation, the unrealistic competitions create "the safe and restricted play world of Anchises' memorial games."[56] For example, almost comically, Menoetes is thrown out of the ship, in contrast to Palinurus who meets his death at the end of the book.[57] Aeneas later interrupts the boxing match to prevent Entellus from killing Dares. Unlike the tragic death of Palinurus, both Menoetes and Dares survive the peril presented to them.

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[53] Anderson, *The Art of the* Aeneid, 52.

[54] Putnam, *Poetry of the* Aeneid, 65.

[55] Anderson, *Art of the* Aeneid, 52; Putnam, *Poetry of the* Aeneid, 67.

[56] Farrell, "*Aeneid* 5: Poetry and Parenthood," 98-9.

[57] Putnam, *Poetry of the* Aeneid, 75.

Achilles, as an overly generous host, fuels the notion of a fictional reality by awarding prizes to all contestants, even the losers, and by interrupting matches before they become dangerously threatening. Aeneas, too, acts as the benevolent and charitable host in the games. Sergestus, much like the Iliadic Eumelus in the chariot race, finishes in last place, but receives a prize from Aeneas out of pity (*Aen.* 5.282-3). At the beginning of the footrace, Aeneas illustrates this generosity with the following statement:

> Accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentes.
> Nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit. (*Aen.* 5.304-5)
>
> Receive this in your hearts and attend to your happy minds.
> No one will leave from this order not having been given a gift by me.

Aeneas acts accordingly in his assignment of the prizes. Salius, who was tripped by Nisus, finishes in last place but still receives a prize, the hide of a lion (*Aen.* 5.351-2). Nisus, also a loser in the race, receives a shield from Aeneas, since he was the leader for the majority of the race (*Aen.* 5.258-61). This is much like Achilles' approach in *Iliad* 23. He, too, announces the prizes to be awarded at the inception of each game, which usually correlates to the number of contestants.[58]

In a number of examples, Homer illustrates the backdrop of the fictional reality by allowing the characters to resolve their differences easily, especially regarding the allotment of prizes. For example, Antilochus and Menelaus promptly end their dispute after the chariot race (*Il.* 23.565-610). Vergil uses a similar sequence of events in his games to elucidate the fictional reality inherent in book 5. When Nisus argues about his lack of prize in the footrace, Aeneas quickly concedes to his request and benevolently presents an extra prize for him:

[58] Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," 411.

…Risit pater optimus olli
et clipeum efferi iussit, Didymaonis artis,
Neptuni sacro Danais de poste refixum. (*Aen.* 5.358-60)

…The greatest father smiled at that man
and ordered that a shield of Didymaon's skill be brought out,
which was taken down by the Danaans from the sacred gate of Neptune.

The dispute is thus resolved quickly and pleasantly. Later in the archery contest, Eurytion becomes the loser of the contest even though he was the one who actually struck the dove. Instead of arguing about the presentation of the awards, as one might expect, Eurytion does not dispute Aeneas' declaration of Acestes as the victor. He keeps silent about his lack of prizes and concedes to Aeneas' decision, which acknowledges divine power. This scene recalls Homer's footrace involving Ajax, Odysseus and Antilochus, in which, after the introduction of the participants, Antilochus was practically forgotten, as he did not challenge the other two superior runners. Surprisingly, however, Antilochus calmly takes his last place finish without objection. He laughs at the contest and comments that the gods indeed love elders (*Il.* 23.86-91).

As contestants were pitted against one another on equal terms in the *Iliad*, Vergil also keeps his contestants in *Aeneid* 5 as equally matched as possible, in contrast with the unfair battles occurring elsewhere. The slaying of Priam by Pyrrhus as recounted in *Aeneid* 2 is a poignant example of such battles in the actual war at Troy. To accentuate his youth and strength, Pyrrhus is likened to a snake in the following simile:

qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus,
frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat,
nunc, positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa,
lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga
arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis. (*Aen.* 2.471-5)

Just as when a serpent, grazing on foul plants,
which, swollen with poison, the cold winter covered under the earth.

Now, the serpent, new with its slough placed aside and sleek with youth,
coils its slippery back into the light and with its chest raised up,
it towers toward the sun, and its mouth flashes with a forked tongue.

By contrast, Vergil focuses on the weariness and old age of Priam as he prepares to fight:

arma diu senior desueta trementibus aevo
circumdat nequiquam umeris et inutile ferrum
cingitur, ac densos fertur moriturus in hostis. (*Aen.* 2.509-11)

In vain the man, though very old, surrounds his shoulders, trembling with old age,
with his armor, long unused, and he girds on his useless sword,
and, about to die, he is carried off into the crowded enemy.

While he describes Pyrrhus as youthful and virile (*novus*, *nitidus, iuventa, arduus*), he indicates Priam's inferiority as a warrior by using language assigned to the decrepit (*senior, desueta, trementibus, nequiquam, inutile*). Despite the inequality between the two, the young Pyrrhus brutally slays Priam, destroying his pride, dominion and power.

The unfair battle between Pyrrhus and Priam contrasts with the competitions in the games, where the contests are calculated to be fair, if unrealistic. In the boat race, for example, Vergil immediately stresses the equality of the contestants as they are introduced:

Prima pares ineunt gravibus certamina remis
quattuor ex omni delectae classe carinae. (*Aen.* 5.114-5)

Four equal ships, chosen from the entire fleet,
enter the first contest with heavy oars.

The ships are *pares* and are therefore competing in a fair match.[59] In the boxing match, Entellus attempts to lessen his advantage over Dares. Entellus is by far the more

[59] Andrew Feldherr also addresses an inconsistency with Sergestus' ship to support the notion of a fictional reality: "although the ship of Sergestus may be mocked and *sine honore,* the vessel is safe, the men well, and so Sergestus too wins his prize." "Ships of State: *Aeneid* 5 and Augustan Circus Spectacle," *CA* 14 No.2 (Oct. 1995) : 254.

experienced and skillful of the two and offers to give up his massive boxing gloves in order to face Dares on a more equal level:

> aequemus pugnas. Erycis tibi terga remitto
> (solve metus), et tu Troianos exue caestus. (*Aen.* 5.419-20)
>
> Let us make the fight equal. I place aside my boxing gloves of Eryx for you (dismiss your fear), and you remove your Trojan gauntlets.

Entellus then does as promised and throws his gloves aside. Aeneas follows by bringing out equal gauntlets, *caestus aequos* (*Aen*. 5.424), and equally matched weapons, *paribus armis* (*Aen.* 5.425), with which the competitors fight. This does not represent a realistic battle scene where the goal of the competitors is simply to win, despite the inequality of his opponent. Vergil showcases the participants in such a way as to create an "ethical rather than realistic account of victory."[60] The games, therefore, serve as an opportunity for the participants to act fairly, thus casting the agon in a positive light.

The Heroes

As outlined in chapter one, the Homeric participants in the games act in accordance with their character. Consequently, the Iliadic games serve as a piece of the organic whole of the poem and not as a disconnected respite from the story. Vergil likewise includes characters important in the epic at large as participants in his funeral games, basing their character on previous actions. However, he introduces the heroes of book 5 in a manner that foreshadows their reintroductions in later books, especially book 9. By doing so, Vergil too connects book 5 to the rest of the epic, thus allowing it to

[60] Anderson, *Art of the* Aeneid, 52.

work as an essential episode in the course of the *Aeneid*.[61] As Glazewski has outlined in detail,[62] there are a number of characters in *Aeneid* 5 whose actions are echoed in book 9, such as Mnestheus, Nisus and Euryalus. For example, Mnestheus urges his fleet during the boat race with the following command in book 5:

> …Nunc, nunc, insurgite remis
> Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema
> delegi comites; nunc illas promite viris,
> nunc animos, quibus in Gaetulis Syrtibus usi
> Ionioque mari Maleaeque sequacibus undis
> Non iam prima peto Mnestheus neque vincere certo
> (quamquam O! – sed superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti),
> extremos pudeat rediisse: hoc vincite, cives,
> et prohibete nefas." (*Aen.* 5.189-97)

> Now, now, rise to your oars,
> friends of Hector, whom I chose as comrades
> at the final destiny of Troy; now put forth that power,
> now put forth that spirit, which you used in Gaetulian Syrtis
> in the Ionian sea and in the swift waves of Malea.
> I, Mnestheus, do not seek the first prize nor to conquer certainly
> (oh and yet! – may they, whom you choose, win this, Neptune)
> but it would be shameful to return last: overcome this, citizens,
> and prevent that disgrace

Here Mnestheus commands his fleet on patriotic grounds instead of urging them simply to win the first place prize.[63] Later, in book 9, Mnestheus is faced with a similar situation, though in war, and takes the initiative of advising his comrades to strive intently for victory. He addresses his comrades in a comparable manner, again with patriotic concerns:

> unus homo et vestris, o cives, undique saeptus
> aggeribus tantas strages impune per urbem

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[61] Glazewski, "The Function of Vergil's Funeral Games," 90; Putnam, *Poetry of the* Aeneid, 81; Galinsky, "*Aeneid* V and the *Aeneid,*" 157-85.

[62] see Glazewski pp. 92-3 for a more comprehensive analysis.

[63] Ibid., 93.

ediderit? iuvenum primos tot miserit Orco?
Non infelicis patriae veterumque deorum
et magni Aeneae, segnes, miseretque pudetque? (*Aen.* 9.783-87)

Citizens, will one man alone, having been enclosed an all sides
by your own walls, bring forth such great destructions through the city
without punishment? Will he have sent so many of the best of the youths to
Orcus? Idle ones, is there no pity or shame for your unlucky fatherland,
and the ancient gods and great Aeneas?

In both passages, Mnestheus appeals to his comrades, requesting that they stay mindful of their duties as soldiers even though they are not in an advantageous position.[64]

Vergil introduces the relationship between Nisus and Euryalus in book 5 in a manner that anticipates their actions in book 9. Nisus' affection toward Euryalus is the pinnacle of devotion and camaraderie as exemplified in their introduction during the footrace:

Nisus et Euryalus primi,
Euryalus forma insignis viridisque iuventa,
Nisus amore pio pueri... (*Aen.* 5.294-6)

Nisus and Euryalus are first,
Euryalus marked with beauty and fresh with youth,
Nisus with his loyal love of the boy…

Nisus soon proves his devotion to Euryalus during the race; he selflessly throws himself in front of the other competitors so that Euryalus may finish the race in first place (*Aen.* 5.334-8). Nisus' affection for Euryalus, though embedded in the non-threatening "play world"[65] of the funeral games, is described "in a way that cannot but arouse melancholy thoughts of their tragedy to come."[66] Vergil refers to their relationship as introduced in

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Farrell, "*Aeneid* 5: Poetry and Parenthood," 98-9.

[66] This reaction, however, can only be assumed of readers who were already familiar with the story of Nisus and Euryalus. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, 274.

book 5 as a foundation for the relationship in book 9. Here the two are described in accordance with their character:

> et iuxta comes Euryalus, quo pulchrior alter
> non fuit Aeneadum Troiana neque induit arma,
> ora puer prima signans intonsa iuventas.
> his amor unus erat pariterque in bella ruebant
> tum quoque communi portam statione tenebant.(*Aen.* 9.179-83)
>
> And near him [Nisus] was his comrade Euryalus; there was not another of Aeneas' men nor one who carried Trojan arms who was more beautiful than he. The boy, with his unshaven face, showed the first sign of youth. The love between these men was one and equally they charged in war. And now, too, they held a gate in a common station.

As in book 5, Vergil here strongly emphasizes the beauty of Nisus, his love of Euryalus, and the compatibility of the pair. Vergil also draws a parallel to Nisus' self-sacrifice in the foot race with the death scene of Euryalus and Nisus in book 9. Though Nisus hurls his spear and kills Sulmo, it is Euryalus who is killed by Volcens. Nisus attempts to take the blame for the incident, but to no avail. Nisus, grieving for his beloved, rages onto the battlefield to avenge Euryalus' death. Unable to withstand the mass of Rutilians, Nisus dies in battle, falling on the body of Euryalus (*Aen.* 9.390-445). In book 9, the pair act in a manner consistent with their introductions in book 5, loyal to one another and ready to die on each others' behalf.

Ritual, Sacrifice, and Divine Invocation

Homer and Vergil both include sacrificial and ritual imagery in conjunction with divine invocation to set the religious tone of the games. Ritual activity, such as sacrifice, represents communication with the gods; therefore, the sacrificial imagery throughout

both *Iliad* 23 and *Aeneid* 5 suggests constant divine interaction with human events,[67] while accentuating the connection between success in competition and religious devotion. One notable example in the *Aeneid* comes in the footrace involving Nisus and Euryalus. Nisus, who is in the lead, slips in the blood of a sacrificed ox[68] immediately before the finish line:

> Iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam
> finem adventabant, levi cum sanguine Nisus
> labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuvencis
> fusus humum viridisque super madefecerat herbas. (*Aen.* 5.327-30)
>
> Now, almost at the end stretch and worn out,
> they neared the finish line itself, when unlucky Nisus
> slipped in slippery blood from the slaughtered bulls, which, by chance,
> having poured out, soaked the ground and the green grass above it.

In this passage, Vergil alludes to the Iliadic footrace regarding Oilean Ajax and Odysseus. After Odysseus calls upon Athena to assist him in the race, Ajax slips in the dung of a cow sacrificed in Patroclus' honor:

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[67] Denis Feeney, *Literature and Religion at Rome: Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 120. See also James O'Hara for a discussion on sacrifice and prophecy, in which he remarks on the death/sacrifice of Palinurus. In accordance with Feeney's statement that "the gods send *auspicia* down to us, and we send *sacra* up to them," O'Hara states that "Aeneas' ritual sacrifice [i.e. his sacrifice to Eryx (*Aen.* 5.775-6)], however, is not enough, for it is immediately followed by the conversation of Venus and Neptune, in which…Neptune tells her [Juno] that Aeneas will reach the shores of Italy, but not without one more sacrifice," for Aeneas must sacrifice Palinurus.

> Indeed, Neptune describes this event:
> tutus, quos optas, portus accedet Averni.
> unus erit tantum amissum quem gurgite quaeres;
> unum pro multis dabitur caput. (*Aen.* 5.813-5)
>
> Aeneas will safely arrive at the harbor of Avernus, which you wish.
> There will be just one whom you seek, having been lost in the abyss;
> one life will be given for the sake of many.

Neptune requires yet another sacrifice from Aeneas, his helmsman Palinurus. Thus, sacrifices and sacrificial imagery are directly connected to communication with the gods, who serve as the underlying impetus for the plot development. James O'Hara, *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's* Aeneid. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 22-3.

[68] Presumably, the ox has been sacrificed in honor of Anchises, although this is not explicitly stated.

ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ τάχ᾽ ἔμελλον ἐπαΐξασθαι ἄεθλον,
ἔνθ᾽ Αἴας μὲν ὄλισθε θέων, βλάψεν γὰρ ᾽Αθήνη,
τῇ ῥα βοῶν κέχυτ᾽ ὄνθος ἀποκταμένων ἐριμύκων,
οὓς ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ πέφνεν πόδας ὠκὺς ᾽Αχιλλεύς· (*Il.* 23.774-6)

But when they were about to rush quickly for the prize
Ajax, slipped as he ran, for Athena tripped him,
in the spread out dung of the slaughtered loud-bellowing oxen
which swift footed Achilles killed in honor of Patroclus.

Vergil reflects on the prevalence of sacrificial imagery in the games by establishing the parallel in the two footraces. Further allusion to this Homeric passage occurs in the boxing match later in book 5, in which, as we saw, Gyas symbolically sacrifices his helmsman, Menoetes, by throwing him off of the ship.[69] At the end of the boxing match, Entellus violently sacrifices the prize bull to show the audience what would have happened to Dares if Aeneas had not stepped in:

…effractoque inlisit in ossa cerebro:
sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos.(*Aen.* 5.481-2)

…with the brain shattered, he struck into the bones:
the ox fell and, trembling, it lay lifeless on the ground.

Though Dares is spared, the bull is sacrificed in his place. Just as Homer involves sacrifice in his games, so Vergil illuminates the theme of "victory through sacrifice."[70] Victory, the goal of the sacrificer, is central to this theme, while the importance of a divine encounter is peripheral.[71] The sacrificial imagery, nevertheless, evokes the

[69] This scene also foreshadows the sacrifice of Palinurus, Aeneas' helmsman, at the end of book 5. William S. Anderson, *The Art of the Aeneid* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), 52.

[70] Putnam, *The Poetry of the* Aeneid, 81.

[71] Feeney, *Literature and Religion at Rome*, 119.

urgency of piety, an act which must be consistently practiced in order to improve the chances of success by any given character.[72]

Vergil, like Homer, underscores the religious purpose of the games through reference to divine involvement. Both a Homeric contestant and a Vergilian one must exhibit a degree of respect and acknowledgement of the gods through invocation. As outlined in chapter one, the degree to which a Homeric participant must engage in such activity is contingent upon his status among the warriors. Heinze argues that the divine influence is diminished in Vergil, as the themes prevalent in the Vergilian games (e.g. skill versus speed, lessons in moderation, and hubris) all have a role in the outcome of the games; nevertheless, the contestant who calls upon the gods is the one who actually wins.[73] For example, Cloanthus in the *Aeneid* wins the boat race by invoking the gods before he reaches the finish line. Vergil makes this explicitly clear with the following counterfactual condition in reference to the second place winners, Mnestheus and his crew:

> Et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,
> ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus
> fudissetque preces divosque in vota vocasset: (*Aen.* 5.232-4)
>
> And perhaps they would have taken the prize with leveled prows,
> if Cloanthus, extending both hands to the sea
> had not poured out prayers and called upon the gods with vows.

Vergil implies here that Cloanthus' invocation of the gods is the deciding factor in the race and that it is the sole reason for Cloanthus' victory; if Mnestheus had invoked the gods similarly, he might have beaten Cloanthus. Mnestheus' pious ignorance and later

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[72] W.A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's* Aeneid (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 44.

[73] Richard Heinze, *Vergil's Epic Technique,* trans. Hazel and David Harvey and Fred Robertson, with a preface by Antonie Wlosok (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 126.

exploitation of the mistake is a recurring theme in epic, one which exhibits a hopelessness for the character. As Feeney states, this practice is "a dismaying failure of recognition or understanding" and when humans finally recognize the true power of the divine, it is often too late: they have already failed due to their errant behavior.[74] Antilochus in the *Iliad* likewise exemplifies this ignorance, according to the narrator's statement at the end of the chariot race in reference to Eumelus:

> ἀλλ᾽ ὤφελεν ἀθανάτοισιν
> εὔχεσθαι· τό κεν οὔ τι πανύστατος ἦλθε διώκων. (*Il.*23.546-7)
>
> But he ought to have prayed to the immortals.
> Then, he, driving, would not have come in last of all.

By stating that Cloanthus might not have won had he not invoked the gods, Vergil alludes to the above passage in order to stress the effect of divine involvement and its decisive role in the games as seen in the *Iliad*.

Vergil directly models the structure of the archery contest on Homer (*Aen*. 5.485-544), another example of the importance of divine invocation. In *Iliad* 23, Teucer is given the first shot and Meriones the second. Teucer shoots his arrow, hits the cord, and allows the dove to flutter off, at which point Meriones quickly draws his arrow and shoots the dove, thus meriting a first-place finish (*Il.* 23.859-83). Teucer missed the dove because he did not pray to Apollo, while Meriones successfully hit the dove after having prayed to the god. Vergil's archery contest echoes this outcome, as Mnestheus does not pray and similarly hits the cord, separating the dove from the mast. Eurytion, much like Meriones, quickly grabs his bow, prays to his brother Pandarus, and strikes the dove with his arrow (*Aen.* 5.506-18). Although Eurytion prays to his brother, rather than to a deity,

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[74] Denis Feeney, *Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 181.

a prayer is nonetheless involved, thus displaying Eurytion's understanding and recognition of piety. This simple understanding, however, does not invariably compel the gods to act in his favor; Eurytion is simply working under the notion that ritual practice regarding piety will improve his chances of divine assistance.[75] Ostensibly, this act is sufficiently reverent and, therefore, Eurytion is marginally successful in hitting the dove; he succeeds by accomplishing the task of the contest, but does not win a prize. By incorporating sacrificial imagery and the significance of divine invocation in this manner, Vergil has distinctly modeled the religious aspects of his games on those in *Iliad* 23, again displaying his reliance on the Homeric template. The existence of the divine, pervading both the Iliadic and Vergilian games, directly influences the actions of the participants and the result of each contest.

Necessity for Moderation

As a further reflection on *Iliad* 23, Vergil addresses the importance of moderation in competition, beginning with the description of the boats during the introduction of the participants in the boat race. Here he emphasizes the advantage of being bulky and seemingly slow with the description of Cloanthus' boat, the Scylla:[76]

> …quem deinde Cloanthus
> consequitur, melior remis, sed pondere pinus
> tarda tenet. (*Aen.* 5.153-4)
>
> …then Cloanthus follows him,
> he is superior with his oars, but the sluggish ship
> hinders itself with its weight.

[75] Camps, *Introduction to Virgil's* Aeneid, 44.

[76] On Vergil's choice of names for the boats in the race see Sarah Spence, 76ff. "Meta-textuality: The Boat-race as Turning Point in *Aeneid* 5," *New England Classical Journal* (2002) : 69-81.

Ironically, Cloanthus wins the race, though he is competing with a 'sluggish' boat, which in turn suggests the existence of other factors as the determining forces in competition. Cloanthus does not rely solely on uncontrolled speed, but is mindful of strategic maneuvers, thereby displaying his practice of moderation. This scene indeed recalls *Iliad* 23 with Nestor's speech to his son, Antilochus (*Il.* 23.306-48). As described in chapter one, Nestor stresses that slow horses can still win the race, and that skill is more important for success. When Antilochus drives his horses, he remembers this advice and tells his horses to push on, for he has the skill to lead them to victory. Homer then acknowledges this lesson at the end of the chariot race by commenting that Antilochus finished second behind Diomedes, not by speed, but by wiles (*Il.* 23.515).

As another example of moderation, Vergil stresses the importance of skill over speed in the boxing match. Before the modest Entellus wins the match, he falls from a blow given by the braggart, Dares:

> …ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto
> concidit, ut quondam cava concidit aut Erymantho
> aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus. (*Aen.* 5.447-9).
>
> …He himself, heavy, fell onto the ground heavily
> with his huge mass, just as at times a hollow pine, having been torn up
> from the roots, falls on Erymanthus or upon great Ida.

Vergil connects this passage with the boat race by describing the victorious Cloanthus and Entellus in similar terms. While he portrays Cloanthus' ship as one hindered by its *pondere* and refers to it as a *pinus* (*Aen*. 5.153-5), he describes Entellus as having a *pondere vasto* and likens him to a *pinus* in the above simile. This places emphasis upon the apparent disadvantage of sluggishness and the value of skill.

Similarly, Vergil alludes to *Iliad* 23 regarding the characterization of the boxing match contenders in order to exemplify moderation as a combination of both destructiveness and prudence. After Aeneas announces the contest, Dares is the first to stand up as a participant. Dares then gives a speech in which he brags of his youthfulness and boxing abilities (*Aen.* 5.365-86). After no one stands up to challenge him, Dares requests that he receive the prize, since he is uncontested:

> Nate dea, si nemo audet se credere pugnae,
> quae finis standi? Quo me decet usque teneri?
> Ducere dona iube. (*Aen.* 5.383-5)
>
> Goddess-born, if no one dares to trust himself in the fight,
> to what end have I stood? For how long is it fitting that I be held?
> Order me to lead away the gifts.

While Dares enters the contest with impatience and greed, Entellus approaches with the utmost humility. Acestes, Entellus' comrade, urges him to challenge Dares, and Entellus initially responds that he is too old to be able to fight. Only after Acestes persuades him does he accept the challenge. In addition to being reluctant to enter the match, Entellus even adds that he is not interested in receiving prizes, in direct contrast with Dares' lust for the prize:

> Si mihi quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste
> exsultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,
> haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco
> venissem, nec dona moror. (*Aen.* 5.397-400)
>
> If that youthfulness would exist for me now, which once was mine,
> and which that braggart, trusting in it, boasts,
> then I would come, not led by a prize or beautiful bull, for
> I do not care for gifts.

The audacity of Dares and humility of Entellus recalls the boxing match of *Iliad* 23 between Epeus and Euryalus. Epeus is the boastful and threatening contestant who enters the match with the following boast:

> ἡμίονον δ᾽ οὔ φημί τιν᾽ ἀξέμεν ἄλλον ᾽Αχαιῶν
> πυγμῇ νικήσαντ᾽, ἐπεὶ εὔχομαι εἶναι ἄριστος. (*Il.* 23.668-9)
>
> I say that nobody else of the Achaeans will lead away the mule,
> conquering me in the boxing match, since I declare that I am the best.

By contrast, Euryalus is reluctant and requires some encouragement from Diomedes before he enters the match (*Il.* 23.666-75).

Continuing the lesson of moderation, Vergil again reflects upon the Iliadic chariot race as a source for his boat race. Nestor's speech in 23 plays a significant role, for he describes the exact motions his son should perform in order to take the lead. He tells Antilochus how to maneuver around the turning post in order to obtain maximum speed and to avoid injuring himself or the chariot:

> σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω μάλ᾽ ἀριφραδές, οὐδέ σε λήσει.
> ἕστηκε ξύλον αὖον ὅσον τ᾽ ὄργυι᾽ ὑπὲρ αἴης (*Il.* 23.325-6)
>
> I shall tell you of a sign especially clear, it will not escape your notice.
> A dry post stands a fathom high above the earth
>
> καὶ νῦν τέρματ᾽ ἔθηκε ποδάρκης δῖος ᾽Αχιλλεύς.
> τῷ σὺ μάλ᾽ ἐγχρίμψας ἐλάαν σχεδὸν ἅρμα καὶ ἵππους,
> αὐτὸς δὲ κλινθῆναι ἐϋπλέκτῳ ἐνὶ δίφρῳ
> ἦκ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερὰ τοῖιν· ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον
> κένσαι ὁμοκλήσας, εἶξαί τέ οἱ ἡνία χερσίν.
> ἐν νύσσῃ δέ τοι ἵππος ἀριστερὸς ἐγχριμφθήτω,
> ὡς ἄν τοι πλήμνη γε δοάσσεται ἄκρον ἱκέσθαι
> κύκλου ποιητοῖο· λίθου δ᾽ ἀλέασθαι ἐπαυρεῖν,
> μή πως ἵππους τε τρώσῃς κατά θ᾽ ἅρματα ἄξῃς· (*Il.* 23. 333-41)
>
> And swift-footed divine Achilles made it the goal.
> Bringing them especially close to it, drive your chariot and horses nearby,
> and gently lean to the left in your well-made chariot.
> But urging your right horse,

whip him, and give him rein in your hands.
Bring your left horse near the turning post,
so that the nave of your well-made wheel
seems to touch upon the edge. But avoid grazing the stone
lest you injure your horses or wreck your chariot.

Vergil uses this advice as a basis for the actions of his helmsmen and captains in the boat race. Referring to it as a *meta*, Vergil recalls the description of the goal post (νύσση):

Est procul in pelago saxum…
Hic viridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam
constituit signum nautis pater, unde reverti
scirent et longos ubi circumflectere cursus. (*Aen.* 5.126, 129-31).

Far off in the sea, there is a rock….
Here father Aeneas established the goal, green from the leafy oak,
as a sign for the sailors, so that they would know where to turn back
and where the long course bends.

Vergil then recalls Nestor's advice to Antilochus concerning the appropriate action to take around the goal:

Ille inter naveque Gyae scopuloseque sonantis
radit iter laevum interior subitoque priorem
praeterit et metis tenet aequora tuta relictis. (*Aen.* 5.169-71)

That man [Cloanthus], between the ship of Gyas and the resounding rocks,
scrapes the left path on the inside and suddenly passed the first ship
and holds safe waters with the goal having been left behind.

Gyas, the captain of the Chimaera, initially takes the lead, but Cloanthus, who takes the left side of the path, closest to the post, passes Gyas. With Cloanthus' victorious actions mirroring the advice of Nestor, Vergil directly alludes to the chariot race in *Iliad* 23 and utilizes its racing strategy as a model for success in book 5.

The carefulness of both Antilochus and Cloanthus contrasts with the audacity and carelessness of Sergestus and Eumelus, both of whom finish in last place. Sergestus, whom Vergil describes as "*furens animi*," drives his boat much too close to the inside and

as a result, is thrown upon the rocks (*Aen.* 5. 202-4) much like the Iliadic Eumelus, who falls from his chariot because of his recklessness (*Il.* 23.391-3). Gyas, too, in his heedless actions recalls Eumelus. He represents the antithesis of moderation and loses his place in the race because he does not heed the forewarnings against carelessness. In fact, his actions directly oppose the advice of Nestor. He strongly urges his helmsman, Menoetes, to turn sharply and daringly around the post in order to gain the lead:

> "Quo tantum mihi dexter abis? Huc derige gressum;
> litus ama et laeva stringat sine palmula cautes;
> altum alii teneant….
> Quo diversus abis?" Iterum "Pete saxa, Menoete!" (*Aen.* 5.162-4, 166)

> "Why are you departing so far to the right? Direct your pace here;
> hug the shore, and let the oar brush the crags on the left side;
> let the others hold the deep waters…
> Why are you departing off course?" he repeated, "seek the rocks, Menoetes!"

While Nestor tells Antilochus to drive near the post so that it *seems* the wheel is hitting the edge, δοάσσεται ἄκρον ἱκέσθαι (*Il.* 23.339), Gyas commands Menoetes to let the oars actually hit the crags, *stringat sine palmula cautes,* (*Aen.* 5.163). Gyas also urges Menoetes to come dangerously close to the post (*ama, pete*), again defying the strategy outlined by Nestor in the *Iliad*. Because of the delay caused by Menoetes' refusal to obey Gyas, Cloanthus and Mnestheus are both able to pass him. Though Vergil does not include advice similar to Nestor's, he clearly has used Nestor's strategy as a model for events of the boat race. The actions of the participants reflect the Homeric elder's advice; the competitors who obey the advice articulated by Nestor are successful, while the ones who disobey are the losers.

One of the acts exemplifying the moderation of Antilochus in *Iliad* 23 is echoed in the behavior of the Vergilian Mnestheus. Antilochus avoids an act of hubris by

acknowledging his place among the participants while simultaneously expressing his respect for Athena:

> ἔμβητον καὶ σφῶϊ· τιταίνετον ὅττι τάχιστα.
> ἦτοι μὲν κείνοισιν ἐριζέμεν οὔ τι κελεύω
> Τυδεΐδεω ἵπποισι δαΐφρονος, οἷσιν Ἀθήνη
> νῦν ὦρεξε τάχος καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ κῦδος ἔθηκεν·
> ἵππους δ᾽ Ἀτρεΐδαο κιχάνετε, μὴ δὲ λίπησθον...(*Il.*23. 403-7)
>
> Push on, you two, and run as quickly as you can.
> I do not order you to compete with those
> horses of the skilled son of Tydeus. Athena
> has increased the speed for them and has placed glory upon him.
> But catch up with the horses of the son of Atreus, do not be left behind…

Just as Antilochus strives for the realistic goal of finishing in second place behind Diomedes, so does Mnestheus strive for finishing in second behind Cloanthus. Initially, Mnestheus is in last place, but after the lack of moderation exhibited by Sergestus and Gyas, he is able to surpass them and follow Cloanthus. He, much like Antilochus, aims for a realistic goal when he urges his sailors:

> Non iam prima peto Mnestheus neque vincere certo
> (quamquam O! – sed superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti)
> extremos pudeat rediisse: hoc vincite, cives,
> et prohibete nefas. (*Aen.* 5.194-8)
>
> I, Mnestheus, do not seek the first prize nor to conquer certainly
> (oh although! – may they win this, Neptune, whom you grant)
> but it would be shameful to return last: overcome this, citizens,
> and prevent that disgrace.

Mnestheus has displayed the appropriate amount of moderation while evading any act of hubris and thus merits a high ranking in the race.

In addition to the previously mentioned themes of divine involvement, fictional reality and lessons of moderation, Vergil alludes to the father/son roles delineated in *Iliad* 23. As outlined in chapter one, Achilles still embodies some filial characteristics at the

beginning of book 23. As the funeral ceremony progresses, however, he begins a transition to a paternal role, acting as a father mourning the loss of his son.[77] This transition then enables him to empathize with the grieving Priam in book 24, thus allowing the two "fathers" to engage in a discourse which leads to reconciliation. Aeneas, too, undergoes a transition in character and must take up the role of a father. Since Anchises served as a source of guidance for his son, his death forces Aeneas to act as the decisive leader of the fleet. Before book 5, inexperience and naivety still marked Aeneas, as proven through his disastrous visit to Carthage. His transition, however, becomes evident in book 5, where he is the confident host of the games, arbiter of disputes and distributor of prizes. Returning to his path en route for Italy, Aeneas begins to display his mindfulness of duty during the funeral games in Sicily. Though he is still a novice hero, as illustrated by his inability to interpret the meaning of the serpent at Anchises' tomb (*Aen*. 5.84-96), he begins to demonstrate his position as *pater* Aeneas throughout the games. For example, Aeneas forcibly interrupts the boxing match when Entellus brutally pounds upon his opponent:

> Tum pater Aeneas procedere longius iras
> et saevire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis,
> sed finem imposuit pugnae fessumque Dareta
> eripuit… (*Aen.* 5.461-4)
>
> Then father Aeneas would not allow Entellus' anger to advance further
> nor would he allow Entellus to rage in his bitter spirit,
> but he called an end to the fight and snatched up exhausted
> Dares…

Here *pater* Aeneas behaves as a father and leader: when his men are facing danger, he steps in to prevent their destruction. It is, however, at this point that the texts diverge more radically. Aeneas' actual progression to a father-figure differs from Achilles'

[77] Finlay, "Fathers and Sons in the *Iliad,*" 272.

progression in almost every respect; this topic will therefore be discussed further in chapter three.

These points of contact between *Iliad* 23 and *Aeneid* 5 concerning the themes of divine involvement, fictional reality, and lessons of moderation illustrate Vergil's reliance on Homer. In both cases, these three themes constitute the setting in which the main heroes make their transitions to father figures and leaders. Structurally, Vergil uses the Iliadic framework as a model for the funeral games of Anchises; both games serve as an opportunity to showcase the famous warriors of the epics as they appear in other books and, at the same time, they highlight the character transitions of Achilles and Aeneas. The static environment of the games contrasts with the growing heroes in both *Iliad* 23 and *Aeneid* 5. With these similarities in mind, we can now examine Vergil's departures from Homer and the effects of his deviations from the Iliadic paradigm of funeral games.

CHAPTER 4

VERGIL'S TEXTUAL ROMANIZATION

As we have seen, Vergil explicitly acknowledges his indebtedness to the Iliadic funeral games in the following passage:

> Non tam praecipites biiugo certamine campum
> Corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus,
> Nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
> Concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent. (*Aen*. 5.144-7)
>
> Even chariots, having poured out from their pens
> in racing competition, do not rush and seize the field so
> swiftly nor do charioteers thus strike their waving reins upon
> their team, having been let out, nor do they lean so hard on their whips.

Illustrating Vergil's recognition of Homer, this passage is also central to the notion that Vergil is, in fact, in competition with Homer. Vergil describes the boats in his race as swifter and more powerful than chariots, thus alluding to the agon that he initiates between the two epic poets and their respective works. As outlined in chapter two, Vergil modeled the games in *Aeneid* 5 on the games in *Iliad* 23 both structurally and thematically. His reliance on the Iliadic games, however, serves principally as a foundation for the unique depth and intricacies he develops in the course of his games. In this chapter, I will suggest that, although *Aeneid* 5 recalls the Homeric themes of *Iliad* 23, Vergil places them in a Roman context, emphasizing in particular the importance of *pietas* throughout the games.

Vergil begins to develop his own slant on the games and diverges from Homer's example by introducing various thematic and symbolic elements absent from the *Iliad*,

thus replacing and in many ways, surpassing his model.[78] Indeed, many scholars agree that Vergil's games are not simply a replica of Homer's. For example, Heinze remarks that Vergil contrasts the Homeric paradigm by developing all of the games and thereby avoiding the gradual loss of interest presented in the *Iliad*;[79] unlike Homer, Vergil continually varies the themes underlying the games to avoid repetition.[80] Putnam argues that "there has never been much doubt that the description of the games has touches which are thoroughly Roman in coloring, and even the most ardent Homerist would admit that Virgil has individualized the portraits of his athletes,"[81] while Willis states that "in his principle of conscious variation, and carefully balanced organization, Vergil stands alone."[82] In effect, Vergil presents an intertextual competition in which his games are pitted against those of his epic predecessor.

The peculiarities of *Aeneid* 5 appear even at the beginning. In the *Iliad*, Achilles administers the games only a few days after the death of Patroclus. Aeneas, however, holds the games one year after the death of Anchises (*Aen*. 5.45-50). The Vergilian games, therefore, serve more as a memorial service than an actual funeral,[83] though the ritual activity suggests that Aeneas is, in fact, holding a funeral for Anchises,[84] a service not carried out during Aeneas' stay in Carthage:

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[78] Nugent, "Vergil's 'Voice of the Women' in *Aeneid* V," 257.

[79] Heinze, *Vergil's Epic Technique,* 123.

[80] Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," 406.

[81] Putnam, *Poetry of the Aeneid,* 65.

[82] Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," 408.

[83] Heinze, *Vergil's Epic Technique,* 122.

[84] Anderson, *Art of the* Aeneid, 50.

Hinc Drepani me portus et inlaetabilis ora
accipit. Hic pelagi tot tempestatibus actus
heu, genitorem, omnis curae casusque levamen,
amitto Anchisen….
Hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum.
Hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris. (*Aen*. 3.707-10, 714-15)

From here the harbor of Drepanum and its unhappy shore
receive me. Here, having been driven by so many storms of the sea,
alas, I lose my father, Anchises, the solace of every
care and misfortune…
This was my last trial, this was the turning point of the long roads.
Hence the god drives me, having departed, to your shores.

Book 5 thus presents the first appearance of a funeral ceremony for Anchises. However, the games occur immediately after the death of Dido in book 4, suggesting to the reader the notion of a dual ceremony;[85] the brief time lapse between Dido's death and the beginning of book 5 echoes the *Iliad*, where a similar span of time separates Patroclus' death from his funeral.[86]

Vergil begins book 5 with the following passage:

Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat
moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae
conlucent flammis. quae tantum accenderit ignem
causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores
polluto, notumque furens quid femina possit,
triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducent. (*Aen.* 5.1-7)

Meanwhile Aeneas, determined, already holds the
the middle path with his fleet and cuts the waves blackened by the north wind,
looking back on the walls which glow with the flames
of unfortunate Elissa. The cause which kindled so great a fire
lies hidden; but the harsh grievances caused by a great defiled
love, and the knowledge of what a raging woman may do
lead the hearts of the Trojans through a sad prophecy.

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[85] Anderson, *Art of the* Aeneid, 52; Zoja Pavlovskis, "*Aeneid* V: The Old and the Young," *CJ* 71(1976) : 195.

[86] Anderson, *Art of the* Aeneid, 52.

Clearly, Dido's suicide is not forgotten; as Aeneas and his crew sail to Sicily, about to engage in a ritual funeral ceremony, Vergil reminds the reader of Aeneas' relationship with Dido and his Carthaginian sojourn. By adding this new dimension to the games, Vergil adds a richness to the text that supersedes the Homeric precedent. He utilizes the surface structure of the Iliadic games, a funeral held in honor of one man, and enhances it with the introduction of the dual ceremony.

Though he mimics the overall narrative structure of the Iliadic games, Vergil reduces the number of games from eight to five. The first four contests are reminiscent of Homer's; the fifth, the *lusus Troiae,* is an entirely Roman addition. Vergil's narrative approach even to the first four, however, contrasts with that of Homer, since there is greater attention paid to each contest. While Homer's contests follow a "gradual diminuendo of interest,"[87] Vergil varies the composition by placing more emphasis on the first and third contests. With this oscillating pattern, he "creates an impression not of a mere succession of a series of separate events, but of a structured whole."[88]

In order to generate this pattern in these contests, Vergil focuses on greater character development than Homer in *Iliad* 23. As discussed in chapter two, many of the competitors in the Vergilian games make their debut in book 5 only to be reintroduced later in the text, in contrast with the participants in the Iliadic games who were introduced earlier on. Homer showcased the heroes in his funeral games in a way that allowed the audience to witness their favorite characters of the epic in action. Vergil, by contrast, lacked the advantage of having an audience familiar with his characters, and therefore

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[87] Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," 406-8.

[88] Heinze, *Vergil's Epic Technique,* 123.

had to maintain the audience's interest in the competitions while introducing and developing each character.[89] Thus, he attends to individual character development, the excitement of the contests, and the up-coming war through the actions of the competitors. In an effort to execute the task of introducing the characters and foreshadow the war through them at the same time, Vergil, rivaling Homer as an epic poet, requires that the competitors of his games behave in a more psychologically complex manner than did their counterparts in the *Iliad*. The boxing match contenders in both epics (Epeus and Euryalus in the *Iliad*, Dares and Entellus in the *Aeneid*) exemplify this claim.

In direct contrast with *Iliad* 23, Vergil initially draws a parallel to the Iliadic boxers, but with a surprising turn of events that deviates from the Homeric paradigm. Vergil constructs the character of Dares as a mirror image of Epeus, though Entellus is much more complex than Euryalus. For example, Vergil reveals that neither ambition nor desire for a prize drives Entellus to participate.[90] In response to Acestes' speech, Entellus responds with the following statement:

> si mihi quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste
> exsultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,
> haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco
> venissem, nec dona moror. (*Aen.* 5.397-400)
>
> If that youthfulness which once was mine, by which that braggart,
> trusting in it, boasts, if it would exist for me now,
> then I would go, not led by a prize or beautiful bull,
> for I do not care for gifts.

Entellus' decision to enter the match stems from something greater. He is driven by the desire to regain his livelihood, which has been taken away by old age, and also to fulfill

[89] Heinze, *Vergil's Epic Technique*, 125.

[90] Ibid., 127.

his duties as expected by Acestes. This contrasts with the characterization of the Iliadic Euryalus, whose decision to enter the match was not affected by an ethical or moral compulsion.

Vergil continues to develop the characters involved in the boxing match, thus superseding Homer even further. He begins to focus on the complexity of Entellus in order to elucidate the significance of hubris. Entellus finally agrees to fight and marks his decision by throwing his boxing gloves into the ring. Despite Dares' boasts, Entellus is the stronger contestant; he is older, more experienced and his boxing gloves are weapons of destruction, surpassing those of Dares. As mentioned in chapter two, Entellus further displays his humility by offering to discard his gloves if Dares agrees to do the same (*Aen.* 5. 419-20). Here, Vergil teaches the lesson of hubris, by assigning the modest Entellus the role of the victor, thus altering the pattern of events set in the Iliadic games. Epeus, like Dares, is the youthful contestant who brags of his abilities at the beginning of the match. He tells Achilles and the spectators that the first prize is his and challenges the others to face him in the ring (*Il.* 23. 666-75). Although Epeus shows no humility, he easily wins the boxing match. The contrasting conclusions in the two episodes highlight the lesson of hubris, which Vergil illustrates: hubris may be acceptable in a Homeric contest, but is intolerable in a Vergilian one.

Whereas Homer's boxing match is simple in both plot and character development, Vergil adds further depth to the contest by illustrating a psychological transformation in Entellus. After Dares strikes him, Entellus tries to return the punch, but misses and falls to the ground. Upon recovering, he "gets up a changed person: irresistible in his rage, driven to the extreme of fury by shame and anger, he now rains blow upon blow on his

opponent."[91] Vergil then maintains the psychological force with these poignant lines spoken by Entellus:

> hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis
> persolvo; hic victor caestus artemque repono. (*Aen.* 5.483-4)
>
> O Eryx, I render to you this superior soul in place of the death
> of Dares; here I, the victor, lay down my gloves and my art.

Entellus abandons the sport with the final spondaic line after offering a sacrifice to Eryx, his former teacher. As a result of the trying episode of the boxing match, Entellus no longer wishes to be entangled in the emotional turmoil inherent in fierce competition. On the face of it, Vergil has simply reinforced the concept of moderation by placing Entellus above Dares. Entellus, passive and modest in the beginning, balances his emotions with recklessness and fury. With the drastic emotional charge of the episode, however, Vergil places the emphasis on Entellus' psychological upheaval, while still espousing the theme of moderation. This obvious departure from Homer furthers the competition of the two poets by means of Dares' failure; Dares' inability to overcome his ancient rival reflects Vergil's "anxiety about his own Homeric *agon* and, more generally, the ever-present theme of Rome's deeply ambivalent relationship with Greek culture."[92]

Pietas I: Aeneas' Duty to his Family and Country

Achilles' transition to a father figure anticipates his reconciliation with Priam in book 24. Aeneas, too, makes a character transition that allows him to act "in accordance

[91] Ibid., 131-2.

[92] Joseph Farrell, "The Virgilian Intertext," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil,* ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 233.

with *pietas*, his duty to his country, father, son and gods."[93] Vergil adapts Homer's treatment of Achilles in *Iliad* 23 by placing it in a particularly Roman frame: Aeneas becomes both father and leader to his men.[94] Before he can accomplish this task, however, Aeneas must witness the notion of "sacrifice through suffering"[95] throughout the games.

In book 5, Aeneas begins to take the role of father, which has been vacant since Anchises' death,[96] but unlike Achilles, who is both grief-stricken and angry due to Patroclus' recent death, Aeneas has had time to cope with his father's death, since an entire year has passed. He is thus able to concentrate on displaying his love and loyalty (*pietas*) to his dead father,[97] which Aeneas exhibits at the inception of the games with the following promise:

> annua vota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas
> exsequerer strueremque suis altaria donis.

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[93] Francis Cairns, *Vergil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 53.

[94] Aeneas' transition also echoes Augustus' self-description in the *Res Gestae*, in which he describes the period of time immediately after the death of Julius Caesar, whom he calls "*meum parentem*." Like Aeneas, Augustus steps into a role of leader after the death of his "father," and, even as a young man, restores liberty to the republic. (*R.G.* 1)

[95] Putnam, *Poetry of the* Aeneid, 65.

[96] Though the role of father is available for Aeneas through Anchises' death at the end of book 3, Aeneas does not exhibit his transition into a paternal role until book 5, where the father/son relationship becomes much more significant than in book 4. While at Carthage, Aeneas focuses on his relationship with Dido and only after he concludes that relationship does he begin to acknowledge his duty of fulfilling the role of father. See Farrell, "*Aeneid* 5: Poetry and Parenthood" for an in-depth examination of the parent/child roles in *Aeneid* 5. Also, many scholars have often noted that the word "father" occurs more often in book 5 than any other book of the *Aeneid.* See Pavlovskis and Glazewski for a comprehensive study on this matter.

[97] C. J. Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988), 94. Anderson agrees with this characterization of Achilles and Aeneas by stating that Achilles was "a figure apart, tragic, smoldering with an unhappiness that contrasted his prevailing gay excitement," though Aeneas has already overcome his sorrow because a year has passed since Anchises' death. *Art of the* Aeneid, 51-2. Further, Farrell concludes that "Virgil's redrafting of Homer's plot says a lot about the heroic values that his epic celebrates. Aeneas, dutiful and energetic, is far different from the selfish Achilles." *The Virgilian Intertext,* 234.

> …atque haec me sacra quotannis
> urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis. (*Aen.* 5.53-4, 59-60)
>
> Nevertheless, I should perform the vows and the solemn festivals in order
> and I should heap up the altars with his gifts.
> …and may he wish that I bring these sacred rites every year
> for him to the dedicated temples once my city has been established.

By vowing to do this every year, Aeneas founds the traditional ritual of the *Parentalia*,[98] and thereby pays homage to his father with the establishment of a festival in Anchises' honor.[99] Here Aeneas takes a proactive approach toward commemorating the life of Anchises as he accepts the role of leader. However, this is in direct contrast with Aeneas' actions only a few lines later, in which he makes a prayer to his father and performs the ritual acts of libation and sacrifice. Immediately after his speech, a serpent passes through the shrine harmlessly and leaves after tasting the feast, though Aeneas is unable to interpret the omen:

> hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,
> incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis
> esse putet; (*Aen.* 5.94-6)
>
> All the more he restarts the honors having been undertaken for his father
> and he, uncertain, wonders whether it is the genius of the place or the
> spirit of his father.

Aeneas' hesitation to accept what is obviously the spirit of Anchises[100] highlights his inability to act as a decisive and competent leader; he requires the assistance of his father, whose guidance he still seeks.[101] Indeed, Aeneas' relationship with Anchises is a

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[98] Williams, 53. See Ovid for description of the *Parentalia* (*Fast.* 2.543 ff.).

[99] Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas,* 97.

[100] Williams, 63. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, 273.

[101] Farrell, "*Aeneid* 5: Poetry and Parenthood," 99.

complex matter: at times, Aeneas seems independent and confident without his father, at times, his longing for and reliance upon Anchises persists.

In book 5, Aeneas must "bury his father's ghost once and for all," and become not only a father to his son, but also a leader to his people.[102] Though the role of father has been vacated by Anchises, the role of leader is partially taken by the helmsman, Palinurus. At the beginning of book 5, for example, Palinurus navigates through the storm and suggests to Aeneas that they sail to Sicily (Aen. 5.17-25), illustrating his ability as a knowledgeable pilot. Though Aeneas shares the leadership position with Palinurus, he begins to leave behind this partnership through his authoritative behavior as host in the games; as the official distributor of prizes and the arbiter of disputes, he is now the sole leader.[103] For example, he interrupts a competition that becomes perilous and he distributes prizes in an authoritative manner, resolving disputes quickly and successfully. These aspects of his character concerning the other participants are indeed proof of his character growth into the role of a father and leader.[104] The games in book 5 thus serve as an opportunity for Aeneas to act as leader in a "play world."[105] In an effort to reassemble the remains of his shattered life, Aeneas exhibits some aspects of leadership, almost as practice for his forthcoming travails, which will provide experience for him before his descent into the underworld in book 6. Because of the fictional reality represented by the funeral games, Aeneas is able to act as the decisive leader without suffering detrimental consequences if he should err.

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[102] Ibid., 109.

[103] Pavlovskis, "*Aeneid* V: The Old and the Young," 196.

[104] Glazewski, "The Function of Vergil's Funeral Games," 87.

[105] Farrell, "*Aeneid* 5: Poetry and Parenthood," 98.

While the role of father is now available to Aeneas, the role of leader rests somewhat on Palinurus. "With Anchises' death and Aeneas' assumption of full leadership the previous year, Palinurus has now become in fact the second in command."[106] It is therefore not until Palinurus' death at the end of book 5 that Aeneas can truly step into the role of leader. Because the aspects embodied in both his father and Palinurus merge to form the paternal and authoritative expectations of Aeneas, the requirements of *pietas*. Thus "the symbolism of Aeneas replacing the lost helmsman seems both clear enough and perfectly consonant with the dominant motif of the son succeeding to the role of the father."[107]

Palinurus' death serves another purpose as well: it is the exemplum of the theme of sacrifice in *Aeneid* 5, which Vergil connects to *pietas*. Before Aeneas' fleet can continue to Italy, Neptune requires a sacrifice:

> unum pro multis dabitur caput (*Aen.* 5.815)
>
> one man will be given on behalf of many.

Thus, Palinurus is thrown off the ship. In turn, his death allows Aeneas to assume the role of pilot, which he quickly accomplishes:

> cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro
> sensit, et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis (*Aen.* 5.867-8)
>
> when the father [Aeneas] sensed that the drifting boat wandered
> since its helmsman was lost, he himself guided the ship amid the nightly waves

As illustrated in this passage, Aeneas quickly replaces Palinurus, thereby becoming the sole leader of the fleet. Once Aeneas takes this position, he is able to continue toward

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[106] J. William Hunt, *Forms of Glory: Structure and Sense in Virgil's* Aeneid, with a foreword by John Gardner (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), 43.

[107] Farrell, "*Aeneid* 5: Poetry and Parenthood," 104.

Italy and act in accordance with *pietas* by fulfilling his duty to his country: to become the founder of Rome.

Through sacrificial imagery, Vergil anticipates Palinurus' death over the course of book 5, for it is so crucial to the development of Aeneas and so closely connected to the notion of *pietas*. As stated in chapter two, Vergil maintains the theme of sacrifice as depicted in *Iliad* 23, thereby retaining communication with the divine[108] and accentuating the necessity of sacrifice for success. However, with the chain of sacrificial imagery leading to the death of Palinurus[109] he effectively unites the episodes into an organic whole.[110] For example, the captain of the Chimaera, Gyas, throws his helmsman, Menoetes, off the boat, which initially seems to be a comic gesture. Though the episode provides humorous relief from the fierce competition, it syntactically parallels the death of Palinurus, thus foreshadowing the forthcoming tragedy.[111] In the footrace, Nisus' self-sacrifice for the sake of his beloved Euryalus also foreshadows the death of Palinurus; just as Nisus' elimination in the race benefits Euryalus, so does Palinurus' death benefit Aeneas. Aeneas settles the prizes with the following statement, referring to Euryalus:

> me liceat casus miserari insontis amici (*Aen.* 5.350)
>
> let it be permitted that I pity the misfortunes of an innocent friend

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[108] Feeney, *Literature and Religion at Rome*, 120.

[109] For a detailed examination of these sacrificial scenes, see Putnam, "Game and Reality," in *Poetry of the* Aeneid, 64-104.

[110] Feldherr, "Ships of State: *Aeneid* 5 and the Augustan Circus Spectacle," 254.

[111] For example, the episode involving Gyas and Menoetes occurs "in the middle of the abyss" [*medio in gurgite*] (*Aen.* 5.160) while Palinurus body will be found in the "floods" [*gurges*] according to Neptune (*Aen.* 5.814). Also, Menoetes falls "into the sea, headfirst" [*in mare praecipitem*] (*Aen.* 5.175) and Palinurus falls "into the waves, headfirst" [*in undas praecipitem*] (*Aen.* 859-60). Putnam, *Poetry of the* Aeneid, 75-6.

Connecting this passage with the death of Palinurus,[112] Vergil addresses Palinurus with the following statement, using the adjective, *insons,* as well:

> …levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris
> aera dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,
> te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans
> insonti; (*Aen.* 5.838-1)
>
> …light sleep, having descended from the ethereal stars,
> moved apart the gloomy mist and dispelled the shadows,
> seeking you, Palinurus, carrying sad sleep to you,
> an innocent man.

Vergil then includes another link in the chain of sacrificial imagery during the boxing match with Entellus' bloody sacrifice of the bull in place of Dares (*Aen.* 5.481-2).[113] Since Entellus sacrifices the bull as a symbol of what would have happened to Dares, it comes closer to human sacrifice than any other event in the games, thereby foreshadowing Palinurus.[114]

Vergil foreshadows the death of Palinurus one last time in the archery contest. He describes the death scene of the dove with the following passage:

> decidit exanimis vitamque reliquit in astris
> aetheriis fixamque refert delapsa sagittam. (*Aen.* 5.517-8)
>
> [The dove], lifeless, fell and left behind its life among the ethereal stars,
> and descending, brought back the fixed arrow.

In these two lines, Vergil anticipates the death scene of Palinurus, the same passage that he connected to Euryalus:

> …levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris
> aera dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,

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[112] Ibid., 81.

[113] Anderson, *The Art of the* Aeneid, 52.

[114] Putnam, *Poetry of the* Aeneid, 82-3.

> te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans
> insonti; (*Aen.* 5.840-1)
>
> …light sleep, having descended from the ethereal stars,
> moved apart the gloomy mist and dispelled the shadows,
> seeking you, Palinurus, carrying sad sleep to you,
> an innocent man.

Vergil refers to the scenery (*in astris aetheriis*) and movement (*delapsa*) surrounding Palinurus' tragic death, thus connecting the two scenes. The archery contest is also significant since it is the only contest in which there is a victim who meets its death during the contest itself (unlike the sacrifice of the bull after the match has concluded). The theme of necessity through sacrifice is most evident in this contest. In the contests, no human character is forced to surrender his life, though in the peripheral episodes, this is true of Palinurus.[115] Thus, the dove is the closest parallel to Palinurus, a manifestation of the innocent victim whose sacrifice is vital to the plot.[116] The dove exists only to be sacrificed; through its death, the competitors are able to be victorious and to win glory. Similarly, Palinurus acts as a leader only to occupy the role that Aeneas must later fulfill. Palinurus' purpose, therefore, is also to be sacrificed, which, in turn, gives Aeneas the opportunity to make his transition. Palinurus' role as helmsman allows Aeneas to act as a novice hero in the first four books of the *Aeneid*, since it relieves Aeneas from many leadership requirements. Once Palinurus dies, however, Aeneas is forced to grow and take the role of helmsman, thereby augmenting his transition not only as a father figure, but also as a leader.

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[115] Glazewski, "The Function of Vergil's Funeral Games," 90.

[116] Putnam, *Poetry of the* Aeneid, 83.

Pietas II: Aeneas' Duty to the Gods

Vergil closely follows the pattern initiated by Homer regarding divine involvement and its influence on victory in the games. However, he redefines the role of the divine by setting it in the context of *pietas*, which "encompasses the emotions felt towards parents as well as duty to the gods,"[117] most clearly illustrated in the climatic episode of the archery contest. While Vergil structurally utilizes Homer's archery contest, he includes a complexity absent in *Iliad* 23. In addition to the foreshadowing of Palinurus' death via the dove, Vergil creates a more involved structure by introducing a greater number of characters[118] and adds new dimensions to the process of divine invocation through the actions of Acestes and Eurytion. In the Iliadic games, Homer limits the archers to two, one who fails by not invoking a god, and another who succeeds by calling upon Apollo. As seen in chapter two, Vergil uses a similar surface structure to construct his contest, though he takes it a degree further by adding more competitors. With the inclusion of four competitors instead of two, Vergil expands on the notion of divine involvement. Whereas Homer has one character who respects the divine and one who does not, Vergil has four characters practicing various degrees of piety: Hippocoon and Mnestheus, who both fail to make a prayer, Eurytion, who does pray, though erroneously, and Acestes, whose shot becomes a miraculous omen. Vergil offers an explanation for the outcome in the archery contest through the level of *pietas* practiced by the contestants and even Aeneas himself.

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[117] Colin Burrow, "Virgil in English Translation," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil,* ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 23.

[118] Heinze, *Vergil's Epic Technique,* 132.

Hippocoon, who shoots the first arrow, misses entirely. Second is the Vergilian Mnestheus who, like the Homeric Teucer, fails to call upon a deity and hits only the cord to which the dove is attached. Eurytion, the counterpart of the Iliadic Meriones, shoots next. He makes a prayer, shoots and hits the dove, thus meriting a first place finish. Here Vergil departs from the structure of the Homeric archery contest by including a lesson concerning prayer: one who prays for success must invoke assistance only from the divine. Although Eurytion hits the dove, he does not win the first place prize. In fact, Eurytion does not receive any prize. Vergil complicates the notion of divine involvement through the prayer of Eurytion, whose failure is not simply a result of being overshadowed by the magnitude of Acestes' arrow. By contrasting Meriones' success with the failure of Eurytion, it may seem that Vergil disregards the Homeric pattern. Though he deviates from *Iliad* 23, however, he does not discard it, as he now introduces the lesson of divine invocation in conjunction with *pietas*. Whereas Meriones prays to Apollo, Eurytion only prays to his brother, Pandarus. Because he does not invoke the divine, Eurytion disregards his duty to the gods (*pietas*) and does not merit a high ranking in the contest.

To provide a further explanation for Eurytion's egregious error, Pandarus' role in the *Iliad* should also be recounted, as he himself lacks *pietas*. In *Iliad* 5, Pandarus shoots an arrow at Diomedes and boasts:

> ὄρνυσθε Τρῶες μεγάθυμοι κέντορες ἵππων·
> βέβληται γὰρ ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν, οὐδέ ἑ φημι
> δήθ᾽ ἀνσχήσεσθαι κρατερὸν βέλος, εἰ ἐτεόν με
> ὦρσεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς ἀπορνύμενον Λυκίηθεν.(*Il.* 5.102-5)
>
> Take courage, great-spirited Trojans, drivers of horses.
> For the best of the Achaeans has been hit. I don't think

he will endure the strong shaft if the lord
son of Zeus truly urged me, having been sent forth from Lycia.

Diomedes, however, does not die and recovers quite quickly. He then prays to Athena, who strengthens him to retaliate against the Trojans and then gives him permission to wound Aphrodite. Once he meets Pandarus on the battlefield again, he quickly kills him with a shot (*Il.* 5.115-20, 274-96). Though Pandarus has the reputation of being an excellent archer, he is no challenge to Diomedes and embodies the foul character of a braggart, as exemplified in his exclamation after an attempt to overcome Diomedes:

τῷ δ᾽ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄϋσε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·
βέβληαι κενεῶνα διαμπερές, οὐδέ σ᾽ ὀΐω
δηρὸν ἔτ᾽ ἀνσχήσεσθαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγ᾽ εὖχος ἔδωκας.(*Il.* 5.283-5)

Then the illustrious son of Lycaon called aloud over him,
"you've been hit clean through the waist, and I think that you
will not hold up any longer. But you have granted to me great glory."

Pandarus also receives a treacherous reputation in the *Iliad* with his involvement in the truce-breaking. In book 4, Athena convinces Pandarus to shoot an arrow against the Greeks in order to break the truce. He obeys Athena and the war continues despite the hopeful peace efforts of the Trojans and Greeks. Indeed, Pandarus is described by the narrator as unintelligent and then by Agamemnon as an oath-breaker:

ὣς φάτ᾽ ᾽Αθηναίη, τῷ δὲ φρένας ἄφρονι πεῖθεν· (*Il.* 4.104)

Thus Athena spoke and persuaded the mind of the fool.

ὥς σ᾽ ἔβαλον Τρῶες, κατὰ δ᾽ ὅρκια πιστὰ πάτησαν. (*Il.* 4.157)

Thus the Trojans have hit you, and have trampled their trusty oaths.

Because of this blameworthy reputation of Pandarus, Vergil provides an explanation for Eurytion's ineptitude. Not only did Eurytion forget to pray to a deity, he prayed to a man known for his despicable nature throughout the epic tradition. Thus, Vergil signifies the

importance of divine invocation. A mortal must respect and acknowledge the gods by invoking them for assistance; invocation to a lesser being will only result in absolute failure.

Vergil further departs from Homer with Aeneas' test of *pietas* concerning the next contestant. Acestes, though a king an elder to Aeneas, does not invoke a god. Since Eurytion has already killed the dove, Acestes has no target. Despite this, Acestes shoots an arrow, which promptly bursts into flames:

> namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo
> signavitque viam flammis tenuisque recessit
> consumpta in ventos: caelo ceu saepe refixa
> transcurrunt crinemque volantia sidera ducunt. (*Aen.* 5.525-8)
>
> For the arrow, flying among liquid clouds, burned
> and marked its path with flames and disappeared,
> having been consumed into the thin winds: just as shooting stars,
> unfastened, often run across the sky and drag their locks.

This miraculous result is interpreted as an omen and because of divine nature of the shot, Aeneas awards Acestes the first place prize (*Aen.* 5.519-44). The implications of this act differ greatly from *Iliad* 23, as they involve the notion of *pietas*, an entirely Roman concept. Aeneas is hosting the funeral games in the kingdom, *regno* (*Aen*. 5.757), of Acestes, who is *senior* (*Aen*.5.301).[119] Because Aeneas must respect Acestes' position as both a king and an elder, he awards Acestes the first-place prize. Though Aeneas does not follow the rules of the game, he is driven to his decision by *pietas*. Aeneas acknowledges the divine nature of Acestes' burning arrow, thereby addressing his duty to the gods and even to his father since the games are in honor of Anchises. Aeneas did what was required of him, the 'right' thing, [120]even though he did not abide by the rules

[119] Cairns, *Vergil's Augustan Epic*, 60.

of the game. In the fictional reality of the games, this type of decision making, obeying the requirements of *pietas,* parallels events outside book 5, such as Aeneas' brutal slaying of Turnus.[121]

Moreover, Vergil abandons the theme of divine invocation, since Acestes did not pray to any deity. Here Vergil returns to the notion of sacrifice with the previously cited passage depicting the death of the dove, the sacrificial victim:

> decidit exanimis vitamque reliquit in astris
> aetheriis fixamque refert delapsa sagittam. (*Aen.* 5.517-8)
>
> [The dove], lifeless, fell and left behind its life among the ethereal stars
> and, descending, brought back the fixed arrow.

In his discussion of the imagery in the games, Putnam notes that the theme of victory through sacrifice is the focus of this contest.[122] This passage also recalls Entellus' sacrifice of the bull (*Aen.* 5.481-2), as both the dove and bull are described with term *exanimis*.[123] Vergil uses the death scene of the dove in conjunction with Acestes' omen to describe the death of Palinurus:

> ipse volans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras. (*Aen.* 5.861)
>
> He himself, winged, carried himself toward the light breezes.

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[120] Ibid., 181.

[121] Furthermore, the assignment of the prize to Acestes and Aeneas' killing of Turnus, both acts driven by *pietas,* reflects Augustus' words in the *Res Gestae*:

> qui parentem meum trucidaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis
> legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie. (*RG* 2)
>
> those who slaughtered my parent I drove into exile, avenging their crime through legally established tribunals; and afterwards, when they waged war against the republic, I defeated them twice in battle.

The 'right' thing may not always coincide with social norms. R.J. Tarrant, "Poetry and Power: Virgil's Poetry in Contemporary Context," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil,* ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 181.

[122] Putnam, *The Poetry of the* Aeneid, 81.

[123] Ibid., 84.

With this line, Vergil gives reason for the unexpected sequence of events in the archery contest. The death of the dove and the omen which follows foreshadow the end of the book, while Acestes' burning arrow signifies the importance of this sacrifice. In turn, Aeneas awards Acestes the first-place prize as a sign that he recognizes this importance, despite the fact that he must forego the established rules of the contest. Again, Aeneas' *pietas* gives reason for his decision. The dove foreshadows Palinurus, whose death allows Aeneas to fulfill his duties to the gods. Vergil brings attention to this event with such an anomalous and surprising omen, thereby allowing the reader to sense the significance of the dove, even if he does not understand it fully until the end of the book. The complexity of the archery contest thus serves as the climax of the games. Indeed, as a further testament for its significance, it is the last of the events before the *lusus Troiae*. As Heinze argues, Vergil could not have followed the archery contest with another game, such as a wrestling match, since it would have made Acestes' shot anticlimactic.[124]

Elders, Youth, and the Development of Ascanius

In addition to complicating the themes of sacrifice and divine involvement, Vergil further avoids repetition and monotony by shifting the groups of contestants from one game to the next. While Homer limits the Iliadic participants to only the famous heroes introduced throughout the epic, Vergil's contenders represent all social statuses.[125] By including elders and youths in his games, he expands the range of characters. In the first

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[124] Heinze, *Vergil's Epic Technique*, 132.

[125] Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," 408. See also Cairns for a discussion on Augustus' influence on professional athleticism, which accounts for Vergil's deviation from the Homeric games. "The Games in Vergil and Homer," in *Virgil's Augustan Epic*, 215 ff.

contest, the boat race, Vergil mimics Homer by limiting the participants to only the Trojan leaders and heroes. He even continues in the epic tradition by mentioning famous noble families of his era. With Gyas as the sole exception, the social status of the participants is exemplified by the references to their lineages.[126] For example, Mnestheus is the leader "from whose name exists the race of the Memmians" [genus a quo nomine Memmi] (*Aen.* 5.117). Sergestus is then accredited as the one "from whom the Sergian house has its name" [domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen] (*Aen.* 5.121). Finally, in an apostrophe, Vergil states that it is Cloanthus, "from whom exists your race, Roman Cluentius" [genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti] (*Aen.* 5.123). In contrast, the footrace focuses on the Trojan youth Nisus and his loving companion, Euryalus, both of whom are generally regarded as youthful comrades.[127] In addition to Nisus and Euryalus, Vergil includes the "noble Diores" [regius Diores] (*Aen.* 5.297), and other prominent figures of royal lineage:

> hunc Salius simul et Patron, quorum alter Acarnan,
> alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine gentis:
> tum duo Trinacrii iuvenes, Helymus Panopesque,
> adsueti silvis, comites senioris Acestae; (*Aen.* 5.298-301)
>
> Then Salius and Patron came at the same time, one of whom was Acarnian,
> the other from Arcadian blood of the Tegean race:
> then two Trinacian youths, Helymus and Panopes,
> accustomed to the forests, comrades of aged Acestes.

In the boxing match as well, Vergil incorporates both a youth and an elder, Dares and Entellus, respectively. Entellus draws a contrast between his opponent and himself with the following statement discussed above regarding his psychological development:

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[126] Pavlovskis, "*Aeneid* V: The Old and the Young," 200.

[127] Ibid.

si mihi quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste
exsultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,
haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco
venissem... (*Aen.* 5.397-400)

If that youthfulness which once was mine, by which that braggart,
trusting in it, boasts, if it would exist for me now,
then I would go…

In addition to the inclusion of a youth and an elder, Vergil further varies the social statuses represented in the games by having a Sicilian boxer, Entellus, compete against the Trojan Dares. Vergil then includes another Sicilian in the archery contest, the renowned Acestes, who competes against the Trojan archers, Hippocoon, and Mnestheus, and the Lycian archer, Eurytion (*Aen.* 5.490-9).[128] In the *lusus Troiae,* Vergil represents the Trojan youths with Ascanius as their leader. The combination of all the participants, whether they are boys, young men, elders, major characters or minor ones, directly contrasts with the Iliadic games, in which Homer restricts the games exclusively to the famous heroes, such as Telemonian Ajax, Odysseus and Diomedes. The transition of Aeneas is further complicated by the importance of his own son Ascanius. Unlike the *Iliad*, where Achilles appears as the sole character in transition, juxtaposed to the static environment of the funeral games, Ascanius and Aeneas both move forward together in transition.

[128] The occurrence of Sicilian references through Entellus and Acestes also anticipates Aeneas' emotional progression, which I will focus on in the following section by discussing the importance of Sicily's geographical location.

Beginning with the *lusus Troiae*, Vergil clearly marks his departure from Homer. With an eye on Augustus,[129] he incorporates a unique Roman tradition, and integrates the youth of Aeneas' crew, not just as participants of a contest, but as performers in the spotlight. As a further deviation from the Iliadic games, the *lusus Troiae* is not simply a contest, but a play, lacking a goal or decisive end.[130] It is a performative game within the performance of the *Aeneid* itself. The *lusus* Troiae, as part of the fictional reality of the games, mimics the "reality" of the rest of the epic. Similarly, Ascanius, in the performative act, imitates his father as a liminal hero. The *lusus Troiae* serves as a rite of passage for the young boys; just like Aeneas, who acts as a decisive leader in the fictional reality of the first four games, so do the boys in the *lusus Troiae* act as warriors in battle:

> …pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis
> et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula vertunt
> infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur. (*Aen.* 5.585-7)
>
> …and they arouse the appearance of battle in arms
> and now they expose their backs in flight, now these hostile boys turn their spears,
> and now they are brought forth side by side, with peace having been made.

Though the fathers of the boys are on the periphery, they are not uninvolved. The ritual assimilates the boys into the warrior society of their fathers,[131] foreshadows the up-

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[129] Under Augustus, the *lusus Troiae* was performed frequently in the Circus. Augustus, however, canceled this form of entertainment when Asinius Pollio complained of an accident to his grandson, Aeserninus, who had broken his leg during a performance of the *lusus Troiae* (Suet. *Aug.*43). In view of the interruption of Vergil's *lusus Troiae* with the announcement of the burning of the ships, Vergil may be recasting the performance to reflect the controversial nature of the *lusus Troiae*. Under Augustus, the game was canceled, and here, under Aeneas, the game is terminated as well.

[130] Pavlovskis, "*Aeneid* V: The Old and the Young," 203.

[131] Nugent, "Vergil's 'Voice of the Women' in *Aeneid* V," 266.

coming war,[132] meanwhile prompting the fathers to bestow their attention on their sons and rejoice in their development.

Ascanius' distinct character development in the *lusus Troiae*[133] is of particular importance. Even as Aeneas must take the role of the father, which had been vacated upon Anchises' death, so, too, must Ascanius take on a new role. Because of Aeneas' transition, he abandons his role of the novice hero; in turn, Ascanius must fulfill the role vacated by Aeneas. The father/son roles were previously delineated through Anchises, the father, and Aeneas, the son and novice hero. Vergil redefines these roles, however, with Aeneas now acting as the father, and Ascanius as the son and burgeoning hero. Ascanius first displays an earnest attempt to act as leader in the *lusus Troiae.* Just like his father, Ascanius practices this role of leader in the "play world" of Anchises' funeral games. The games prepare both Aeneas and Ascanius for their future toils, allowing them to experience their newly assigned roles in a fictional reality before they are confronted with the realistic and wearisome events ahead.[134] Before book 5, Ascanius appears as a child; he is *parvus* and *puer* in book 2 (*Aen.* 2.598, 710, 723), holding his father's hand and leaving the burning Troy.[135] In book 5, however, he appears no longer as a child, but as a proactive leader. When news is brought of the burning ships, Ascanius boldly asserts himself:

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[132] Hunt, *Forms of Glory,* 20.

[133] Pavlovskis, in his discussion of temporal considerations in *Aeneid* 5, suggests that the *lusus Troiae* links the past, present and future. "The mythical past to which the Labyrinth belongs, the display of horsemanship by Ascanius and his boy companions in the present, and the future renewal of the *lusus,* first by Ascanius, then under Augustus, combine into one timeless moment." "*Aeneid* V: The Old and the Young," 202.

[134] Ibid., 204.

[135] Glazewski, "The Function of Vergil's Funeral Games," 88.

primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestris
ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit
castra, nec exanimes possunt retinere magistri.
"quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis" inquit,
"heu, miserae cives? non hostem inimicaque castra
Argivum, vestras spes uritis. en, ego vester
Ascanius!" (*Aen.* 5.667-73)

And first Ascanius, just as he was - happy,
leading on his galloping horsemen – keenly sought the disordered camp
on his horse, and the breathless guides cannot hold him back.
"What is this strange madness? Where now, where are you hastening?," he says,
"Alas, wretched women, where? You are not burning the enemy
and the hostile Argive camp, but you are burning your own hopes. Look, I am
your Ascanius!

After this speech, Ascanius runs to the shore with his father, thus illustrating both of their developments as leaders:

…galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,
qua ludo inductus belli simulacra ciebat.
accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum. (*Aen.* 5.674-6)

…in front of his feet, [Ascanius] throws the empty helmet,
which he donned in the game as he aroused likenesses of war.
At the same time, Aeneas hastened, as did the ranks of Trojans.

Ascanius symbolically throws his helmet, marking both his departure of the fictional reality presented in the games and confrontation with the dangers of reality with Aeneas at his side.

From *Carcer* To *Meta*

The *lusus Troiae* is the last of the games both because it is a novelty, an addition to the Homeric paradigm, and because it serves as an opportunity to abandon the fictional

reality and introduce a new episode of "reality," the burning of the ships.[136] Also, the importance of the father/son relationships illustrated in the *lusus Troiae* draws a direct contrast with the episode of the women, who are apart from the games and isolated from the entire funeral ceremony (though they, too, are mourning the loss of Anchises (*Aen.* 5.630)). This separation between men and women thus depicts the strong gender division among the Trojans.[137]

As discussed above, the father/son roles integrated in the funeral games provide a thematic tie linking the growth of Aeneas and Ascanius as a result of the loss of Anchises. The fact that this growth begins in Sicily[138] should be taken into consideration. First, Sicily is both the turning point of Aeneas' journey, and a goal, an idea encompassed in the term, *meta*. Though the *meta* often describes the conical shaped marker in a circus,[139] Vergil uses it in a metaphorical sense as seen in Aeneas' description of Anchises' death:

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[136] Willis, "Athletic Contests in the Epic," 407; Nugent, "Vergil's 'Voice of the Women' in *Aeneid* V," 266. Heinze argues a slightly different point regarding the *lusus Troiae.* He suggests that the *lusus Troiae* serves as a relief from the extreme tension in the first four contests and that it allows "the accumulated floods of emotion to turn off in a different direction by diverting the readers' interest." Heinze explains that in an attempt to do this, the *lusus Troiae* "runs its course without any exciting incidents, an uninterrupted delight for the hearts and eyes of the assembled crowds. Now at last the atmosphere is sufficiently calm for an exciting new event to make its full impact – the Trojans learn that the ships are on fire." *Vergil's Epic Technique,* 133. Clearly, this view directly contrasts the arguments of Willis and Nugent, who find that the *lusus Troiae* are not as disconnected from the rest of the book as Heinze implies. Further, Feldherr stresses the point that the *lusus Troiae* "achieves the union …between literary text and public performance," while obliterating the separation between generations. Thus, Vergil incorporates actual Augustan circus events into his epic, thereby linking Augustus to Aeneas. "Ships of State: *Aeneid* 5 and Augustan Circus Spectacle," 262-3.

[137] See Nugent for an in depth analysis of the divided society and role of the women. "Vergil's 'Voice of the Women' in *Aeneid* V," 267-78.

[138] For further discussion of Sicily, see G. Karl Galinsky, "Sicily, Etruria, and Rome," in A*eneas, Sicily, and Rome,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969),103-40.

[139] Lewis and Short (1998), s.v. "*meta*."

hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum.
hinc me digressum vestris deus appulit oris. (*Aen*. 3.714-15)

This was my last trial, this was the turning point of the long roads.
Hence the god drive me, having departed, to your shores.

Aeneas' first arrival in Sicily, during which he loses Anchises, marks the turning point of his travels. He mistakenly leaves for Carthage, only to return to Sicily afterward, thus symbolizing the second meaning of *meta*, the goal. Sicily, however, marks not Aeneas' ultimate goal of founding Rome, but his goal "to bury his father's ghost once and for a all and to take upon himself the role of father to his people."[140] Only by accomplishing this goal can Aeneas sail further and reach Italy. In this sense, Sicily can also serve as yet another turning point, gazing back at Carthage while simultaneously looking forward to Italy.[141] In fact, Vergil exemplifies the importance of the *meta* in the boat race, where all of the action of the race occurs around it.[142] The boat race, in essence, therefore symbolizes Aeneas journey from Troy to Italy.

Upon Aeneas' return to Sicily, he reestablishes a relationship with his father via the serpent at the tomb in the beginning of book 5. The combination of these events marks the thematic importance of the father/son roles in conjunction with the necessity of sacrifice, which mirrors the transition of Ascanius seen in the *lusus Troiae* along with the abandoning of the women shortly thereafter. In a sense, the sacrifice of Dido in book 4 anticipates the sacrifice of the women in book 5, thereby strengthening the relationship of fathers and sons while sacrificing the role of women and mothers. These events clearly demonstrate the value of the father-figure, which then prepares Aeneas for the descent

[140] Farrell, "*Aeneid* 5: Poetry and Parenthood," 109.

[141] Stephen Bertram, "The Generation Gap and *Aeneid* V," *Vergilius* 17, 11.

[142] Feldherr, "Ships of State: *Aeneid* 5 and the Augustan Circus Spectacle," 246.

into the underworld in book 6, where he is reunited with Anchises. Vergil then reflects upon the theme of necessity of sacrifice by justifying the abandonment of women. As Galinsky states, "those unable or unwilling to continue will not encumber Aeneas any more, and the foundation of the city in Sicily presages the ultimate, successful founding of a city in Italy."[143] Thus the sacrifice/abandonment of the women suggests a positive outcome, one which enables Aeneas to fulfill his requirements as a *pius* leader, and which allows him to make a fresh start onto this mission.[144] This concept thematically embodies all of the Roman ideals Vergil has incorporated in his epic, which are entirely removed those found in *Iliad* 23.

Book 5 offers Aeneas an opportunity to advance, allowing him to leave behind elements of his life, which have burdened him so that he may continue his travels. *Iliad* 23, however, faces the end of the epic, preparing Achilles, not for a war, not for glory, but for a reconciliation and resolution with his enemy. Whereas Aeneas learns how to become a better father and leader for his people, Achilles learns the lesson of moderation, anticipating his reconciliation with Priam in book 24 and transforming into the true hero. In *Aeneid* 5, the narrative "starts over" with Aeneas about to undergo his transformation into the true hero, making one last stop in book 6 before he reaches Italy.[145] Though Vergil clearly used the Iliadic funeral games as a template for his own, he surpasses his predecessor by highly developing the structure and purpose of the games for Anchises. With the result of Romanizing the traditional epic schema, he commemorates both

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[143] Galinsky, "*Aeneid* V and the *Aeneid,*" 170.

[144] Philip Holt, "*Aeneid* V: Past and Future," *CJ* 75 (1980) : 114.

[145] Farrell, "*Aeneid* 5: Poetry and Parenthood," 97.

Anchises and Dido with the single funeral, develops his characters more fully, incorporates unique aspects regarding the divine, adds more depth to the relationships of fathers and sons, and finally, utilizes the geographical location in which the funeral games are set to accentuate Aeneas' liminal placement in his transition. By embroidering *Iliad* 23 with *Aeneid* 5, Vergil's dialogue with Homer assumes a competitive undertone that complements the agon prevalent throughout both books. Furthermore, Vergil's emphasis on Aeneas and Ascanius' transitions as sons to leaders and fathers recalls his own transition as an epic poet since Vergil is not only Homer's rival, but metaphorically, his son as well.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Vergil's insistent dialogue with Homer in the funeral games of *Aeneid* 5 reveals itself in their parallel plots: each book uses the games to construct a fictional reality, which serves as backdrop to a transforming hero. The direct parallel, however, quickly collapses with the integration of *pietas* in *Aeneid* 5, reminding the audience of Vergil's Roman, and more specifically, Augustan, slant on the *Aeneid*. Vergil's return to the *Iliad* in *Aeneid* 5 may seem incongruous with the previous books; he has already alluded to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in books 2 and 3, respectively, and then diverged significantly from the Homeric paradigm in book 4. Paradoxically, the Iliadic games offer Vergil a means to explain and explore *pietas*. Using the Homeric model, he casts Anchises, Aeneas, and Ascanius into paternal and filial roles similar to those of Priam, Achilles, Patroclus, and Hector and the father-son relationships so carefully illustrated in *Iliad* 23 are, in fact, perfectly conducive to Vergil's discussion of Augustan *pietas*.

Stephen Hinds remarks, "the creative imagination is an endlessly mobile thing; and not even through the most apparently objectively verifiable allusion…can access ultimately be gained to what an alluding poet at any given moment *intended* by such an allusion. However, it would be a mistake (a common mistake, to be sure) to take this as a reason to lose our curiosity about what poets mean to do when they allude."[146] Instead, this curiosity should be the impetus for an intertextual study of the *Aeneid*, as it can offer explanations for Vergil's allusions, which are neither arbitrary nor coincidental.

[146] Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext*, 144.

Each contest, while linked to the Iliadic games in some manner, exhibits a unique Roman overtone. The boat race emblematizes Aeneas' entire journey from Troy to Italy with Sicily, the *meta*, as the turning point after Troy, and then both turning point and goal after Carthage. The footrace accentuates the value of self-sacrifice while foreshadowing the war in book 9 as Vergil illustrates *pietas* through Nisus, who sacrifices himself for the sake of his comrade, symbolizing the importance of camaraderie and duty to the country: one should be willing to die to benefit the greater good. Moreover, Vergil uses Nisus, not Aeneas, as the agent of *pietas*, thereby reminding the audience that *pietas* is not just a virtue to be practiced by leaders, but by all Romans. The boxing match illustrates a seeming parallel to *Iliad* 23, only to diverge drastically from the expected outcome. This particular contest reminds the reader of Vergil's competition with Homer; the inability of the Roman Dares to overcome his ancient rival represents Vergil's own insecurities concerning his literary agon. The archery contest, the climactic scene of the games, comments again on the importance of *pietas*. As a *pius* leader, Aeneas discards the Iliadic rules of the competition as he awards the first-place prize to Acestes, an elder kingly figure. Finally, the *lusus Troiae* presents an addition to the Iliadic program that is a purely Roman innovation, calling to mind Augustus and the Roman lineage.

With this mixture of Greek and Roman influences, Vergil catapults the Iliadic games into an Augustan context. In turn, he suggests that he is to be seen as both rival and son to Homer, and, perhaps, even as his father. Like Vergil, Aeneas embodies both paternal and filial tendencies, which recall the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus. As Quint remarks regarding the characterization of Aeneas, "we expect Aeneas to imitate the actions…of Achilles; he is the hero and greatest warrior of his epic

as Achilles was of the *Iliad*. But…Virgil shifts back and forth between models and, somewhat surprisingly, Aeneas is also cast as…Patroclus."[147] As a result, the "multiple models compete with one another, and the reader cannot be sure which of them determines meaning."[148] The complex representation of Vergil as a son, father, and rival echoes the father-son relationship as depicted through Achilles and Patroclus. Vergil is first a son to Homer, as illustrated by his allusive style. He is then a rival, exemplified by his description of the boats as a vehicle superior to the chariot. Finally, the competition between the two funeral games suggests that Vergil, in his attempt to best Homer as the epic poet, supplants his predecessor and, in turn, becomes the father. Like Vergil, Aeneas plays both a son and father: he is a son to Anchises, and yet a father to Ascanius, to his fleet and to the Romans.

The first instance of Ascanius' development occurs in the *lusus Troiae*, in which he acts as the leader of the Trojan youths. At the announcement of the burning of the ships, he takes on an assertive role, leading his father to the scene. The fact that Ascanius is the first of the two to take charge indicates a comparison between Aeneas and himself. Ascanius' assertion, however, does not necessarily denote a competition, as he does not yet pose a threat to his father. He initially takes the lead to the burning ships and makes the first speech to the women, yet it is Aeneas who resolves the problem and ultimately decides what action the fleet will take. Ascanius attempts to succeed his father as leader, even as Vergil tries to supplant Homer as poet, but in a respectful and cooperative manner.

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[147]David Quint "The Brothers of Sarpedon: Patterns of Homeric Imitation in *Aeneid* 10" *Materiali e discussioni* 47 (2001) : 48.

[148] Ibid., 36.

Ascanius' active role in the father-son relationship provides an additional layer to the father-son sequence as illustrated in the *Iliad*. The last two books of the *Iliad* construct this relationship around four characters who represent two generations of heroes: Achilles, Patroclus, Priam, and Hector. Vergil, however, depicts this relationship with three characters, each of a different generation: Ascanius, Aeneas, and Anchises. Though he reduces the number of actual characters from the *Iliad*, he increases the number of generations, providing another dimension to the father-son relationship. In *Aeneid* 5, Vergil thus presents two fathers, two sons, one grandfather and one grandson through these three figures. He uses this same technique of thematic enhancement through structural reduction in the composition of his games, and perhaps, even of the entire epic. The Vergilian contests are reduced to five from the Iliadic eight. Yet, within each contest, Vergil covers similar themes presented in *Iliad* 23, while creating more psychologically advanced characters and augmenting each contest thematically with the incorporation of Roman concepts. As such, Vergil's games, though fewer, are replete with both Iliadic and Roman/Augustan elements. This particular Vergilian style can then be applied to the entire epic if *Aeneid* 5 is indeed regarded as an "*Aeneid in parvo*,"[149] a compression of all twelve books, which nevertheless touches upon thematic aspects depicted throughout the epic. Vergil reduces the number of books to twelve from the Homeric twenty-four, yet fuses both Roman and Greek conventions in his epic with the result of creating a poem derivative, yet innovative.

[149] Galinsky, "*Aeneid* V and the *Aeneid*," 183.

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