

Spring 2019

# The Clashing Island of Humanity: Virgil's Aeneid as Heroic Threnody

Steffen Mathis  
smathis@rollins.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarship.rollins.edu/mls>

Part of the [Classical Literature and Philology Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Mathis, Steffen, "The Clashing Island of Humanity: Virgil's Aeneid as Heroic Threnody" (2019). *Master of Liberal Studies Theses*. 86.  
<https://scholarship.rollins.edu/mls/86>

This Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by Rollins Scholarship Online. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master of Liberal Studies Theses by an authorized administrator of Rollins Scholarship Online. For more information, please contact [rwalton@rollins.edu](mailto:rwalton@rollins.edu).

# **The Clashing Island of Humanity: Virgil's *Aeneid* as Heroic Threnody**

*A Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Liberal Studies*

*by*

*Steffen L. Mathis*

*April 2019*

*Mentor: Dr. Robert Vander Poppen  
Reader: Dr. Hannah Ewing*

*Rollins College  
Hamilton Holt School  
Master of Liberal Studies Program  
Winter Park, Florida*

## Contents

INTRODUCTION.	3
<i>Aeneid</i> Scholarship: Critical Voices	
Aeneas as Hero after Actium	
Aeneas as <i>Xenos</i>	
CHAPTER ONE. <i>Xenia</i> , Its Preliminaries and Initiation	30
CHAPTER TWO. Aeneas and Dido	45
Aeneas and His Men on the Seven Ships	
Aeneas and Achates Approach	
Ilioneus and Dido	
Aeneas and Dido	
Aeneas' Departure (the <i>xénia</i> gift)	
CHAPTER THREE. The Trojans, Latinus, and Aeneas	85
Aeneas in Dionysius and Livy	
Dionysius' Aeneas	
Livy's Narrative	
Latinus and Aeneas in Virgil	
Arrival in Latium	
Latinus meets the trojans	
Latinus and Turnus, "All Hesperia Called to Arms"	
CHAPTER FOUR. Aeneas, Evander, and Pallas	115
Aeneas and the Tiber	
Aeneas and Pallas	
Aeneas and Evander	
Aeneas tours the site of Rome	
Evander and Aeneas and Pallas in the City	
Pallas in Battle	
Mourning Pallas	
CHAPTER FIVE: Aeneas and Turnus	136
<i>Spolia Opima</i>	
Creating the Latin <i>Foedus</i>	
The Peace of Jupiter and Juno, the Future of Rome	

## Introduction.

### *Aeneid Scholarship: Critical Voices*

Recent scholarship on Virgil's *Aeneid* has moved from a traditional division between pro- and anti-Augustan criticism to a more multivalent method of critiquing the verses of the poet. The traditional division encompassed a debate between scholars about whether or not the poem as a whole sought to support the Augustan program or to critique its aims. As Richard F. Thomas writes of this difference, "In Virgilian criticism, "modern" is code for "wrong," generally referring to oppositional readers of Virgil, and of his view of the principate, empire and civilization."<sup>1</sup> Karl Galinsky criticizes any reading of the *Aeneid* that proposes Virgil has a "dark view of Augustus and Rome, and so on. That is simply turning one cliché into another."<sup>2</sup> Readings that consider the prophecies in relationship to Rome's future often consider the ambiguities that can be found in the text as a work of literature, not necessarily the text as a work of Augustan literature whose "guiding *auctoritas*" comes directly from the Princeps.<sup>3</sup>

Among the scholars who focus on the ambiguities in the *Aeneid* are James J. O'Hara and Paul T. Alessi. O'Hara's thesis is that the prophecies in the poem are deceptive and that much of the "unpleasant material" in Rome's history is left out for the purpose of making the "prophecies of Augustan Rome...unclear."<sup>4</sup> To O'Hara, the poem contains both hope and fear in regards to the future of Rome under Augustus. His work

---

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, 2001, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Galinsky, *Augustan Culture*, 249.

<sup>3</sup> Galinsky, 1996, 250.

<sup>4</sup> O'Hara, 1996, 6.

discusses the prophecies of the poem in great detail within the framework of this thesis with great success. His characterization extends to the poetry of the entire age.<sup>5</sup> Alessi is in agreement with O'Hara's characterization, stating that "the *Aeneid* shows many dichotomies, ambivalences, and ambiguous references to the Roman character and state. Scholars continue to debate Virgil's true intent."<sup>6</sup>

While Anton Powell argues that the poem is clearly a "[subordination of] an ancient and precious national myth to the current needs of Augustus,"<sup>7</sup> his work still criticizes the validity of the poet's aims in the face of the reality that the writing sought to characterize. Powell discusses Virgil as an author who attempted to bolster Augustus' image in a time when Sextus Pompey's presence and actions assisted the "public ill-will towards Octavian."<sup>8</sup> Powell also discusses the significance of prophecy in the *Aeneid*, tying Virgil's success in conveying these prophecies to part of the "moral ambition for the poem, to assert and thereby strengthen the prospects of success for the Augustan settlement."<sup>9</sup> For Powell, the *pietas* of Aeneas was never at odds with the *pietas* of Augustan virtue. The reading of this scholar also contains a questioning tone, stating that perhaps the poet placed the Gates of Ivory in the epic at the point he did as an "insurance policy...in case the prophecy failed."<sup>10</sup> When Powell states that the poet had the aim of "teaching his fellow citizens something useful,"<sup>11</sup> he refers to the endurance of the

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Alessi, 2003, xii.

<sup>7</sup> Powell, 1992, 144.

<sup>8</sup> Powell, 1992, 155.

<sup>9</sup> Powell, 1992, 164.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. In Book VI of *Aeneid*, Aeneas departs his father Anchises, who has just given a lengthy prophecy for the future greatness of his bloodline in Rome, through the Gates of Ivory, gates that Penelope states in the *Odyssey*: "Those dreams that pass through the gate of sawn *ivory deceive* men, bringing words that find no *fulfillment*." (Homer, *Ody.* 19.560-69)

<sup>11</sup> Powell, 1992, 162.

*princeps* and his program, but this statement taken out of context presents a truth about the aim of the poet that this paper seeks to argue.

This study follows neither the paradigm of pro-or anti-Augustan nor the strict belief that the intention of the poet, like other poets of the time, is one of ambiguity open to multiple interpretations. Virgil's *Aeneid* is an epic poem with a clearly woven thesis that the hospitality relationships that its hero enters both transcend and address the difficulties he faces in founding Rome. The Rome that Aeneas founds is, like Augustan Rome's mythology, built on labors and toils.<sup>12</sup> Aeneas' labors are moral, they are intellectual, and they are searching for the relationship between the human and the divine that is true, accurate, and lasting. Rather than a support for the creation of the Roman state as such, the poem uses the environment and changes that occur in both the contemporary Roman environment and the city's mytho-historical story to lay forth a realistic optimism that not only incites the people to believe in the potentiality of a peaceful age, but to comprehend through the ideal of hospitality what it takes to both build and maintain such a stability.

There is little scholarship on the relationship between the meaning of the *Aeneid* and what might be considered by some as a literary trope, hospitality. R.K. Gibson analyzes *Aeneid* I-IV through the framework of *hospitium*, taking Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* 3 as the springboard for his argument.<sup>13</sup> The body of scholarship on reciprocity, gift-giving, and *xenia* in Greek society and Homeric literature is a far more studied topic. Studying

---

<sup>12</sup> Galinsky writes that "it is the toil necessary for the achievement, and not the achievement itself, that is the stuff of the *Aeneid*." (1996, 246)

<sup>13</sup> R.K. Gibson, 1999, argues that the reader must decide for his or herself whether or not Aeneas makes a return to Dido. In Ovid's work, it is Dido who is angry at Aeneas for never providing a return. For this reading it is merely provocative in that it is the emotional states of the characters that determine the need for a resolution of the relationship.

the *Aeneid* through the framework of hospitality extends the interpretation from one in which the reader interacts with the text to one in which the outcome is tangible through reason; Virgil achieves both literary and philosophical ends. A reading of the *Aeneid* as a work that centers on the hospitality relationship its hero forms is one that produces a discourse that outlasts the temporal and political readings that have characterized much of the scholarship thus far.

*Aeneas as Hero after Actium.*

Richard F. Thomas points out that much of the work that seeks to dichotomize a reading of the *Aeneid* from an Augustan outlook that comprises not only the time in which Virgil lived, but a perspective that defines an “Augustan” program... hypothesized from the end of his *principate*.<sup>14</sup> The *Aeneid* was composed between 29 and 19 B.C., while Augustus’ reign lasted until 14 C.E. During the time between Virgil’s death and the death of Augustus, reforms and rebuilding took place at a rapid rate. The *Ara Pacis*, built in honor of Augustus’ victories in Gaul, was not consecrated until 9 B.C.<sup>15</sup> As Galinsky writes, this monument “commemorated Roman world rule.”<sup>16</sup> The Rome that Virgil lived in was slightly more tenuous, civil wars having just been quelled by the defeat of Mark Antony by Augustus.

Augustus defeated Mark Antony in a naval battle at Actium in 31 B.C., but this victory in and of itself was no true resolution. After the battle, Augustus began to further craft his presentation of himself to the Roman people. As Rosalinde Kearsely writes, “the

---

<sup>14</sup> Thomas, 2003, 31.

<sup>15</sup> Galinsky, 1996, 138.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

victory of Octavian's forces did not establish his right to the leadership of Rome unchallenged."<sup>17</sup> Opposition to Augustus persisted when he returned to Rome. Some war veterans were angry that they were receiving little recognition for their contributions and Octavian still experienced some Senatorial opposition.<sup>18</sup> Octavian did not return immediately to Rome following his victory. He planned his return to Rome carefully, considering his image and dealing with his rivals.

Two events of interest in Octavian's building of his authority were: 1) the revival of the *augurium salutis*, and 2) the cleansing of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter from its previous dedications.<sup>19</sup> The *augurium salutis* allowed Octavian to present himself as safe-guard of the Roman people.<sup>20</sup> Dio mentions the cleansing the temple's dedications. He states, "all the objects in the temple which were supposed to have been placed there previously as dedications, or were actually dedications, had by decree been taken down by this time as defiled."<sup>21</sup> This renewal removed previous associations with offerings made by the people. Octavian replaced these dedications with his own, setting the stage for himself not only as the remaining leader from the second triumvirate, but as the man whom the gods had an ear for.

Virgil's poem reflects the dangers of this assumption. His poetic world is wrought with prophecies that cannot be taken as stated by an external human authority but must be delved into by the hero himself in an active quest. This quest is not simply to meet the human assumption of the gods' will, but to act in a way that does honor to the gods.

---

<sup>17</sup> Kearsely, 2009, 148.

<sup>18</sup> Kearsely, 2009, 149-50.

<sup>19</sup> Dio 51.20.4, 51.22.3

<sup>20</sup> Dio defines the *augurium salutis* as "a kind of augury which is in the nature of an inquiry whether the god permits them to ask for prosperity for the people." 37.24.1

<sup>21</sup> Dio 51.22.3



Aeneas' *pietas* is far-reaching. Rather than, as Powell states, attempt to form the myth to the *princeps*,<sup>22</sup> Virgil's Aeneas creates his known mythos within the framework of the values of hospitality. Those values are not necessarily Augustan values in the sense that one man can hold such power over the course of humankind's future. The final act of the *Aeneid* calls to mind not only the denial of the dedication of the *spolia opima* to Licinius Crassus, but strings together in one tense of the bow the veil that the Romans themselves were seeing their world through.<sup>23</sup> Throughout the *Aeneid*, the reference to the object of the bow and arrows expresses the tension between idea and action that characterized the age. Juno swears to her husband that not once in her efforts did she "'tense the bow.'"<sup>24</sup>

Juno admits to trying to save Turnus' life through his sister Juturna, but she states that she merely blessed the "'greater daring'" it might take to save him.<sup>25</sup> Aeneas himself surpasses the forceful daring of Turnus and acts through a courage built on alliance and adherence to the reciprocity inherent in the laws of hospitality. The image of Apollo with a tensed bow is one we see in the *ekphrasis* of the shield of Aeneas, but not one that we see in the epic itself.<sup>26</sup> Virgil instead symbolizes the peaceful future through the moment of Apollo quelling the rage and prowess with which Ascanius shoots his bow when taunted by men. A character by the name of Remulus, a seeming connection between the name Romulus and Remus, is the one who taunts Ascanius.<sup>27</sup> Ascanius lets loose with his bow that Virgil is careful to craft as made from "horse gut"<sup>28</sup> and readies to fly the arrow.

---

<sup>22</sup> Powell, 1992, 142.

<sup>23</sup> Dio, LI.24.4

<sup>24</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.946.

<sup>25</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.944.

<sup>26</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.825-6: "And scanning the melee, high on Actium's heights Apollo bent his bow and terror struck them all."

<sup>27</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.706.

<sup>28</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.709.

Before he shoots, he makes a dedication to Jove that mimics the idea of solo dedication. Ascanius states, “All on my own I’ll bring your temple yearly gifts!”<sup>29</sup> Yet, after Ascanius succeeds in killing Remulus, the archer Apollo praises his courage, but asks him to save his skill for times ahead.<sup>30</sup>

The life of Ascanius depends upon his understanding of his father’s actions. The future of Rome as read through Virgil’s poem does as well. Rather than a courage of daring to overstep one’s boundaries in physical prowess, Aeneas speaks of a courage that is attached to the service of the divine. He divorces his notion of courage from “good luck,” and asks his son to seek the memory of his father’s actions as well as those of Hector when seeking to look back on “models of your kin.”<sup>31</sup> The father instructs his son to carry out the same complex analysis of virtue and action that Virgil asks his reader to perform. Aeneas embraces his son, kisses him through the visor, but he does not clasp his hand. Likewise, we will not see Aeneas clasping the hand of Latinus, with whom he forms the lasting relationship of fidelity. It is through Aeneas’ actions that Virgil articulates these principles of hospitality, instructing his readers to learn right action from his hero’s fulfillment of all that is tasked of him.

### *Aeneas as Xenos*

Virgil’s *Aeneid* consists nearly entirely of hospitality relationships that the hero Aeneas forms. The poet plays with the form of hospitality from the beginning of the work. Virgil sends his hero on a mission that combines with the two possible fates of

---

<sup>29</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.713.

<sup>30</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.744.

<sup>31</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.514, 12.517.

Achilles. Virgil's Aeneas is on the road to his glory of founding the Roman people, yet he is also on a *nostos*. *Nostos* is a term used to describe the journey of a hero home from Troy.<sup>32</sup> Through the prophecy attached to Aeneas' arrival in Italy, the reader follows the hero on a series of journeys whose conflicts are examined through the lens of hospitality in order for Virgil to make his vision for the future of Rome clear.

The epic self-consciously and skillfully refutes its role as simply a celebratory retelling of the foundational events that led to the Rome that the contemporary audience knows. The purpose of the epic is instead to establish the value of negotiated incorporation in which the parties experience a bountiful reciprocity. Without this value, the *nostos* of Aeneas, which is also the founding of Rome, is untenable. Through the ideal of hospitality exemplified by Aeneas throughout the epic, Virgil critiques uncritical assent to the violent aspects of the Augustan program. By establishing his hero as much more than the son of a Venus and Anchises as well as complicating the linear progression of his journey, Virgil's retelling champions the value of cultures retaining their own identities in the face of Roman expansion. The poet also draws upon the Greek origin of Pallanteum<sup>33</sup> to include the value of the Greek culture in its less Hellenistic forms. As the Romans read the epic, they saw their times being represented, but through a careful following of the hero and the unwavering terms he forges with his hosts, they come to question the propaganda of Augustus' *aurea aetas* and its message heralding a new era of

---

<sup>32</sup> Anna Bonifazi writes that it is "In Homer, *nostos* means first and foremost "return home from Troy by sea." It refers both to the return itself as experienced by the Achaean heroes and to the poetic telling of that experience." (Bonifazi, 2009, 481)

<sup>33</sup> Dion. Hal., *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.45

peace.<sup>34</sup> Virgil questions the possibility that a culture still built on conquest can ever truly experience long-term peace.

Throughout the epic, Aeneas goes through a series of hospitality relationships in order to finally found Lavinium, the city attributed to Rome's connection to Aeneas and his divine ancestry. Virgil examines and puts into words the stakes and intentions of the parties in these relationships, all part of the poet's song. Among other brief sojourns, Aeneas receives hospitality from Dido in Carthage, Latinus in Laurentum, and Evander in Pallanteum. The details of the meetings between Aeneas and his three hosts are fictional amalgamations of material familiar to a contemporary Roman audience.<sup>35</sup> Virgil's hospitality encounters are a series of meetings that test Aeneas' values and his intellectual and physical attributes as a prescribed hero. These meetings are also grounded in Homeric and Apollonian literature and thereby connect the *Aeneid* to a long established component of Greek epic.<sup>36</sup> Virgil uses these traditions to develop the traits of his hero and to define his quest. How his hero behaves as a guest in his hospitality relationships gives credence to his identity as an embodiment of Roman values, and thereby a worthy legendary ancestor for the Roman people. That said, the values personified by Aeneas' relationships and actions do not always coincide with the contemporary optimism of the state program put forth by Augustus. In fact, at times, Virgil uses his depiction of Aeneas to critique the contemporary world around him.

---

<sup>34</sup> Paul Zanker describes the aspects of the *aurea aetas* in his book as an attempt to "give permanent expression to this mood of optimism, to create new imagery that would transcend reality and eternalize the happiness of the present moment." (Zanker, 1999, 167)

<sup>35</sup> Aeneas' meeting with Dido was portrayed in Gnaeus Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* while his meeting with the Latins has been recorded as traditions by other later writers, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy.

<sup>36</sup> The hospitality scenes in Apollonius of Rhodus' *Argonautica* and in Homer's epics form inspiration for Virgil's hospitality scenes.

By creating an end for his hero in the founding of a new city after the Trojan War, he makes his hero's journey parallel to the journey of Augustus after the Roman civil wars. Just like Augustus, Aeneas is attempting to make sense of his father's death. The poet draws a parallel between the relationship between Anchises and Aeneas and Julius Caesar and Augustus, his heir. Virgil calls into question the relationship between Anchises' prophecy spoken to Aeneas in the Underworld and Jupiter's corresponding prophecy to Venus that appeared in Book I. Jupiter states that he sets no limits on the Romans: "On them I set no limits, space or time: I have granted them power, empire without end."<sup>37</sup> Jupiter bounds the empire of the "Trojan Caesar...by the Ocean, his glory by the stars."<sup>38</sup> Anchises' prophecy mentions Augustus by name and does not place the limits on the future of this one man. Anchises states, "Caesar Augustus! Son of a god, he will bring back the Age of Gold...expand his empire...to a land beyond the stars, beyond the wheel of the year."<sup>39</sup> Jupiter's prophecy is a marked contrast to the unlimited optimism of Anchises' deification of Caesar and Augustus.<sup>40</sup> Virgil's work subtly criticizes the deification of Caesar, as well as the celebration of military prowess. Anchises, known for his *hubris* in boasting about his liaison with Aphrodite, longs for the continuation of Achillean glory of his line, but acknowledges to Aeneas the danger in not fully acknowledging loss and grief.

---

<sup>37</sup> Virgil, and Robert Fagles. *The Aeneid*, New York: Penguin, 2010. Unless otherwise noted, all translations cited refer to the Fagles translation of the *Aeneid*.

Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.333-4.

<sup>38</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.342-3.

<sup>39</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.914-18.

<sup>40</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.915.

Virgil calls Augustus "son of a god," meaning son of Julius Caesar, deified after his death.

In Aeneas' journey to the Underworld to visit his father, Anchises' shade speaks of the vast sorrow the Roman people experienced at the death of Marcellus.<sup>41</sup> He tries to move quickly on, but Aeneas fixates on the sorrow and gravity of the death of Augustus' heir and probes his own disconnect with the image. This is a key moment in the epic. Aeneas speaks to his father directly and calls into question the idea of inherited glory and the ability of one man alone to rule all. Aeneas notices the "acclaim from his comrades! What fine bearing, the man himself!"<sup>42</sup> yet he acknowledges the possibility of this being all too simple an image. Aeneas notices "a mournful shadow" around the head of Marcellus' shade.<sup>43</sup> The destiny of Virgil's Aeneas is connected directly to Neptune's prophecy in Homer's *Iliad* 20.<sup>44</sup> Virgil thwarts a reader's attempts to connect Aeneas directly to Augustus in a simplification of the meaning behind divine lineage. The Aeneas of Homer's *Iliad* 20 who faced Achilles on the battlefield recounts his lineage "from first to last," yet he calls this "bragging like boys" and moves Achilles to prove himself and the will of the gods in battle.<sup>45</sup> Aeneas' legacy from this scene is his warning of the "glib and twisty" nature of a "man's tongue."<sup>46</sup> Virgil urges his readers to closely examine the ceremony of the mourning of Marcellus, Augustus' nephew, as well as the grand

---

<sup>41</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.868-69.

<sup>42</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.998-9.

<sup>43</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.99-1000.

<sup>44</sup> Homer, Fagles, Robert, transl. *Iliad*. New York: Penguin, 2003. Unless otherwise noted, all translations cited refer to the Fagles translation of *Iliad*. After Phoebus Apollo drove Aeneas "filled with power" (Homer, *Iliad*, 20.96) against Achilles, Poseidon seeks to intervene, stating "He is destined to survive. Yes, so the generation of Dardanus will not perish, obliterated without an heir, without a trace....and now Aeneas will rule the men of Troy in power—his son's sons and the sons born in future years." (Homer, *Iliad* 20.349-56)

<sup>45</sup> Homer, *Iliad* 20.283.

<sup>46</sup> Homer, *Iliad* 20.287.

ceremony of the *spolia opima* by connecting the Homeric Aeneas to his Roman ancestry in the Underworld.<sup>47</sup>

True wisdom through mourning is a theme that runs throughout the *Aeneid* and the loss of lives through the recent civil wars still holds a place in the memory of the audience. Augustus' reforms and his recent triumphant arrival after Actium are given treatment by the poet, but one that relegates this type of large scale violent victory to the background while bringing the pains taken to give voice to peaceful alliance to the forefront. Through Aeneas' interaction with the iterations of the prophecies that surrounded both Aeneas and the arrival of Augustus,<sup>48</sup> the poet rejects the continued glorification of conquest. The Aeneas of the epic is driven to war only when a pact between himself and the king of the Latins is violated. Virgil focuses on the idea that "the one indispensable condition upon which *hospitium* was established and maintained was *fides*; i.e. faith in man's word."<sup>49</sup> Virgil's hero's task is to maintain *xenia* with his hosts.

---

<sup>47</sup> The poet connects the imagery of Marcellus' funeral to the mourning of Pallas through the metaphor of flowers. Anchises states, "Oh, child of heartbreak! If only you could burst the stern decrees of Fate! You will be Marcellus. Fill my arms with lilies, let me scatter flowers, lustrous roses—piling high these gifts, at least, on our descendant's shade—and perform a futile rite." (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.1018-21) Pallas himself lies "like a flower cut by a young girl's hand" (Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.79) and Aeneas questions the necessity of his death in battle. This builds the foundation for the ending. As Magus begs for his life, Aeneas warns against bragging, the same *hubris* his own father was guilty of, by stating "All those bars of silver and gold you brag of, save them for your sons! Such bargaining in battle, Turnus already cut it short when he cut Pallas down! So the ghost of my father, so my son declares!" (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 10.631)

<sup>48</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 94.5. The prophecies surrounding the birth of Augustus are recorded in Suetonius. "Publius Nigidius...declared that the ruler of the world had been born." (Suet., *Aug.* 94.5) A pillar of flame sprang forth from the wine that was poured over the altar at the grove of Father Liber, as witnessed by Augustus' father when he consulted the priests with barbaric rites. Octavius, Augustus' father dreamt "that his son appeared to him in a guise more majestic than that of mortal man with the thunderbolt, sceptre, and insignia of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, wearing a crown begirt with rays and mounted upon a laurel-wreathed chariot drawn by twelve horses of surpassing whiteness." (Suet., *Aug.* 94.6) When Augustus was an infant, he was recorded as leaving his cradle, later to be found "on a lofty tower with his face towards the rising sun." (Suet., *Aug.* 94.6)

<sup>49</sup> Nybakken, 1946, 249.

It is not just his faith in man's word, but his faith in the word of the gods that guide him that makes Aeneas an exemplary *xenos*. By adhering to the divine custom of *xenia* as sanctioned by *Zeus Xenios*, Aeneas founds Lavinium while not removing any of Latinus' duties or rites as king, setting the stage for the reader to comprehend the dynamics of power within Rome's expanding empire.

Virgil immediately connects Aeneas' journey to the divine through his mother and the first person (Venus is disguised as a Tyrian girl, much like Dido whom Aeneas will soon meet.) he speaks with after his arrival in Carthage. Virgil presents Aeneas experiencing the same anguish that Venus feels when she supplicates Jupiter to tell her about the future of her son. When he recognizes his mother, he calls her "cruel" for not speaking to him directly rather than in disguise.<sup>50</sup> Virgil will use his hero to remove disguises or misrepresentations in language, art, and established memory. Jupiter's verbal response to Venus' begging is his prophecy for future Romans. The prophecy follows a pattern of Virgil's presentation of prophecy. The poet references what the contemporary Roman has been exposed to in society, presenting it in the words of a deity in such a way that asks the reader to reevaluate what they are hearing.<sup>51</sup> He presents the prophecy as "known" text in the history of the Roman people. Yet, over the course of the epic, with the help of the poet and his hero, the words of the prophecy of Jupiter are revisited and evaluated through the speech of the characters and the action in the epic (the song). In many ways, Venus' approach to Jupiter resembles its model, Thetis' supplication of Zeus

---

<sup>50</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.494.

<sup>51</sup> O'Hara suggests that the speech of Jupiter is a *consolatio*, and that Servius notes that in a *consolatio*, "one should mention war only in the context of victory." (O'Hara, 1990, 138) Yet, Jupiter's prophecy ends ambiguously with Strife simply subdued rather than conquered. (Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.352-5)



in granting Achilles glory.<sup>52</sup> Yet, the character, or what might even be termed “humanity,” of Jupiter is edged into Virgil’s version. He kisses his daughter lightly on his lips and tells her to “spare thy fear.”<sup>53</sup> The words of Jupiter are purported to be given to Venus to relieve her immediate anguish, yet the poet warns in taking full comfort or confidence in prophecy or decree unexamined.

The prophecy of Jupiter has metaphorically parallel events for each aspect of the prophecy that occur within the time and space of the poem. The prophecy of Jupiter as delivered to Venus in Book I can effectively be read in divisions: 1) Aeneas’ founding of Lavinium; 2) Iulus’ reign in Alba Longa; 3) Romulus and the founding of the “Roman”; 4) Julius Caesar’s rise; 5) Rome in its contemporary state. Jupiter notably punctuates the divisions with the moment in which the epic itself ends, Juno and Jupiter holding “dear” the Romans.<sup>54</sup> After this (section 3), he states “This is my pleasure, my decree.”<sup>55</sup> Virgil has effectively delineated and divided the story of the Romans for the reader, yet he backs the reader up even further when one realizes that the *Aeneid* ends where Jupiter’s decree begins: the founding of Lavinium. Jupiter tells his daughter: “You will *see* (emphasis mine) your promised city, *see* Lavinium’s walls.”<sup>56</sup> This makes Virgil’s ending when Venus “sees” the future city, one that comes into being after her son marries Lavinia, a city that is never physically described to the reader within the epic. This reading will show that the poet intends to leave the visual representation of the future to be constructed within the mind of the reader. While Virgil does tell a version of the

---

<sup>52</sup> In Hom., *Iliad* 1.509, Thetis is upset at the Achaeans’ treatment of her son, and she asks Zeus to build up the war until the Achaeans absolutely need her son. At that time, her son will return and win great fame.

<sup>53</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.257.

<sup>54</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.279.

<sup>55</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid*, 1.280.

<sup>56</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid*, 1.258-9.

Romans' history throughout his poem, his focus is on the relationships his protagonist builds and the moral identity that emerges from his actions.

As a whole, Virgil's poem has its own sense of time. It traces the development of the hero as a metaphor for the Roman state and in so doing, the history is itself enlivened, retold, and developed. Virgil infuses the transition from Republic to Empire that Rome was undergoing into the quarrel/collaboration between Juno and Venus. Juno entreats Venus to join her in binding Aeneas and Dido in marriage. Venus at once sees through Juno's attempts to simply "turn the empire from Italy to Libya's shores."<sup>57</sup> Juno offers Venus the promise that Dido will "yield her Tyrians to your power as dowry!"<sup>58</sup> Venus has already heard Jupiter's prophecy, so she knows that the marriage will not succeed, but she assents to Juno's request because Juno has the right to "probe [Jupiter] with her prayers."<sup>59</sup> Venus forms an alliance with Juno that mirrors the absolute manner Aeneas himself forms his hospitality relationships. The outcome will speak the truth of their collaboration.

Venus does not desire the Tyrians subdued to her power, and the power of her son does not depend on this kind of subjugation. Virgil is laying out his vision for a Roman foundation built on the values of hospitality. The poet, through Jupiter, tasks the reader to evaluate the language in his prophecy as it applies to their current state by paralleling the journey of Aeneas with the text of the prophecy, even though the final event of the poem is chronologically the founding of Lavinium. Books I-IV lay the foundation for the poem. Venus sparks a passion in Dido that Juno unsuccessfully attempts to harness in one

---

<sup>57</sup> Virgil, Loeb *Aeneid* 4.105

<sup>58</sup> Virgil, Loeb *Aeneid* 4.104

<sup>59</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.140

location. The kingdom of Italy, called Hesperia<sup>60</sup> by its seekers, consists of a variety of people, and it is Virgil's Aeneas' role as hero to make manifest its unity and its sincerely hospitable nature.

### *Aeneas at Carthage*

Virgil begins the epic with a hospitality encounter between Aeneas and his men on the shore of Libya to emphasize Aeneas' position as a generous and exemplary host. The location recalls his youthful abandonment to nymphs and the dire nature of his circumstance draws upon his divine nature.<sup>61</sup> Aeneas is distressed, but "he feigns hope on his face."<sup>62</sup> Aeneas is later likened to Janus when Virgil writes, "Aeneas' glances roving left and right."<sup>63</sup> In Book XII, Aeneas sees a vision of Latium "free from that fierce warfare, peaceful and unharmed,"<sup>64</sup> and the hope he feigned is activated from within. The men who share the initial meal on the shores of Libya are the same men with Aeneas as he seeks to make good on his word to the men that it will be a joy in the future to remember even their dire circumstances.

The other half of Aeneas' men, whom Aeneas and his crew think are lost in the storm, approach Dido of Carthage, even in the face of Carthaginian resistance. Virgil depicts the Carthaginians as hostile and warlike. The spokesman for the Trojans, Ilioneus, must plead with her for materials to repair their ships. Virgil creates an elaborate hospitality relationship between the Trojans and the Carthaginians with Carthage in a

---

<sup>60</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.639, 3.201, 3.224, 7.631

<sup>61</sup> In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, we see that she sends her son to be raised by nymphs before he returns to Troy to meet his father Anchises.

<sup>62</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.209

<sup>63</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.651.

<sup>64</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 12.559-60.

position of power. Before Aeneas arrives in front of Dido, the queen attempts to verbally coerce the Trojans to accept her offer of incorporating them into her kingdom on her terms. Virgil dismisses the necessity of a competitive and destructive form of alliance to foster a kingdom. Before the Trojans assent to Dido's terms, Aeneas intervenes for his men, displaying the same timely interference his mother Venus displayed for him in the *Iliad*.<sup>65</sup>

In the first four books of his epic, Virgil addresses the entire history of hospitality by having his characters question the nature of their own bonds in relation to this ideal. This first relationship serves to establish Aeneas as both guest and host as he usurps the role of host among the Carthaginians while he is there, confounding Dido when he abruptly chooses to leave. Within the time Aeneas spends in Carthage, Virgil introduces the idea of sacred objects, gifts of good faith that find their full life in their meaning as given throughout the epic. He establishes the tension between divine craftsmanship and manmade construction. The divinely guided purpose, or consecration, of these gifts becomes a method for the poet to strengthen the depiction of the binding nature of hospitality even in the face of pressures its participants have to conform to rules of state. The poet does this to set up a gradual destabilization of the images fixed in the contemporary public's consciousness.

The character of Dido suffers within the confines of the narrative material the poet uses to create her. She is like a character trapped in her story, and the impending defeat of Dido threatens to take away any legacy she believes she may have. Yet, Virgil ties Dido's death into Aeneas' journey to provide her a return--her honor--as he travels to

---

<sup>65</sup> In *Iliad* 5.311, Aphrodite drops Aeneas. Aeneas falls into the arms of Apollo, receiving protection.

found his home. It is only because the poet releases her spirit that this idea of a return is conceivable. The poet slowly transforms the idea of glory in battle in contrast to ignominy in defeat as an idea that is incomplete, even in a reading of the Homeric works. The certainty Dido assumes in life is replaced with a sturdy faith; the meaning of her life woven through the epic. The impossibility of union combined with Aeneas' passion for Dido, who no longer cares for "appearances"<sup>66</sup> recalls the grief that Aphrodite experienced in the Homeric Hymn.<sup>67</sup> Part of Dido's acceptance of Aeneas was his known fame, but Aeneas does not, like Dido, simply fit into the story Dido has heard of him.

### *Aeneas and Latinus*

The Trojan meeting with the Latins is the central hospitality relationship in the poem. Within the bond of hospitality the two parties form, Latinus contemplates the meaning of Aeneas' arrival in Italy, attempting to fit it with signs he has received from the gods. Virgil overlaps the prophecies that accompany Aeneas with the prophecies that circulated throughout Rome about Augustus since his birth.<sup>68</sup> Octavian's father had visions of his newborn son being more than mortal, yet the images that he describes himself as seeing are known mortal representations of divinity. Rather than images, Latinus wrestles with language. The prophecy of the Oracle of Faunus is a combination of the words of Octavius and Nigidius and the words of Poseidon in the *Iliad*. Poseidon prophecies that "the generation of Dardanus will not perish....Aeneas will rule the men of

---

<sup>66</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.215.

<sup>67</sup> Line 198: "His name will be Aineias [Aeneas], since it was an unspeakable [*ainos*] *akhos* that took hold of me—grief that I had fallen into the bed of a mortal man."

<sup>68</sup> See footnote 6.

Troy in power—his son’s sons and the sons born in future years.”<sup>69</sup> Nigidius stated that Aeneas was “the ruler of the world.”<sup>70</sup> Latinus hears, “Their sons’ sons will see...the whole earth turn beneath their feet, their rule.”<sup>71</sup> The uncanny assemblage of Homeric text, text from the *Argonautica*, and contemporary Roman story in a manner that produces a powerful prophecy with uncertain meaning is Virgil’s design. It mimics the cultural assimilation of contemporary Rome.<sup>72</sup>

Latinus puts his hope for the future into his welcoming of the Trojan men who approach him to seek peace. Virgil’s meeting between the Latins and Trojans takes elements from stories as portrayed in such historians as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy and assembles them in a very distinct way. The relationship is a truly equal treaty between parties, initiated through the intermediary of Aeneas’ own men. The initiation of the union of the people being led by one of Aeneas’ men addresses the danger of one man rising to power. Virgil withholds the face-to-face meeting of the leader Latinus and the leader Aeneas until the needs of all the peoples are addressed in the terms of the future relationship. Until the threat of Turnus, hungry for his own fame and power, can be met, Latinus’ hopes for the future that he places in Aeneas are confounded. Turnus insists upon the hand of Lavinia, and Virgil settles this dispute on the battlefield, but not without the urging of Latinus for a peaceful resolution.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> *Iliad* 20.350

<sup>70</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 94.5.

<sup>71</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.110-12.

This is also the description Apollonius of Rhodus gives to Phineas, the blind prophet. In the *Argonautica*, Apollonius writes of Phineas, “and it seemed the earth reeled round beneath his feet.” Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 2.188.

<sup>72</sup> For a detailed discussion on deceptiveness of the prophecies in Virgil’s *Aeneid*, see O’Hara, James J., *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Virgil’s Aeneid*, 1990.

<sup>73</sup> Livy conveys that Latinus met Aeneas at the battle lines, held a “conference” and “gave his right hand as a solemn pledge of friendship for the future.” (Livy 1.1) Virgil ensures that the pledge that Latinus makes is first spoken to Aeneas’ men and made good in the future time of the epic itself.

Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, incites rage in Turnus, rage he mistakes for love.<sup>74</sup> Unlike Turnus, Aeneas does not seek to take over Latinus' kingdom through the union with Lavinia. He seeks to build a new city with the help of his own men while allowing Latinus to maintain his rule. The men, one hundred (a number resembling the first senate), approach a palace that resembles the multiplication of Romulus' notion as expressed in Livy 1.8. Livy writes of Romulus, "he gave them a body of laws, which he thought would only be respected by a rude and uncivilized race of men if he inspired them with awe by assuming the outward symbols of power."<sup>75</sup> Virgil contrasts the friendly host Latinus with this strange din of a palace that surrounds him. The Trojans present Latinus with gifts that resemble the regalia of Remus that Romulus was said to have placed next to him "whenever he was giving official approval to anything, so they would seem to be ruling equally."<sup>76</sup> Latinus shows only cursory interest in these remains of Troy.

The figure of Turnus closely represents the idea of one man ruling by might and ascendancy. Yet, in Virgil, Latinus felt that Turnus did not meet the requirements of the oracle who stated that the groom of his daughter must come from a "foreign home."<sup>77</sup> This discrepancy between a foreigner or one from one's own race is at the heart of the tension Virgil portrays between Romanization and retaining of the traditions that fortify

---

<sup>74</sup> Virgil describes Turnus, after he gazes upon Lavinia: "Frenzy drives him, Turnus' whole face is ablaze." (Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.124)

<sup>75</sup> Livy 1.8. Livy, 1.8. "He [Romulus] created a hundred senators; either because that number was adequate, or because there were only a hundred heads of houses who could be created. In any case, they were called the 'Patres' in virtue of their rank, and their descendants were called 'Patricians.'" Virgil's envoys, however, are men "chosen from every rank." (Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.154)

<sup>76</sup> Serv. *ad Aen.*i. 276.

O'Hara (1990, 154-5) states that this description in Servius presents reconciliation after fratricide and the idea of joint rule as something that can be seen as "a sham reconciliation." Latinus rejects these outward displays of royalty in favor of pursuing Aeneas' marriage to his daughter.

<sup>77</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.296.

and define any nation that may find itself faced with the possibility of assimilation into an empire.<sup>78</sup>

*Aeneas and the Line of Evander*

The final hospitality relationship Aeneas enters into is with Evander of Pallanteum. This relationship is used to both acknowledge and critique the use of Greek deities and culture in Hellenistic forms throughout the Roman world. Evander tells a fantastical story of Cacus, a monster slain by Hercules, and decries the value of annual rites to the god. Evander's son even prays to Hercules as he goes into battle, and his prayers are not answered in the manner that either Evander or Pallas desired. Nothing is certain in Evander's world at the time he encounters Aeneas except for his adherence to the divine law of hospitality. Aeneas is Evander's guest in his humble home and a relationship of *fidem*<sup>79</sup> is established between them that allows for a critique of what is handed down from father to son.

In Book X, Jupiter consoles Hercules who is watching from above as Pallas enters the battlefield. Jupiter discusses the loss of one of his own sons, Sarpedon. The very god that Pallas prayed to must witness his death. The prayer that Pallas makes is a riddle that Virgil will solve at the end of the work. Pallas asks that Turnus "see me stripping the bloody armor off his body, bear the sight of his conqueror, eyes dulled in death."<sup>80</sup> In Book XII, Turnus glances up at Aeneas, unable to grasp the severity of his inability to yield Lavinia in peace. Aeneas shouts that "Pallas strikes this blow."<sup>81</sup> Virgil melds the

---

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 8.150.

<sup>80</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 10.548-9.

<sup>81</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.1007



prayer Pallas makes to Hercules with the future actions of Aeneas. The prayer to Hercules is one appealing to hereditary *xenia*. He prays to Hercules, stating: “by my father’s board, the welcome you met as a stranger.”<sup>82</sup> Pallas’ death cries out to the welcome that Aeneas himself received at the handclasp of Pallas himself. Aeneas has participated in the rites to Hercules with his hosts and, through his relationship of *xenia* with Pallas and his father, Evander, Aeneas connects the men through both obligation and prayer.

### *Hospitality in the Aeneid*

Virgil’s work is largely one of extended hospitality encounters, and yet little has been written about the meaning behind the reciprocities connected to the ties Aeneas forms with the Tyrians, the Latins, and even the people of Evander’s seemingly self-contained city of Pallanteum. Much of the dialogue between characters in the *Aeneid* is devoted to hospitality. It involves self-conscious critiques of the hospitality interactions by the characters involved in them. The question of precision of language in regards to expectations of host and guest is encased in the heated argument between Dido and Aeneas. Next, the hero himself even questions the meaning of the return that he owes to Evander once Pallas has been slain in battle. Lastly, the final outcome of the complicated and protracted relationship between Aeneas and Latinus defines the hero’s quest, creating a character and ethos to hold up in comparison to and evaluation of Augustus’ actions and self-definition. Without evaluating the hospitality relationships for their mirror of Roman expansion, a large part of Virgil’s work is left unexplored and a contemporary

---

<sup>82</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 10.546.

Roman or modern reader misses much of Virgil's critique of the optimism of Augustus' *aurea aetas*.<sup>83</sup>

The poet's focus for a peaceful Rome *does* lie in the journey of Aeneas, but to read the journey of Aeneas as a simple foundation for the contemporary Roman values Virgil's readers were being given by the authoritative Augustus is simplistic and misleading. The epic is not focused solely on Aeneas' fame and heroism, but on his relationships. Aeneas struggles throughout the work to find meaning and a true footing in a homeland for his men. As a result of these hospitality encounters, a full picture of the hero and his values emerges as one that begins in his Homeric identity as prophesied by Poseidon. Aeneas is a hero whose linguistic inquiries into all that he sees around him result in the contemporary Romans "reseeing" the post Roman Civil War peace that is being created for them. The final act of the *Aeneid*—Aeneas in single combat with Turnus—results in a hero whom, as Poseidon stated in the *Iliad*, no one can defeat in war. Yet the final act of the *Aeneid*, through all that leads to it, calls into question the meaning and interpretation of its visual signification for the contemporary reader. A reevaluation of this visual signification combined with a reflection of the events leading up to its seeming necessity sets in motion a reconsideration (or "turn") in the reading of many of the images circulating in contemporary Roman cities. A reevaluation of the many *ekphrases* and actions in the epic is triggered in the mind of the reader resulting in turn in

---

<sup>83</sup> Alston, 2015, 291. "On May 23, 17 B.C., the senate met under the chairmanship of the consul Gaius Silanus to discuss aspects of the Secular Games that were to be held under the authority of Caesar Augustus and Marcus Agrippa. The Games were to mark the end of a *saeculum* (an age) and consequently the beginning of a new age, one which after the *saeculum* of war and civil strife that had just passed would be an age of hope and peace, a time that the regime advertised as a new golden age."

a closer look at their contemporary world. Virgil's hero is a victor for the many "beaten men" in the epic.<sup>84</sup> As the hero who led his own men out of Troy, he has not once sought acts that Ilioneus described as "such pride, such violence."<sup>85</sup> The form of plunder that Jupiter ascribes to Caesar in his prophecy has no value in Virgil's poem.<sup>86</sup> Venus, in her desire to discern Jupiter's prophecy, forms a knowing agreement with Juno; the "dowry" promised Venus is the result of this Olympian collaboration.<sup>87</sup>

To interpret Aeneas' journey simply as a sum leading up to the Achillean fame as a great warrior is to misread the legacy of Achilles and his plight, as well as to ignore the lasting legacy in language Virgil builds through the description, dialogue, and action of his hero. Each meeting Aeneas has with either his goddess mother, hosts, or even the god of the Tiber, comes together to tell a foundational story that has implications for the understanding and iteration of Rome's legacy. The reciprocity in meaning achieved between these meetings provides direction for a truly peaceful future. This direction can only be provided through proper and accurate recognition of a sign or meaning provided by the poet. For Virgil *is* that poet that Socrates and Glaucus debate about letting into the city. For while Socrates argues that it is reasonable to keep poetry out of a city with good laws, he also asserts to Glaucus that she (poetry) should be allowed to argue through meter and verse that she is "pleasant but also beneficial to polities and human life."<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.638

<sup>85</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.637

<sup>86</sup> In his prophecy, Jupiter tells Venus that she will "welcome" a "Trojan Caesar" to the skies who is "laden with plunder from the east" (Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.342-6.) Yet, the *Aeneid* itself is about the dynamics and outcomes of these welcomes, and it is not made explicit in the prophecy that this welcome is in itself a final reward. Aeneas' name invoked in prayer is the main focus of the poet. (Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.347)

<sup>87</sup> The idea of dowry itself speaks to Juno's gift from Gaea of the tree of the golden apples and its legacy as a symbol for union and its complications.

<sup>88</sup> Plt, *Resp.* X E. 186-187

According to Plato, the people themselves should be allowed to respond to her and make an argument that she is of value. Virgil is asking his readers to make a truly well-assessed argument on behalf of poetry and its role in Rome's current attempt to build a new Republic.

In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas passes through many preliminaries and reflections to determine if the persons offering hospitality are themselves a threat either in terms of their hostility to the hero, or in terms of the state they propose to forge from their union with the Trojans.<sup>89</sup> As we will read, the offers of Dido are not always reciprocated or accepted by the Trojans and Aeneas. The language with which Aeneas offers honor to Dido, however, is a language that implies the duties of a *xenos*. Secondly, the initial possibility presented to the Trojans of entering into a hospitality relationship with Latinus even finds the Trojans at war with the Latins before all is resolved. The relationship that Aeneas initiates with Evander is one of reciprocity, but one also built initially on the need for protection from the warring Latins.<sup>90</sup> It is one in which the duties and responsibilities of a *xenos* are demonstrated by both parties. Finally, the relationship with Latinus ultimately fulfills the ideals of hospitality while incorporating the will of the gods into its resolution. Yet, protection itself does not turn out to be the ultimate goal of any of Aeneas' relationships. The *xenia* he experiences and participates in gives more than a utilitarian view of the custom.

---

<sup>89</sup> In Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.540, Helenus tells Aeneas that when he reaches Italy, the Sibyl will reveal to him "the many ways to shun or shoulder each ordeal that you must meet." He contrasts what the Sibyl tells him with what his deceased father tells him in the Underworld. (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.1028) The advice of Anchises leaves with Aeneas through the gate of "false dreams." (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.1033)

<sup>90</sup> As we will see, it expands its scope and purpose as it progresses.

When Venus first crosses Aeneas' path, he finally recognizes her through her false identity as a Tyrian girl searching for her sister. As she departs, he says to her:

Why, you too cruel as the rest? So often  
you ridicule your son with your disguises!  
Why can't we clasp hands, embrace each other,  
Exchange some words, speak out, and tell the truth? Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.494-7.

All the of aspects of a *xenia* relationship are posed to his goddess mother (above): a clasping of hands, speaking of and embracing friendship, and Virgil's ultimate goal of the epic: for the exchanging of words to be words of truth.<sup>91</sup> A *xenia* bond had the potential to provide the medium for this inquiry since bonds of *xenia* existed outside of the "social order which fettered the citizen" and "could not rely on appeals to external authority."<sup>92</sup> Virgil emphasizes that Aeneas is pious and duty-bound. It is the tension between the Roman *pietas* and the duty that Aeneas engages in as a *xenos* that builds the contrast between the melding of Augustan virtues to the virtues evidenced in Aeneas' actions. Virgil introduces the idea that interpretation in the hospitality relationships will be complicated in the breakdown of the deceptive bond formed between Tyrian Dido and Trojan Aeneas. Virgil's hospitality relationships not only depict the journey of Aeneas but ask the reader to define and describe the reciprocity each party receives for the purpose of coming to terms with their role as citizens in a reciprocal relationship with the *auctoritas*<sup>93</sup> of Augustus.

---

<sup>91</sup> As we have seen above, this is Venus' goal as well. The complexity of her desire with her son as "object" is the heart of the epic. Aeneas becomes object of discourse between Venus, Jupiter, and the future of Rome. Once war breaks out, Venus' concern is for her grandson. (Virgil, *Aeneid* 10.60.) In the face of all the violence, she even wishes that perhaps Aeneas could go back to wandering rather than face what he is facing in Italy. (Virgil, *Aeneid* 10.58-9.)

<sup>92</sup> Herman, 1987, 31.

<sup>93</sup> Rosalinde Kearsley states that, during the years 30-27, much of Augustus' *auctoritas* "stemmed from his consummate use of augury." "Octavian's augural role as mediator between Jupiter and Rome

For Virgil, reciprocity is not simply the exchanging of goods and favors; in the *Aeneid*, all of the hospitality encounters connect to each other to achieve two important ends. These are: 1) to show that hospitality as a binding force is capable of providing insight into the values that the poet intends to espouse and critique and 2) by using Aeneas as the preeminent guest in each of these encounters, bridge the perceived distance between the gods and men by connecting the Roman legend to specific language and actions of its mythical founder.

---

continued to provide him with the authority to interpret the god's will about any threats he perceived against himself or the city." Kearsley, 2009, 162.

## Chapter 1.

### *Xenia*, Its Preliminaries and Initiation

*Xenia* is a Greek term for a ritualized friendship formed between parties who sought to create a lasting bond. Once *xenia* between two parties was initiated, it was binding with “obligations, which, ideally, would last forever.”<sup>94</sup> The relationships were often hereditary, initiated between fathers or grandfathers of Homeric heroes who met on the battlefield, the most famous example being that of Glaucus and Diomedes in the *Iliad*.<sup>95</sup> Hereditary *xenia* was often renewed by *xenoi* when they encountered each other, acknowledging their hereditary connection and cementing their obligations to each other.<sup>96</sup> One example of the renewal of hereditary *xenia* can be found in the *Odyssey* when Athena (disguised as Mentos) and Telemachus renew the relationship their fathers shared.<sup>97</sup> A host and a stranger who had no hereditary connections went through several

---

<sup>94</sup> Herman 1987, 61.

<sup>95</sup> Hom., *Il.* 6.232-236. The exchange is made famous by the fact that Glaucus exchanged his gold armor for Diomedes’ bronze. Walter Donlan (1999, 15) concludes that “Diomedes is the victor and he symbolically despoils Glaucus,” and that Homer was highlighting the superior cunning and intelligence of the Achaeans.

<sup>96</sup> Herman 1987, 58.

<sup>97</sup> Homer, Fagles, Robert, transl. *Odyssey*. New York: Penguin, 2006. Unless otherwise noted, all translations cited refer to the Fagles translation of the *Odyssey*. Hom., *Od.* 1.185: “Friends of one another do we declare ourselves to be, even as our fathers were, friends from of old.” Most notable about this initiation is that Telemachus begins to confide emotional truths in confidence to the stranger once the *xenos* is renewed.

preliminaries before a bond of *xenia* was established. The purpose of these preliminaries was to establish peaceful relations and to ascertain trust between the two parties.<sup>98</sup>

A temporary bond created between a guest-stranger and his host was different from *xenia*. Fear of the stranger being a god-in-disguise compelled the host to comply with the unwritten law of hospitality and allow the stranger to be his guest.<sup>99</sup> Elizabeth Belfiore distinguishes the *xenos* from the “stranger toward whom one has no obligations and the temporary guest or host toward whom one has only temporary and limited duties.”<sup>100</sup> Even if preliminary steps towards *xenia* were performed, this did not yet initiate *xenia*, which must be accepted by both parties involved. One of the preliminaries towards “relations of solidarity”<sup>101</sup> was what was called *euergesia*. According to Gabriel Herman, *euergesia* could be “a well-timed service, the saving of one’s life, or a most valuable gift.”<sup>102</sup> The benefactor, or host, offers services to the recipient. This favor can be either “accepted or imposed”<sup>103</sup> and, immediately upon its receipt or bestowal, generates a debt owed by the guest to the host. The purpose of *euergesia* was often to secure loyalty and submission, or to make a stranger into a friend, and perhaps be able to turn temporary ties into more permanent ones.<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>98</sup> Belfiore, 2000, 64.

<sup>99</sup> The relationship between Odysseus and Eumaeus can be seen as a standard temporary relationship in which Eumaeus offers the simple hospitality without lingering obligations.

<sup>100</sup> Belfiore, 2000, 7.

<sup>101</sup> Herman 1987, 48.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Herman (1987, 48) states: “The essential features of the concept can be inferred from the concrete situations to which it was applied. Its built-in assumptions are a certain short-term sacrifice of self-interest on the part of the benefactor; a state of helplessness on the part of the beneficiary; and the establishment, in consequence of the interaction between these complementary opposites, of a sacred bond of trust between the partners. A sudden reversal of attitudes is presumed to take place thereby, the beneficiary repaying the benefaction with a display of gratitude (*charis*).”

This will be explored in the discussion of the hospitality interaction between Aeneas and Dido in the forthcoming chapter. A return could, like return of *xenia* favors, take different forms of repayment. In the



Synonymous with *euergesia* was the exchange of *pista*, also called *dexia*.<sup>105</sup>

Herman describes the bond created by the exchange of *pista* as one that exercises “a binding force upon the personality of the recipient.”<sup>106</sup> The *pista* gifts were themselves “imbued with the personality of the giver.”<sup>107</sup> The bond created by an exchange of *pista* had a ritual handclasp that signified the origination of this bond.<sup>108</sup> Herman writes: “Abstract concepts, personal attributes, and concrete objects, are thus conceived of as somehow sharing of a common substance.”<sup>109</sup> Oaths and libations were given to the gods so that the gods served as witness to the exchange of *pista*. The ritual handclasp, according to Herman, had two “universally accepted functions: it can serve either as a greeting sign, or as a symbol of solidarity - a pledge against resort to arms.”<sup>110</sup> Herman describes the exchange of *pista* as a pledge of faith not to do any harm. Once *pista* were exchanged, the partners became each other’s *pistoi*, and their relationship was one of fidelity.<sup>111</sup> The exchange of *pista* was still considered a preliminary and did not necessarily indicate a *xenia* relationship had been formed.

Herman makes clear that the good deeds done as *euergesia* were not in expectation of divine retribution or reward, but rather a “secular strategy in the conduct

---

case of *euergesia*, this may sometimes take the form of a dedication as a display of gratitude. Herman 1987, 48.

<sup>105</sup> “*Pista* were usually objects of little intrinsic value, but of immense symbolic significance.” Herman 1987, 50.

Peter Karavites (1991, 24) describes the *pista* in Hom., *Il.* 3.245: “*Pista* stressed the obligation to abide by the promises given.”

<sup>106</sup> Herman, 1987, 50.

<sup>107</sup> Herman, 1987, 50.

<sup>108</sup> Herman, 1987, 51. “For two clasping hands mutually nullify each other’s aggressive potential.”

<sup>109</sup> Herman, 1987, 50.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> “The gods, approached through oaths and libations, were called to bear witness that this transfusion of fidelity (principle of *pistis*) had indeed been effected.” Herman, 1987, 50.

of interpersonal relations.”<sup>112</sup> Frequently, *euergesia* were used to secure political loyalties by providing benefits the recipient could not fail to return with kindnesses. Herman cites a passage in Xenophon’s *Agésilas*,<sup>113</sup> stating that the act of receiving a gift rather than paying for a benefit bred loyalty, often without questions.<sup>114</sup>

Examples of *euergesia* can be found in Homer. When Odysseus, Ajax, and Phoenix make their embassy to Achilles, a discussion of *euergesia* ensues. Achilles states: “I see that I have no thanks for all my fighting.”<sup>115</sup> Yet, Achilles is being offered gift upon gift and favors by Agamemnon, including marriage to one of Agamemnon’s daughters. Phoenix intervenes<sup>116</sup> on behalf of the Acheaens, but Achilles again refuses to do a “favor for the son of Atreus.”<sup>117</sup> Although Achilles himself seems to seek recognition for his fighting and is referencing the fact that Briseis was taken away from him by Agamemnon, who felt he deserved an equal prize if he were to lose Chryseis to be returned back to her father. Agamemnon attempts to win Achilles with favors, an act which even Phoenix, at least at outset, bids Achilles assent to. When the embassy returns to Agamemnon, Odysseus must answer Agamemnon that Achilles “spurns both you and your gifts.”<sup>118</sup> Agamemnon is not able to secure loyalty from Achilles with any favors,

---

<sup>112</sup> “Never, in the concrete examples, is the hope of divine retribution attached to a good deed,” Herman 1987, 48-9.

<sup>113</sup> Xen., *Agis.* 4.4. “For had he been in the habit of selling his favours or taking payment for his benefactions, no one would have felt that he owed him anything. It is the recipient of unbought, gratuitous benefits who is always glad to oblige his benefactor in return for the kindness he has received and in acknowledgment of the trust reposed in him as a worthy and faithful guardian of a favour.”

<sup>114</sup> Herman also gives the example of the Macronians allowing the Greeks to pass through their territory. To assure the Macronians that they would not harm them, the two parties exchanged lances. Herman 1987, 50.

<sup>115</sup> Homer, *Illiad* 9.384.

<sup>116</sup> Homer, *Illiad* 9.363.

<sup>117</sup> Homer, *Illiad* 9.613 .

<sup>118</sup> Homer, *Illiad* 9.744 .

no matter how overwhelmingly generous. It is only the death of someone beloved to him that rouses Achilles to return to fight.<sup>119</sup>

The above-mentioned preliminary steps towards *xenia* establish “peaceful relations,”<sup>120</sup> yet do not in and of themselves establish a *xenia* relationship. The ritual initiating *xenia* had two essential elements, which Herman describes as “indispensable for the validity of the alliance.”<sup>121</sup> These were 1) the *declaration* and 2) the exchange of objects. The *declaration* was a speaking of the formation of a *xenos* relationship and a reciprocal acceptance of this relationship.<sup>122</sup> Herman notes instances of this in other cultures besides Greek.<sup>123</sup> The ritual handclasp was synonymous with a *declaration*, a final seal that the *declaration* and all that followed were binding. A *declaration* was most often made face-to-face but could be valid through the “intermediary of messengers.”<sup>124</sup> A *declaration* was also made when *xenia* was renewed between parties who acknowledged the hereditary *xenia* between their ancestors. The renewal offered a moment in which the two parties revisited the exchanges between their ancestors, allowing a literary reexamination of previous exchanges in connection with the exchange between the renewing parties. Unlike *euergesia* in which the good deed or virtuous act

---

<sup>119</sup> Achilles, in Book IX, stated he will not reenter battle until fire reaches the ships of his own men, the myrmidons. Yet, Hektor chooses to fight on the battlefield and holds back the burning of the ships. It is in this moment that Patroclus meets his death at the hand of Hektor, in Book XVI, that Achilles is roused to battle by the fire of the warrior Hektor.

<sup>120</sup> Herman, 1987, 58.

<sup>121</sup> Herman, 1987, 59.

<sup>122</sup> Gibson (1999, 189) states: “The guest’s revelation of his name also allows the host the possibility of claiming reciprocal hospitality from the guest at some point in the future.”

<sup>123</sup> Herman (1987, 59) cites an example that illustrates the *declaration* in perfectly clear dialogue: “I make you my *xenos*.”

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

was imposed upon the recipient,<sup>125</sup> in *xenia*, both parties agree and verbally acknowledge that they have entered into a relationship of reciprocity. Fred Naiden points out that the relationship of *xenia* is symmetrical.<sup>126</sup>

The objects exchanged in solidifying a *xenia* relationship differed from the *pista* that accompanied pledges. The exchange of objects in a *xenia* relationship was called *xénia*, with the accent denoting that this word meant the objects exchanged. The *pista* were meant as a pledge of good faith and, as stated, often served to solidify a temporary bond or signify the agreement to meet a need. The exchange of objects followed the *declaration* and was, if *pista* had been previously exchanged, the second exchange of gifts made between parties. The *xénia* (in Greek) or *dora* (in Latin) were valuable and served as the beginning of a relationship of ongoing mutuality. The *xénia* were not only exchanged at the initiation of the relationship but were exchanged repeatedly throughout the ongoing relationship. Hereditary *xenoi* often exchanged *xénia* as an expression of the continuation of their inherited *xenia* relationship. As Herman writes, “the exchange was not an end in itself, but a means to an end.”<sup>127</sup> The exchange of objects, the second essential element of the *xenia* ritual, was a ritual act that required immediate reciprocity.<sup>128</sup> A gift had to be followed promptly by a counter-gift, “rather than being delayed.”<sup>129</sup> The exchange of objects was immediate, symbolic, and the histories of

---

<sup>125</sup> Herman (1987, 48) notes that *euergesia* was secular and strategic rather than altruistic. I purport as well that it may be a reaction by one who performs a necessary or life-saving act and then seeks earthly recognition for this has turned his action into *euergesia*.

<sup>126</sup> Naiden, 2006, 10.

<sup>127</sup> Herman, 1987, 61.

<sup>128</sup> Herman (1987), Donlan (1989), and Belfiore (2000) all agree on this point and express it in their papers. Gibson does also, but his depictions of what constitutes these objects, discussed as gift and counter-gift is fluid.

<sup>129</sup> Herman, 1987, 60.

ancestral relationships were often acknowledged. The objects were to be commensurate rather than one surpassing the other in value.<sup>130</sup>

Walter Donlan states that the obligations of “guest friendship” were “sacred,” but sometimes “operated only intermittently; repayment of the favors became due only on a return visit, which might be years later.”<sup>131</sup> He also points out that there was no way to actually enforce the obligations. Much like the implicit law of Zeus to be hospitable to a stranger, laws of *xenia*, although well understood in their components, were not written laws. A host may give without receiving a balanced return in the future. The norm was for those of equal status and wealth to become “exchange partners.”<sup>132</sup> Donlan points out that personal interests or networks of *xenia* relationships often conflicted with state relationships as the Greek cities formed. Upon the departure of a guest-friend (*xenos*), the host was required to supply parting gifts, expecting to receive equal or better treatment upon his or her visit as a guest where he or she would be hosted by his or her *xenos*. The host had much to gain by giving generously as his reputation benefited.

*Xenos* relationships brought benefit not only during the visit, but the *xenoi* were expected to also carry out their obligations at a distance.<sup>133</sup> The host also owned the debt of the guest.<sup>134</sup> An overly generous host could be seen as giving out of a need for a quality that he or she perceived the guest possessed. This generosity was often an acknowledgement of the guest’s esteemed status as “the more valuable friend.”<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup> Herman, 1987, 61.

<sup>131</sup> Donlan, 1989, 6.

<sup>132</sup> Donlan, 1989, 7.

<sup>133</sup> Belfiore (2000, 8) states, “*Xenoi* must engage in reciprocal benefits if they are to become and remain *xenoi*.”

<sup>134</sup> Donlan, 1989, 8.

<sup>135</sup> Donlan, 1989, 10.

Although it was considered unjust not to reciprocate to the previous host on his or her return visit, the laws of the community or state did not govern the bonds of *xenia*. By removing the ability of either party to “rely on appeals to external authority,”<sup>136</sup> the *xenia* relationship is in ideal literary vehicle for Virgil to put into relief what he believes true authority is. As Latinus welcomes the Trojans and their king Aeneas, who has yet to shake the hand of the Latin king, he states, “If I can read the future with any truth, I welcome him as ours.”<sup>137</sup> This *xenia* relationship will become the one in which Aeneas embodies the ideal of *xenia* and Virgil’s ideal for a Roman future.

Lastly, the elements of feasting or taking of oaths were optional aspects that may or may not accompany a *xenia* initiation. Odysseus laments that he did not share table with his *xenos*, Iphitus, before his death. Herman states that the sharing of food at the same table became a “metaphor for the sacred nature of the bond,”<sup>138</sup> and he cites that feasting came to be regarded highly in “the courts of autocratic rulers.”<sup>139</sup> Like the oath, the sharing of the food and participation in the same libations at that table were aspects that purported divine witness. Thereby, an act of breaching obligations of *xenia* could be considered or condemned as a crime against the gods, but the real punishment that a guest who did not meet his or her return obligations received was that those who heard of the breach condemned it.<sup>140</sup>

*Zeus Xenios* was the god of strangers. As mentioned in the discussion of the feasting and oaths above, the act of hospitality was known to be witnessed by the gods.

---

<sup>136</sup> Herman, 1987, 310.

<sup>137</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 7.315-16.

<sup>138</sup> Herman, 1987, 66.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> Herman, 1987, 127.

Often providers of hospitality did so under the fear of *Zeus Xenios*. For, the guest may be a god in disguise. As Julian Pitt-Rivers explains, a stranger under the law of Zeus gained priority and was connected to be sacred. Rivers explains this as a “consideration of the association between the divinity and the unknown.” The mystery of the gods inspired fear and reverence.<sup>141</sup> The law of hospitality as illustrated in Homeric examples frequently follows the order of: arrival, description of surroundings, host offers a seat to the guest, feasting, identification of the guest, exchange of information, entertainment, offer of a bed, detainment of the guest by the host, giving of departing gifts, and departure of the guest.<sup>142</sup> In a Homeric hospitality relationship, a guest was not asked to reveal his or her identity until after the guest was given some basic welcome and offered a seat. In other words, the host had no way of knowing from the outset if a guest was a god or goddess in disguise.

Peleus is rewarded by Zeus with a “legal marriage to Thetis”<sup>143</sup> for refusing the advances of Hippolyta, wife of his host King Acastas. Peleus’ fear of *Zeus Xenios* kept him from acting on these advances. Jacob Stern states that in Nemean V, “the revitalization of Peleus’ heroic stature was defined primarily in terms of *xenia* and his relationship to the sea.”<sup>144</sup> Fear of angering the gods kept Peleus from committing a breach of *xenia*. This is significant because the rewards are brought from Zeus. The wedding of Peleus and Thetis was witnessed by the gods who also brought gifts, including armor eventually passed down to Achilles and two divine horses. Although this was to be a happy moment, what is recalled about the wedding is the inscription on the

---

<sup>141</sup> Pitt-Rivers, 2012, 507.

<sup>142</sup> Gibson, 1999, 186.

<sup>143</sup> Stern, 1971, 172.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

apple of discord thrown by the uninvited Eris. It's receipt by Venus is never witnessed, although Paris' choice renders her the rightful owner of the object as gift. As Virgil will play with the idea of dedication and recipient throughout the *Aeneid*, the incidence of *xenia* between Peleus and the gods as well as the precipitant events are essential to understanding the full connections between Aeneas' *xenia* relationships in the *Aeneid*.

*Exemplary Xenia in Homer: The meeting of Telemachus and Nestor*

In Books I-IV of the *Odyssey*, when Telemachus visits Nestor in Pylos, the parties execute a paradigmatic relationship of *xenia* between host and guest. Within this hospitality relationship, the son comes to seek word of his father and receives hospitality from one of his father's friends. He leaves having formed a *xenia* relationship with Nestor. Although Nestor, his son, and his people do not know the identity of Telemachus when he arrives, he is treated according to the customs of host and guest. The only person from Ithaca that knows of Telemachus' journey is his nurse. Before he leaves, he speaks with the leader of the suitors, Antinous who grasps his hand and attempts to persuade Telemachus to dine with them. He offers to provide a ship and a crew for Telemachus as well. Yet, Telemachus withdraws his hand from the grasp of Antinous rejecting his proposed pact, and has his nurse assist him in gathering supplies from the storeroom and gathers his crew with the help of Athena.<sup>145</sup>

Telemachus and Mentos arrive in Pylos as the sun is rising for the day. Homer describes the surroundings to the reader. When the two men arrive on their ship, the people are sacrificing bulls to Poseidon. After Telemachus' brief hesitation, Athena

---

<sup>145</sup> Hom., *Ody.* 2.335-428.



assures him that he will be able to find the words to address Nestor. Telemachus and Athena/Mentes approach the place where Nestor is and “all came crowding down, waving them on in welcome, urging them to sit.”<sup>146</sup> This is the beginning of the proper form of the hospitality relationship. The participants themselves even remark on the proper following of customs.<sup>147</sup> The hands of the strangers are grasped by Pisistratus grasps the hands of the strangers, offers a seat and share of the banquet to the guests, and passes a golden cup. Pisistratus makes sure to pass the cup first to Mentes, as he is elder than Telemachus. He asks his guests to make a libation.<sup>148</sup> As Nestor’s son urges Mentes to pass the cup next to Telemachus, he asserts that this is “all according to ancient custom.”<sup>149</sup>

This feasting has brought the guests to the next step in the hospitality encounter. The host Nestor narrates this next step when he states: “Now’s the time, now they’ve enjoyed their meal, to probe our guests and find out who they are. Strangers---friends, who are you?”<sup>150</sup> Telemachus begins the next step, the exchange of information, by answering Nestor’s question. He entreats his host for information about his missing father. In so doing, he evokes the words and deeds of Odysseus as evidence of past *xenia* between the two parties. He states, “...if ever my father, lord Odysseus, pledged you his

---

<sup>146</sup> *Hom., Ody.* 3.39-40

<sup>147</sup> This self-conscious assessment of hospitality practices will also be seen in the hospitality encounters in the *Aeneid* albeit often analyzing the nature of the reciprocity of the ties.

<sup>148</sup> A libation was offered to the gods so that they bore witness to the “transfusion of fidelity” exchanged between the parties. Herman, 1987, 50. In Book III of the *Odyssey*, the Pylions are also in the midst of their feast to Poseidon and include the strangers in their honoring of the god.

<sup>149</sup> *Hom. Ody.*, 3.51

<sup>150</sup> *Hom. Ody.*, 3.77-79

word and made it good in action....”<sup>151</sup> Telemachus asks Nestor for further details on the story of Agamemnon, and Nestor responds by elaborating on the details of the story.

Upon the ending of the story, more libations are poured to the gods. These were shared prayers to not only Poseidon, but all the gods.<sup>152</sup> The oaths and prayers were accompanied by the libations. The guest-friends pledge oaths to each other and the gods. The libations are intended to garner security and protection. As Telemachus and Mentos head towards their anchored ship to sleep, Nestor acts the proper host and offers for the guest to bed at his palace. Nestor makes a *declaration* of their friendship at the moment that he offers a bed to his guests. He states:

No, by god the true son of my good friend Odysseus  
won't bed down on a ship's deck, not while I'm alive  
or my sons are left at home to host our guests,  
whoever comes to our palace, newfound friends. Homer, *Odyssey* 3.395-398

Nestor has just made a verbal *declaration* of their ritualized friendship, or *xenia*, and Telemachus accepts and Athena, as Mentos, affirms his status verbally. She states, “Telemachus should oblige you.... seeing as my friend is now your guest.”<sup>153</sup> The goddess then suggests the gifts that Nestor might give Telemachus when he departs.

The men are in awe when Athena transforms and departs as an eagle. At this time, Nestor reaches out and grasps the hand of Telemachus. This is an element of their friendship expressed at the moment that the goddess is recognized. At this moment, Nestor makes a pledge of sacrifice to Athena, “a yearling heifer broad in the brow, unbroken, never yoked by men. I'll offer it up to you---I'll sheathe its horns in gold.”<sup>154</sup> In Nestor's home, the *xenoi* make more libations and prayers. The wine is served with its

---

<sup>151</sup> Hom. *Ody.*, 3.109-110. Also see footnote 208 on the “if ever” construct.

<sup>152</sup> Hom. *Ody.*, 3.374

<sup>153</sup> Hom., *Ody.* 3.411.

<sup>154</sup> Hom., *Ody.* 3.427-9. This is also heard in the *Iliad* by Diomedes.

seal being broken that very night by the server. Telemachus sleeps near Pisistratus in the home of his host.

Feasting, prayers, and oaths continue the next day outside the palace, on a bench before the palace doors. Nestor holds his scepter as he orders the sacrifice and subsequent feast. This feast is in honor of Athena, and the goddess herself attends her rites.<sup>155</sup> In the rites for Athena, Telemachus is seated next to Nestor. Nestor has provided a quick return to Athena who has shown herself to the Pylian king. He instructs them to quickly fetch a heifer, find the goldsmith to sheathe its horns, and for the servants to prepare the feast. They offer the thighbones wrapped in fat to the goddess and share the prime cuts of meats in a feast.<sup>156</sup> Homer notes here that this practice of offering the thighbones was customary. With Athena in attendance of her own rites, the *xenoi* share reciprocity with the goddess. As Parker states that “the gods can indeed be brought into a relationship of reciprocal benefit with the worshipper.”<sup>157</sup>

Following this feast, Nestor quickly follows the instructions he has received to offer particular gifts to Telemachus. At this point, the king offers parting gifts to his *xenos*, a team of horses hitched to a chariot driven by his traveling companion and *xenos*, Pisistratus. These are the final aspects of a proper hospitality relationship as described above. The host supplies the parting gift and the guest departs. The relationship becomes multi-generational as Pisistratus departs with Telemachus for Sparta. Nestor and his

---

<sup>155</sup> In this, the protection of Athena is reciprocal with the sacrifice.

<sup>156</sup> Hom., *Ody.* 3.510. The thighbones were offered to the gods since the day of fire in which Prometheus had swapped the prime meats for the fats. As all that was done on the day of fire was set, this custom remained.

<sup>157</sup> Parker, 1998, 114.

children expect to be provided with equal or better treatment if they are ever to arrive in Ithaca. The relationship of *xenia* has been established and is ongoing.

For the purpose of this study, the conventions of ritualized friendships as they were conceived of in the Homeric era will be used as the standard upon which Virgil bases his hospitality encounters. These standard elements are also often employed for literary purposes by both Homer and Virgil. In hospitality encounters that became *xenia* relationships, exchanges of reciprocity were expected.<sup>158</sup> Herman writes: “A system of thought that assumes such equation faces a difficulty when confronted with departure from the norm.”<sup>159</sup> How the poets treat this difficulty—whether by “resort[ing] to divine intervention”<sup>160</sup> in the case of Homer or, resolution through the actions of and acts that center on the hero in the case of Virgil—provides a narrative or poetic reciprocal exchange in each hospitality relationship depicted, whether the perceived value or reliability of a return is readily apparent or not.

The obligations of *xenia*, although outside the state, also carry with them a strong sense of duty towards the bond. Yet, does the bond require a “certain course of action”<sup>161</sup> by the guest? *Xenia* brought together strangers and people from different lands that may not have cooperated with each other otherwise. It was not always the case that *xenoi* were both of the same social status or rank, yet this was most often the case; the obligations

---

<sup>158</sup> Herman, 1987, 60-61. In regards to the exchange of objects known as *xénia* or *dora*, that established the ties, Herman writes: “[G]ift and counter-gift were expected to be commensurate, not surpassing each other in value. Indeed, the idea of counter-giving was expressed by words implying reciprocity: what one received and what one gave were expected to be equal.”

<sup>159</sup> Herman, 1987, 61.

<sup>160</sup> Herman, 1987, 61.

<sup>161</sup> Herman (1987: 119-120) cites examples here in which *xenia* was invoked to “advocate for a certain course of action.” This paper seeks more to explore how the obligations of a *xenos* could be fulfilled in many different ways and therefore the host or, in the case of Dido, hostess was unable to dictate precisely how their *xenos* may reciprocate.

were beyond the simple necessities provided to traveling strangers. The carrying out of *xenia* reciprocities could have an effect on the general course of events or the poetic or narrative course.<sup>162</sup> The unique aspect of *xenia* and the fact that “actions performed in the name of *xenia* were not limited to any particular sphere of human activity”<sup>163</sup> has interesting implications for the reading of the *Aeneid* through the bond first formed between Aeneas and the departed Dido. As both guest and host depart after the formation of their bond, Aeneas to fulfill his established destiny, and Dido to her death, it can also be asked who provided the parting gift and who, throughout the poem, provides the reciprocal return.

---

---

<sup>162</sup> Herman 1987: 121.

<sup>163</sup> Herman 1987, 128

## Chapter 2.

### Aeneas and Dido

The bond between Aeneas and Dido is symbolic of the enmity between Rome and Carthage. The impossibility of a relationship between Aeneas and his men and Dido and her Tyrians has already been predetermined. Despite this historical certainty, Aeneas succeeds in forming a bond of *xenia* with Dido for which he will provide a return. This return itself, as will be shown, is also symbolic. Initiated in the opening of the work, the hospitality between Aeneas and Dido is both plausible and implausible. Virgil's use of this relationship is to build the tension for the reader who will need to face unknown hosts with the hero Aeneas. Asking why the relationship fails begs the question of how it could have succeeded. Virgil masterfully sets up a structure in the narrative by which past events are examined through the ideal of hospitality. Aeneas, who is throughout the work the guest and host par excellence, will provide a return to Dido in the last part of the book regardless of their arguments and misunderstandings in Carthage.

Virgil uses what is left between the two parties at the end of the Trojans' stay in Carthage to testify to the truth in the ideal of *xenia*. The sword that Aeneas leaves in Dido's chamber as well as the cloak that Dido weaves for Aeneas gain symbolic and narrative significance later in the work. In Book XI, Aeneas brings out "twin robes, stiff with purple and gold braid, that Dido of Sidon made with her own hands once, just for

Aeneas, loving every stitch of the work.”<sup>164</sup> He covers the body of his friend Pallas with one of the robes. This action connects with a moment in Homer’s *Iliad* in which the body of Hector is covered with a robe that was part of the ransom for his body brought by King Priam for Achilles. The responsibility that the two men in the *Iliad* hold to each other is ordained by the gods, but the actions taken to return the body of Hector are necessary mortal actions. From the priceless ransom, Achilles’ heralds leave two capes and a shirt for shrouding Hector’s body. The bond of *xenia* requires mortals to act on not only their own behalf, but on behalf of their *xenos*. The shared ransom here diffuses the enmity between Priam and Achilles, if only until war breaks out again.

Aeneas’ object of return to Dido in Book XII is a gift that was given to him by the gods. While this sword is narratively symbolic, it is also symbolic of the lasting nature of a *xenia* relationship sanctioned by the gods. In Book VIII, Aeneas’ mother asks her husband Hephaestus to make armor for her son. This divine armor is what he takes into the final battle with Turnus. Dido takes her life with the *Trojan* sword of Aeneas in Book IV.<sup>165</sup> According to Roman superstition, the arms of an enemy were burned rather than taken.<sup>166</sup> Dido burns the *Trojan* sword, but the divinely made sword Aeneas slays Turnus with marks the beginning of his building of a peaceful city. It is precisely the plunder stolen from Pallas that catches Aeneas’ eye at the end of the epic and causes him to kill his enemy. In Book XII, Turnus fights for a takeover of the Latin kingdom through

---

<sup>164</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.83-86.

<sup>165</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.784.

<sup>166</sup> Elizabeth Henry writes, “Spoils taken from an enemy will inevitably carry associations that may be significant in narrative, and we have seen that they may be used by the gods as instruments to set catastrophe in motion. Epic heroes of course know this, though in Homer their desire for personal glory leads them (more often than not) to use or display their spoils as Hector did and take the risk of retribution. The Romans were in general more cautious. According to their view, spoils should be either destroyed or dedicated to a god. (Henry, 1989, 21)

marriage to the only heir of Latinus, his daughter. Yet Aeneas' proposal, like the honor he promises Dido, allows the Latins to retain their lands and customs.<sup>167</sup> Aeneas cannot respond to Dido because she seeks to incorporate his Trojans into the Carthaginian enterprise. The attempt of Dido as enemy mirrors the fear that many had of Roman incorporation after defeat. Through the objects exchanged between the two parties, Aeneas speaks with his actions; the sword used to slay Turnus is a return to all of his hosts and a *declaration* to the Romans for their future built on a peaceful cooperation between parties. To understand this as a whole, we must examine each of the hospitality relationships in detail.

The first four books of the *Aeneid* depict Aeneas finding his voice as a leader. As George Howe writes, these books encompass “the poet’s method of revealing the mission to the hero himself.”<sup>168</sup> The poet states the overall mission of the hero and contrasts it with the conflicts that ensue from the first hospitality relationship he has formed. The contrasting objectives of guest and host lead to a transformation of both characters. Each of them is more fully able to articulate their mission and intention. Rather than resulting in a battle or an imperialistic takeover, the two protagonists of the first four books instead depart leaving between them a number of speeches and actions that will reverberate and thread throughout the epic. After offering hospitality to the Trojans on her own terms Dido is exquisitely duped into believing that her union with Aeneas is a marriage, while Aeneas is rattled away from his sense of dependency on his father Anchises’ identity. He

---

<sup>167</sup> When Aeneas greets Dido, he promises her that no matter where he settles, he will honor her name. (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.729)

<sup>168</sup> Howe 1922, 31.



begins to form his own perceptions and take initiatives that will garner the terms upon which he founds Lavinium.

Long term cooperation and reciprocity is impossible at every moment of the meeting between the Carthaginians and the Trojans as future Romans, and yet Aeneas verbally offers Dido a promise of a proper return before he enters into her royal house.<sup>169</sup> The return that Aeneas promises is stripped of any attachments to kingdom or even kinship. When Aeneas reaches Carthage, Troy has been burned to the ground. What remains for Aeneas to offer his host as a site of return for the hospitality she is offering him is the home that he states he will found in the future. His father, whom Aeneas himself carried out of the burning city, has not survived the journey that landed the Trojans on the shores of Carthage, and this is Aeneas' first hospitality relationship entered into without the watchful gaze of his father, Anchises.<sup>170</sup>

Aeneas is not seeking to barter his way into a relationship. All of his offerings to his host are in the words he speaks to her at the initiation of the relationship, and they reflect the highest ideal of *xenia*. Virgil's Aeneas is not only a model guest, but a worthy *xenia* partner with whom to sustain a relationship of ongoing reciprocity. During the course of the relationship, libations are poured to the gods, the Trojans and Tyrians partake in a feast, and gifts are exchanged between both parties. For Dido, all of this

---

<sup>169</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.631.

<sup>170</sup> It is interesting to note that Anchises is often misguided about the future destination of the Trojan exiles. He is depicted over and over as interpreting signs, but the final challenge to the reader is to associate Anchises' statements with a sign that has a meaning other than the one he seemingly explicitly states. In the final time Aeneas encounters his father in Book VI in the Underworld, the reader will need to see the signs from the eye of Aeneas, as Virgil has instructed through depicting Aeneas' viewing the murals in Book I.

constitutes what she believes is the Trojan prince's assent to her offer for the people to become one on her terms.

When Dido finds out he is leaving, what she believed the relationship to be and what it actually is collide. Aeneas remains the same as he has been since the beginning of the relationship, but Dido feels betrayed, still seeing the relationship in terms of favors and exchanges. In hospitality relationships, a gift was expected to be returned by a counter-gift of equal value. A return gift may be due upon a return visit, but neither Aeneas nor Dido has a place where they can offer a return. This future "place" becomes the substance or expression of the return. In the final denouement of the interaction between host and guest, Aeneas still holds to his *declaration* as he departs, stating his position as clearly as he stated his offer of friendship at the beginning of the meeting. Yet Dido insists on this return occurring in the Underworld and commits suicide.

Immediately before her death, she sends her sister to speak to Aeneas on her behalf, and the queen asks Anna to seek from Aeneas a favor with the stipulation that he grant it now.<sup>171</sup> She tells her sister, Anna, to give Aeneas a message that she hopes will entreat him to respond. Dido states, "...I will repay with full interest in my death."<sup>172</sup> Virgil's language has made meaning out of the impossible, speaking to life Dido's ability to pay her *xenos* back through her death.

This chapter will show that Virgil sets up an ideal of hospitality and exchange between Aeneas and Dido and champions the virtuous adherence to it despite external pressures to make it fit into a prescribed mold. Sustaining *xenia* in the face of temporally incongruent communications is the poet's idea of the true nature of victory. The poet's

---

<sup>171</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.548.

<sup>172</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.535-6.

lengthy depiction of the fight for this ideal calls into question the depth and longevity of these values (of hospitality) as simply subverted to the state, and the state's difficulties in full adoption of the will of the gods. Virgil draws the budding Carthaginian city as inhabited by Dido in a sympathetic light. Virgil draws a parallel between Aeneas and Scipio when he depicts Aeneas shedding a tear at the sight of the artwork being created on the temple in Carthage. When Carthage finally fell in 146 B.C., Appian recounts that Scipio was said to have openly shed tears for his enemy's fortune and privately expressed to Polybius that he feared the same may happen to Rome one day. By Virgil's time, Rome's leaders' alignment with the story of Aeneas and Venus as their divine ancestors had been ingrained in the visual imagination. In reading Aeneas' apprehension of the Trojan men going to battle, it will become clear that Aeneas' mission is to address this fear of the future with action that is more than symbolic. Aeneas is the full epitome of a devout and sustainable manner of relationship-building, Roman colonization through treaties and relationships of cooperation that leave other cultures to retain their rights and identity. Virgil warns his readers of trusting in the alternative mode of incorporation, especially when it threatens Trojan/Roman identity and the integrity of its outward symbols. Dido makes the mistake of trusting to her perception of the image of Aeneas in the contemporary depiction of Aeneas as Trojan warrior. Virgil's Aeneas infuses his image with more than this connotation, creating a methodology for a dynamic viewing of representational material.

*Aeneas and His Men on the Seven Ships*

When the Trojans land on the shores of Libya, a land where Dido herself has only recently arrived, Virgil depicts Aeneas and the men in the party of ships still accompanying him landing on the shore and sharing a meal. There is a stark contrast between Aeneas' behavior in a role of host to his men and Dido's actions as she simultaneously makes overtures to the party of Trojans who wander into Carthage proper after they become separated from Aeneas through the mechanism of Aeolus' storm. A reader may make sense of the events on the beachhead as a kind of hospitality relationship enacted between Aeneas and his men, in which he plays host on the outskirts of a land not his own. The contrast between his behavior and that of the Punic queen is intentional. Dido's offer to the Trojan men she first encounters is intended to fold the Trojans into her kingdom rather than offer the hospitality that is an unspoken law of the gods. Immediately, the reader sees through the hyperbolic language of "equal terms" being offered to men who are so clearly at a disadvantage in their vulnerability.<sup>173</sup>

The men of the surviving seven ships perform the preliminaries of hospitality with the land. Aeneas and his party of men weathered the storm and are depicted as pulling their remaining seven warships (1.171) into harbor.<sup>174</sup> A fire is lit and, as if the land were their host and they her guest, the Trojans "set out food, the bounty of Ceres, drenched in sea-salt, Ceres' utensils too...."<sup>175</sup> The poet sets up a relationship in which the men honor the goddess Ceres by gratefully dining together and giving thanks for her bounty. While the men set their meal out, Aeneas climbs one of the rocks and looks out over the sea for

---

<sup>173</sup> This is again a reference to the attempts to make right the fratricide of Remus. Serv. *ad* 276.

<sup>174</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.171.

<sup>175</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.208-211.

any sign of his missing comrades.<sup>176</sup> Rather than approaching or departing ships, Aeneas sees instead stags on the shore. He kills one for each of his ships. The men share wine they have been given by Acestes before departing Sicily.

Aeneas tasks himself with firing up his men to make their way to Latium. These men consider their other comrades lost. Virgil describes Aeneas as, “Sick with mounting cares, he assumes a look of hope and keeps his anguish buried in his heart.”<sup>177</sup> Aeneas has just spoken to his men and told them that the hard times that they are experiencing may even be looked upon in the future with joy if they maintain their courage; this is the mission Aeneas sets for himself as their leader. After the men have satisfied their need for food and drink, they begin to discuss the probable fates of the men that they believe to be lost at sea. The act of revealing one’s identity to the host would fall here in the order of events for a hospitality encounter.<sup>178</sup> Here, the Trojan men are mourning the possible loss of their fellow Trojans, and the tales they tell consist of speculation on what might have happened to these men, expressing some hope that they are still alive.<sup>179</sup>

---

<sup>176</sup> This position of lookout will be one where we will later see Apollo tensing the quiver over the ensuing battle in Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.825. This position of lookout is one where we will see the heralds observe the approaching men from Aeneas’ envoy seeking to build a relationship with the Latins. This position of lookout is one in which the Palladium may be set inside a city for the purpose of its safety. It is a position from which the watchman in Agamemnon awaited the return of his king. It is a position from which Dido will watch the Trojans depart from her shores. Virgil is also foreshadowing the future position of the augurs on the Janiculum.

<sup>177</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.245-6.

<sup>178</sup> In Homeric encounters, this is often accompanied by a long tale, such as Odysseus’ stay in Phaeacia. Odysseus’ tale consists of recalling to his hosts failed or temporary hospitality meetings he experienced on his journey before arriving in Phaeacia.

<sup>179</sup> Virgil has made a connection between the sorrow Odysseus felt in hearing the stories of those who died and fought in the battles of Troy and Aeneas’ men mourning for their lost comrades. Odysseus lost all his men; Aeneas’ men all return (except for one). The song at Aeneas’ dinner with the Tyrians is one of joy; the song that the Phaeacian Bard played was one of sorrow. Both epics discuss the value of sorrow and mourning in different ways. The intermediary in the *Odyssey*, Telemachus, who decides to tell his mother that this song is what the bard will sing is akin to the intermediary in the *Aeneid* being Ascanius as the future of Rome through Venus’ intermediary.

In a sense, gifts have been exchanged between Aeneas and the men in his landing party. Aeneas acts as host and provides for his men. There is no veiled symbolic value to discern. The gifts exchanged consist of gratitude on the part of the men and the essentials provided by Ceres. Aeneas' killing of the stags is not in excess or for sport, it is to feed his men, a responsibility deeply ingrained into the Homeric code of hospitality. Virgil will use the metaphor of hunting in these books to convey meaning and sets Aeneas up as an honorable hunter who respects the laws of the goddess Diana, further contributing to his role as an exemplar of hospitality.<sup>180</sup> The wine and grain that men partake of are property of Aeneas left from their host Acestes, and this helps to set the precedent of usefulness of departing gifts that will become important going forward. As the epic progresses, the reader will be tasked with assessing and connecting the symbolic and use value of the departing gifts bestowed by both parties in the exchange between Aeneas and Dido.

The overall message conveyed by the landing of Aeneas and his men on the coast is one of hope. Aeneas himself may not fully feel this internally, but he proves himself a true leader in his actions and displays a readiness to initiate a new pact between leader and people. Of primary importance is that he assumes the role of host to his people until this role is undermined by Dido. Throughout the epic, Aeneas searches for a land that will allow him to execute the role of host in a manner that will not subvert Trojan identity and a partner who will likewise honor the Trojans. This is essential in Virgil's

---

<sup>180</sup> There is some distinction made between Artemis and Diana. The Greeks were not allowed to even approach Troy before making a sacrifice to Artemis after Agamemnon offended her by killing a deer sacred to her. In this complex sense, these deer on the beach that Aeneas sees are conflated with the ships approaching Troy. This, and his respect for his men, already paint him as a king whose values differ with those of Agamemnon.

development of the character of Aeneas and his mission. Thus, Howe's characterization of Aeneas as a leader whose destiny needs to be revealed to him by the poet is accurate. "He was a man of destiny, but rather in a sense of a perfect instrument than a molder of destiny."<sup>181</sup> When the Trojans themselves finally cease to be called "Trojans," it is an expression of their unity with the peoples of Italy and the lands of their ancestors rather than an assimilation to any other culture.

### *Aeneas and Achates Approach*

At the same time as Aeneas hosts the men who rode out the storm with him, those Trojans who were blown off course by the same storm have similarly washed ashore near Carthage. This group of sailors makes their own preparations to meet the Phoenician queen. This group of Trojans, led by Ilioneus, find themselves in the precarious position of begging for even basic resources, yet in their begging they hold fast to an ideal of hospitality and give up nothing. Their mention of Aeneas softens the Queen, yet her hunger for association with the identity of Aeneas mimics the Roman use of his Trojan greatness. Were Aeneas not to interrupt the landing party, his men may have found themselves literally fighting for resources that were due them by the law of hospitality. Whereas Aeneas' hosting of his men on the shores naturally involves the principle of hospitality and sharing, Ilioneus' men must barter Aeneas' name and qualities to receive supplies and avoid being attacked where they land. Aeneas intercedes on behalf of his good name, and the meaning behind his good name will become a point of tension when Aeneas departs.

---

<sup>181</sup> Howe, 1922, 31.

As a preliminary to this encounter with Dido, however, Aeneas meets his divine mother. The reader rejoins Aeneas the morning following his meal with his men as he prepares to head inland and scout out evidence of civilization. Before he encounters Dido, Virgil interrupts the action to reveal the conditions under which the Trojans will fulfill their destiny. As Aeneas journeys through the wilderness, an excited Venus encounters her son. Venus crosses his path and divulges some of the details of Dido's past, details about which Aeneas never tells his host he is aware. In fact, he never mentions these details to Dido at any time during his visit. In the meantime, Virgil foreshadows the problematic hospitality of the Carthaginians by asserting that it is only the presence of Mercury that makes the land hospitable to the Trojan refugees. In order to prepare the way for Aeneas and his men to enter Carthage, Jupiter sends Mercury to “make the lands and the new stronghold, Carthage, open in welcome to the Trojans.”<sup>182</sup>

To continue to prepare the reader and condition his expectations, Virgil provides a description of the surroundings.<sup>183</sup> He includes the untilled land, as well as the temple to Juno Queen Dido builds.<sup>184</sup> The poet describes the temple itself in great detail while the rest of the city, its walls, royal halls, and heights, are more generalized.<sup>185</sup> Aeneas' viewing of the temple is a key element of the hospitality encounter. He experiences both awe and sorrow at what he sees. His response is not simply to marvel at the grandeur of the city before him. He does so at first when he states to his companion Achates, “How

---

<sup>182</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.355.

<sup>183</sup> Gibson, 1999, 186.

<sup>184</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.372.

<sup>185</sup> When Homer describes the surroundings Telemachus encounters in Book 4 of the *Odyssey*, the young prince marvels at the materiality of the palace of Menelaus and Helen in Sparta: “...that magnificent palace. Both struck by the sight, they marveled up and down the house of the warlord dear to Zeus...illustrious Menelaus.” (4.50-53) Virgil's focus is on the content and perception of the artwork on the temple walls and subsequently on Dido herself as she appears.



lucky they are,’ Aeneas cries, gazing up at the city’s heights, ‘their walls are rising now!’”<sup>186</sup> Yet, when he sees the walls not of the city, but of the temple itself in detail, he voices an intimation that his mission is not complete.<sup>187</sup> He turns to Achates and states, “‘Even here, merit will have its true reward...even here the world is a world of tears and the burdens of mortality touch the heart.’”<sup>188</sup>

The location that sparks awe and sorrow in Aeneas is a building, one that foreshadows the many monuments in Rome and its territories that celebrated great deeds of war. Virgil makes the divine space of a temple in honor of Juno a no man’s land that the hero enters with his future Carthaginian host, Dido. Before he appears in her presence, he experiences the aggression from Rome’s future foe, seen in the art on the walls that celebrates a Greek victory. Ilioneus’ band of Trojans simultaneously encounter the same hostility in their approach to the queen.

The murals on the wall of the temple in Carthage help to predict the failed outcome of any relationship between the Trojans and the Carthaginians. Aeneas’ viewing of the walls is an *ekphrasis*, the first in the *Aeneid*. The murals are images of the Trojan War, and in many ways are not favorable to the Trojans. Dido builds a temple depicting the death of Hector and Priam suffering at the loss of his son, victory for the Greeks.

---

<sup>186</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.528-30.

<sup>187</sup> Putnam deems the murals in Carthage, the sculptures of Daedalus in Book 6, and the shield of Aeneas in Book 8 as ekphrases. He also discusses Cloanthus’ cloak in Book 5, the shield of Turnus in Book 7, and the sword belt of Pallas in Book 10. The murals connect to the hospitality relationships in which Aeneas plays a preeminent role via his presence in the ekphrasis itself. As Michael Putnam writes, “[T]his is the first instance in ancient letters where the narrator has us “see” an artifact through the eyes of his protagonist who, moreover, takes part in one of the scenes put before us. (Putnam, 1998, 23)

<sup>188</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.558-9.

“The rewards that are fitting to Trojan merit are Virgilian, and they go not to those renowned in warfare (the Greeks of 6.478, *bello clari*) but to those who have fallen in warfare (the Trojans of 6.481 *bello caduci*). *Laus*, merit and its reward in fame, is not the merit of empire, conquest, and triumph.” Diskin writes this in regards to lines 557-561. (Diskin, 1988, 203)

Aeneas is depicted as mourning, “tears rivering down his face.”<sup>189</sup> The poet calls the pictures empty, lifeless, both a commentary on the depiction of such destruction as reverent art as well as the fact that all of the fighters and persons in the work have suffered a cruel and violent end.<sup>190</sup>

Aeneas sees himself in the mural after he sees Hector’s body being dragged and Priam’s supplication as depicted in the art.<sup>191</sup> Just as he sees himself “swept up in the melee, clashing with Greek captains.”<sup>192</sup> The “description of the surroundings” gives way to a visual introduction to the host.<sup>193</sup> Dido is compared to Diana as she enters until she seats herself on her throne. Once she takes the throne, Virgil depicts her as a leader who assigns labors to her people.

Aeneas has vowed to Achates that their renown will bring them safety, but when he finally does introduce himself, he never defines himself to his host by his Trojan past.<sup>194</sup> It is rather Ilioneus who names Aeneas to Dido. Virgil also undermines the idea that Dido is the host with Aeneas’ remark to Achates about their safety. He tells his companion it is their fame that is offering them ““haven”” from any harm that might come from interacting with Dido on her terms.<sup>195</sup> Yet, Dido has no intention of following the protocol of asking the identity of the guest after the guest is provided with supplies and a

---

<sup>189</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.564.

<sup>190</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.563.

<sup>191</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.585-7.

<sup>192</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.588.

<sup>193</sup> Gibson, 199, 186.

<sup>194</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.560. The lines read, ““Trust me, this fame of ours will offer us some haven.”” O’Hara states that Aeneas “stands beside Juno’s temple in Carthage, thinking that his troubles might be over, and that his situation might finally improve.” (O’Hara, 1990, 120.) Rather than this reading, it is Aeneas’ knowledge of his own fame and the world’s reaction to it that allow him to proceed with the relationship as a means to his further destiny. The hero has already expressed his disease with the depictions on the murals, indicating that he knows he is still in some danger. Aeneas is telling one of his men that he knows how to offer him protection.

<sup>195</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.561.

meal. Dido assaults Aeneas with his own identity while Aeneas simply asks what “happy ages bore thee? What glorious parents gave birth to so noble a child?”<sup>196</sup> Dido’s response is to draw a connection between her own father and a Trojan who fought for the Greeks, Teucer, who took refuge in her father’s land. Teucer, the great archer in the Trojan War hides behind Ajax’s shield in Homer’s *Iliad*. The fate of Ajax, falling on the sword of someone he formed a relationship of *xenia* with, becomes the fate of Dido, yet she falls on the sword of Aeneas, her guest.<sup>197</sup>

### *Ilioneus and Dido*

While he is enshrouded in mist and thus invisible to the others present, Aeneas witnesses the initial encounter between his lost shipmates (led by Ilioneus) and Queen Dido. The Punic queen approaches the temple, and Virgil describes her as if she were herself part of an elaborate painting or interplay of stories. Dido enters and seats herself on a throne near the temple doors, “beneath the temple’s central dome, girt with arms and high enthroned.”<sup>198</sup> The reader is conditioned, however, to penetrate the veil of awe and evaluate Dido’s offer in the context of Aeneas’ own quasi-host role with his crew on the beach a few lines before.

Ilioneus approaches the queen and begs for her assistance. Ilioneus has been chosen as the spokesperson for the group of men because he is the eldest. The audience learns that these men did not receive hospitality upon their arrival. In fact, they were

---

<sup>196</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.608-09.

<sup>197</sup> In Hom. *Il.* 7.349-5, after heralds stop the duel between Ajax and Hector, stating that the gods love both men equally, the two men then exchange gifts on the battlefield. Hector gives Ajax his silver-studded sword and Ajax gives Hector his purple war-belt.

<sup>198</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.505-07.

attacked. Ilioneus states, ““We are debarred the welcome of the beach; they stir up war and forbid us to set foot on the border of their land.””<sup>199</sup> Ilioneus stands before the queen, essentially begging for the rights of hospitality before Aeneas intervenes and redefines the relationship. The contrast between the crew with Aeneas landing on the beach and the bounty of the land, and the other Trojans who are forced into unnatural conditions, seeking to be treated with the bare minimum owed a stranger is stark. Ilioneus presses his case insisting that the Trojan pose no threat, ““No such violence is in our hearts, nor have the vanquished such assurance.””<sup>200</sup> Aeneas and Achates wait and observe the interaction without intervening. Virgil describes Aeneas and Achates as “hoping to see what luck their friends have found.”<sup>201</sup> Again, Aeneas is placed in the role of spectator, and what he observes slightly confuses and frightens him.

What is essential to the meeting between Dido and Ilioneus is that Ilioneus asks for what is due to him through the basic law of hospitality. A host was required to provide materials a guest may need, including materials to repair their ships. Ilioneus asks specifically for lumber to ready the ships for whatever fate has in store for them on their journey.<sup>202</sup> Dido will later say that she will pay Aeneas back with interest if he is to simply grant her some more time, but Dido has already thwarted any possibility of a well-timed service being given her by both initially denying Aeneas’ men the basic right to

---

<sup>199</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.543-5.

<sup>200</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.532-3.

<sup>201</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.621.

<sup>202</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.664.

Priam also asks Achilles for the time to haul timber into their city. He tells Achilles that he needs it for the pyre for Hector’s body, yet the order of events for the grieving that he tells Achilles is not the order in which he performs the mourning. The Greeks retaliate with a large wooden item that is a supposed offering to Pallas but turns out to be nothing less than their destruction. Were Aeneas and his men to accept the grand offer from Dido, it would come with their ultimate inability to fulfill their destiny. Aeneas, in a sense, becomes the ultimate Trojan horse both for Dido and the militaristic program for his image, likened to one made by a craftsman’s hand is transformed in the final scene.

hospitality and pretending to be overly generous to Ilioneus and his men when she hears the possibility for a future favor in the words Ilioneus speaks.<sup>203</sup>

After asking for the basic elements of hospitality, Ilioneus continues his appeal to Dido, assuring her that there must be something he can offer her. In the traditional Homeric order of hospitality, the identity of the guest is not revealed until the basic needs of the guest have been met. Yet, for Ilioneus and his men to even receive these basic needs, they feel they have no other option then to reveal the name of their king in order to justify the potential for a fitting return. To even receive the very preliminaries of hospitality in any form, the men are asked for service or payment in clear violation of social norms. Dido never states this overtly, but by not wavering in her position, and by not offering the men even a basic welcome, she initiates hostility rather than hospitality. Rather than offering the men the basics of food, shelter, and materials, Dido either offers to provide them with escorts to their potential destination, or incorporation in her land under the terms she provides to her own people.<sup>204</sup>

Although he is appealing to Dido, Ilioneus does not hold back in his critique of his unwilling host's behavior and its potential consequences from the gods. He delivers his description of Aeneas after he pleads to her to respect the gods if she has no "use for humankind."<sup>205</sup> When Illioneus mentions Aeneas, Dido's response becomes immediate once Aeneas' name is given to her. She states, "If only the storm that drove you drove your king and Aeneas were here now!"<sup>206</sup> The order of hospitality is confused. The guest

---

<sup>203</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.549.

Herman, 1987, 48.

<sup>204</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.685.

<sup>205</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.652.

<sup>206</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.690-1.

has been offered nothing to reveal his name and identity. The law of hospitality also states that the guest may be a god in disguise. If this were the case, Dido's hostile and manipulative treatment of the needy Trojan men would show little respect for the gods. The "improper" response that Dido has to Aeneas' known identity removes the sacred nature of hospitality from their meeting. Dido never wavers in her interpretation of Aeneas. Regardless of his words, it is his initial and known story that she continues to associate with the hero. Aeneas will live up to everything Ilioneus says about him: "none more righteous than he in goodness, or greater in war and deeds of arms,"<sup>207</sup> but Ilioneus' words ring true rather than fit themselves to the desires of Dido as potential host.

Ilioneus' speech is a model of what Robert Parker terms the "instance of prayer cast in the 'if ever' form."<sup>208</sup> He applies this language not in appeal to his host, but to his hopes that his king is not lost. He states, "If Fate has saved that man, if he still draws strength from the air we breathe, if he's not laid low, not yet with the heartless shades, fear not...."<sup>209</sup> All Ilioneus offers her if he is alive is what Aeneas has already promised his men, that they will one day look back upon their travails with joy. Ilioneus thereby

---

<sup>207</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.548-9.

<sup>208</sup> Parker's work is on the language of sacrifice and rewards between men and gods. He speaks of instances in Greek tragedy where men will make "appeals to past sacrifices" when seeking a favor from a god or goddess. The form of the 'if ever' foreshadowed in the speech of Ilioneus is foreshadowing for the appeal that Dido will make to Aeneas when he attempts to leave her. Dido will also be seen doubting the gods due to the fact that the outcome she prayed for was not as she desired. Parker writes, "No instance of prayer cast in 'if ever' form is known from a non-literary text...and the only two examples in prose...come from works or contexts of high literary register." In other words, the connection between the prayer or sacrifice and the gods is answered through recompense in whatever form the gods respond. As Aeneas enters, he will make it very clear to Dido that these are the terms---respect for the gods---that define their relationship of *xenia*. (Parker, 1998, 107)

<sup>209</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.656-9.

promises her she won't regret entering into the hospitality relationship and all that it entails.

Not only is Ilioneus seeking to assure his host he has the capability to provide a return, he is also using this information to ensure his safety. Mentioning the name of his king Aeneas and his great fame ensures the host that he is attached to someone worthy to be her equal if not a potential threat to her own safety. Ilioneus assures Dido she will not “once regret the first step you take to compete with him in kindness.”<sup>210</sup> Ilioneus assures his potential host that he has cities and a virtuous king, yet the Trojan also entreats her to enter into a contest of *officium*, a contest she will initially lose due to her tendency to approach the relationship from a position of power.<sup>211</sup>

Dido's response to Ilioneus is to offer the Trojans a lengthy set of options all while not directly responding to them in kind. Her offer can be one of what Herman terms *eurgesia* that not only offers the Trojans a service but places them in a position of indebtedness to the host.<sup>212</sup> That is, were they to take the offer, they would immediately owe Dido. Dido does not respond directly to Ilioneus' request, but rather to what he might offer her, or more clearly what that offer might do for her. In so doing, she is not proving herself a

---

<sup>210</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.660.

<sup>211</sup> Gibson, 1999, 189.

<sup>212</sup> Herman, 1987, 48.

good hostess.<sup>213</sup> Ilioneus does not get the opportunity to accept Dido's terms because Aeneas arrives to bolster his precarious position after he makes himself visible.<sup>214</sup>

The Trojan men were due proper hospitality whether they had king Aeneas and whether or not he was presently in the same location as Dido and his men. The arrival of Aeneas is well-timed and is in a sense a counter-*eurgesia*. Rather than allow Dido to continue to drink in the reputation of Aeneas and prey upon the weakness of the Trojans, he inserts himself into the discussion. What Aeneas is to his men and what Dido sees are incongruent. Virgil describes Aeneas in the eyes of Dido as if he is a sculptural representation of himself. He steps in just when Dido is about to get away with offering assistance to the Trojans due to their potential to strengthen her empire. Ilioneus has already removed the language of mutual gain from the exchange by stating he has no desire to plunder or fight, yet Dido has not dropped this discourse. When Aeneas enters, he is not only an excellent potential *xenos*, but a mediator who, through his language, seeks to neutralize the aggressive offer Dido is attempting to lay upon the beaten and battered Trojan men. Within the prism of this scene, Virgil both suggests that what Dido sees is not what Aeneas is and that the Roman version of Aeneas, "even as the beauty which the hand gives to ivory, or when silver or Parian marble is set in yellow gold," is just that, a statue's representation.<sup>215</sup> When Aeneas says, "I, whom ye seek, am here

---

<sup>213</sup> Gibson argues that in her response to Ilioneus, Dido is offering material assistance, but her offer of material assistance to the Trojans only appears to be the "mark of a good host." (Gibson, 1999, 190.) In the text of the poem, Dido only offers material assistance in conjunction with the Trojans becoming one with the Carthaginians. Dido states, "This city I build, it's yours. Haul ships to shore. Trojans, Tyrians: They will be all the same to me." (Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.688-89) This is a dangerous option that both Ilioneus and Aeneas show reticence to accept. The text does not support that were the Trojans not to accept the full offer, they would be granted the material assistance they needed in the purest sense.

<sup>214</sup> In Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.691-2, at the same time that Aeneas appears, Dido assures the Trojan men that she will send men to search for Aeneas on the shores of Carthage. It is a show of force disguised as a kind service.

<sup>215</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.592-4.



before you,”<sup>216</sup> the anticipation of his identity is humanized from its representation in art and the audience remains fixed on the next words he speaks.

### *Aeneas and Dido*

The hospitality relationship spoken between Aeneas and Dido, as witnessed by the Trojan companions of Illioneus and the Tyrian guards present with Dido serves to solidify the terms by which the two parties will conduct themselves during the Trojan’s stay in Carthage. Aeneas’ response is essentially a rejection of Dido’s terms, but also an affirmation of a path to peace. He invokes the gods and their own sense of right and wrong as officiators of their hospitality relationship.<sup>217</sup> Aeneas praises Dido, regardless of her lineage.<sup>218</sup> Aeneas’ language offers an explication of the duties of a good *xenos*. He promises his host that he will honor her name and reputation no matter where he is, as *xenoi* were expected to maintain the conduct of good relations even from afar.

This meeting between the two leaders serves to neutralize hostilities, yet Aeneas’ language clearly states that the Trojans will not bow to the Carthaginians and will instead retain their identity according to the Fates. What differs from the seemingly unavoidable wars that the Romans fought with the Carthaginians is that Aeneas does not in any way attempt to exercise power over Dido or her people. Aeneas does not accept Dido’s offer as she presents it. Aeneas offers a return to Dido “whatever be the lands that summon me.”<sup>219</sup> He speaks to Dido as if he were the host. He asks her, like a curious host may ask

---

<sup>216</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.595.

<sup>217</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.724.

<sup>218</sup> Aeneas simply states that her birth is a blessing and that she must have “noble” parents. (Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.729-30)

<sup>219</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.613.

his guest, “what glorious parents gave birth to so noble a child?”<sup>220</sup> Aeneas consistently provides a succinct counter-offer to anything Dido may offer. She immediately capitalizes on the knowledge that he was born of Venus. Nevertheless, throughout the encounter, Aeneas conceals any knowledge of Dido’s previous story.

Yet Dido has rejected the simplicity with which Ilioneus restated the law of hospitality to his potential host whom he treats respectfully as if she were unaware that the law had been ignored. Gibson makes this statement about the arrival of Aeneas in Book I: “The pattern here resembles ‘*theoxenic*’ hospitality whereby a disguised god or sometimes hero tests the hospitality of an individual.”<sup>221</sup> He also makes the assertion that Aeneas does not arrive until “Dido has proved herself a receptive host.”<sup>222</sup> Dido, however, is receptive only inasmuch as she may immediately benefit from the relationship. Aeneas resembles a god, yet he is fully human in his struggles and his journey is the journey of a man. When Achates whispers to Aeneas that all is as his mother says except for one man who they both saw drown at sea, Aeneas is encouraged.<sup>223</sup>

Aeneas clasps the hands of his men, rather than Dido, when he responds to her offer. Thus, he includes his lost men in the hospitality that he began on the land with his shipmates. Key to their later interaction is the fact that Aeneas and Dido never clasp hands and formalize the relationship. Nonetheless, later she will be heard entreating Aeneas on the basis of “the pledge once sealed with our right hands.”<sup>224</sup> He disarms

---

<sup>220</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.608-09.

<sup>221</sup> Gibson, 1999, 191.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>223</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.699.

<sup>224</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.382.

Dido's overly generous offer by relegating it to a hypothetical. He states, that she "givest a share in thy city and home."<sup>225</sup> He champions rhetoric over material exchange when he extends his right hand to Ilioneus who, as discussed above, has taken great care with his words as well. Dido no longer mulls over or chooses her words carefully as she was before when she responded to Ilioneus. She immediately attempts to draw a familial connection between the two parties by discussing how her father once hosted a Trojan, Teucer, in his house and offered assistance to him.

Dido's language when she describes Belus' hosting of Teucer will echo in the departure of Aeneas when he states to her that there is no reason the Trojans cannot seek new realms as the Carthaginians are doing the same. Dido does not describe Belus' hosting of Teucer as offering protection to Teucer for his acts of violence in the Trojan War; she speaks of Teucer continuing on in the search for "new realms." She praises her father's valiant sack of Cyprus rather than his excellence as a host. She also tells Aeneas she already knows his story as told to her from the lips of Teucer, an enemy of Troy.<sup>226</sup> Aeneas has no response to this association. It is simply left in the air, a statement made by Dido before she leads the soldiers into the banquet halls. In the words that Dido speaks as she leads the men into her royal hall, she has made the assumption that Aeneas assents to the prior *hospitium* connection she has drawn between them, including the mention of destiny bringing her to the land in which she now resides.<sup>227</sup> When Aeneas tells his story to her after the meal, Dido hears only the portion she already thinks she knows.

---

<sup>225</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid* 1.601.

<sup>226</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.741-2.

<sup>227</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.749.

Once Dido leads the Trojans into the royal halls to dine, she assumes acceptance of her offer and behaves accordingly. All of her gestures are grand and exaggerated like a woman who has already received any blessings from her honoring of and sacrifice to the gods. Virgil depicts her foolish behavior as customary. Rather than offer her host the opportunity to pour libations to the gods, she announces them in her halls much as a Roman may outwardly tout his piety and sacrifice to others.<sup>228</sup>

The meal between the Trojan soldiers and the Tyrian people, presided over by Dido and her guest Aeneas, is intended to join the two parties through their partaking of sustenance together. Virgil uses this portion of the hospitality relationship as an opportunity to transform a known trope into a dynamic expression of the law of hospitality. While the scene itself resembles Telemachus' stay in Sparta in which all manner of lavishness is presented during the feasting, Menelaus was careful to allow the revelation of the identity to occur by the guest himself at the proper time. While in Telemachus' visit to Sparta, the giving of gifts is discussed at the departure, Aeneas offers gifts to his host during the meal.<sup>229</sup>

The gifts that Aeneas offers Dido in the early part of their relationship are *pista*. As Gibson writes, Aeneas' response to Dido first acknowledges that he can only offer "verbal manifestations of his gratitude."<sup>230</sup> Gibson makes clear that these gifts do not replace a suitable return for the assistance Dido is supposedly offering the Trojans. He states instead that the gifts "demonstrate a willingness to make a return on services

---

<sup>228</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.753.

<sup>229</sup> Telemachus asks Menelaus for a gift that is a "keepsake," (Hom., *Ody.* 4.675) and Menelaus offers him a bowl made by Hephaestus himself. (Hom., *Ody.* 4.694)

<sup>230</sup> Gibson, 1999, 194.

received.”<sup>231</sup> These goodwill tokens are “unique and irreplaceable and arouse suitable feelings of wonder.”<sup>232</sup>

Dido has remains in perpetual awe of Aeneas. Rather than providing him with gifts and treating him in the way a host would treat a guest, she slowly cedes her role as host to her guest. The feast itself is one of sacrifice. She shares portions of the sacrifice with the men of Aeneas who wait on the ships. In the description that Virgil offers, Aeneas is described as “high, on a seat of honor,” and the words of his story gain an authoritative quality.<sup>233</sup> The Tyrians themselves are even described as guests, “bustling through the doors...to take invited seats.”<sup>234</sup> Rather than role of conqueror, Virgil places Aeneas as presiding over a feast as the founder of his people.<sup>235</sup>

While Dido and the Tyrians marvel at the objects received from Cupid disguised as Ascanius, Aeneas offers a substantial gift, his story. Dido states her request thusly: “tell us your own story, start to finish...”<sup>236</sup> Yet, the host is now Aeneas, and he is offering the gift of story that will form the future. He asks all to share even in its sorrows. The reliability and veracity of Aeneas’ story will be proved at a later date. He lays the foundation with his objects and words. As Hanna Roisman writes:

A person is termed *pistos* only after he has proved his constancy in threatening circumstances...the evidence implied in reliability implied in *pista* is only symbolic. The epithet occurs in the context of oaths to be taken in the future when their fulfillment seems certain, emphasizing the fact that the oaths are binding.<sup>237</sup>

---

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>233</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.2.

<sup>234</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.830.

<sup>235</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.2.

<sup>236</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.904-05.

<sup>237</sup> Roisman, 1983, 21.

Aeneas and Dido have taken oaths and libations and feasted together. Outside of any particularly Carthaginian rites, she has evoked both Jupiter and Juno in her libations. She evoked Jupiter in a future sense, stating “Jupiter—for they say that thou dost appoint laws for host and guest.”<sup>238</sup> The gifts and the story are both an offer of good faith for the future.

Venus calls the gifts ones “that survive the sea and the flames of Troy.”<sup>239</sup>

The gifts are:

...a gown stiff with figures stitched in gold, and a woven veil with yellow sprays of acanthus round the border. Helen’s glory, gifts she carried out of Mycenae, fleeing Argos for Troy to seal her wicked marriage---the marvelous handiwork of Helen’s mother, Leda. Aeneas adds the scepter Ilione used to bear, the eldest daughter of Priam; a necklace too, strung with pearls, and a crown of double bands, one studded with gems, the other, gold. Achates, following orders, hurries toward the ships.<sup>240</sup>

These gifts bind the two parties in the future that Aeneas has already declared he hopes for Dido. Any objects that pass between them throughout the rest of the first four books of the work take on significance later in the epic in the chapters ahead. They are *pista* in that they are a pledge not to do harm. Dido herself will end up perceiving the actions of Aeneas as threatening and deceptive, but the future life in these gifts will dispute her claim.

The Tyrians admire Aeneas’ gifts as well as his son.<sup>241</sup> Virgil highlights two particular gifts exchanged, a gown and a veil. The poet describes the gown as a garment handmade by Helen’s mother “stiff with figures stitched in gold.”<sup>242</sup> What is to happen following this

---

<sup>238</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid*, 1.732-3.

<sup>239</sup> Virgil, Loeb, *Aeneid*, 1.679.

<sup>240</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.771-781.

<sup>241</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.846.

<sup>242</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.750. Virgil connects the gown to the temple walls in Troy as well as the figures that Aeneas himself saw on Dido’s wall. He will also connect to the golden figures in a cape that Dido makes for Aeneas as well as the sword belt of Pallas at the end of the work. All of these connect immediately to

moment becomes a fulfillment of a shared humanity between the Trojans and Tyrians, both of whom will be future Romans. Rather than see the Tyrians as conquered, Aeneas welcomes them to the feast.

The god of hospitality is invoked in this feast between the people of Troy and Carthage. Although Dido describes them as suffering, the arrival of the Trojan Aeneas begins to sew hope and joy into the mind of Dido. Virgil also depicts the Tyrians as not vanquished, but rightfully included in the feast of the future Rome. Virgil makes sure to call them Tyrians rather than Carthaginians. The future of Carthage itself is slowed to a stop by the end of Book IV. Although the Roman reader knows the history of its rise, Aeneas breaks the proud Dido, providing a foundation of peace even before the lengthy and consuming Punic Wars begin. All that Dido marvels in, she will grieve over as well. The image of Aeneas in the eye of Dido and hence the Roman reader frees itself from the lines of the temple paintings. Aeneas' forthcoming departure followed by Dido's death does not attempt to change history so much as provide a humanizing lens over even Rome's greatest enemy. As they have all shared in their praise, the rewards of the gods that Aeneas promises to Dido are prescribed for all, not just the victor in war.

#### *Aeneas' Departure (The Xénia Gift)*

Book Four begins with Dido asking ““Who is this stranger just arrived to lodge in our house---our guest?””<sup>243</sup> Has she not already ascertained this? Hasn't Aeneas both

---

the first look Aeneas takes of the images on the wall in Carthage. Helen is said to have come to regret her marriage to Paris, but Venus will interfere along with Juno to change the association of shame and love.

<sup>243</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.12-13.

Dido is speaking to her sister, Anna, in Book IV. She confides her feelings to her sister who then encourages her to attempt to detain the guest, ask for pardon from the gods for moving on from the memory of her husband, and to look at the upside of marrying such a man as Aeneas. Anna states, “With

introduced himself as well as told his own story to her? Why does she suddenly ask this question? The narrative present collides with its legendary past and future within the threads of this hospitality relationship. This leader of Carthage, Rome's main threat and enemy, has invited the founder of Rome into her home. She has not acknowledged to herself that the Trojan soldiers have not accepted the offer that she initially spoke to Ilioneus to haul ships to shore. The men remain with their ships and Aeneas, although having dined with the Queen and her Tyrians, retires to his quarters with no professed plans to remain in Carthage. Aeneas never states that he intended to remain in Carthage. Dido, still confused about the law of hospitality and its responsibilities, will assume that Aeneas has accepted her offer. The men remain ready to depart or attack, if need be. They guard the ships rather than bring them ashore.

Here, as she prepares to entice her guest to fully embrace her offer of hospitality, or Juno's offer of marriage, Dido refreshes her first gifts to the gods over and over, under their statues' eyes.<sup>244</sup> Dido pours the wine from the bowl between the horns of a pure white cow, an animal sacred to Juno.<sup>245</sup> Virgil makes sure to state that she "holds the bowl in her right hand,"<sup>246</sup> ; the pouring of the wine presages the pouring of the blood from her own hand using Aeneas' sword that the poet describes she wanted as her true desired gift.<sup>247</sup> Her sister has instructed her to likewise make overtures to her guests. She

---

a Trojan army marching at our side, think how the glory of Carthage will tower to the clouds!" (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.61-2.

<sup>244</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.78.

She is described as "aglow with beauty" in Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.598 . Aeneas is also described this way when Dido sees him appear.

<sup>245</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.76.

<sup>246</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.75.

<sup>247</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.802.



tells Dido to “win them with offerings. Treat your guests like kings.”<sup>248</sup> Such an admonition suggests that even Anna realizes that the terms of the relationship have gone astray from their normal pattern and must be rescued.

The poet next depicts Dido attempting to win over Aeneas by “displaying Phoenician power,” something Aeneas has already expressed his immunity to at the beginning of the relationship.<sup>249</sup> In fact, Aeneas has already provided Dido with the warning that he will be moving out from Carthage with the words, “whatever lands call me to their shores.”<sup>250</sup> After the evening of feasting, Dido walks Aeneas through the very center of Carthage, leading him to his sleeping quarters. Virgil then depicts Dido grieving for an Aeneas that she wishes him to be. At the beginning of Book IV, Dido “alone in the echoing hall, distraught, ...flings herself on the couch that he left empty.”<sup>251</sup> Dido’s attachment to Aeneas is instant, while Aeneas’ promise of a return to Dido could take place over any amount of time. This difference of understanding is an allegorical depiction of the Rome Aeneas represents, contrasted with the empire Rome won through conquest that becomes even greater in its conquest of Carthage itself.

What follows the image of Dido in agony is divine interference. The audience of Virgil’s poem must tune their ear to the language of the gods, removing it from the immediate context of the poem and extending it to the whole of the epic. Juno seizes on Venus, whom she credits with defeating Dido with her craft.<sup>252</sup> Juno poses the question of the meaning of this meeting by asking, “But where will it end? What good is all our

---

<sup>248</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.64.

<sup>249</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.94.

<sup>250</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.729.

<sup>251</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.102.

<sup>252</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.118.

strife?”<sup>253</sup> The dialogue between Venus and Juno moves from peace to war within just a few lines. When Juno approaches Venus for an alliance, she states, “Come, why don’t we labor now to live in peace?” Venus’ response is, “Now who’d be so insane as to shun your offer and strive with you in war?”<sup>254</sup> Fictionally, Venus is assenting to Juno’s plan that aligns with Dido’s own plan to unite the Carthaginians and the noble Trojans.

Venus *is* striving with Juno, but not in war. Juno pretends that her offer is one of equal terms. She tells Venus, “Let us rule this people in common: joint command.”<sup>255</sup> Venus is aware that this is Juno’s attempt to divert the *imperium* of Rome to Libyan shores. Juno is unaware of the prophecy that Jupiter has spoken to Venus. She acts counter to the destiny that Jupiter has laid out verbally to Venus and doing so in the land of Rome’s enemy. Venus gently reminds Juno that as his wife has the ability to supplicate Jupiter.<sup>256</sup> After a statement of Juno’s power, the goddess subtly undermines Juno’s authority by reminding her of her dependent status with regard to Jupiter. As she enters into the relationship with Juno, she subtly asserts that its purpose will be to discern the will of Jupiter. While Juno sees this as a triumph, Venus has already claimed Dido as her own “ally-in-arms.”<sup>257</sup>

Juno inserts herself into the relationship between Aeneas and Dido by binding them in lasting marriage,<sup>258</sup> but Venus adds the caveat that the marriage must be blessed by

---

<sup>253</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.121.

<sup>254</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.133-4.

<sup>255</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.127 evokes what O’Hara sees as a “shame reconciliation” in the story told in Servius *ad* 276 of Romulus placing the signs of power next to him when acting in an official manner on anything. (O’Hara, 1996, 154)

<sup>256</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.140.

<sup>257</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.792.

<sup>258</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.155.

Jupiter. Juno has stated to Venus that she may have the dowry <sup>259</sup>of Dido, meaning essentially that Venus may have all that comes with Carthage, something the Trojans themselves have already told Dido they are not seeking.<sup>260</sup> This is the history of Rome in a microcosm, yet Virgil doesn't bring this to pass. We do not see the Romans conquer the Carthaginians. This is a possible future. One whose possibility is shown in Dido's attempt to make a sensible hospitality relationship with Aeneas. She, as Rome's future foe, cannot comprehend Aeneas in terms of the divine hospitality he respects.

Venus' knowledge that Juno's "plan" will fail permeates the episode where the "marriage" comes to pass. The prophecy for Rome, its history laid out in the previous words of Jupiter, comes under scrutiny. There is no guile in the Trojans' hospitality relationship with the Carthaginians. Virgil creates *ekphrases* that stay in the reader's mind after Aeneas leaves. From the feast to the banquet to the marriage to Dido's falling upon Aeneas' sword, these are lasting images that are pressed on and overlain onto the images on the murals that we have viewed through the eyes of Aeneas. What is tragic for Dido is simply that she doesn't know what is at stake. Dido's innocence lies in her ignorance of the dynamics of power that follow, the future that she intends as she builds her city. She molds herself in similarity and opposition to the men who have influenced her life: her father, her brother, and her husband.

So, how does the poet get the reader to obtain the kernels of lasting peace from within the argument that ensues between Aeneas and Dido after they are supposedly bound together in marriage? Virgil uses the marriage *bond* as overarching symbolism for

---

<sup>259</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.129.

<sup>260</sup> In Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.635, Ilioneus states, "We have not come to put your Libyan gods and homes to the sword."

a truly peaceful outcome.<sup>261</sup> As Dido prepares to leave for a day of hunting, the poet makes sure to describe her horse, “champing a foam flecked bit” that awaits her as she delays her departure for the hunt slightly by lingering in her chamber.<sup>262</sup> Once the two parties meet up, Virgil takes pains to describe Aeneas in a likeness of Apollo. He paints a picture for the reader of Apollo on the Cynthian ridge in Delos, “arrows clash on his shoulders.”<sup>263</sup> Virgil replaces his earlier image of an Aeneas wrought in marble on the façade of the temple of Juno with one where the hero embodies the god at the center of the Augustan propaganda program. The poet makes the comparison explicit, his face shines with a glory like the god’s.<sup>264</sup> As Paul Zanker writes, “The relationship with Apollo would prove to be ideally suited to Octavian himself and to furthering his political image.”<sup>265</sup> Virgil continually alludes to Apollo throughout Aeneas’ journey and Virgil has him appear here before the moment that becomes Dido’s end, and Aeneas’ beginning.<sup>266</sup> Yet, Virgil critiques Octavian’s outward association with Apollo. The incomplete parallel between Aeneas and Augustus will begin to assert itself as the relationships between Aeneas and his hosts progress.

Virgil does two things of importance in the Dido episode: 1) emphasize that the gifts in the hospitality exchanges, including the words exchanged, are dynamic and

---

<sup>261</sup> Virgil uses the metaphor of hunting nets in tandem with the Queen’s delay in her chamber to create allusions to the mythological story of Hephaestus catching his wife in bed with Mars, catching both lovers in a net.

<sup>262</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.170.

In Book VI, the Sibyl still not broken in by Apollo, “his bridle exhausts her raving lips” (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.95) is asked by Aeneas to speak with her own words but is overtaken by the god.

<sup>263</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.186.

<sup>264</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.189.

<sup>265</sup> Zanker, 1988, 51-52.

<sup>266</sup> Later in the epic, we will see Apollo hold Ascanius and his bow as the wars begin in Italy. The symbolic and use value of the bow are in full play here. Here, in Carthage, Ascanius shoots the bow excessively and with perfect aim. When he begins to fight in the war, he is held back. The bow itself comes to symbolize homecoming.

significant to the work of the poem, and 2) establish the all-encompassing nature of a bond of *xenia*, both for the parties involved and for the gods. Dido has already invoked Jupiter, to whom Venus has instructed Juno to probe with her prayers (actions) to discern what he will bless. Virgil inverts the hospitality relationship; Aeneas acts as a devout and pious host. If the Romans are to be victorious over the Carthaginians in the future, the bond that they will build is, in Virgilian terms, still cooperative. Virgil humanizes his protagonists within the context of their known histories. For a moment, the love relationship between Aeneas and Dido is simple, uncomplicated and the reader bonds with the straightforward nature of their interaction. Virgil describes them as “heedless of their realms and enthralled by shameless passion.”<sup>267</sup> The failure of this union to lead to fruition leads the reader closer to divining the will of Jupiter.

The tension between gifts as material and status possessions and gifts that are “irreplaceable” is a key element of the doomed hospitality between Aeneas and Dido. We learn only later in the epic of the gifts that Dido has bestowed upon the Trojans during their visit to Carthage. A mixing bowl, tunics, and a horse all appear in various future books.<sup>268</sup> The appearance of these gifts as objects passed from Dido to the Trojans often works in contrast to the image the reader has received of her inability to grasp her role in the relationship between herself and the Trojans. The gifts have a life beyond the one that the giver, Dido, takes (her own) and thus beyond the prescribed amount of time that she was legendarily stated to be divine (as long as Carthage stood). This serves to make Aeneas’ words he spoke to his host upon first greeting her continue to be made

---

<sup>267</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.195.

<sup>268</sup> The mixing bowl at 9.266, tunics at 11.72-5, and the horse at 5.571. Aeneas also sports a cloak made specifically by Dido at 4.329-330. Virgil emphasizes that the “wealthy queen” made it herself, signifying that the cloak has significant value due to the fact that it was handmade by Dido.

good as he honors his *xenos* from afar. He tells Dido in his initiation: “your honor, your name, your praise will live forever” just before he grasps hands with his men.<sup>269</sup>

Dido participates in the relationship in a manner in which she attempts to operate from a position of power. Every action that she takes is one in which she attempts to demonstrate power over her guest to sway the relationship to meet her expectations. Even when she is internally entreating Aeneas to stay, her angry and abrasive words merely confuse the relationship even further. What has led Dido to believe that she is in this position other than ostensibly being in the position of host? Aeneas has already dismissed the simple connection between their families at the outset. Aeneas speaks for both himself and the Trojans to whom Dido previously made the offer to remain with her in Carthage. He does not in any way accept what has been offered to Ilioneus.

When Dido finds out that her relationship with Aeneas is one of *xenia* but realizes that her perception of its fulfillment is inaccurate, she comes undone. The audience knows that Dido is doomed not only from the known legend, but from Virgil’s depiction of her disjointed and desperate thoughts. As Jupiter will later say, Juno takes pains to “blend the wedding hymn with the dirge of grief.”<sup>270</sup> Dido is unable to process the depth of her emotional response, and part of Aeneas’ return will bring understanding to her confusion. When Dido welcomed the Trojans to her palace, she stated, ““Schooled in suffering, now I learn to comfort those who suffer too.””<sup>271</sup> Yet, Dido is unable to fully grieve at the moment of Aeneas’ departure, and her thoughts go askance when she realizes that he did not agree to mutual consolation as a term of their relationship. Her

---

<sup>269</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.728.

<sup>270</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.134.

<sup>271</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.751.

emotions are akin to the enraged Juno in Book IV and Dido at a loss for words is tied to Juno's lack of full understanding of Jupiter's prophecy. Virgil's Dido "breaks off in the midst of outbursts...." Before she tries once more to detain Aeneas.<sup>272</sup>

Dido appeals to her guest. She uses the "if ever" construct to attempt to convince Aeneas that he has entered into the relationship on her terms.<sup>273</sup> Her appeals range in words, such as: "the pledge once sealed with our right hands," "the faith in your right hand," "if prayers have any place," and "I pray you."<sup>274</sup> She speaks to Aeneas as if he has power to choose the outcome, and she appeals to her ability to win his heart and receive decency from him. Dido appeals to his pity, and Virgil depicts her as a "suppliant kneeling, humbling her pride to passion."<sup>275</sup> The guest cannot be detained, and Aeneas, ever the gracious guest turned host, leaves by imparting words of kindness and gratitude. Any gifts Dido imparted to Aeneas and his men will appear later in the epic.

Aeneas' response sets the already frantic Dido over the edge. Dido's concerns are the concerns of many of Rome's potential allies: protection from enemies, honor and status, and even a touch of connection with the divine.<sup>276</sup> Significant in the first entreaty of Dido is that she believes that she has lost her "sense of honor."<sup>277</sup> Yet, Aeneas' devotion to Dido remains regardless of her attachment to a kingdom. Aeneas remains steadfast in his *xenia* to Dido no matter where he goes.<sup>278</sup> He has no inkling that Carthage

---

<sup>272</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.488.

<sup>273</sup> See footnote 208.

<sup>274</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.382, 4.391, 4.397, 4.396.

<sup>275</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.521-22.

<sup>276</sup> Dido laments that her "one and only pathway to the stars, the renown I once held dear" (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.402) is now lost. Like Venus, who ceases to be captivated by the idea of empire, Dido loses a connection with this type of recognition or fame, losing herself in her grief and confusion instead.

<sup>277</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.400.

<sup>278</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.275.

is a future enemy for the people he will found. He is innocent of any awareness of future events as far as Dido's kingdom, and yet still professes to honor his *xenos*.

As an exemplary guest, he thanks her for her kindness. He assures her that he in no way at any time made any offer of marriage or joining kingdoms to her. He swears to Dido by her life and his own that he has seen, not Jupiter's messenger in a disguise, but the messenger himself come to him reminding him of his destiny in Italy.<sup>279</sup> Virgil calls these statements to Dido a *declaration*, the term for the speaking of the formation of the *xenos* relationship.<sup>280</sup> As noted, the response to any *declaration* thus far in the encounter is a divergent furthering of the bond where the two parties differ in understanding of the execution of the relationship.<sup>281</sup> Her response this time is to lash out in anger and expose her assumptions about Aeneas, i.e. she has attached her needs to the image of Aeneas as pious and of the gods. Yet, her dim understanding of these virtues leads her to disappointment.

Dido begins to speak in the third person after Aeneas tells her he did not offer her what she has assumed. Aeneas' words to Dido served as the terms of his *xenia*, and Dido's words ultimately simply reinforce these terms. Virgil describes Dido's eyes as roving over Aeneas as if he were a statue or fixed image.<sup>282</sup> She decides to call him a "liar and traitor" and asserts in insult that "no goddess was [his] mother!"<sup>283</sup> Who is Dido talking to? The future images Augustus represents? The future impenetrable image

---

<sup>279</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.445-6.

<sup>280</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.453.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*

As noted, Dido responds to her own offer to Iliioneus in Book 1 rather than to Aeneas' statement that the gods bring her her just rewards.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>283</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.455.



structure that becomes the post-Actian Rome? She begins to talk to herself in front of Aeneas, as if he is not even there, recounting her actions as if they were simple acts of hospitality with no ulterior motives. Her response, however, exposes that Dido attempted to subsume the Trojans into her kingdom with little care for the will of the gods.

In her outburst at Aeneas, she uses language similar to his original *declaration*. In Book 1, Aeneas states, “if justice still exists on the face of this earth.”<sup>284</sup> In Book IV, Dido states angrily that Jove is not being fair. Her words are, “...neither mighty Juno nor the Father gazes down on this with just, impartial eyes. There’s no faith left on earth!”<sup>285</sup> Dido, in her breakdown presents a very different view of the gods than Aeneas does. While Aeneas in Book I stated that the gods are “powers who respect the good and true,”<sup>286</sup> Dido asks that the power of the gods bring harm to Aeneas and do the opposite of what she has stated she did for the Trojans. She asks that rather than his ships find shore, they wreck on the rocks mid-sea.<sup>287</sup> In Dido’s mind, the gods have not responded to her prayers.

Aeneas remains duty-bound in the face of Dido’s anger. She doesn’t allow Aeneas to respond, leaving him with much left unsaid.<sup>288</sup> Virgil depicts the men hauling fresh timber from the forests, the boughs used to make the oars still green. In their departing image, Virgil likens them to future Romans leaving after a battle in images of the men putting their ships into the water to leave, anxious to get to the labor of building Rome. Although this is what he depicts, it is to convey what *Dido* sees as the men

---

<sup>284</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.722.

<sup>285</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.465-6.

<sup>286</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.720-1.

<sup>287</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.480.

<sup>288</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.490.

depart. The poet addresses Dido: “What did you feel then, Dido, seeing this?”<sup>289</sup> Dido calls Aeneas her “imperious enemy” calling to mind the inability of the Carthaginians and the Romans to ever arrive at any agreement of peace.<sup>290</sup> She attempts to delay him one more time, to give her some time to grieve since her spirit is beaten.<sup>291</sup> She sends her sister as messenger to ask her guest for this gift that she states she will pay back upon her death with interest.<sup>292</sup> Aeneas does not grant her more time. His response is instead to take all the “love and suffering deep in his great heart” and follows through with his departure.<sup>293</sup>

Virgil presents Dido’s death in a dramatic fashion, a moment for an audience.<sup>294</sup> Dido states that she will be like the priestess who resides at the ends of the earth “where colossal Atlas turns on his shoulder the heavens studded with flaming stars” as she finds a way to move into the next life.<sup>295</sup> This is a priestess local to an area the Carthaginians sought to and ultimately did subdue.<sup>296</sup> Dido begins to associate Aeneas with a curse, and seeks to get rid of any objects she associates with him.<sup>297</sup> This is the Carthaginian curse that the Romans feel about inhabiting the land of Carthage in reverse. Dido’s makes a case as to why the land itself cannot be inhabited. She will verbalize so many ills she hopes to befall her *xenos*.

---

<sup>289</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.514.

<sup>290</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.533.

<sup>291</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.546.

<sup>292</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.540-9.

<sup>293</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.564.

<sup>294</sup> He even compares her to characters in Greek tragedy, Pentheus and Orestes. (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.588-591)

<sup>295</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.603-4.

<sup>296</sup> Dido calls the priestess a Massylian priestess, “who tended the temple held by Hesperian daughters.” (Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.605)

<sup>297</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.623.

Dido calls on a power made in her mind that might suit her needs, one that “watches over lovers bound by unequal passion.”<sup>298</sup> Dido’s voice is the voice of Juno, oblivious to the prophecy of Jupiter. She continues to rail against the Trojans as a people. She chides herself for not heeding the “treachery of Laomedon’s breed.”<sup>299</sup> Dido begins to speak out the future of the Romans in war as Aeneas is leaving. She wishes for a reading of the prophecy of Jupiter that Virgil feels is incomplete and will continue to challenge in the further hospitality encounters. Even in her dying, Dido is still asking the gods to bend to her favor. Virgil reiterates this in his statement of the forthcoming history of Roman entanglements with Carthage. Virgil sets her voice as concomitant with the angry Juno. Virgil will continue to refine the reading of the prophecy and Aeneas’ fate over the course of the work.

Dido wishes for Aeneas to find himself at war with a “nation proud in arms,” and for him to “bow down to an unjust peace” once those wars are complete.<sup>300</sup> She then addresses her Tyrians and echoes a fabled statement of Hannibal, that “he would never be a friend to Rome.”<sup>301</sup> Dido states “No love between our peoples ever, no pacts of peace!”<sup>302</sup> Virgil seeks to question the very nature of the use of the term “love.” When Dido is watching Aeneas’ men leave, Virgil writes, “Love, you tyrant, to what extent won’t you compel our hearts?”<sup>303</sup> Dido’s love is coupled with pride and in this sense is

---

<sup>298</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.652.

<sup>299</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.677.

<sup>300</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.767-9.

<sup>301</sup> Polyb. 3.11.7

Livy, *Histories* 35.19.

<sup>302</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.778.

<sup>303</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.518-9.

not the love that Aeneas as an exemplary *xenos* embodies.<sup>304</sup> When Dido's pride is wounded, she curses Aeneas and his people with endless war.<sup>305</sup>

The pyre that Dido ascends to her death is in the inner courtyard of her palace. Atop it are Aeneas' clothes, the bed they shared, and the sword he left in her chambers. She takes her life with this sword and the poet speaks of its potential as a *xénia* gift shared between Aeneas and Dido. Just like the bow of Iphitus that Odysseus keeps at his home, the sword of Aeneas becomes, unbeknownst to Aeneas, the *xénia* gift between them. She unsheathes it and takes her life with "a Trojan sword she once sought as a gift, but not for such an end."<sup>306</sup> The terms and the end he seeks will be stated with the sword when Aeneas makes his final return. Virgil takes the reader on a hero's journey that assembles these terms and ends throughout his interactions on his *nostos*.

Dido echoes the words of Scipio when she deems her demise a sign. She says, "May that heartless Dardan, far at sea, drink down deep the sight of our fires here and bear with him this omen of our death!"<sup>307</sup> Virgil addresses Scipio's fear that Rome may suffer the same fate as Carthage one day. Although Carthage famously burned, defeated by the Romans, Dido is not simply speaking of this. Her use of the pronoun "our" applies to herself as well as her lover. Dido punctuates the flame as an omen, but it is not necessarily one that will bring destruction as we will see when Aeneas encounters omens of fire on his journey. The ending of Book IV, Dido's death and curse contain the burning of the arms of the perceived enemy, the Trojans. This burning is by a party who, historically, will be defeated by the Romans. As the epic progresses, though, the name of

---

<sup>304</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.522.

<sup>305</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.784.

<sup>306</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.804.

<sup>307</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.821-2.

“Trojan” is removed from Aeneas and his men, and they become one with Latins.<sup>308</sup>

Through the transformation of the hospitality relationship, the very object desired by the hostess as a gift “returns” to the narrative with a different use and as the lasting symbol of the true possibility of peace. By denying a relationship with Dido on the terms that she offers, Aeneas still offers peace, but on terms that are equal for all parties. The very omen of fire opens Book VI, where Aeneas will meet his next host.

---

<sup>308</sup> This is Juno’s yield in Book XII that marks the pathway to peace. (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 12.949)

### Chapter 3.

#### The Trojans, Latinus, and Aeneas

Virgil's presentation of material known to historians and contemporary Romans tied his audience to a mythological foundation both familiar through recognizable iconography, but also destabilizing, or "dissembling" as presented in the *Aeneid*.<sup>309</sup> Shifting meaning is present throughout the extended hospitality encounter between Latinus and Aeneas and his men. Aeneas and Latinus themselves never waver in what is offered or received by each party in their initial meeting. Although Latinus is swayed by Turnus' might and force, he never verbally assents to Turnus' plan. In Book 11, Aeneas lets the Latins know, "It's your king, who renounced our pact of friendship, choosing to trust to Turnus' force of arms."<sup>310</sup> Aeneas sets up the contrast between what Latinus hopes for, and the manner in which it is achieved to highlight the peace he intends for Aeneas to iconize. There is a fine line between the use of the term "force of arms" and "ally-in-arms," and the relationship between the Latins and the Trojans sets the stage for the reader to be able to make the discernment between the two. Aeneas will use the term

---

<sup>309</sup> In Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.848, Virgil uses the adjective "dissembling" to describe the words of the god, Cupid disguised as Iulus. This profound adjective is shot into the future as well as the future of Ascanius depends on his father's return. "They admire Aeneas' gifts, admire Iulus now—the glowing face of the god and the god's dissembling words."

<sup>310</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.131-2.

“force-*in-arms*” in a turn of phrase before he fights Turnus, but before this moment the term is used in a reproving way.<sup>311</sup>

What leads to the meaning behind “force-*in-arms*” being transformed from imposing and hasty to iconic is a combination of the meeting of Aeneas and Latinus and Aeneas’ fulfilled *xenia* obligations to Evander. Both the historians Dionysius and Livy tell stories of the meeting between Aeneas and his Trojans and Latinus. Each of these accounts emphasize an alliance between the two parties, but the manner by which this alliance is reached differs in their accounts, and also from the narrative presented by Virgil.

Virgil uses the conflicting stories of the Trojan arrival to Latium to emphasize that peaceful negotiations, ones in which the parties that are incorporated into the Roman Empire maintain their culture and land, will provide a true and lasting union amongst peoples, specifically Rome and her colonies. In so doing, he critiques the show of military prowess and force that still accompany the budding empire, even after civil war. He is cautiously optimistic about a possible golden future and uses the trope of hospitality to both warn and define the path Romans need to take to maintain a lasting rather than apparent peace. Nicola Terrenato writes of the relationship between Rome and Volaterrae as one in which Cicero is recorded as having observed the lasting reciprocal relationship with the city.<sup>312</sup> In this relationship, the people in the colony of Volaterrae maintained their homes and estates which were given to them by the gods. Cicero describes their relationship as an honor of their “moral right not to be disrupted.”<sup>313</sup>

---

<sup>311</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.223.

<sup>312</sup> Terrenato, 1998, 107.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*

Yet, Cicero's letters also esteem the cooperation that the city (soon to be empire) and the colonies maintain. The peace that they are allowed is based upon their longstanding relationship of goodwill. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, war breaks out before the Latins and Trojans make verbally manifest their peaceful relationship. Virgil uses this as both a foil and support of the clarity needed to solidify a lasting peace between two parties. As Terrenato writes in the case of Volterra, "incorporation into the Roman Empire involved complex and, at least in this case, decades-long negotiation."<sup>314</sup> Virgil seems to have a similar process in mind with reference to the negotiated settlement, expressed in the bonds of hospitality between the Trojans and Latins. Again, the message is two-fold. The length of time it takes for Aeneas and Latinus to reach a face-to-face peace is made to be the time of a series of a few battles, but the delay of the fulfillment of their hospitality relationship is symbolic of the whole of Hesperia at war.<sup>315</sup> Aeneas incorporates the Latins nearly immediately and the Latins him.

Terrenato emphasizes the elites of an Italian city having the means to negotiate and he also emphasizes how Rome chose to deal with "conquered peoples at the Roman end."<sup>316</sup> There was a benefit involved to having Italian cities as clients of Rome. Virgil's depiction of the relationship between the Latins and the Trojans avoids any direct confrontation between the two. In a heated moment, Aeneas demonizes Latium by shouting, "'That city, the cause of the war, the heart of Latinus' realm---unless they bow to the yoke, brought low this very day, I'll topple their smoking rooftops to the ground."<sup>317</sup> Aeneas shouts that he will restore the truce between the Latins and Trojans

---

<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.46.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid.

<sup>317</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.661-3.



with fire.<sup>318</sup> The truce he speaks of is the initial relationship of innate cooperation and peace contained within the bounds of a personal relationship of hospitality. The value of war is removed by the fact that the peace that he is supposedly fighting for was initially there in the first place. It's a complicated argument by the poet and revisiting the steps the Trojans and Latins take to become one people with a common language is important for the understanding of the epic.

### *Aeneas in Dionysius and Livy*

Virgil's depiction of Latinus, like that of Dido and Aeneas, draws on many stories, references, and legends. Virgil has taken elements of a known story and crafted them around a central hospitality relationship for his own purposes. The conflicts between the internal thoughts of Virgil's characters and the outward expression of their hospitality relationships have to be resolved. Striving towards this resolution in word and deed is just as important as hearing the known story that led to Rome's founding. Virgil tunes the reader's ear through the conflicts that occur as Aeneas works to found a home that he names Lavinium. Aeneas is not present in the initial meeting with the Latins, and this is a departure from legends as they are retold in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy. Yet, Virgil's purpose here diverges from that in the early section of the *Aeneid*. In this case, Aeneas is restrained and patient, timing his response to the Latins' welcome in an entrance that serves as the direct opposite of his entrance before Dido. This is the Aeneas that is a future leader, the *xenia* partner that Latinus longs to clasp hands with, urging Ilioneus to tell Aeneas to ““never shy from the eyes of friends.””<sup>319</sup>

---

<sup>318</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.667.

<sup>319</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.306.

Although the accounts of both Livy and Dionysius come after Virgil, they draw on material that would have also been available to Virgil.<sup>320</sup> Both authors chose to reject Virgil's account of events, suggesting strongly that the poet had invented non-standard details, necessary to his narrative, but not in accord with the historical tradition adopted by other authors. In order to highlight the importance of the alterations of the plot and elucidate the poet's purpose for these alterations, it is instructive to review the accounts of both Livy and Dionysius.

### *Dionysius' Aeneas*

Dionysius of Halicarnassus discusses the figure of King Latinus in his *Roman Antiquities*. This work first appeared around 7 B.C.E., the result of meticulous research and compilation by Dionysius, a Greek rhetorician who utilized "literary sources (mainly annalistic and other historians) and possibly some public documents."<sup>321</sup> Although the volumes appeared after Virgil, Dionysius' work attempts to bring together his sources in an effort to focus on the early history of the Romans, which he felt was little known to the Greeks. Dionysius' history draws on sources that were extant in Virgil's time and thereby could have been consulted by the poet.<sup>322</sup> Like Virgil, Dionysius focused on the origins of Rome's people with Greek roots, but his purpose in writing it was different, as

---

<sup>320</sup> L. J. Bolchazy states that "there are eighteen other authors known by name who give eight other accounts regarding Aeneas' survival." He also states that four of these accounts are summarized in the work of Dionysius. His accounts can be found on pages 68-76 of his book. (1977:68-76)

<sup>321</sup> <https://www.loebclassics.com/>

<sup>322</sup> "Some information I received orally from men of the greatest learning, with whom I associated; and the rest I gathered from histories written by the approved Roman authors — Porcius Cato, Fabius Maximus, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, the aelii, Gellii and Calpurnii, and many others of note; with these works, which are like the Greek annalistic accounts, as a basis, I set about the writing of my history." Ibid.

he had a different audience, Greeks trying to understand the rise of Rome. Dionysius asserts that he attempted to dissuade people from considering that the Romans were simply some barbarians that fell into Fortune, but rather a great people who it would not be objectionable to be ruled by.

Dionysius' well-crafted history presents the Trojans and Latins developing a hospitality relationship that begins with Latinus prepared to battle the Trojans, who have arrived and begun taking from the land. Latinus receives word of their plundering and plans to fight them. In this account, the Trojans are said to have decided to settle in Latium after following a sow that escaped from being sacrificed and stopped at the place where they were to build their new settlement. Upon this determination, they begin to take supplies they had need of in order to build their settlement. As the Latins are in the midst of battle with the Rutulians, the king decides to give his troops an evening's rest before battle with the arriving Trojans. Yet, he then sees the Trojans "armed like Greeks, drawn up in good order and resolutely awaiting the conflict."<sup>323</sup> After seeing the army, the King decided that perhaps this was a battle he could not win. Ultimately, Latinus is in awe, which sets up the terms of the future hospitality encounter and keys the reader into its initiation.

Dionysius' Latinus serves the author's purpose of giving the Romans a Greek heritage. He says to Aeneas, "I cherish a kindly feeling towards the whole Greek race and am greatly grieved by the inevitable calamities of mankind."<sup>324</sup> The language of this Latinus is a model of exemplary hospitality. The historian presents the fate of the alliance between the peoples as sharing "in a spirit of friendship what shall be given you,"

---

<sup>323</sup> Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.58.5

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*

hospitality in the sense that Evander will also be shown to offer.<sup>325</sup> A sense of divine providence permeated Dionysius' telling of the story of Aeneas coming to Latium to give the people of Rome a Greek origin that was welcome and not based on the tragedy of war or spoils of battle.

In addition, Latinus receives a sign from what Dionysius terms "a certain divinity of the place"<sup>326</sup> that guides him to make peace with these approaching Trojans. Unlike direct interference from Mercury to make Dido receptive to the Trojans, Latinus receives word from local gods to welcome this stranger into his kingdom and home. Dionysius states that the next day, two heralds, one from each side of the battle lines, stop the men who march towards each other. Aeneas argues that their actions of taking supplies were of necessity, and Latinus offers no ill will towards the Trojans. The Trojans offer to defend the Latins in battle, and the Latins help the Trojans to finish their half-built city, Lavinium. After so doing, Latinus offers his daughter in marriage to Aeneas, and the two people combine "in a very brief time their customs, laws and religious ceremonies, forming ties through intermarriages and becom[e] mingled together in the wars they jointly wage."<sup>327</sup> At this point, all the people are called Latins, after Latinus, king of the aborigines. Dionysius presents a people that blend their cultures and become one. Dionysius' melding of the Trojans and Latins is not dependent on one party having conquered the other in might, but instead on a negotiated relationship.

---

<sup>325</sup> Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.191

<sup>326</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*

*Livy's Narrative*

Livy began his history with the story of Aeneas and his arrival and emphasized that Aeneas' favoring of peace allowed his escape from Troy. In Livy's account, Aeneas survived because the "Fates were preparing a higher destiny for him."<sup>328</sup> In Livy's tale, the Trojans were wont of supplies and began to "plunder the neighbourhood."<sup>329</sup> Livy's account painted the Trojans not only as thieves, but men who sought to take and conquer. Latinus is threatened by the foreigners and seeks to overtake them by force of arms. Livy's account of their arrival catalogues what he terms a "two-fold tradition."<sup>330</sup> In each of these Livian accounts, Aeneas ends up marrying Lavinia and forming ties with the Latins, but each plot is different in the context of hospitality and narrative. In Livy's first version, the Trojans, led by Aeneas, simply defeat the Latins in battle, Latinus makes peace, and a family alliance is made through marriage of Lavinia to Aeneas.<sup>331</sup>

In the second account, prior to the battle, King Latinus himself steps forth from the ranks of soldiers and asks to have a meeting with the leader of the invaders, Aeneas. This order of events sets the stage for a more traditional initiation of a hospitality pact. Latinus asks the identity of the Trojans before food and drink are offered, but this is still an initiation of hospitality. The language Livy uses for what follows next indicates that Latinus seeks to form a bond with the Trojans that can be categorized as *xenia*. The friendship that the two men form in the historian's account is based partly upon the story of their identity and on what Latinus perceives as the noble bearing of the men. Here

---

<sup>328</sup> Livy 1.1

<sup>329</sup> Ibid.

<sup>330</sup> Livy 1.1: "*duplex fama.*"

<sup>331</sup> All quotations are from Livy 1.1.

again, a moment of awe is described. Yet, it is not deceptive. Latinus seeks to trust the men based on their offering of a negotiated peace and is rewarded in so doing. Livy states that Latinus “gave his right hand as a solemn pledge of friendship for the future.”<sup>332</sup> This is a *declaration* that transforms into a civic alliance, made explicit through a signing of treaties.

In a sense, the Trojans and Latins have accepted that they are united by a shared substance (the land and its resources) and continue to live peacefully. There is no punishment for the Trojans for taking what they needed in Livy’s second version. A battle never ensues and, although the men first took what they needed, ultimately, they receive it and form an ongoing reciprocal bond by joining their peoples. Livy’s second version mentions a treaty, but Herman states that the drafting of a treaty was an occasional step in *xenia*, but not necessary as the bond itself “flowed from an ethical code implicitly shared by all members of society.”<sup>333</sup> The signing of the treaty served to bind all Latins and Trojans, not just Aeneas and Latinus. Livy presents the peaceful relations amongst the Trojans and the Latins that Dionysius does, albeit with two different possibilities as to how they ultimately become not only *xenoi*, but *philoï*.

Ladislaus J. Bolchazy suggests that Livy’s account of Aeneas is unique in its discussion of his escape from Troy and that he chooses to emphasize the survival of the hero as due to ties of hospitality with the Greeks.<sup>334</sup> He notes that the assertion that “Aeneas and Antenor were spared all the penalties of war by the Achivi owing to long-standing claims of hospitality.”<sup>335</sup> As he notes, Livy “categorically ascribes Aeneas’

---

<sup>332</sup> Ibid.

<sup>333</sup> Herman, 1987, 118.

<sup>334</sup> Bolchazy, 1977, 67.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid.

survival from the Trojan War to *hospitium* and *amor pacis*.”<sup>336</sup> What is interesting in Livy is that the historian does not express exactly what these ties were. He attaches Aeneas to a story of Antenor in the *Iliad* in which Antenor hosts Odysseus and Agamemnon and advocates for the return of Helen to the Achaeans.<sup>337</sup> Bolchazy states that this version is not found anywhere but in Livy, and his argument is that Livy crafted the history from his appreciation of the “civilizing and humanizing force of the *ius hospitii*.”<sup>338</sup>

Versions of Aeneas’ departure varied from Aeneas negotiating with the Greeks after trying to flee twice to Aeneas resenting Paris and seeking to overthrow Priam in an effort to put the House of Anchises in charge of Troy.<sup>339</sup> The fact that Livy emphasizes that his reason for leaving Troy alive was due to ties of hospitality that Aeneas had with the Greeks was a choice by the author, and one that will be explored as we move forward to discuss the ties of hospitality Aeneas forms subsequent to leaving Troy. The idea of a new or second Troy is threaded throughout the *Aeneid*, and the story of the exit of Aeneas from Troy will become part of the hospitality relationships. His presence in the *Aeneid* evokes identities from many of the heroes who fought in the war, yet as he moves throughout the *Aeneid*, he does not once introduce himself as a man who is great in war.<sup>340</sup>

---

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>337</sup> Bolchazy, 1977, 84 cites *Iliad* 7.348-53.

<sup>338</sup> Bolchazy, 1977, i.

<sup>339</sup> For a list of all of the versions, see Bolchazy, 1977, 69-82.

<sup>340</sup> When he does introduce himself to Evander, he states, “Brave hearts in war, our tempers steeled, our armies proved in action.” (Virgil, *Aeneid* 8:172-173) Just like the meeting with the Latins, this is a meeting that Aeneas find to be a necessity.

*Latinus and Aeneas in Virgil*

The meeting between the Trojans and the Latins is the center of the epic, and one that will, once initiated, continue even beyond Book 12 and into the Roman consciousness. Virgil intends the audience to follow the relationship closely. The men of Aeneas are asked to go and find out who inhabits the land. The poet ensures that the men are from all ranks as they go to approach Latinus.<sup>341</sup> Virgil's depiction of the interaction between the Latins and the Trojans takes place during the entire second half of the *Aeneid*. It begins in Book VII and sees its conclusion in Book XII, when Aeneas and Latinus take their oaths before the gods, and Aeneas prepares to fight Turnus in single combat to end the wars that are raging in Latium. In the final battle scene, the poet draws a parallel between ending of Rome's Civil Wars while also calling into question Rome's mode of achieving peace. The relationship between Aeneas and Latinus is essential to the epic because of its longevity and immutability. Discerning the nature of their bond provides a puzzle for the reader to solve, and in so doing, receive the full meaning of the poem which can only be attained through active participation in the hero's journey to found Lavinium.

The fulfillment of the relationship between Aeneas and Latinus emphasizes a way for the empire to move forward peacefully. Its terms, although thwarted for a time by Turnus, are peaceful from beginning to end. Virgil does not depict Aeneas and Latinus going to battle after the final fight with Turnus. Latinus neither instigates nor takes part in the war against the Trojans waged by the Rutulians and Latins urged on by Turnus.<sup>342</sup>

---

<sup>341</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.154.

<sup>342</sup> In fact, Virgil depicts Latinus fleeing his city, "cradling his defeated gods and shattered pacts of peace." (Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.344-5.)



With the peaceful fulfillment of the relationship with Aeneas and Latinus, Virgil celebrates the union of all peoples through peaceful means. He also emphasizes the idea that incorporation into the Roman Empire does not have to come at the cost of cultural identity. Jean-Michel David writes of cities who “felt no need *a priori* to abandon a status and traditions of which they were proud.”<sup>343</sup> The terms of Aeneas’ peace to Latinus in Book XII foreshadows the meaning in the final act of battle. Aeneas will declare the terms of peace, thus initiating a hospitality relationship with his reader through this *declaration*.<sup>344</sup> Aeneas states:

....I will not bid the  
 Italians be subject to Teucrians, nor do I seek the  
 realm for mine; under equal terms let both nations,  
 unconquered, enter upon an everlasting compact.  
 Gods and their rites I will give; let Latinus, as my  
 Sire, keep the sword; as my sire, keep his wonted  
 Command. For me, the Teucrians shall raise walls,  
 And Lavinia give the city her name.<sup>345</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.189-195

Aeneas speaks these words, intending to defy Dido’s curse that he “bow down to an unjust peace” and blaze a path for the future.<sup>346</sup> This sword is also the return to Dido who had desired a *xénia* gift from Aeneas in the form of his arms before his departure. This sword is the fulfillment of Dido, his beloved’s, desire for such a gift. The sword is used to free, rather than threaten and subdue one’s fellow Romans. Throughout the work, Virgil emphasizes that the Trojans are not arriving to “spoil with the sword” any of the peoples they meet.<sup>347</sup>

---

<sup>343</sup> David, 1996, 137.

<sup>344</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.112-3.

<sup>345</sup> According to David, “When the masculine population broadly adopted the rules of Latin nomenclature by choosing a Roman name and altering their indigenous name to a surname, the women, who doubtless refused to efface themselves like Roman women behind the identities of their fathers, retained *their* names, most often taking them as forenames.” David, 1996, 137.

<sup>346</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.621.

<sup>347</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.530.

The implications for this are immense. A poet bound to praise his patron makes veiled reference to his

To prepare his audience to share in his conclusions, Virgil must begin Book VII with the invocation of the muse. When the poet here invokes Erato<sup>348</sup>, he indicates to the reader that he will tell how the Latin state stood before the Trojans entered Italy. He then invokes the Muse to state that he will tell of great battles in which not just the Latins and the Rutulians, but all Hesperia is at arms.<sup>349</sup> Yet, he directs the reader's attention to the relationship of the Latins and the Trojans when he states, "a greater tide of events springs up before me now, I launch a greater labor."<sup>350</sup> Virgil demarcates two tasks that seem separate. The first is telling all the events of the war that led to the founding of Rome. He asks Erato to inspire him, the singer, as he tells of the wars and lets the reader know that he will be telling a story that may seem like the glorious deeds of war, "princes fired with courage, driven to their deaths."<sup>351</sup>

The lines continue, but the poet announces the second task as the diction used to describe the known history changes. In the opening of Book Seven, Virgil sets out to accept the challenge of telling a known story with the voice of a poet. When Virgil writes "all Hesperia called to arms," he seeks to alert the reader to the fact that he is telling more than a tale of war.<sup>352</sup> This is yet another way that the arms are used as objects of discourse. Following this line, the poet states that he is now to tell a story of a "greater

---

own threat to put the Senate to the sword.

<sup>348</sup> The muse of Love poetry, rather than history. A muse who is stated in the Homeric Hymns to charm the sight. Erato's name means "beloved" and Aeneas here will be shaping his acts towards both his beloved hosts and men and the memory of the beloved Dido. The words between Aeneas and Dido set their relationship in motion to make even difficult memories ones of joy, and Aeneas is honoring this statement first made to his men, (Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.240) and Dido first made at Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.758 to "make this day a day of joy."

<sup>349</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.48.

<sup>350</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.48-9.

<sup>351</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.44-7.

<sup>352</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.48.

tide of events” and “launch a greater labor.”<sup>353</sup> To do this, he begins to tell the tale of Aeneas and the Latins in his own way, attempting to bridge the divide between peace and war. The poet also seeks to preserve the cultural history of Italy, its peoples and land, and will aim to do so through all that Aeneas observes and all that surrounds him as he makes his way to found the peoples who would one day bring forth the union called Rome.

### *Arrival in Latium*

The hospitality relationship between the Latins and the Trojans in Virgil begins when the Trojans finally land in Italy.<sup>354</sup> When Aeneas sees the natural landscape, “the great shaded river,” he calls for the men to change course and head to the land.<sup>355</sup> Once they land, Aeneas interprets the words of Ascanius as an indication that they have reached their home. Ascanius jovially remarks that the men are now eating their own tables, and this does not trigger a false prophecy in the mind of Aeneas per se, but it stirs his mind to recall snippets of prophecy he has heard before.<sup>356</sup> The key point is that the words that come from the lips of his son are what moves him to know that they have arrived at their home. Aeneas the character perceives and speaks a coalescing of words in the Roman mind that are known to describe his arrival. In this instance the words are those of Carmentis. Aeneas states, “Hail to the country owed to me by Fate! Hail to you,

---

<sup>353</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 7.45-50. This “greater labor” of the poet corresponds to the purpose Aeneas senses that calls him to act in courage. At Virgil, *Aeneid*, 12.25, Latinus warns Turnus of his hollow “feats of daring” for daring’s sake. Aeneas’ greater purpose is tied to his courageous action that is congruous with Virgil’s poetic task.

<sup>354</sup> The Trojans’ departure from Carthage and journey to Italy begins with protection from Neptune, reminding the reader that Aeneas’ journey is of Homeric origins. It is in *Iliad* 20 that Neptune delivers the prophecy for Aeneas’ future.

<sup>355</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.39.

<sup>356</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.127. “Suddenly Iulus shouted, ‘What, we’re even eating our own platters now?’”

you faithful household gods of Troy!”<sup>357</sup> In Ovid’s *Fasti*, when Carmentis arrives in Italy, she states:

‘All hail!’ she cried. ‘Gods of the promised land! All hail that country that shall give new gods to heaven! Hail rivers and fountains, which to this hospitable land pertain!....Am I deceived? or shall yon hills by stately walls be hid, and from this spot of earth shall all the earth take law? The promise runs that the whole world shall one day belong to yonder mountains....Anon pious Aeneas shall hither bring his sacred burden, and burden no whit less sacred, his own sire; Vesta, admit the gods of Ilium! The time will come when the same hand shall guard you and the world, and when a god shall in his own person hold the sacred rites. In the line of Augustus the guardianship of the fatherland shall abide: it is decreed that his house shall hold the reins of empire.’ Ovid, *Fasti* I.509-518

Aeneas thinks the words of Ascanius are words he once heard from Anchises. He states, “‘For my own father now I remember---Anchises left to me these secret signs of Fate....’”<sup>358</sup> Yet, what he thinks he remembers is actually the warning of the harpie Celaeno in Book III. The harpie told Aeneas that he would not be able to found a protected city until a hunger drove him to eat his own platters.<sup>359</sup> In the *Argonautica*, Phineas is victim of punishment from both the Harpies and Zeus for his ability to tell the truth.<sup>360</sup> Phineas was known for his ability to tell men the will of Zeus “unerringly.”<sup>361</sup> Iulus, in his observation about the platters, gives voice to necessity. It is Aeneas as father who begins to recognize signs through the voice of his son.

Aeneas, protected and guided by his mother and his son, whom Venus stated in Book I “means the world” to her, begins the process of settling in Italy.<sup>362</sup> Apollonius

---

<sup>357</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.133-4.

<sup>358</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.136-7.

<sup>359</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.308-9.

<sup>360</sup> Ap. Rhod., *Argon* 2: Zeus made Phineus blind and sent the harpies to steal his food before he could eat it. Phineus still eats some of the food polluted by the harpies out of necessity.

<sup>361</sup> Ap. Rhod., *Argon*. 2.179.

<sup>362</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.809.

describes Phineus: “and it seemed that the earth reeled round beneath his feet.”<sup>363</sup> These are words that, as discussed below, Latinus hears from Faunus before he meets the Trojans. Through the lips of Ascanius, Venus’ hope for the future, Aeneas is embedded into the language of his own fate. Unlike Dido who, as Virgil’s character, is tied to her prescribed story, his hero character Aeneas is engaged in discerning the meaning behind the many prophecies that surround his fate. In the *Argonautica*, Iris gives the heroes a pledge that the harpies will no longer come near Phineus.<sup>364</sup> On this pledge, Iris takes an oath by the Styx. She lets the heroes know that it is not lawful to smite the harpies with a sword, but still offers protection. In the *Aeneid*, it was Iris who released the spirit of Dido before Proserpina was able to cut a lock of her hair. It is Dido who “means the world” to Aeneas, and it is to her spirit that he will continue his story as return.<sup>365</sup>

The heroes of the *Argonautica* are described as yielding to the oath of Iris, and Iris, just as in Book IV of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, speeds up to heaven.<sup>366</sup> In Apollonius, the heroes feast with Phineus. During the feast, Phineus admits his folly of “declar[ing] the will of Zeus in order and to the end.”<sup>367</sup> He states that Zeus prefers to deliver his will incomplete so that men will have some need to know his will.<sup>368</sup> Virgil positions his hero on his course to act upon the will of Jupiter. Upon his recognition of what he takes to be a sign, Aeneas renews the feast and makes many prayers to the gods. He receives a second sign from Jove. The sign is one of thunder, but also the omen of fire. Rather than surround the young Ascanius, or enflame the hair of Lavinia, the fire is alight in the sky

---

<sup>363</sup> Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 2.179.

<sup>364</sup> Ap. Rhod., *Argon.* 2.179.

<sup>365</sup> Aeneas offers his own story to share with Dido. It is his ongoing *xénia* gift.

<sup>366</sup> Ap. Rhod., *Argonautica* 2. Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.876.

<sup>367</sup> Ap. Rhod., *Argonautica* 2.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*

in the very hand of Jove. Virgil writes, “[F]lourishing high in his own hand from heaven’s peak a cloud on fire with rays of gold, with radiance.”<sup>369</sup>

While Aeneas sees Jove’s sign, Latinus witnesses a fire sign in his own home, a prophecy that is again attached to Latinus’ daughter, Lavinia. Her hair catches fire in the hearth of her home and Virgil writes:

That sign was bruited about as a sign of wonder, terror:  
for Lavinia, prophets sang of brilliant fame to come,  
for the people they foretold a long grueling war. Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.87-89

Virgil’s statement of the sign separates what will happen for Lavinia and what will happen for the people. Within these three lines, the poet has compacted and connected the essential message of the poem. The fame of Lavinia will bring war for the people, and for Virgil the two are incompatible. As evidenced by Aeneas’ initial handclasp with his own men rather than Dido, the fate of the people must be entwined with the fate of the leader. This prophecy is again a combination of the two possible fates of Achilles, yet instead of a male warrior, the fate is that of a female heir. If Lavinia is to be “glorious in fame and fortune,” that glory must accompany the fate of the people.<sup>370</sup> As Virgil’s hero continues on his journey, he ties Lavinia to the peace. Rather than a breach of hospitality, the giving of his daughter Lavinia in marriage, although she was formerly betrothed to Turnus, is symbolic of the veracity of the relationship Aeneas and his virtue bring to Latium and the future Rome. The goddess Vesta is brought to mind; Virgil activates the idea of place in the reader’s mind. The future union of Aeneas and Lavinia is heralded by the sign of a fire at the hearth.<sup>371</sup>

---

<sup>369</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.159-62.

<sup>370</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.80.

<sup>371</sup> The holy fire of Vesta resided in a temple at the east end of the forum and contained both the sacred fire of Vesta and the Palladium brought to Italy by Aeneas. (Platner, 1929)

When Latinus becomes confused by two signs, the bending of a laurel tree's bough by bees and his daughter's hair catching on fire, he goes to the Oracle of Faunus. Virgil gives the reader a brief history of the Oracle, sought by many Italian tribes, as a place where one would "hear voices swarm, engage with the gods in words and speak with Acheron in Avernus' deepest pools."<sup>372</sup> Virgil connects Aeneas' recent visit to the Underworld to the seeking of Latinus. The reader can aurally begin to make the connection between the prophecy of Anchises and the attempt to discern prophecy by Latinus. He builds anticipation of their meeting by also connecting the response of the Oracle to the prophecy of Jupiter. All of these are preliminaries to the hospitality relationship and serve to create an atmosphere of truth-seeking.

The words that Latinus hears become the shaping force of his choices going forward. The full prophecy heard by Latinus is:

'Never seek to marry your daughter to a Latin,  
 put no trust, my son, in a marriage ready-made.  
 Strangers will come, and come to be your sons  
 and their lifeblood will lift our name to the stars.  
 Their sons' sons will see, wherever the wheeling Sun  
 looks down on the Ocean, rising or setting, East or West,  
 the whole earth turn beneath their feet, their rule!' Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.107-113

This is the first depiction of the language of the prophecy as heard by Latinus. When he meets the Trojans, the prophecy will have new language in Latinus' mind. The "name to the stars" corresponds to the idea that Aeneas will be lifted to the stars, as stated by Jupiter to Venus in Book One.<sup>373</sup> The arrival of Aeneas is in the air, and Latinus is in tune with the coming of the Trojan as being of divine will. Within the words is the

---

<sup>372</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.100-01.

<sup>373</sup> Perhaps the Sidus Iulius flashes through the mind of the contemporary reader, but Virgil has layered the language of the prophecies throughout the *Aeneid* that by this time, there is no way for the reader to make a simple connection. The reader must instead read with Virgil and through Aeneas.

foreshadowing of a union of peoples couched in the terms of hospitality to strangers in the ultimate sense of welcoming them into their home. The union between Latinus and Aeneas produces a transformation not only of the Trojans, but the Latins themselves. The idea of protection from the divine becomes innate. The usual fears and alliances that are made in war are made to seem to be of no need in the future. By eclipsing a possible Rutulian victory, a people who were at war at the time with Evander's people (Greeks as well), Virgil is hinting at the removal of war as means of empire building.

Virgil takes the story of the two kings, Latinus and Aeneas, walking up to each other on the battlefield and changes this to the meeting of Aeneas' men with Latinus. He does this for two reasons. To send envoys continues Aeneas' hospitality with his men as established by the grasping of their hands in response to Dido's welcome. Rather than Aeneas being connected to the Trojans when they speak with the Latins, Virgil has the people that are to be ruled by Aeneas in their new home approach the Latins. How the host responds to Aeneas' men will indicate his level of hospitality. He also begins the meeting of the peoples this way because the Latins themselves were said to have already been engaged in a war with the Rutulians,<sup>374</sup> a fact that Virgil changes. In the *Aeneid*, Lavinia is betrothed to Turnus, and this is the cause of the Trojans' eventual war with the Rutulians and Latins.<sup>375</sup> Virgil places a delay in the story of the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia, tying their marriage to a final peace.<sup>376</sup>

---

<sup>374</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.57.

<sup>375</sup> In Livy, Aeneas and his men join with Latinus and Aeneas with Lavinia upon arrival and acceptance of the king's offer of welcome.

<sup>376</sup> This is a reversal of the hospitality argument over Helen. Aeneas is deemed the destined husband of Lavinia despite a pact initially made between men that promised her to Turnus.



Aeneas' men arrive to Laurentum on foot to meet the king. The image of King Latinus receiving the Trojans is one of Virgil's visual creations. Much like the introduction of Dido, Latinus is presented as seated on a throne. While the reader sees Dido as she walks toward the throne, Latinus is already seated when the audience is introduced to him. Rather than simply arriving before Latinus, the Trojans arrive at the summons of a herald. The palace inserts itself into the forest like one of Jove's lightning bolts.<sup>377</sup> All of a sudden it is there and, while one can imagine the Trojans approaching, one cannot fully imagine the city that surrounds it (yet). The reader is not given any description of the town. The image of Latinus hosting the Trojans evokes the shield of Achilles. On the shield sits a "king, scepter in hand at the head of the reaping-rows...tall in silence, rejoicing in his heart."<sup>378</sup>

The presentation of Latinus in his palace is made to the Roman reader rather than seen through the eyes of Aeneas' men. It is meant to resemble their visual assimilation of their contemporary Roman surroundings and bring the hospitality encounter into focus for the reader. The visual result is one of cacophony and claustrophobia, one of past and future. Yet, in this chaotic surrounding, the focal point becomes the king himself and the one hundred men sent to him, representing the first Senate begun by Romulus.<sup>379</sup>

Virgil presents an idyllic city in which the youth are not practicing battle tactics, but "challenging friends to race or box."<sup>380</sup> The Palace itself is likened to a Roman home.

---

<sup>377</sup> One might at first think that the Trojans have arrived at the Port of Circe when presented with the palace of Latinus. This isn't accidental on the part of the poet. Virgil does attempt to link the two in description, linking the possible future with the Latins that lies ahead with possible Roman futures. This is his moment of awe, akin to Aeneas viewing the murals on Dido's Temple to Juno.

<sup>378</sup> Hom. *Il.* 18.747-8.

<sup>379</sup> Livy 1.8.

<sup>380</sup> The scene evokes the images on the shield of Achilles, a sign that the Trojans may be closer to their *nostos*.

There are *imagines* of “all the other kings from the start of time.”<sup>381</sup> Images of the gods and fathers “Italus, Father Sabinus...old Saturn and Janus’ figure facing right and left” are depicted as well in eerie lifeless forms.<sup>382</sup> The poet also describes the weapons and beaks of ships that are hung on the hallowed doors, evoking the monument to Augustus’ victory at Actium and its many prows of ships as well as the *spolia opima*.<sup>383</sup> This assemblage also recalls the temple doors of Juno from which Aeneas received his shield and the doors of Apollo’s temple at Actium that Aeneas visited before his arrival in Italy.

After the depiction of the statues, weapons, and prows, Virgil adds the curious presence of Picus, presenting him in a manner as if he were a divine Roman ancestor. The story of Picus’ statue is also found in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* in Book 14.<sup>384</sup> Virgil’s Picus, son of Saturn and former king of the Laurentenes is depicted in Roman attire. He is depicted with the augur’s staff that Romulus used to hold as well as wearing the “short

---

<sup>381</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.207-08.

Flower (1996, 22) states that the *imagines* were used as a reminder of previous ancestral triumphs and inherited nobility, but she makes an interesting argument about the tension between the inherited nobility and the making of one’s own merit.

<sup>382</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.205-06.

<sup>383</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.210.

Murray and Petsas, 1989. “The monument built to Augustus’ victory at Actium would have been poignant in the reader’s mind. “To memorialize the naval victory and emphasize the peace that resulted from it, Octavian planned and executed two war memorials in the city’s environs. One, a sort of naval museum, was built across the straits of Cape Actium near the ancient grove and newly refurbished temple of Apollo Aktios. The other he placed on the hillside where his command post and tent had stood before the battle, overlooking the straits, the growing new city, and the grove where *Aktia* were now celebrated.”

<sup>384</sup> Ovid. *Met.* 14: “a young man’s statue, a figure carved from marble white as snow...it stood in a sacred shrine and was wreathed with many garlands.... Picus, a son of Saturn, was a king who ruled Ausonia.... fixed his heart on just a single nymph, the daughter of a god, two-faced Janus....she was given to Picus of Laurentum.” This nymph was Canens, known for her extraordinary singing voice. The story of Picus being taken by Circe is described by Ovid with Picus wearing attire similar to Dido in Book Four of the *Aeneid*. “He wore a purple cloak pinned with a clasp of yellow gold.” Circe “conjured up an insubstantial image of a boar and ordered it to run out past the king, right before his eyes....Without a moment’s pause, Picus instantly followed the image of his prey, not knowing it was false...” Virgil will later depict Ascanius begin to use his own bow and arrow and be held back by Apollo from entering the war, equating the insubstantial nature of war with the future peace, as hoped for in Ascanius, of Rome.

robe of state, his left hand holding the sacred buckler.”<sup>385</sup> The verisimilitude to the Roman architecture is striking yet jarring in its displacement. The palace of Latinus stands outside of the future site of Rome. As he receives the Trojans, Latinus seeks to discern a prophecy that is a combination of Poseidon’s words, Augustus’ fathers proclamations of his own visions, and Jupiter’s prophecy as it is written by Virgil.<sup>386</sup> Latinus, amidst it all is the true focal point of the encounter, and it is Latinus rather than Ilioneus who first addresses his Trojan visitors.

### *Latinus Meets the Trojans*

Virgil begins his hospitality by having Aeneas send not just captains, but a variety of men not simply to meet with Latinus but to sue for peace, indicating that the terms of the relationship must be fully understood.<sup>387</sup> The poet does not depict the Trojans as plundering the land in any way. When they present themselves, they do so not as men at war, but men who seek refuge and have much to offer the party that they seek to form a relationship with. The preliminaries of *xenia* are put forth as the full initiation is postponed by the fact that Latinus seeks the clasping of Aeneas’ hand as part of the agreement.<sup>388</sup>

Latinus already knows who these men are, much like Dido had already heard of Aeneas. Latinus’ welcoming of the Trojans is nothing like Dido’s. He speaks first, addressing his guests. The identification of the guest, a step in the preliminaries of

---

<sup>385</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.215-6.

Picus was fooled by an image made by Circe. The Trojans have avoided the perils of Circe with the protection of Neptune.

<sup>386</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 94.5-6

<sup>387</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.178.

<sup>388</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.307.

hospitality, has again been preempted by the potential host. The connection that he draws between the two parties is the story of Dardanus himself “sprang up in these fields.”<sup>389</sup> Latinus asks the Trojans why they have arrived.<sup>390</sup> The king also makes note that Dardanus himself has been divinized amongst the Latins.<sup>391</sup> The meaning behind Aeneas’ arrival has not been determined by Latinus, and he initially forms a relationship with the Trojan men based on their noble bearing and descent from Dardanus. The question Latinus asks about the meaning of their arrival is answered simply by the Trojans. They state they seek to build a new home.

There is a similar component to the two parties’ words to each other. They speak as if they are destined to join peoples. Latinus states that the Trojans should ““never forget that the Latins are Saturn’s people, fair and just, and not because we are bound by curbs and laws but kept in check of our own accord: the way of our ancient god.””<sup>392</sup> Ilioneus states ““from Jove is the origin of our race; in Jove, as ancestor, the sons of Dardanus glory.””<sup>393</sup> Each party urges the other not to reject their offer. Ilioneus asked not to be looked down upon for being a suppliant. He assures Latinus that many nations seek to ally with the Trojans, but they have sought Latinus at the will of heaven.<sup>394</sup>

All of these discussions speak to the divine law of hospitality. The Trojans follow their answer to Latinus with the offering of good faith, *pista*, gifts. They are gifts that

---

<sup>389</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.237.

<sup>390</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.226.

<sup>391</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.242.

<sup>392</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.234.

<sup>393</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.218-20.

<sup>394</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.239.

Ilioneus describes as “meager relics plucked from the fires of burning Troy.”<sup>395</sup> Ilioneus describes the gifts to Latinus, stating:

From this gold goblet, Father Anchises tipped the wine  
at the high altars. This was Priam’s regalia when,  
in the way he liked to rule, he handed down the laws  
to his gathered people—the scepter, the holy coronet  
and robes that Trojan women used to weave. Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.284-287

Latinus does not respond immediately to these gifts as such. Virgil makes it clear in the writing that instead he mulls over his future hopes for a union with the Trojans. Latinus is moved by the purple fabric and the scepter, but his thoughts are not on these outward symbols of kingship. Instead, we hear the words of the prophecy again go through the king’s mind:

So this, he thinks is the man foretold by Fate.  
That son-in-law from a foreign home, and he’s called to  
share my throne with equal power! His heirs will blaze in courage,  
their might will sway the world! Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.295-8

Latinus does not speak simply of “their son’s son’s” but “heirs.”<sup>396</sup> The sons of Aeneas’ sons are left to inherit what is shared in the transformative hospitality relationship that ensues between Aeneas and his parties.

Ilioneus’ words and gifts to Latinus are awkward, his main focus is that they have been impelled by the gods to make their home in Italy.<sup>397</sup> Ilioneus assures Latinus that Italy will not “once regret embracing Troy in her heart.”<sup>398</sup> He offers the Latins the benefits of gratitude and words of compliment to their reputation. Yet, Aeneas is absent. The reader is left to mull and interpret the language spoken until the two leaders meet,

---

<sup>395</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.282.

<sup>396</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.297.

<sup>397</sup> He introduces Aeneas as a king who is famed in arms, but the thrust of his argument echoes the words of Aeneas to Dido when he says, “I shall...never regret my memories of Dido.” (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.418).

<sup>398</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.269-70.

and Virgil connects this language to the exchanges between Aeneas and Dido as well. While Dido has asked the Trojans to share her kingdom on equal terms, the Roman audience knows the fate of the Roman and Carthaginian alliances. The result of an alliance with Latinus represents a cooperative that Aeneas will forge himself rather than inherit. The poet's aim is to humanize the process of alliance-making and depict the actual reality of working to form lasting and meaningful bonds of peace.

The gifts that Ilioneus offers represent the form of external symbolism that was often disconnected with true Roman reality. He does take the gifts into consideration, marking them for a deeper meaning in the future of the epic, but his main thought is the marriage and “wedding bed” of his daughter.<sup>399</sup> After this thought, he responds to Ilioneus. Rather than tell Ilioneus that he embraces Troy, Latinus states, “Trojan, I embrace your gifts.”<sup>400</sup> He offers the men rich plowland and the hand of his daughter. He states that he has been warned “not to unite to a bridegroom of our race.”<sup>401</sup> The prophecy can only be fulfilled with a man “from the shores of strangers.”<sup>402</sup> Making stranger plural allows for the incorporation of the peoples from different lands rather than just the defeat or agreement of their leader. Virgil has skillfully tied the interpretation of Aeneas' fate with the expansion of Rome through alliance with the Latins. Marriage itself demands a *foedera aequa*, and the terms that Aeneas offers (as stated above) in no way indicate that the relationship will be anything but this.<sup>403</sup>

---

<sup>399</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.294.

<sup>400</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.302.

<sup>401</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.271-2.

<sup>402</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.273.

<sup>403</sup> Louise Matthaei writes of the differences between *foedera aequa* and *foedera iniqua* as ancient divisions of the relations between Rome and their allies, but further division determines that some *foedera aequa* were *socci* and some *amici*, the difference being those bound to assist Rome militarily and

Latinus states that “It shall be a term of the peace to have touched your sovereign’s hand!”<sup>404</sup> Latinus seeks to see Aeneas in person as part of their agreement.<sup>405</sup> The gifts that Latinus gives to Aeneas are horses, one for each of the Trojans. These horses are fleet of foot and wearing purple fabric embroidered in gold as well as golden “chains...trappings...yellow gold they champ with their teeth.”<sup>406</sup> Latinus sends the Trojans back to Aeneas with “news of peace.”<sup>407</sup>

He also sends gifts for Aeneas. The gifts that Latinus sends back with the Trojan men for Aeneas are two immortal horses and a chariot.<sup>408</sup> The reader does not see Aeneas in this chariot again. Nor does the reader see him with the divine horses.<sup>409</sup> Latinus’ gifts are an offering; they are *xénia* between these parties, gifts rich in a formal history that links Aeneas to the divine. The gifts Latinus gives Aeneas are forms from the story of Aeneas in Homer, and they are proof of his divinity. Latinus states, “If I can read the future with any truth, I welcome him as ours.”<sup>410</sup>

Within the welcome that he gives the Trojans, Latinus alludes to the future of their relationship. The language he uses here is interesting. It is the “if ever” language of expecting a return from a sacrifice, but instead of asking for a favor from the gods, he is

---

those that were not. Ultimately, Virgil critiques the need for relationships that involved *socci* through the terms of his ideal of hospitality. (Mattheiu, 1907, 183-184)

<sup>404</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.267-8.

<sup>405</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.766.

<sup>406</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.276-80.

<sup>407</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.331.

<sup>408</sup> The horses bring to mind Balius and Xanthus, gifts that Aeneas’ father received at his wedding. They also bring to mind the horses that Anchises gave Aeneas, horses that he bred with the Mares of Laomedon. Anchises gave these horses to Aeneas to take to the Trojan War where they were stolen by Diomedes. Aeneas was the charioteer of Pandarus, whom Diomedes killed, in the *Iliad*. As he came down from his chariot, Diomedes stuck him with a boulder and he was taken off the battlefield by the gods. Diomedes also wounded Aphrodite on the wrist.

<sup>409</sup> Virgil has described the horses that Latinus gives to Aeneas as “born of the mixed breed that crafty Circe bred, making off with one of her father’s stallions to mate him with a mare.” (Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.327)

<sup>410</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 7.137.

asking that he is able to have foresight. Latinus' act of faith falls short of truly knowing the future, but it is a faith in the outcome of the ideal of hospitality. In order for Virgil's Aeneas and Latinus to meet in the same way that they are said to have met and formed an immediate familial and political alliance in both Dionysius and Livy, the conditions of peace must first be met.

*Latinus and Turnus, "All Hesperia Called to Arms"*

Once the envoys ride back to Aeneas, Latinus encounters opposition to his choice of Aeneas as his future son-in-law. Juno is still angered. She states that she knows that she does not have a choice in the fact that Lavinia and Aeneas will be married. The poet calls this an "iron fact of fate."<sup>411</sup> Virgil's Juno connects the fire that Hecuba saw after the birth of Paris to Aeneas. She states that Aeneas will be "a funeral torch to consume a second Troy," and she calls upon the powers of hell to assist her.<sup>412</sup> Juno foretells of the wars that will ensue over the hand of Lavinia, one that was promised to Turnus. The reader is told the outcome, Aeneas will marry Lavinia. The bond between Aeneas and Lavinia is not at stake, but Turnus is roused to war by Juturna who is urged on by Juno. Juno still shows that she is unaware of the full prophecy of Jupiter. She knows that Aeneas must marry Lavinia, but she has yet to fully understand his will for Aeneas' legacy.

For Turnus to engage in one last show of arms before he dies is anachronistic in Virgil's newly peaceful vision of Rome. This is what Virgil sets out to prove by contrasting Turnus, who himself becomes a tragic Achillean hero, with Aeneas. The clash

---

<sup>411</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.367.

<sup>412</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.376.



of meaning behind each of their actions, although they both meet in hand to hand combat is the story of the hospitality bond that Aeneas sets in motion with Latinus. Juno sends Juturna to incite Turnus to “alert [his] men and arm them, move them out through the gates to the field of battle.”<sup>413</sup> As Virgil depicts a senseless war for the dowry of Lavinia, Latinus’ kingdom, he is depicting not a war of force, but a war for the meaning of keeping one’s word. Latinus will not balk at the anger of Turnus, but instead keep his word and faith with his *xenos*, Aeneas.

Turnus violates the peace that Latinus has begun, yet it is Allecto who incites the countryside to war when Iulus violates the peace by killing a stag, the pet of a Latin maiden. Virgil associates Ascanius’ attempt at glory, his bow guided by Allecto, with the anger of the Latin people. This is not the Ascanius that Aeneas will later seek to shape and counsel on courage in his future actions.<sup>414</sup> This is an impetuous, impressionable Ascanius who “fired with a love of glory, aimed a shaft from his tensed bow.”<sup>415</sup> This type of glory-seeking is condemned by the poet and associated in language with Juno’s anger. At the opening of the *Aeneid*, Virgil asks what was the cause of Juno’s outrage is. When Ascanius shoots the stag, he writes, “This was the first cause of all the pain and struggle.”<sup>416</sup> He associates Iulus’ hounds with “frenzy,” recalling the prophecy of Jupiter in which civil strife is not abolished but “locked inside...roaring out from his bloody jaws.”<sup>417</sup>

---

<sup>413</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.500.

<sup>414</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.518.

<sup>415</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.579-80.

<sup>416</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.564.

<sup>417</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.352-5.

Juno asks Allecto to cease her terror, and as the war begins she states, “Let them sing of such an alliance, such a wedding hymn, the matchless son of Venus, and that grand king Latinus!”<sup>418</sup> Juno incites the threnody. As war is before the Italians, past and future collide as a grieving for a way of life and the fear of its eradication take the form of war. At first the herdsman come to beg Latinus for peace, but Turnus intervenes, painting the Trojans as enemies, inciting their fear.

Virgil’s characters stir up the many conflicts and fears surrounding the idea of a power as great as Rome. Virgil calls the war that the people are compelled to support a “wicked impulse.”<sup>419</sup> When war breaks out, Latinus “stands fast like a rock at sea, a seabound rock that won’t give way.”<sup>420</sup> Yet, the ideal of his hosting the Trojans in his home remains a part of the future as Latinus stands firm, and seals himself into his home “drop[ping] the reins of power.”<sup>421</sup> Latinus remains peaceful, dropping the symbols of Augustus’ power as spoken in the words of Carmentis, and awaits a union with Aeneas that transcends the fray.<sup>422</sup> The incomplete relationship between the Latins and the Trojans mirrors Virgil’s enterprise, a model based on *xenia* that Rome must strive for, even with all of the pressures and temptations to continue to leave the power to the Romans who were becoming increasingly self-assured of their place in the world. With this in mind, Aeneas continues to display the qualities of ideal *xenos* throughout his future actions. He makes it clear that it is not the outcome of force of arms he seeks, but

---

<sup>418</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.650.

<sup>419</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.678.

<sup>420</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.681.

<sup>421</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.695.

<sup>422</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* 1.

true alliance of which the notion of “arms” is merely symbolic of objects that are valued as highly as the relationship between gods and men.

Since Latinus will not open the Gates of War, Juno does. The next image that Virgil evokes speaks to the contradiction spelled out in Jupiter’s statement that “Frenzy” remains even when the gates are shut in peace.<sup>423</sup> He calls them “twin Gates of War” echoing the “twin gates of Sleep” that were presented in Book VI.<sup>424</sup> Juno opens the gates of war here as Latinus refuses to do so. The gates, at the time of Virgil’s epic, were closed and the city of Rome was said to be at peace. This was a civil peace as Rome itself was still continuously expanding its borders through war and conquest. Juno opens the gates and a cry of arms ensues. Turnus becomes the symbol of force of arms and as the epic moves forward, the poet will continue to use arms themselves as objects of discourse. The dichotomy between “force of arms” and “ally-in-arms” will continue. Aeneas is distressed by the war that breaks out between the Trojans, Latins, and Rutulians, and he seeks to maintain his search for peace by making Evander of Pallanteum his ally-in-arms.

---

<sup>423</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.352.

<sup>424</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.505, 6.1029.

## Chapter 4.

## Aeneas, Evander, and Pallas

The hospitality encounter between Aeneas and Evander leads Aeneas all the way to the final act of the *Aeneid*. Aeneas' return to his *xenos*, Evander, will be to avenge the death of Pallas, Evander's son who is under the tutelage of Aeneas on the battlefield. In the *Aeneid*'s final moment, he reaffirms his relationship with Evander (and Father Tiber) and activates the promised relationship with Latinus. With the sword itself, he also makes his return to Dido, Venus' "ally-in-arms"<sup>425</sup> The sword becomes *xénia* in the hands of its rightful owner, who uses it in an act of praise, a gesture of immortality that transcends the fate of Dido to remain a goddess only if her city of Carthage still stood. The poet pairs the fate of Dido's spirit with the identity of Aeneas, who has escaped the curses she places upon his future. Aeneas' final battle with Turnus alludes to his *apotheosis* while at the same time looks towards the future he has established, one of unity for the peoples of Italy on terms that are beneficial to all.<sup>426</sup>

Evander emphasizes his humble home and kingdom, a reminder of Rome's humble beginnings, when he takes Aeneas into his home as guest. Although offered, Aeneas has yet to be a guest at the hearth of Latinus. In the meeting between Aeneas and

---

<sup>425</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.806.

<sup>426</sup> A Roman leader either declaring himself or being declared a god is a subject of Virgil's discourse insofar as he questions the ease and veracity with which it was proclaimed. Aeneas' assent, however, is a given in the poet's world.

Evander and his son, two generations form a bond. Although Ascanius is largely absent in the meeting in Pallanteum, he will be present in Book XII when Aeneas walks onto the battlefield. The hospitality relationship between Evander, Pallas, and Aeneas finds Aeneas in a role of leadership, solidifying Aeneas' role as founder of the Roman people. Aeneas is harbinger of Rome's possibilities of peace, as well as demonstrative of the threats to its lasting viability.

Aeneas journeys for the first time without his men to make a connection to another leader. Aeneas journeys to Evander's town depicted as feeling anguish, just as he did when he was viewing the murals on Dido's temple.<sup>427</sup> Aeneas will form the bond with Evander as an alliance of arms, but the friendship itself is not simply an alliance in war, but an exemplar of how a true bond of *xenia* functions. The relationship with Evander and the death of Evander's son mark a change in Aeneas' mindset. He verbally questions the outcome of Pallas' death within the context of the hospitality bond he formed with Evander: "Is this how we return? Our longed-for triumph?," providing background for the transformation of associated meaning behind Aeneas' final act.<sup>428</sup>

### *Aeneas and Pallas*

Before moving to the meeting and exchange with Evander, it is instructive to discuss the connection between Ascanius and Pallas and recall the events discussed earlier regarding Aeneas' response to Ascanius' remarks. When Aeneas and his men landed on the shore in Latium, they again shared a meal, a scene of hospitality with the

---

<sup>427</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.21.

<sup>428</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.62.

land. Here, before the meeting with Latinus, the men discussed the future as it tied to prophecy. In the scene, the men Virgil describes the men “heaping their plates with Ceres’ gifts,” and eventually eating wheaten cakes that they have used to serve the food.<sup>429</sup> Ascanius remarks on this, and his son’s words cause Aeneas to recall words of his own father that indicate to him that this is the place they are to make their home. Yet, the thoughts in Aeneas’ mind are garbled. He is recalling the prophecy of the Harpie Caelano as conveyed in Book III rather than his own father who himself struggled with prophecy, unable to truly ascertain Aeneas’ future. Virgil draws attention to the fresh voice of Ascanius remarking at the hunger they feel. Ascanius remarks, “What, we’re even eating our platters now?”<sup>430</sup> Helenus has already assured the men that they are not to “fear that prophecy, the horror of eating your own platters.”<sup>431</sup> Rather than alarm, the pronouncement sparks a fresh inquisitiveness in Aeneas.<sup>432</sup>

The sign Aeneas seeks is a sow stretched out on the riverbanks, a sign that both Helenus and Tiberinus have alerted him to.<sup>433</sup> Upon seeing the sow, Aeneas immediately makes it a sacrifice, connecting vision and perception to piety.<sup>434</sup> It is the voice of Ascanius, the words as they “first fell from the boy’s lips” that drive him onward, and it is the friendship of Pallas that first greets him after the prophecy of the sow has been fulfilled.<sup>435</sup> Aeneas is greeted much in the way Pisistratus greets Telemachos when he arrives in Pylos. The difference is that the son here greets Ascanius’ father rather than his

---

<sup>429</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.120-1.

<sup>430</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.127.

<sup>431</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.467.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid.

<sup>433</sup> Virgil places the Trojan men and Aeneas in the place of the sow at first. Aeneas has arrived in harbor with hope in Book VII, but his mission is not complete. Ultimately, the sow is armor.

<sup>434</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.92.

<sup>435</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.130.

peer in age. Pallas offers proper hospitality immediately to Aeneas after determining that the man means no harm. He states, “...speak with my father face-to-face. Come under our roofs—our welcome guest.”<sup>436</sup> The obvious theme of transfer of the future to a new generation is compounded by the reader’s memory of the scene in which Venus herself substituted her own son, whom she makes a point to call Aeneas’ brother, for Ascanius in the royal hall of Carthage first meeting, imbuing the gifts exchanged with a binding force that transcended the immediate relationship between Dido and Aeneas.<sup>437</sup>

While the fate of Pallas in the epic seems predetermined, Aeneas’ reaction to Pallas’ death causes him to see the future of his own son in a new and urgent light. Evander’s son Pallas first greets Aeneas. He addresses the men in the ships as soldiers and expresses his fear that the men may be bringing war upon their arrival.<sup>438</sup> Aeneas’ response to Pallas is well-thought out. The way that Aeneas introduces himself to Pallas is a key component of the hospitality relationship and its mission of inclusiveness for the peoples of Italy. He tells Pallas to tell his father that he brings “leading chiefs of Dardania” to form an alliance.<sup>439</sup> When Aeneas speaks to Pallas, he states that he seeks to become friends-in-arms and asks Pallas to bring this news to his father, Evander.<sup>440</sup> The name of Aeneas immediately registers with Pallas, and he expresses awe at the famous name of Dardania, inviting Aeneas to come down off his ships.<sup>441</sup> As Pallas welcomes Aeneas, the host is described as “clasping Aeneas’ right hand, he held it long,” and Virgil is drawing the reader’s attention to the ritual handclasp, first initiated by

---

<sup>436</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.139-40.

<sup>437</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.796.

<sup>438</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.126.

<sup>439</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.137.

<sup>440</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.136.

<sup>441</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.137.

Pallas.<sup>442</sup> It is not Aeneas the Trojan, but Aeneas the son of Dardanus that moves Pallas to clasp the guest's hand. Virgil is indicating that, as he steps ashore in Pallanteum, Aeneas is coming home. Helenus prophesied to the men that "Sons of Dardanus, hardy souls, your fathers' land that gave you birth will take you back again."<sup>443</sup>

Through the mediation (in lieu of a herald or guard) of Pallas, Aeneas is brought to Evander. Yet, the brief moment of hesitation between the time that Aeneas arrives on the shore and the time he speaks to Evander amplifies the stakes of the relationship. Aeneas steps directly off a ship and Virgil makes it clear that he and Pallas leave the river. Pallas, like Aeneas, has become an object of contemplation and Virgil will further the binding force between these two men when he depicts the preparation for battle.<sup>444</sup> In the space between the river and the shore, Pallas has become Aeneas' *xenos*. The first meeting with Pallas is central because, held within the bond between these two men is the philosophical question that Virgil holds for Rome's future as well. All of the negotiation and alliances that the Italian cities find themselves engaged in with Rome are simplified through Virgil's depiction of innate and reciprocal hospitality. Once Aeneas engages in discourse with Evander, the specifics of battle will be discussed, but in this first depiction of Aeneas being welcomed joyfully by Pallas, the message is clear and simplified. Just as Ascanius' jovial notion of hunger on the shores of Latium spurred Aeneas to discern the meaning of prophecy, the simple welcome of Pallas is emphasized, through the portrayal of the ritual handclasp that Latinus has yet to share with Aeneas, as one that will have a lasting meaning for the epic.

---

<sup>442</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.141

<sup>443</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.110.

<sup>444</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.142.



When Aeneas reaches Evander, he has prepared the words he will speak to his potential host, taking their known familial ties into account. He takes pains to identify how the two men are already *xenoi* by blood. His offering to Evander is the same Greek offering Aeneas' men offer Latinus, "an olive branch of Pallas wound in wool."<sup>445</sup> What the reader is meant to take is that Aeneas' statements to Evander himself are, if we follow the pattern, *pista*. His initial introduction to Evander evokes the story of his ancestors and knowledge of his connection to Evander as material for the future of their relationship. However, at the time of his approach, Aeneas approaches Evander because he needs reinforcements in battle. Rather than "envoys or artful diplomatic probes," Aeneas makes it clear that he himself comes to speak with Evander.<sup>446</sup> He offers all he has in his words, in hopes that the union he seeks bodes well not only for himself and his men, but for solving the difficulties that surround him, the angst and war that men of Italy undertake in order to hold onto what they believe is rightfully theirs. The words are *pista* because, as assured as he sounds, Aeneas is meeting with Evander out of despair and the true future of their relationship cannot be fully determined.

The language that Aeneas uses is akin to the language of Thetis as she pleads to Zeus for the honor of her own son.<sup>447</sup> In place of his own mother, Aeneas puts himself. Venus' initial plea to Jupiter was that of knowing the future of her son after the Trojan War. Here, as he speaks to Evander, Aeneas inserts himself in the role of *suppliant*, the terms of his *supplication* being the meaning of his own life. Virgil has been hinting at this

---

<sup>445</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.176.

<sup>446</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.164.

<sup>447</sup> In Thetis' plea to Zeus, he states, "Look, I will bow my head if that will satisfy you. That, I remind you, that among the immortal gods is the strongest, truest sign I can give. No word or work of mine—nothing can be revoked, there is no treachery, nothing left unfinished once I bow my head to say it shall be done." (Hom., *Iliad* 1.626-31)

throughout the work with the play on the prophecy that a city will be powerful in war<sup>448</sup> or a woman will have a brilliant fame to come<sup>449</sup> but for the people a long and grueling war.<sup>450</sup>

### *Aeneas and Evander*

Virgil takes great pains to make the initial language of the hospitality relationship between Evander and Aeneas follow similar language to Homeric recognitions of *xenia* on the battlefield. The trope of hospitality is exaggerated. When Aeneas arrives, the Arcadians are paying rites to Hercules.<sup>451</sup> Aeneas addresses Evander, assuring him that it is by choice that he bespeaks the king. In his speech to Evander, Aeneas acknowledges that the peoples may be considered foes, but quickly glazes over any past identification of the Greeks and Trojans in war, preferring to connect the two men by blood. As he addresses Evander, he says, ““Our father’s mingled blood, Apollo’s voice.””<sup>452</sup>

Virgil draws a further distinction between the Augustan Aeneas and the Virgilian Aeneas through his relationship with Evander. The rumors that are being spread by the Italians liken Aeneas to Octavian approaching Actium. He is described as coming with an “armada, bringing the conquered household gods of Troy, claiming himself a king now demanded by Fate.”<sup>453</sup> Amid rumors that he has come to engage in open warfare, Aeneas approaches Evander, seeking haven from such a perception and the wars that have

---

<sup>448</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.537, speaking of Carthage.

<sup>449</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.88, speaking of Lavinia.

<sup>450</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.89.

<sup>451</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.214.

<sup>452</sup> Virgil, Dryden, *Aeneid* 8.

<sup>453</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.13.

ensued.<sup>454</sup> The Tiber has, in a vision, told Aeneas that the people of Evander's city "wage a relentless war against the Latin people," and advises Aeneas to welcome them as allies.<sup>455</sup> The means to peace seems to be war here, and Aeneas reluctantly acquiesces to this last resort.

What follows is a melding of the Trojan story of Aeneas with the Greek story of Evander. Carmentis sent Evander to Pallanteum as he was in danger, Aeneas fled Troy also in danger. Once Aeneas has connected the Greeks to the Trojans, he tells Evander that they are united by a common foe, the Rutulians.<sup>456</sup> Virgil ties this to the prophecy as stated by Jupiter, precisely demarcating Jupiter's use of language and Aeneas' own central position. Aeneas pleads with Evander to stop the Rutulians from "stretch[ing] their power athwart the land, and either sea from side to side command."<sup>457</sup> Jupiter made two statements about the future Romans in his decree. The first one states, "On them I set no limits, space or time: I have granted them empire without end."<sup>458</sup> The next statement is about Caesar or Caesar Augustus. Jupiter makes it clear that "his empire bound by the ocean, his glory by the stars," gives the Ocean and stars more dominion than the Trojan Caesar.<sup>459</sup> All this he sets up in the decree to set the tone for the disconnection of the founder of the Roman people with that of the Julian or Augustan line specifically. Aeneas comes to represent values in his own right and his values are espoused in the dynamic bond of hospitality.

---

<sup>454</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.17.

<sup>455</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.58-9.

<sup>456</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.166.

<sup>457</sup> Virgil, Dryden, *Aeneid* 8.

<sup>458</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.333.

<sup>459</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.343.

While Aeneas speaks, Evander observes him intently. Virgil writes, “While he spoke, Evander had marked his eyes, his features, his whole frame...”<sup>460</sup> This description is very similar to the way that Dido looks at Aeneas upon his departure from Carthage. Dido “glared at him askance, her eyes roving over him, head to foot, with a look of stony silence...till abruptly she cries out in a blaze of fury: ““No goddess was your mother! No Dardanus sired your line, you traitor, liar, no....””<sup>461</sup> Dido’s expectations of Aeneas’ lineage are not those of Evander. He acknowledges all that Aeneas says and replies: ““Bravest of the Trojans, how I welcome you, recognize you with all my heart!””<sup>462</sup> Evander’s welcome takes Aeneas as guest deep into his being while Dido struggles to match the image with her less sophisticated understanding of hospitality.

Evander makes it clear not to emphasize simply that Aeneas is the son of Anchises, but instead he discusses his memories of Anchises. He speaks of Anchises’ physical features and spoken words. He does not assimilate them into meaning, but rather discusses his apprehension of Anchises as an experience of awe and wonder that he felt at seeing the famed man.<sup>463</sup> Evander recalls a very specific memory of Anchises whose hand he longed to hold. Anchises was guided around one of the towns of Arcadia by Evander as a young boy. Evander recalls that gifts were given to Evander, his host. These gifts were: “a splendid quiver bristling with Lycian arrows, a battle-cape shot through with golden mesh, and a pair of gilded reins my son, Pallas, now makes his.”<sup>464</sup> These

---

<sup>460</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.174-5.

<sup>461</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.453-6.

<sup>462</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.176-7.

<sup>463</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.184.

<sup>464</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.93.

were departing gifts given by the guest rather than the host (Evander) much like Aeneas himself gave gifts to Dido as a guest.

Within the telling of the story of Anchises to Aeneas his son, Evander has discussed his youthful awe for Anchises. Yet, the exchange falls short of the two men affirming that their hospitality is one of hereditary *xenia*. Aeneas discusses that they are bound by blood. Evander offers him a welcome while evoking memories of his father through the gifts given him as a boy. Evander offers Aeneas a seat as the guest of honor.<sup>465</sup>

Aeneas' men are also mentioned as participating in the feast. Yet, some of Aeneas' men are back at the camp. Again, the two factions of men are separated while war is still a threat. Some of Aeneas' men, participate in the ancient rite to Hercules, once a guest in Evander's home. The meal in which they participate begins the inauguration of the future Rome begun by Aeneas. Yet, the rites in which Aeneas is welcomed to participate in are not Roman rites. Evander tells the story of Hercules "once their hunger was put aside, their appetites content."<sup>466</sup> Much like the Trojans' initial meal in Book I, Virgil describes the "gifts of Ceres" that accompany the feast.<sup>467</sup> The revelation of the identity of the guest, always preceding the feast in Virgil's hospitality encounters thus far, becomes Evander's revelation of the meaning of the feast to Hercules. He does this to set up Aeneas' position as an accomplisher of a work or labor in Book XII, following a feast and prayers to the gods between Latinus and Aeneas.

---

<sup>465</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.204.

<sup>466</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.213.

<sup>467</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.209. The men eat fresh "wheat loaves just baked."

Evander makes sure to assert that these rites are genuine. As host he states, “...no hollow superstition, and no blind ignorance of the early gods has forced them on us. No, my Trojan guest, we have been saved from dangers, brutal perils, and so we observe these rites, we renew them year by year and justly so.”<sup>468</sup> Evander goes on to tell the mythological story of the shepherd-monster Cacus, who roamed the former site of the Aventine, stealing cattle and bulls.<sup>469</sup> Cacus was the son of Vulcan and the brother of one of the early Roman *penates*, Caca.<sup>470</sup> Evander’s tale of Cacus is lengthy, animated, and clearly sets a tone in tandem with Virgil’s future storytelling of Aeneas in action. Evander states to his guest, “Watch Hercules on the attack.”<sup>471</sup> He tells the story with such an enlivened passion that the reader is made to feel the truth behind his statements, whether the story itself be wholly true or not. It is the bond in the telling of the tale that comprises, much like Aeneas telling his story to Dido, the bond in the relationship. Virgil will describe Aeneas with such active language in Book XII, tying him to Evander’s Hercules.<sup>472</sup>

The audience themselves must peel through what Dana Sutton likens to a story whose origins lie in those of the satyr plays.<sup>473</sup> One of Hercules’ labors was to kill the horses of Diomedes, King of Thrace, along with the king himself. The horses were known, like Cacus, to feed on human flesh.<sup>474</sup> Evander’s story, oddly, mentions that

---

<sup>468</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.212-9.

<sup>469</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.241-2.

<sup>470</sup> Goddess of the hearth that protected the home.

<sup>471</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.263.

<sup>472</sup> When he is wounded, Aeneas states, “Cut the wound with a broadsword, open it wide, dig out the point where it’s bedded deep, and put me back into action!” (Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.459-60)

<sup>473</sup> Sutton, 1977, 391-93. Sutton writes that the myth was unknown before Augustan time and speculates its origins to lie with the Greek satyr play, *Sisyphus*, in which Sisyphus is said to have stolen Diomedes’ horses.

<sup>474</sup> Apollo. *Bibl.*, Hyg. *Fab.*

Hercules was heading down with “all the spoils of the triple-bodied Geryon.”<sup>475</sup> He calls Hercules ““the great victor”” and tells of his approach to the Aventine.<sup>476</sup> This is not an accidental order by Virgil. He is playing with the idea of glory that comes from deeds of courage, a quality that Aeneas will preface and emphasize with his son before he goes to kill Turnus. Evander, whether consciously in the mind of the character or not, plays with the notion of glorified stories and rituals.

As the rites to Hercules begin again, Evander is described as shaded, his head crowned with a “wreath of poplar, hung with a poplar garland’s green and silver sheen that shaded Hercules once.”<sup>477</sup> Aeneas shares in the rites. The teller of the tales of the sites of this ancient land, Evander, is himself described as old and bent with years and he leads his guest back to the city, as if walking towards it for the first time on the horizon.<sup>478</sup> As Evander leads Aeneas through the hills of Rome, where Virgil’s contemporary audience resides, Aeneas begins his hospitality relationship with Rome, from its origins of the ancient gods to its present artificial polished presentation of peace. Virgil writes, “Aeneas marveled, his keen eyes gazing round, entranced by the site, gladly asking, learning, one by one the legendary tales of the men of old.”<sup>479</sup>

---

<sup>475</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.236.

<sup>476</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.237.

<sup>477</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.321-3.

While not outright indicated as the death of Evander, it is foreshadowed in this discussion of the placement of the poplar wreath: “When a priest was preparing a sacrifice, he often appeared with a festoon intended to be placed on the door of the temple on the front of the altar or the head of the victim.” (Smith, 1843, 877)

<sup>478</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.363.

<sup>479</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.367-8.

*Aeneas Tours the Site of Rome*

Evander begins his tour with a story that resembles Hesiod's *Five Ages of Man*.<sup>480</sup> He tells of the Golden Age (*aurea aetas*).<sup>481</sup> In Evander's telling, the Golden Age is still a possibility or is even still occurring, but the many disguises and turns that the violence of the Iron Age has brought continue as "time and again the land of Saturn changed its name."<sup>482</sup> This introduction to his tour also conveys Evander stating that he himself is "spurred on by my mother's dire warnings, the nymph Carmentis, and God Apollo's power."<sup>483</sup> This statement converges the nymph's prophecy of Aeneas with the founding of Pallanteum. Evander is marking Rome for Aeneas. He is pointing out the places that Rome has built its structure over and partially from. Ovid's *Fasti* adapts the prophecy of Carmentis to include bringing the "story down to our own time,"<sup>484</sup> but Virgil has made use of this prophecy throughout the text with the idea in mind that the seer's "prophetic tongue stopped short at the middle of her discourse."<sup>485</sup>

Davide Antonio Secci notes that, "The artificiality of Evander's myth-making is mainly a foil to the artificial quality of the literary and aetiological struggle which Virgil was required to face in order to deal with such an important piece of Augustan propaganda."<sup>486</sup> Virgil keeps a space between Aeneas and Evander's attempt to make the

---

<sup>480</sup> Virgil has infused the *Aeneid* with the story of man's ages.

<sup>481</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 8.382.

<sup>482</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.387.

<sup>483</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.393-4.

<sup>484</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.

<sup>485</sup> *Ibid* .

When Aeneas lands on the coast of Latium, we hear him state words attributed to Carmentis, "Hail to the country owed to me by fate!" (Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.133) The poet is stopping short this particular line of interpretation. The "new gods" (Ov., *Fasti* 1) that Carmentis discusses are also stopped short of in the *Aeneid*. There is no prophecy that includes Augustus or a "Trojan Caesar." The "Trojan Gods" in Book VII are replaced by the "spirit of the place" that Aeneas prays to in book VII.

<sup>486</sup> Secci, 2013, 195-227.



myths seem fully true,<sup>487</sup> the space Aeneas will find on the battlefield with Turnus. Evander's tale is told in a nearly one to one pace, immediately pointing out the Carmental Gate as soon as he tells Aeneas of the prophecy associated with it, but Virgil is very careful to note that Carmenta had dire warnings for her son as he founded Pallanteum.<sup>488</sup> Evander closes his tour of Rome with the Janiculum and the Saturnia: "This fortress built by Father Janus, that by Saturn: this was called the Janiculum, that Saturnia."<sup>489</sup> Virgil has made Evander the "founder of Rome's great citadel," Aeneas the "hero, god of the land," and Aeneas must push forward after he is introduced to the sites of Rome.<sup>490</sup> When Evander tells his tale to Aeneas, Virgil describes him as *beginning* his tale, evoking the god of beginnings, Janus. As the men pass through the gate, they head to their respective sleeping areas in order to reconvene in the morning.

#### *Evander and Aeneas and Pallas in the City*

The following morning, Evander rises and heads out to meet Aeneas at his private quarters.<sup>491</sup> Aeneas arrives with his aide, Achates, and Evander arrives with his son, Pallas. Virgil now describes the men: "They meet and grasp right hands and sitting there in the open court, are free at last to indulge in frank discussion."<sup>492</sup> Evander folds Aeneas into a present war, providing him the Lydian troops who seek to overthrow their own king, Mezentius. He states that he himself was asked to occupy the throne but is too old.

---

<sup>487</sup> Secci notes that Evander embellishes and speeds up his story in order not to lose Aeneas' focus and allow him to fall back into skepticism. Secci, 2013, 195-227

<sup>488</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.393.

<sup>489</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.420-1.

<sup>490</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.369 , 12.919.

<sup>491</sup> Evander is described much like the shepherd Eumeus in Homer, *Odyssey* 19.

<sup>492</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.551-3.

Like the prophecy Latinus hears in regards to the marriage of his daughter, Evander states, "...the gods forbid an Italian commander to lead a race so great—choose leaders from overseas!"

Virgil seeks to actively involve Aeneas in the wars of all the people that are to be under the Roman's rule in the future. Rather than a noble Roman, he states that the man to rule these Italians who "burn with well-earned rage" is a stranger.<sup>493</sup> If Aeneas is the father of the Roman people, he must become a deity to all peoples rather than simply those within the Roman vicinity or sphere of influence. Evander's statement of this supposed prophecy is Virgil's attempt to include all of Italy in the hospitality that Aeneas' arrival brings.

As the reader will come to understand through the Evander encounter, Aeneas as *xenos* is laying the foundation under the feet of present-day Rome, as well as telling the story of the Rome of the past. Evander involves Aeneas in a war on behalf of the people of Mezentius, connecting their rage with oppression, violence, and unfair treatment. The reader cannot help but envision Roman proscription and acts of violence when the terrible act of Mezentius binding live men with dead is described. Virgil conflates a metaphorical stand against the violence in his contemporary Rome with the righteous cause for Lydians' freedom. The poet begins to sow the seeds for Aeneas' fighting being aligned with more than simply the cause of empire building. The main point that Evander makes is that the cause itself is righteous and he chooses Aeneas to lead.

---

<sup>493</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.590-2.

Evander offers his son, Pallas, as an ally to Aeneas in battle. Too old to fight himself, he places Pallas under the tutelage of Aeneas.<sup>494</sup> Evander provides two hundred horsemen to Aeneas with a second two hundred in the name of his son with a second two hundred.<sup>495</sup> The gifts match each other in number and value. Evander has transferred the *xenia* relationship from himself to his son as he sends the men into battle.

The two parties perform a sacrifice before battle.<sup>496</sup> Some of Aeneas' men in the ships are chosen to enter battle while others are sent down the river to bring news to Ascanius. Aeneas agrees to enter battle based on a sign from his mother, Venus. When he sees "blood-red in a brilliant sky, rifting a cloudbank, armor clashing out," he does not hesitate to head into battle against Latinus and his city, one that Aeneas will soon find himself bound to by marriage in term of peace.<sup>497</sup>

When Aeneas and Pallas go to battle, Evander clasps his own son's hand long, "clinging, weeping inconsolably" mourning even before he goes into battle.<sup>498</sup> Just as Pallas held Aeneas' hand long when he welcomed him ashore, Evander holds his son in an act of mourning that precedes his actual death. The death of Pallas is an argument against the wars of conquest and acquisition. As Aeneas is being denied a peaceful alliance with Latinus, Pallas will be robbed of a full life due to his participation in a war

---

<sup>494</sup> The pairing also recalls the friendship of Achilles and Patroclus, who dies wearing Achilles' armor, and the friendship between Athena and Pallas whom she accidentally kills.

<sup>495</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.612-4.

<sup>496</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.640.

<sup>497</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.623-4.

<sup>498</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.659.

Evander is Priam here, weeping at the death of his son, but also the loss of his own youth. Evander mourns his son before he is seen dying on the battlefield, weeping in a way that Priam himself does not in the *Iliad*.

that the poet has deemed potentially unnecessary, but part of the fate that Aeneas must endure in order to fulfill his destiny.

### *Pallas in Battle*

When Evander sends Pallas into battle with his Aeneas, he states, “Let him get used to watching you in action, admire you as a model from his youth.”<sup>499</sup> In the throes of fighting on the battlefield, the poet addresses Pallas directly, “. . .just as your comrade’s courage speeds to your rescue, all at a single point, Pallas, and joy fills your heart.” Virgil depicts Pallas walking out onto the battlefield in his innocence and piety, but immediately engaging in violence and killing of many.<sup>500</sup>

Pallas’ final battle is with Turnus. Pallas’ words, before his death, are to Turnus. He cries: “Now’s my time to win some glory, either for stripping off a wealth of spoils or dying a noble death.” (10.532) Pallas describes the possibility of his death tied to his cause rather than to his prowess in battle. Pallas prays before his death. He prays to Hercules to “allow Turnus to bear the sight of his conqueror,” before he dies at the hand of Pallas.<sup>501</sup> Jove turns his eyes away from the battlefield before the death of Pallas, telling Hercules that Turnus “has reached the end of all his days on earth.”<sup>502</sup> Pallas’ prayer is foreshadowing for Turnus’ death at the hands of Aeneas.

---

<sup>499</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.610.

<sup>500</sup> Virgil compares a spear throw of Pallas to that of Rhoetus in Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*. In this story, Rhoetus is accidentally killed when a spear Perseus intends for Phineus strikes Rhoetus. In Virgil’s version, the two crossed spearmen are Iulus and Pallas. Virgil writes that “at Iulus, Pallas had thrown a spear at long range, but Rhoetus...takes the point head-on.” (Virgil, *Aeneid* 10.475)

Ovid, *Met.*, 5: “Oh perverted good, that thus an altar should abet the wrong! But, though the craven Phineus escaped, not vainly flew the whizzing point, but struck in Rhoetus’ forehead. As the barb was torn out of the bone, the victim’s heels began to kick upon the floor, and spouting blood defiled the festal board.”

<sup>501</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 10.548.

<sup>502</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 10.560.

*Mourning Pallas*

Upon the death of Pallas, Aeneas himself is made host by Evander. The two parties have already developed a relationship of mutual alliance. Aeneas has declared himself to be friends-in-arms with Evander. It is Pallas who first hosted Aeneas, and now in his death, Aeneas is called upon by Evander to grant his funeral rites in a macabre parody of the Roman triumph, as Aeneas, has just killed Mezentius in hand-to-hand combat. He enters the gates of Pallanteum with the body of Pallas and laments the outcome of their alliance thus far. Aeneas states that Evander sent them out to win an empire.<sup>503</sup> Yet, as he sees the lifeless body of Pallas, he begins to weep, and this is a moment of internal if not yet external transformation.

Aeneas prefaces the burning of the pyre of Pallas with words that express the question of the fruits of their alliance. Aeneas cannot align the outcome of his battle with the hospitality bond he formed in earnest with Evander.<sup>504</sup> Virgil powerfully deconstructs the Roman practice of triumph, the idea of the need for spoils of war, and guides the reader to determine what outward displays of peace and alliance are necessary and actual in their own contemporary society. Aeneas, having just killed Mezentius in hand-to-hand combat, has achieved victory over the terrible king.

The funeral procession blended with a triumph is a visual manifestation of what Jove tells Juno she has done: “blend the wedding hymn with the dirge of grief.”<sup>505</sup> The image of Pallas still in the bloom of youth while he lies on the bier brings into question

---

<sup>503</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.54.

<sup>504</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.63.

<sup>505</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.930.

the entire spectacle of the Roman triumph in battle. Aeneas adds the plunder he stole from the Latins and captives from the war he intends to sacrifice. They proceed with their hands behind their back. In addition, “tree-trunks clad in enemy arms, with the hated names engraved...chariots...splashed to the rails with Latin blood.”<sup>506</sup> Virgil also foreshadows his visual signification in the final act of Book XII by transferring the name of victor to Turnus at *Aeneid* 11.106.<sup>507</sup> This victory is hollow and overshadowed by the weeping of Pallas’ horse. Virgil writes, “And here comes Pallas’ warhorse, Blaze, regalia set aside, weeping, ambling on, big tears rivering down his face.”<sup>508</sup>

Through the pyre, and the idea of honor through death, Virgil connects the death of Pallas to the death of Dido for the purpose of tying the hospitality relationships together. Pallas accepted his death as one of honor while Dido stated that she would die unavenged. The relics that Dido places on the pyre, including the arms of Aeneas, mix with the Latin blood that is sprinkled on the pyre of Pallas.<sup>509</sup> Aeneas will eventually mix the blood of the Latin people with his own in his marriage. The sword of Aeneas, the *spolia* that Turnus has attained, and the arms of the enemy that Aeneas has his own captains carry on oak trees through the procession all maintain the discourse of arms in the poem. One of Aeneas’ old captains collapses under the weight of the oak tree and the enemy arms, symbolic foreshadowing of the weight of war and its visual representation.<sup>510</sup>

---

<sup>506</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.101-2.

<sup>507</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.106. “Turnus, the victor, commandeered the rest.” The taking of the arms of Pallas by Turnus is mournful rather than grand. This victory is deflated by Virgil’s focus on the untimely death of Pallas. The shield itself was not taken by Turnus, but rather used to bear Pallas’ body off the battlefield. The spear and helmet are born back to Evander by fighters.

<sup>508</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.103-04.

<sup>509</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.95.

<sup>510</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.100.

The Latins, having lost heroic soldiers as well, ask for time to bury their own dead before the war resumes. Here is where Aeneas is able to speak for himself in regards to his reputation of bringing war to Italy. He immediately grants the appeal that the Latins make to him.<sup>511</sup> Aeneas states, ““What unmerited stroke of fortune, traps you so in war that you flee from us, your friends?””<sup>512</sup> He tells the men he does not ““make war with your people. It’s your king who renounced our pact of friendship, choosing to trust to Turnus’ force of arms.””<sup>513</sup> Following this, the people reevaluate their allegiances.<sup>514</sup>

They are stopped short by the interference of Juturna. The outcome of the battles make it clearer and clearer that Aeneas is in Italy by fate. Nevertheless Juturna disguises herself as one of the Latin soldiers, Camers, and strides into the center of the Latin lines. Juturna “displays in the sky the strongest sign that ever dazed Italian minds and deceived them with its wonders...the golden eagle of Jove” and an augur by the name of Tolumnius proclaims that this is a sign for the battle to resume.<sup>515</sup>

The meaning of Pallas’ death as honorable will be defined through Aeneas’ actions in the future. Virgil has connected the death of both Dido and Pallas to the future by tying both deaths to the laws of host and guest. In the first case, Dido is the one who invoked Jupiter Hospitalis in Book I. Upon the death of Pallas, Evander tells the Trojans that he does not blame them ““nor our pacts, our friendship sealed by a handclasp.””<sup>516</sup>

---

<sup>511</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.123. Intertextuality with Hom., *Il.*, 7.

<sup>512</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.121.

<sup>513</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.130-1.

<sup>514</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.130-1.

<sup>515</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.227-8.

Virgil intentionally associates the augur by name with Tolumnius, king of Veii, who was killed by Cossus who then attained the *spolia opima*. He is leading up to his “false sign” of the Roman *spolia* as revived by Marcellus and Augustus.

<sup>516</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.194.

He tells Aeneas that his ““right arm...owes...the life of Turnus to son and father both. That is the only field left free to you now, to prove your worth and fortune.””<sup>517</sup> Evander affirms that they are bound by the laws of hospitality. Like the confusion between Aeneas and Dido, the outcome or end that Evander sees is likewise incomplete. For Evander, Aeneas must claim the life of Turnus to avenge the death of Pallas, but his tone is one of resignation. All he hopes is that he may bring the news of the death of Turnus to his son ““among the dead.””<sup>518</sup>

The words of Evander set the hero’s actions in the final scene up to be a display not of force, but of reciprocity. Aeneas has expressed disillusionment upon the death of Pallas, and this expression calls into question the signification of success and triumph in battle. When Aeneas goes into battle after the loss of Pallas, he is fired with the energy of all battles come before him, but beneath it all is not his drive for glory, but his grief. Achilles is able to grant Priam the body of his son because, just before Priam’s supplication, Thetis has given Achilles a message from Zeus. Aeneas’ forthcoming act of killing Turnus is, like the sword he will use, a return to his *xenoi* rather than an act of laudable glory in itself. They are a response to Evander, but one that extends its meaning beyond retribution and defeat. Aeneas makes a return that represents the ideal that the poet is able to allude to through the imperfect and necessary actions of his characters in context. Aeneas initiated a peaceful bond with all of his hosts. Even the relationship of Evander through which he sought support in war, his ends were those of an ideal in which no culture is subordinated to the service of another.

---

<sup>517</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.210-1.

<sup>518</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.213.



## Chapter 5.

### Aeneas and Turnus

Aeneas is never seen actually clasping the hand of Latinus. When Aeneas greets Evander and the two exchange their preliminaries, including stating their recognition of each other's identities, Evander states "the right hand you want is clasping yours."<sup>519</sup> The discussion of their storied histories does no harm, but it is within the frame of Priam's visit that Evander states he saw young Anchises. Fagles writes, "Evander is referring to Laomedon at first, and much more emphatically than can be conveyed in English."<sup>520</sup> Evander tells Aeneas that he showed Anchises around the walls of Pheneus in Arcadia. The reference to the walls combined with a place name that evokes the prophet from the *Argonautica* and the generational transfer of these gifts given Evander by Anchises to his son Pallas all foreshadow an atonement, Anchises is known for his *hubris* and Laomedon for his lack of honor.

The life of Aeneas is tied to the Trojan line at the outset of the meeting between Evander and Aeneas, but when they physically clasp hands, they are speaking of the future they seek to establish.<sup>521</sup> Recalling that Latinus states that "part of our peace" will

---

<sup>519</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.194.

<sup>520</sup> Fagles, *Aeneid* 2008. He refers to Hesione's kingdom first, and the treachery that is attached to it accompanies the reference. Priam, son of Laomedon, refused to pay the gods for building the wall.

<sup>521</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.552 "They meet and grasp right hands and sitting there in the open court, are free at last to indulge in frank discussion." Evander continues to tie the stories heard in the *Aeneid* by telling Aeneas that while Aeneas is alive, he won't consider Troy conquered. This is optimistic and removes the

be to grasp the “leader’s hand,” the reader anticipates that upon the resolution of the quarrel between Aeneas and Turnus, Aeneas will be seen grasping the hand of Latinus. This is not shown in the *Aeneid*. The men pray together and discuss the terms of their future peace, but never in the final book do the two men physically grasp each other’s hand. It is the final act of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas’ slaying of Turnus in single combat, that comes to symbolize the peaceful friendship between Aeneas and Latinus. It is the actual return to Evander; Aeneas owes the life of Turnus to his host. The use of a sword as the instrument of this final act is also a symbolic return to Dido. Aeneas covered the body of Pallas with the robe given him by Dido in Carthage.<sup>522</sup> The element of a *xenia* relationship ideally lasting forever as echoed from Aeneas’ initial statement to Dido about his dedication to her honor comes together in the final image of the *Aeneid*, its elements signifying meaningful exchange rather than acquisition of glory through military prowess. It is not the attaining of the *spolia* that drives Aeneas to follow through with the killing of Turnus, but his tie to his *xenos* as one whom he loved that brings Turnus’ life and all it has come to stand for in the epic to a close.

Many of the answers that have been postponed throughout the work of the *Aeneid* find resolution in Book XII, where Virgil provides closure in evaluating two of the major episodes of hospitality discussed in the poem: 1) Latinus; 2) Evander. This chapter provides a closer examination of the events and the language in Book XII of the *Aeneid*

---

idea of conquering from the assimilation of Troy into the Roman culture. It also ties the story of Dido’s divinity only existing if Carthage stood to Aeneas. Whether Carthage or Troy are no more, the kingdom of Aeneas’ lineage can still come to be.

<sup>522</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.83-89. “Then Aeneas carried out twin robes, stiff with purple and gold braid, that Dido of Sidon made with her own hands once, just for Aeneas, loving every stitch of the work and weaving into the weft a glinting mesh of gold. Heartsick, he cloaks the boy with one as a final tribute, covering locks that soon will face the fire.”

and an examination of the objects and depictions of the characters surrounding and leading up to the act of Aeneas killing Turnus with a sword. The poet expresses much of his commentary on the project of Rome via his ambivalence in treating the taking of *spolia opima* from Turnus, and it is through this lens that the reader should understand much of the poem.

Book XII opens with Turnus vowing to take on Aeneas in battle while Latinus pleads with Turnus to instead cease fighting a war and take another Latin woman as his bride. Latinus reminds Turnus that ever since he went against the prophecy and behest of the gods, nothing but ruin has fallen upon his people. When Amata pleads with Turnus not to go into combat with Aeneas, this causes Lavinia to blush and her face fill with tears. Virgil recreates Aeneas' tear-strewn face as he beheld the murals filled with combat in Dido's temple. Turnus gazes upon her as she is enflamed so with a love that furthers his commitment to fight.<sup>523</sup> Turnus states that the Trojans and Latin men should stand at ease and allow the two commanders to fight.<sup>524</sup>

Aeneas is relieved that the war will end with the offer of Turnus and sends a messenger to reply to Latinus and state the terms of the peace.<sup>525</sup> Juno is not ready to fully give up, still harboring enmity towards the Trojans, and sends Juturna to help her brother. She states that perhaps in so doing her interference may bring about "better

---

<sup>523</sup> All that Turnus puts into winning Lavinia is achieved by Aeneas through peaceful means.

<sup>524</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.100.

This much recalls one of Livy's versions of the Latins and Trojans making peace at the battlefield. Yet, with Turnus as intermediary and strange double for a possible Achillean interpretation of Aeneas' actions the events become layered in the readers' minds with the intent of the poet being to confuse their minds before following with bringing the audience towards a further understanding of the commitments peace requires.

<sup>525</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.136.

times...to those in pain.”<sup>526</sup> What happens next involves sacrifice, prayer, and oaths between the captains, Latinus, Aeneas, and Turnus. Yet it is only Aeneas and Latinus who speak during this time. Turnus serves merely as a witness of the swearing of the pact as he is an outsider to the prior arrangement between the two men.<sup>527</sup>

Before the two men battle, Juno yields and begs Jove to let Turnus endure once the battle has ended.<sup>528</sup> As Jupiter and Juno make peace, they come to terms as to how the people will proceed and be named. She insists that they speak one language and not be called the Trojans but the Latins. The union of Jupiter and Juno is the ending point for Virgil’s message as well. The two deities express a peaceful incorporation of allies who live in cooperation while maintaining their cultural uniqueness. The peace that Jupiter and Juno make seems a perfect place to end the epic, resolving the tension and depicting a peaceful future. Yet, the action of the epic does not cease. Like Roman expansion, another battle ensues.

As Turnus and Aeneas finally approach the point where they are fighting hand-to-hand, Turnus has begun to lose true motivation to fight. Virgil depicts “pictures of disaster blurring through [Turnus’] mind,” and eventually this impetus loses its hold on the fighter. When it does, Virgil describes Turnus as unable to form words, his body failing him.<sup>529</sup> Hit in the thigh, Turnus sinks to his knees, the position of *supplication* that the reader saw Dido in in Book IV. He begs Aeneas to spare his life. He begs Aeneas to ““go no further down the road of hatred.””<sup>530</sup> Yet, Aeneas sees the sword belt that Turnus

---

<sup>526</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.182.

<sup>527</sup> Virgil depicts Turnus with his hand upon the altar in *Aeneid* 12. As he witnesses the two men exchange words of prayer and their visions of the future.

<sup>528</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.958.

<sup>529</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.1058.

<sup>530</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.1092.

took from Pallas in battle and states, ““Decked in the spoils you stripped from one I loved ---escape my clutches? Never---Pallas strikes this blow, Pallas sacrifices you now, makes you pay the price with your own guilty blood.””<sup>531</sup> His reaction is not simply an outpouring of grief, it is an action that encompasses a return to Dido, Evander, and restatement of the terms between Latinus and Aeneas.

### *Spolia Opima*

At the moment of Turnus’ demise, Aeneas achieves the greatest of Roman military honors: the taking of *spolia opima*. Spoils of an enemy leader taken by an enemy leader in direct combat.<sup>532</sup> Yet, very few Romans had achieved this honor. Throughout the history of Rome, the only Romans known to have achieved it were Romulus, who started the tradition of dedicating the spoils .<sup>533</sup> Romulus mounted the spoils on an oak tree, marked out the site for the temple of Jupiter, and addressing the god by a new title, uttered the following invocation:

‘Jupiter Feretrius! these arms taken from a king, I, Romulus a king and conqueror, bring to thee, and on this domain, whose bounds I have in will and purpose traced, I dedicate a temple to receive the ‘spolia opima’ which posterity following my example shall bear hither, taken from the kings and generals of our foes slain in battle.’ Such was the origin of the first temple dedicated in Rome.<sup>534</sup>

The next known dedication of the spoils was by Cossus who killed Lars Tolumnius, king of the Veii, in 437 B.C.<sup>535</sup> Tolumnius is the name of an augur in Virgil’s

---

These words may be likened to a vision Julius Caesar had before he crossed the Rubicon to march on Rome. Lucan records his vision in an epic poem in which a female deity arises from the river stating, “If friends to right, if citizens of Rome, here to your utmost barrier are you come.” Lucan, *Pharsalia*.

<sup>531</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.1107-8.

<sup>532</sup> Flower, 2000, 34.

<sup>533</sup> Flower, 2000, 34.

<sup>534</sup> Livy: 1.10

<sup>535</sup> Livy: 4.20

Book XII.<sup>536</sup> The third known instance was the dedication of the *spolia* was in 222 B.C. by M. Claudius Marcellus after his victory at Clastidium.<sup>537</sup>

Virgil creates tension with the possibility that Aeneas may earn the *spolia* throughout the battle in Book XII, an honor the Romans knew of, but one that had not been formalized during Aeneas' lifetime. The scene occurs before the tradition itself was even inaugurated by Romulus. As Livy states, Romulus' dedication of enemy arms was the part of the first dedication of a temple in Rome; the moment of Aeneas' victory over Turnus is placed within this context, a dedication. Having begun the epic with images that brought him to tears, Aeneas' image at the end of the epic is one that will bring about the end to troubles that he verbally hoped for when he spoke to his Trojans on the shores of Carthage.<sup>538</sup> The epic is a work about the beginnings of Rome. The contemporary environment of the Roman reader of the *Aeneid* already had the associations with the *spolia* that had been built up by both Marcellus and Augustus and the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was rebuilt by Augustus before the Battle of Actium.<sup>539</sup> Livy writes that Augustus read the inscription of Cossus in the temple with his own eyes. Livy writes, "After that I felt like it would be almost a sacrilege to withhold...evidence as to his spoils

---

<sup>536</sup> Virgil references Tolumnius in Book XII when he interprets a false sign. This is one of Virgil's steepest commentaries on the imagery of Augustus. This representation of a sign of Jove that Tolumnius is fooled into interpreting by Juturna. It is Jove to whom the spoils themselves were dedicated.

<sup>537</sup> Flower, 2000, 35. The contested achievement of Crassus after his battle with the king of the Bastarnae in 29 BC would have counted as *spolia* had he not been blocked by Octavian.

Cassius Dio. 51.23.2, "Crassus himself slew their king Deldo and would have dedicated his armor as *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius had he been general in supreme command."

Crassus was not allowed to dedicate *spolia* because he was not the supreme commander, but a debate about the dedication of Cossus when he was only tribune was contemporary. Most think that Crassus was not allowed to dedicate because this triumph threatened to overshadow Octavian. Virgil depicts the men carrying the arms of their foes on their backs in the funeral procession after Pallas' death and one in particular slumps under the weight of the agonizing display.

<sup>538</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.234.

<sup>539</sup> Zanker, 1996, 203.

given to the Caesar who restored that very temple.”<sup>540</sup> Of course it is impossible to discern Livy’s tone here, but the reader cannot help but think of the fact that Augustus himself was considered to have withheld the honor from Crassus, his rival for supreme command.

Virgil associates Aeneas with the *spolia* through both Marcellus the consul who won the *spolia* and Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, both whom Aeneas learns about from his father in the Underworld. The words of Anchises serve as a mirror to Jupiter’s Jupiter’s prophecy from Book I. Through the parade of heroes narrated by Anchises, all that Jupiter foretold seems to come to pass in the mind of the Roman audience. Yet Virgil ends the discussion with Anchises on a note of grief and begins to turn the course of the seemingly known retelling of Rome’s rise. Aeneas asks Anchises about Marcellus, presumably the nephew and potential heir of Augustus, whose funeral Anchises retells to Aeneas. Anchises is overcome with grief and describes the stately funeral that Marcellus will receive (one that has already happened in Rome and is in the mind of the readers) while Aeneas’ eyes remain focused on what he sees. He sees a man with fine bearing with acclaim from his comrades who is also marked with “a mournful shadow.”<sup>541</sup> Anchises breaks away from his aggrandizing of the Roman men when his son asks him who it is matching an earlier Marcellus Claudius Marcellus stride for stride.<sup>542</sup>

Aeneas breaks in after both the men have been struck with awe at first seeing Marcellus Claudius Marcellus, who attained the *spolia*. In the Underworld, he walks towards Aeneas and Anchises “decked in splendid plunder he tore from a chief he killed,

---

<sup>540</sup> Livy 4.20

<sup>541</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.997-9.

<sup>542</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.995.

victorious, towering over it all.”<sup>543</sup> Yet, this is not the Marcellus that catches the gaze of Aeneas. Virgil does not make it absolutely clear that the man he sees matching the stride of Marcellus Claudius Marcellus is the nephew of Augustus, but in the language of the mourning, Anchises speaks of the funeral of Marcellus, a funeral that is also reminiscent of the mourning of Pallas, Evander’s son. Jay Reed writes that the language that Virgil gives to Anchises when the father is confronted with probing questions from his son about future events performs the task of attempting to forestall any misgivings Aeneas may have about his role in founding the Roman people.<sup>544</sup> One of Reed’s arguments is that the beauty that accompanies the stately funeral mourning of Marcellus and the flower imagery he uses undercut and “divert true indignation at the cost of Rome’s success into tolerable sadness.”<sup>545</sup>

This analysis sounds, however, much like the work that Dido touted as the work of her building of Carthage and welcoming those who suffer too, and Virgil has already eschewed the union between enemies, an enemy Rome would one day conquer, as offered by Dido as untenable.<sup>546</sup> By having his hero continue to maintain his role as *xenos* in a relationship in which he essentially took over the role of host before his departure, Virgil is able to build his case for a Rome by incorporation rather than violent defeat of its enemies. In the final scene between Turnus and Aeneas, the hero and guest-host is able to make a return not only to Dido, but to his Greek ally Evander as well. His actions also fully realize the relationship, benefits, and terms he intends going forward in his relationship with Latinus. The realization and fruition of the hospitality relationship

---

<sup>543</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 9.988.

<sup>544</sup> Reed, 2007, 161.

<sup>545</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>546</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.751.



between the Latins and Trojans is the medium through which Virgil is able to give voice, through the actions of his hero, to his vision of a true and lasting Roman peace.

The moments that Aeneas spends with his father in the Underworld are quite possibly intended to be interrupted by Aeneas' second sighting of himself. Rather than in a mural, it is a shade of a man who, in Aeneas' lifetime, has yet to be born. Virgil has already warned his readers against the Roman "newness" that characterizes the Augustan program and his pairing of Marcellus with Marcellus amplifies this.<sup>547</sup> Connecting Aeneas to the grief over the death of Augustus' heir, Virgil writes,

Aeneas broke in now,  
for he saw a young man walking at Marcellus' side,  
handsome, striking, his armor burnished bright  
but his face showed little joy, his eyes cast down.  
"Who is that, Father, matching Marcellus stride for stride?  
A son, or one of his son's descendants born of noble stock?  
What acclaim from his comrades! What fine bearing, the man himself!  
True, but around his head a mournful shadow flutters black as night. (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.992-999)

The shadow comes from Aeneas seeing himself yet again. The man walking next to Marcellus, as the language in the subsequent scenes will show, is Aeneas. His father, gazing at the story of Rome in the Underworld, changes his tone near the end serves to alert the reader that this vision Anchises has cannot be sustained as it is seen. Aeneas can no longer see himself as simply a son of noble stock and take comfort in this.<sup>548</sup> His connection to a planned and picturesque future is severed by the glimpse not simply of the mourned Marcellus whose death in Rome tore apart much of the confidence in the beliefs in the future of Rome.<sup>549</sup> This plan is replaced by the overlapping of a future

---

<sup>547</sup> Augustus has rebuilt the temples, he has, everywhere attempted to revise the presentation of the Roman past and future. Virgil is concerned with the misleading dangers and blatant ignorance of the present circumstances. Marcellus is of particular relevance because a great theater to Marcellus was being built in the Forum.

<sup>548</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.996.

<sup>549</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.1003.

Aeneas and Marcellus, lightly suggested in a desperate high note of Anchises' threnody for Marcellus and the great grief that Aeneas' father himself cannot put into words.<sup>550</sup>

In an intentionally ambiguous use of language, Anchises states to his son, "You will be Marcellus,"<sup>551</sup> but this is not the precise future Virgil has envisioned for his character, and this is one of the most precise moments in the epic. Anchises' desire for Aeneas to carry on and possibly change the course of the fate of the descendants of Aeneas is inserted in a scene in which he is praising the heroes from Aeneas' line. As Anchises mourns, he wants to continue to hold onto an idea that is similar to the one of the glory he knows. His discussion of Marcellus is the premise that even the gods were jealous of his greatness. Aeneas in his sorrow stares down at the ground.<sup>552</sup> This indicates that what the speaker, Anchises, is seeing is not in the vision of Aeneas' future.

### *Creating the Latin Foedus*

Throughout the poem, the audience has been directed by Virgil to determine the value of the object or gifts in a different manner than by their material or immediate symbolic value. Virgil's final step is to direct the audience to determine the value of an image not by its given value, but through the complex context he has created for it. Dido

---

<sup>550</sup> Anchises' pale speech is language of the desire to honor the dead, but his grief surpasses his ability to simply accept the memory of the funeral as a satisfactory closure to all that plagues his people.

<sup>551</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.1018.

<sup>552</sup> Within the corpus of hospitality meetings, the parties stare at the ground in moments of interaction. As she greets the Trojans, Dido begins her speech by staring at the ground. Latinus keeps looking at the ground when Ilioneus makes his appeal at *Aeneid* 7.289. At *Aeneid* 6.545, Dido's eyes are on the ground when Aeneas speaks to her in the Underworld. Aeneas' eyes are fixed on the ground after the Sybil speaks to her. Aeneas and Achates at *Aeneid* 8.616. Dido at *Aeneid* 1.675.

was simply Venus' ally-in-arms, but the goddess' great love is for her son.<sup>553</sup> Virgil has his hero narrowly escape the shadow of a remorseless imperialistic future and his host Latinus do the same. To do so, the poet works the idea of Aeneas as an object of great wonder (as seen through his own eyes in the murals) and awe into one where the hero's actions themselves, by the end of the epic, are less inscrutable than the seeming meaning of the image of Aeneas swept up in the melee of the Trojan War.<sup>554</sup> In the culmination of the hospitality relationship between Aeneas and Latinus, the hero is involved in a battle of hand-to-hand combat in an act that would prove to be a taking of the *spolia opima* were it in the context of the contemporary Roman imagery.<sup>555</sup>

Before the battle is to take place, Aeneas and Latinus make their oaths. Aeneas prays to the sun to witness his oath.<sup>556</sup> He states "I call on the springs and streams, the gods enthroned in the arching sky and gods of the deep blue sea!"<sup>557</sup> Latinus follows Aeneas in his prayer stating, "I swear by the same, Aeneas, earth and sea and stars...may the Father hear my oath, his lightning seals all pacts!"<sup>558</sup> Oath-swearing accompanies a sacrifice in which the kings "heap the altars high with groaning platters."<sup>559</sup> This is also a pact of peace, a treaty or *foedus equus* that the two have enacted.

Aeneas' terms for this *foedus* are as follows:

I shall not command Italians to bow to Trojans,  
nor do I seek the scepter for myself.  
May both nations, undefeated, under equal laws,  
march together toward an eternal pact of peace.  
I shall bestow the gods and their sacred rites.  
My father-in-law Latinus will retain his armies,

---

<sup>553</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.806.

<sup>554</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.590.

<sup>555</sup> Ibid.

<sup>556</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.209.

<sup>557</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.216-7.

<sup>558</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.236-9.

<sup>559</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.259.

my father-in-law, his power, his rightful rule.  
 The men of Troy will erect a city for me—  
 Lavinia will give its walls her name.” Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.225-33

For Aeneas, nothing can change the pact that he has made with Latinus. Aeneas is fairly certain of the outcome of the battle in the same way that Achilles is also certain about the outcome of the supplication between Priam and himself. His confidence stems from his assurance in his *pietas* and the true rewards that it will bring. Aeneas speaks levelly and is in no way asking the gods for favors or fame. He first offers the possibilities of Turnus’ winning. The outcome would be that the Trojans would join with Evander and never seek to put the Rutulians and their Latin allies to the sword.<sup>560</sup> Next, he offers up what he thinks is decreed by the gods, the Trojans’ force-in-arms awarded victory, an outcome he believes will come to pass if the gods decree it so.<sup>561</sup>

In Aeneas’ statement of the terms of the peace, Virgil has pulled together the many hospitality relationships. When Dido invited all to the feast, Trojans and Tyrians, and proclaimed that the gifts and meal they share make this day a day of joy, Aeneas’ actions are about to bear the fruit of this statement.<sup>562</sup> In one final act of the epic, Virgil contrasts the elaborate and seemingly unending visual and ritual program of the new peace with a singular act that has a meaning developed and made through the toils of the hero in service of hospitality. Despite the many difficulties in the relationship with Dido, the poet provided many *ekphrases* in this initial hospitality encounter for the reader to look back upon as the epic builds. These are lasting “works” that depict the truth in the experience between the parties. Aeneas’ unease at the violent art on the temples is

---

<sup>560</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.222.

<sup>561</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.223-4.

<sup>562</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.757.

replaced in the future with the moments of feasting, seeking shelter, and sharing responsibilities of building. When he looks back upon his visit, he has no regrets of his hospitality with Dido.<sup>563</sup> The image he creates in his battle with Turnus is a visual representation of all that he has achieved through negotiations for peace. It is a transformation of interpretation of battle-scene art to encompass the mourning and courage Aeneas displays in holding firm in his values.

The relationship with Evander represents an authenticity between rites and ritual. Each statement Evander makes may seem exaggerated at the time, but it is the foil to the Augustan exaggeration. He must shout clearly that the rites for Hercules come from his actual experience with the hero as a guest. Pallas' prayer to Hercules before his death ties Pallas' death to a labor, a meaningful mortality that will be fully reciprocated in the meaning behind Aeneas' inability to offer Turnus his life in terms of victor/vanquished. Jupiter has already given the limit of Turnus' life to the audience. All that persists once he takes his gaze from the battlefield is man's doing. He shows no favor to either side. This *declaration* by Jove undermines the practice of Romans calling upon deities to favor their battle plans. The victor/vanquished dichotomy wears itself out and any attempt to resuscitate it fails. Aeneas' task is instead to do honor to his hosts and the lives they lived.

Just previously, in the oaths, Virgil has depicted Latinus in ways that Augustus himself was depicted in known prophecies. He does this not necessarily to aggrandize Augustus but rather to gradually remove the associations and replace them with the visual impact of the final battle between Aeneas and Turnus. Virgil describes Latinus entering

---

<sup>563</sup> As he states to his hostess in 4.418, "'I shall never deny what you deserve, my queen, never regret my memories of Dido...'"

into the field just before the oaths and sacrifices are made: "...a massive four-horse chariot draws Latinus forth, his glistening temples ringed by a dozen gilded rays, proof he owes his birth to the sun-god's line"<sup>564</sup> and "raising the scepter he chanced to be grasping in his hand."<sup>565</sup> This recalls a dream that Augustus' father is stated to have had the day that he was born in which "he dreamt that his son appeared to him in a guise more majestic than that of mortal man, with the thunderbolt, sceptre, and insignia of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, wearing a crown begirt with rays...."<sup>566</sup> Virgil adorns Latinus with the imagery that legend attached to Augustus as "ruler of the world"<sup>567</sup> only to present the tension between the acceptance of this false imagery and the lasting legacy of Aeneas' action.

Aeneas does not fear the outcome of his battle with Turnus. He is aware of what will happen. He knows that his rites have guaranteed his success. He proceeds to the battlefield to claim his home on terms he has made with all peoples, including his own Trojans. Aeneas avenges the death of Pallas, but also preserves his honor by continuing to fight for his own peaceful cause. After Pallas' death, Aeneas tells Magus that any bargaining in battle was cut short "when [Turnus] cut Pallas down!"<sup>568</sup> The exchanges in Virgil's poem do not emphasize bargaining and temporary benefits. Each act of hospitality has its own lasting significance to contribute to the hero's, and thereby the Roman, legacy.

---

<sup>564</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.191-4.

<sup>565</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.247-8.

<sup>566</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 94.6

<sup>567</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>568</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.629-30.

*The Peace of Jupiter and Juno, The Future of Rome*

Long before the warriors find themselves in hand to hand combat on the battlefield, the king and queen of Olympia have made their peace. Juno has given verbal purpose to her lengthening out the life of Turnus. As stated, she considers her interference part of the work of Aeneas' mourning and meaningful action.<sup>569</sup> The interference of the gods in the *Aeneid* is unlike the Homeric depiction of gods "to advance their interests and satisfy their own passions."<sup>570</sup> In Book 12, Jupiter finally reaches a limit to allowing Juno's interference. It is no longer beneficial for the goddess to maintain and act upon the rage she feels. Rather than abolish a race she loathes (the Trojans), she happily joins the Latins with the Trojans in one language. Virgil is making a not-so-veiled statement through Juno about the homogeneity of Roman culture. Juno states, "never command the Latins, here on Latin soil, to exchange their age-old name...alter their language, change their styles of dress."<sup>571</sup>

There is a difference between a negotiated peace in which the parties who have negotiated the peace remain subjects consistently aiming to emulate a culture that itself adopts from the very cultures it is said to have conquered and a negotiated peace that preserves the values and heritage of the peoples participating in the peace. The role of commerce and trade was an area of competition that the Romans did not want to share with the Carthaginians. The soil that Latinus gives Aeneas, he freely shares. Virgil's epic does not provide a definitive path forward for his own contemporary Rome. Rather, it

---

<sup>569</sup> 12.182, may her interference "bring out better times to those in pain."

<sup>570</sup> Virgil and Robert Fagles, 2010, "History."

<sup>571</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.954-7.

provides an image in the final act that is so visceral, so necessary, and so inescapable that it stands for the dangers of the assent to deification and trust in one man. Jupiter states in the *Aeneid*, ““King Jupiter is the king to all alike,”” and seals his pacts with the river Styx.<sup>572</sup>

Aeneas’ final act seeks to find an end to the eternal clashes that Jupiter ceases to watch. At the end of the epic, Jupiter and Juno condone a peace that seeks to remove the warlike aspect of the Trojan identity by enfolding the men into the Latin people, bound with the land that Aeneas can trace back to inhabitation by his own forefathers. The peace between Jupiter and Juno is reached when they have reached a limit to ““harass the Trojans over land and sea.””<sup>573</sup> The words of Jupiter belie his prophecy that he sets no limits on the Roman people in either space or time.<sup>574</sup> In order for the *Romanitas* that Virgil envisions to be defined and possibly thrive, the limit of expansion, homogenization, and incorporation through conquering is very real. It is the boundary line where the future and the past meet.

In the final slaying of Turnus who, rather than attain glory, finds his life cut off and is sent to the shades, Aeneas is acting out of duty, necessity, and piety. The moment he considers sparing the life of Turnus is brief. The armor that Turnus wears is mortal armor. It is not the divine armor given Achilles by his father or mother. It is not the divine armor of Aeneas. It is the girdle whose scenes depict man’s inhumanity to man. Virgil draws a parallel between the violent works Aeneas sees and the violent deeds threaded into the baldric of Pallas. The poet has made the telling of the tale the return, the

---

<sup>572</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 10.137.

<sup>573</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.931.

<sup>574</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.334.



medium through which the poet himself adheres to the law of divine hospitality. The violence that Aeneas' force of arms inflicts is a single act. The force-in arms that Victory grants to Aeneas and his future people is not the force of oppression, but strength and piety. Rather than a triumph, Aeneas receives the laurel of victory for replacing a way of life built on the strength of military foundation with a way for a peace built on competitive kindness.

Virgil does not show Aeneas grasping the hand of Latinus in the final scene of the *Aeneid*. Instead, Aeneas' right hand is used to plunge a sword into the heart of Turnus. Aeneas devoted his arms, the shield of Abas, not to Jupiter Feretrius, but to "Grecian victors."<sup>575</sup> Aeneas' final act is a complex dedication to Dido, Evander, and Latinus and his daughter. Rather than avenge the death of Dido, Aeneas' instrument, the sword, transcends the "unjust peace" that she wished on him.<sup>576</sup> The force of arms exemplified by Turnus is nullified when Aeneas puts a stop to him. The sword itself becomes a gift rather than a weapon. Evander prepares to tell his son, Pallas, about the death of Turnus upon meeting him in the Underworld. This story can only be told once. In the environment of the Underworld, it would become a continual retelling. In the upper air, the death of Turnus is transformative and singular. Virgil prioritizes the life of Pallas over the glory of spoils. Just as Pallas clasped Aeneas' hand and held it long, the moment Aeneas avenges his death is intended to have a lasting effect on the reader.<sup>577</sup>

When Turnus blusters "that welcome [Evander] gave Aeneas costs him dear" he is sounding the bond the men have.<sup>578</sup> It is a *dear* bond in which the two are engaged in

---

<sup>575</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 3.343.

<sup>576</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.762.

<sup>577</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.141.

<sup>578</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 10.584.

an exchange as written by the poet. The parties have achieved a victory together, creating an *aegis* of lasting contemplation. The basis for the understanding of Aeneas' final act may be Greek, but it encompasses the particularities of all the peoples and boasts the force of *xenia* over the violence of battle. Virgil has infused an image restored in the readers' time with a slightly hollow and abstract meaning, that of the *spolia opima*, with new life. Virgil seeks to remove some of the fear and terror in the minds of the people. Virgil undercuts any need for the *spolia* in the future. Rather than anticipate another feat by a general, the reader of the *Aeneid* is made to contemplate the meaning behind the clasping of hands, an image that, although not depicted at the end of the poem, is one that the Romans must continually strive towards.

## Bibliography

Ancient Texts:

Apollodorus. *The Library, Volume I: Books 1-3.9*. Translated by James G. Frazer. Loeb Classical Library 121. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921.

Apollonius Rhodius. *Argonautica*. Edited and translated by William H. Race. Loeb Classical Library 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Dio, Cassius. *Roman History*. Translated by Earnest Cary. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914-1927.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, transl. Earnest Carey, *The Roman Antiquities*, Volume 1.45, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937-50.

*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, translated by Gregory Nagy.

Homer, Fagles, Robert, transl. *Iliad*. New York: Penguin, 2003.

Homer, Fagles, Robert, transl. *Odyssey*. New York: Penguin, 2006.

Livy and Rev. Canon Roberts (transl.), *History of Rome (Complete)*. Acheron Press.

Lucan, *Pharsalia*. Translated by J.D. Duff. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928.

Naevius, Gnaeus. *The Bellum Poenicum in Remains of Old Latin*. Translated by Eric Herbert. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935.

Ovid. *Fasti*. Translated by James G. Frazer. Revised by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 253. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.

Ovid. *Metamorphoses, Volume I: Books 1-8*. Translated by Frank Justus Miller. Revised by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 42. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916.

Polybius. *Histories, Volume II*. Translated by W.R. Paton. Revised by F.W. Walbank and Christian Habicht. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Servius, Christopher Michael McDonough, Richard E. Prior, Mark Stansbury, and Virgil. *Servius' commentary on Book four of Virgil's Aeneid: an annotated translation*. Wauconda, Ill: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2002.

Suetonius. *Lives of the Caesars, Volume I: Julius. Augustus. Tiberius. Gaius. Caligula*. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Introduction by K. R. Bradley. Loeb Classical Library 31. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.

Trzaskoma, Stephen M. *Apollodorus' Library and Hyginus' Fabulae: Two Handbooks of Greek Mythology*. Hackett Classics. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2007.

Virgil, *Aeneid*. Ahl, Frederick; Elaine Fantham, transl. and editor. Oxford World's Classics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Virgil, *Virgil's Aeneid*. Translated by John Dryden with introduction and notes. New York: P.F. Collier and Son, 1909.

Maro, P. Virgilius, Robert Fagles, and Bernard Knox. 2006. *The Aeneid*. New York: Viking.

Matthaei, Louise E. "On the Classification of Roman Allies." *The Classical Quarterly* 1, no. 2/3 (1907): 182-204.

Virgil. *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1-6*. Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. Revised by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 63. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916.

Virgil. *Aeneid: Books 7-12. Appendix Virgiliana*. Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. Revised by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library 64. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918.

Xenophon. *Xenophon in Seven Volumes, 7*. E. C. Marchant, G. W. Bowersock, tr. Constitution of the Athenians. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA; William Heinemann, Ltd., London. 1925.

### **Modern Scholarship**

Alessi, Paul T. *Golden Verses: Poetry of the Augustan Age*. 2018.

Alston, Richard. *Rome's Revolution: Death of the Republic and Birth of the Empire, Ancient Warfare and Civilization*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Belfiore, Elizabeth. *Murder Among Friends: Violation of Philia in Greek Tragedy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Bolchazy, Ladislaus J., *Hospitality in Antiquity: Livy's Concept of its Humanizing Force*, originally published *Hospitality in Early Rome*, 1977, Chicago: Areas Publishers.

Burkert, Walter. *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1979.

David, Jean-Michel. Translated by Antonia Nevill. *The Roman Conquest of Italy*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

Diskin, Clay. "The Temple to Juno in Carthage (*Aen.* 1.446-93)," *Classical Philology*, Vol.83, No. 3 (Jul., 1988), pp.195-205.

Flower, Harriet I. *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.

Flower, Harriet I. "The Tradition of the Spolia Opima: M. Claudius Marcellus and Augustus." *Classical Antiquity* 19, no. 1 (2000): 34-64.

Galinsky, Karl. *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction*. Princeton (New Jersey): Princeton University Press, 1998.

Gibson, R.K. "Aeneas as hospes in Virgil, *Aeneid* 1 and 4. 1999, *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No.1. 186.

Herman, Gabriel. *Ritualized Friendship and the Greek City*, New York, Cambridge, 1987.

Howe, George, "The Revelation of Aeneas' Mission," *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 19, No. 1, January 1922.

Karavites, Peter and Wren, Thomas E. *Promise Giving and Treaty Making: Homer and the Near East*. Leiden, Brill Academic Publishers, 1991.

Kearsley, Rosalinde. "Octavian and Augury: The Years 30-27 B.C." *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, 59, no. 1 (2009): 147-66.

William M. Murray and Photios M. Petsas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 79, Part 4, 1989, American Philosophical Society.

Naiden, F.S. *Ancient Supplication*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2006.

Nybakken, Oscar E. "The Moral Basis of Hospitium Privatum." *The Classical Journal* 41, no. 6 (1946): 248-53.

- Parker, Robert. "Pleasing Thighs: Reciprocity in Greek Religion." In *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*. 1998, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Pitt-Rivers, Julian. "The Law of Hospitality." 2012, *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2 (1):507.
- Platner, Samuel. *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. "Sacella Vestae." London: Oxford University Press, 1929.
- Powell, Anton. *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992.
- Putnam, Michael C. J. *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Reed, J.D. *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Roisman, Hanna, "Pistos Hetaerois' in the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey,'" *Acta Clasica*, v.26, 1983, 15-22.
- Secci, Davide Antonio. "Hercules, Cacus, and Evander's Myth-Making in "Aeneid" 8." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 107 (2013): 195-227.
- Smith, William. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1843.
- Sutton, Dana. "The Greek Origins of the Cacus Myth." *The Classical Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1977): 391-93.
- Terrenato, Nicola. "Tam Firmum Municipium: The Romanization of Volaterrae and Its Cultural Implications." *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 88, 1998, pp. 94–114. P.107.
- Thomas, Richard F. *Virgil and the Augustan Reception*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Zanker, Paul. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988.