

PUTTING DIDO ON THE MAP: GENRE AND GEOGRAPHY IN VERGIL'S UNDERWORLD¹

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Aeneas' final words to Dido appropriately refer to the impossibility of communication between them: "This is the last thing fate allows me to say to you (6.466)." But the literal-minded reader, oblivious for the moment of Aeneas' impending deification, may well think of the hero's own return to the underworld after his death. Won't that provide the opportunity for further conversation? The difficulty, as Servius explains it, is one of location; the two will dwell in different sections of the land of the dead. He interprets Aeneas' words as follows: "After death I will occupy another circle, that given to brave men, not to lovers" (*quia post mortem tenebo alterum circulum, viris fortibus scilicet, non amantibus datum*, Serv. ad Aen. 6.466). Servius' comment brings out one of the most essential features of the Vergilian underworld: it offers the legible geography that Aeneas has sought so long in his earthly wanderings. Where you are reveals who you are. Heroes and lovers, the good and the bad, occupy different realms, separated by clear natural boundaries and presided over by different judges.

Vergil's was by no means the first attempt to impose a spatial organization on legendary accounts of the underworld and its inhabitants,

1 Many of the ideas presented in this paper were originally developed while teaching books 5 and 6 of the *Aeneid* at Dartmouth College in Winter 1996. I would like to thank the students in that class for their contributions to the discussions in which those ideas were shaped: Joseph DeCristofaro, Peter Horowitz, Erin Moodie, Seth Pevnick, Micheal Posey, Abigail Roberts, Shelly Roper, and Jeremy Turk. The final form of the article has benefited from the criticisms and suggestions of Deborah Steiner, audiences at Princeton and Berkeley, and, above all, James Zetzel.

nor to use the divisions and boundaries of this geographical plan to provide a map of broader ethical and social categories. The influence particularly of Orphic and Pythagorean accounts of life after death and of Platonic eschatology on Vergil's reformulation of the Odyssean *nekuia* are vast issues that have received a proportionate amount of scholarly attention.² My interest here, however, lies not with the details and meanings of the particular topographical pattern the poet employs in book 6, but rather with the thematic significance acquired by the imagery of mapping itself. I begin from the assumption that the *Aeneid*'s depiction of the underworld as a sequence of distinct geographic regions that also appear as administrative units under the jurisdiction of judges and obedient to the laws they give, can be profitably related not only to earlier philosophical and literary traditions concerning life after death, but also to a contemporary interest in the representation of space in Augustan Rome. Claude Nicolet has argued for an important transformation in the Roman conceptualization of space and power during the beginning of the principate. As never before, geography comes to provide a schema of *imperium*: territorial entities increasingly coincide with administrative ones so that abstract conceptions of power and authority take on defined spatial limits.³ Correspondingly, the map of the world, on which this mosaic of provinces and *regiones* is represented and articulated, becomes the ultimate manifestation of the breadth of Rome's imperial sway.

The connections between Vergil's poetic project and the construction of such representations of space are profound. They appear most clearly in the account of the shield of Aeneas in book 8, where the poet has adapted Homer's ecphrasis of the shield of Achilles, which, with its images of the stars and the spatial limits of the cosmos, itself formed a kind of world map, to produce a "map" whose boundaries are fixed by the extension of Rome's *imperium*. The river Araxes, "vexed at its bridge (8.728)," forms the last element of the ecphrasis just as, in the case of Homer's shield, the physical artifact itself is circumscribed by the river Ocean that bounds the cosmos.⁴ The temporal order (cf. *ordine*, 8.629) of

2 Zetzel 1989.264–68 provides an overview of both ancient precedents for Vergil's depiction of the underworld and modern scholarship on the question. See especially Norden 1893 and 1957, Dieterich 1913, Norwood 1954, Otis 1959 and 1964.289ff., and Solmsen 1972.

3 Nicolet 1991.esp. 1–11 and 189ff.

4 However the bridge over the Araxes suggests the possibility that Roman arms can extend indefinitely beyond it. This abrupt and unexpected ending to the ecphrasis seems,

Rome's wars simultaneously becomes a spatial progression from one river, the Tiber, beside which the first scenes narrated take place and where the twins whose nursing begins the ecphrasis were found, to another, the Araxes. The same set of spatial limits also governs the portion of Vergil's narrative within which the ecphrasis appears: book 8 begins with the epiphany of the god of the Tiber and ends with the shield's image of the Araxes.⁵

This essay will suggest that a similar thematic connection between the ordering of space within the narrative and the processes of poetic representation also appears within book 6. I will begin by showing how closely the way the poet constructs his description of the underworld mirrors the techniques by which the Romans produced their "Inventories of the World." The second half of the paper will then concentrate on one particular "locus" within book 6, Aeneas' meeting with Dido among the shades—the scene that prompts Servius' reflection on the geographical distinctions that separate the regions of the dead. Here I will argue that the ambiguities involved in "mapping" the landscape within which this encounter takes place point to a larger breakdown in the generic coherence of Vergil's text. As the geography of the region of the lovers frustrates and contradicts efforts to produce an objective description of it within the context of Aeneas' epic itinerary, so the epic texture of Vergilian narrative is complicated by the introduction of elements from other poetic genres that put into play contrasting possibilities for interpreting the episode. The exposure of these competing perspectives ultimately focuses attention on the poem's capacity to produce the kind of authoritative representation of reality suggested by the imagery of mapping.

Aeneas' trip through the underworld appears very much as a voyage of discovery. The itinerary Aeneas follows itself imposes a structure on the space he transverses: the poem presents the geographical features of the underworld in the order Aeneas encounters them. Indeed, the imagery

therefore, just the provisional stopping point in the account of an image that, like the *imperium* it describes, should be without end (cf. 1.279).

- 5 For a recent discussion of this ecphrasis, the conclusions of which closely anticipate my own treatment of mapping in book 6, see Zetzel 1996.313ff. Zetzel argues that Vergil's description draws attention to the way he has refashioned the shield made by Vulcan by imposing an order, both aesthetic and moral, on the complete account of Roman history produced by the god. The poet thus offers his shield as an image of the cosmos while at the same time showing that this cosmos is very much his own construct, not a mere reflection of the world, or of Roman history, as it was.

of mapping and exploration doubly begins Vergil's account of the book as a whole. The moment that the Trojans arrive in the new land of Italy they commence to explore a terrain that, with its dark, beast-inhabited forests and unknown rivers, closely anticipates the landscape Aeneas will encounter in his katabasis: *pars densa ferarum / tecta rapit silvas inventaque flumina monstrat* (6.7–8). The simultaneous process of discovering and displaying these geographical features finds an analogue in the scene depicted by Daedalus on the doors of the temple at Cumae, which also highlights the process of mapping. The final scene depicted on the doors shows the creator guiding, *regens* (6.30), the steps of Theseus through the maze that he has created.⁶

The word *regens* used to describe this act of Daedalus itself provides the “thread” that directs the reader toward the larger significance of the process of mapping within the book. In this passage, the same root, which means at once to rule and to make straight or order, appears twice more: the person on whose behalf Daedalus solves his maze is a *regina* (6.28),⁷ and when the Sibyl commands that Aeneas not waste time looking at the temple doors, he himself is referred to as a *rex* (6.36).⁸ The connection between ruling and ordering that the book's opening panel suggests reappears again at its conclusion, the protreptic description of Rome's mission towards which the underworld passage is arguably directed. The Roman's “art,” as Anchises puts it, is preeminently to “rule,” *regere* (6.851). What is more, the *populos* who provide the direct object for this verb are geographic as well as political entities: regions were often referred to simply by the name of the people who inhabited them. The idea that the creation of Roman order should be a procedure equivalent to mapping, the imposition of a measure or pattern upon the world, emerges again in the second infinitive clause that defines or amplifies *regere*, *pacique imponere morem*—to impose either the habit of peace, or a habit

6 For the Daedalus episode see especially Fitzgerald 1984 and Putnam 1987 (=1995.73–100). Fitzgerald, in particular, connects Daedalus' solving of the labyrinth, the transformation of “pattern into path” (1984.58), with his creation of an artistic representation of the past.

7 But which *regina*? Pasiphae or Ariadne? On the ambiguity of the expression, see Fitzgerald 1984.56 and note 14.

8 Somewhat uncharacteristically; the term *rex* is used of Aeneas 10 other times in the poem (1.38, 1.544, 1.553, 1.575, 6.55, 7.267, 9.223, 10.224, 11.176, 11.230) and has not been applied to him since the speech of Ilioneus in book 1.

upon peace. Again the word *mos*, among its many complex associations, suggests a standard or canon.⁹

Such a connection between political domination and geographical ordering expressed itself in many forms during the Augustan age, which was one of antiquity's great periods of geographical exploration. In 44 B.C.E., Julius Caesar sent out four geographers to measure each of the four regions of the globe, a task that, in each case, seems to have taken over twenty years.¹⁰ Geographic expeditions accompanied many of the military campaigns of Augustus' reign and added considerably to knowledge of northwestern Europe in particular;¹¹ conversely, the geographer Strabo (1.1.16) attests to the value of such knowledge for administration and conquest. But the significance of these acts of measuring the world extended beyond the practical advantages to be derived from them: triumphing generals had often displayed maps as a way of presenting the *populus* with a visual sign of the successful exercise of their *imperium*.¹² Now, in the Augustan period, depictions of the entire world increasingly conveyed the global extent of Roman power. Two of the great monuments of Augustan imperialism would take the form of representations of the world: Agrippa had such a world map erected in the Porticus Vipsania and produced written commentaries elucidating it. So too, the final record of

9 Norden 1957.335–36, who argues that the entire passage conforms to the rhetorical conventions established for the praise of cities, suggests that *mos* here corresponds to the notions of τάξις or κόσμος that appear in similar contexts in Greek encomia of Roman rule; he compares especially a Greek inscription from Priene (105, line 36 Von Gaertringen) which describes Augustus as τὸν παύσαντα μὲν πόλεμον κοσμήσαντα δὲ πάντα.

It should also be noted that the distinction made in the last element of Anchises' exhortation between *subiecti* and *superbi* can also be made manifest on a map. Thus Eumenius, in the late third century C.E., claims that the map of the world in a school founded by Constantius will enable the youth of Autun to see "what cities, tribes, and races the undefeated princes have restored by their piety, conquered by their virtue, or mastered with terror" (*Pan. Lat.* 9.20).

10 On Caesar's geographical initiatives see Wiseman 1992.22ff; Nicolet 1991.95–98 is more skeptical about the historicity of such an endeavor.

11 The major geographic expeditions of the early Empire are conveniently catalogued by Nicolet 1991.85–94. Important Augustan initiatives include those of Cornelius Gallus and Aelius Gallus in southern Egypt and along the Red Sea coast during the early 20s B.C.E. (for Cornelius Gallus, see *ILS* 8995 and Strabo 17.1.53; for Aelius Gallus, Strabo 16.4.22–4); the surveys of the East between 2 B.C.E. and 2 C.E. by Juba and Isidore of Charax (Pliny 6.139–40); and the explorations along the North Sea coast (see Dio 55.10 and *Res Gestae* 26.4). For the impact of these northern expeditions on the map produced by Agrippa, see Nicolet 1991.109.

12 See Nicolet 1991.29–56 for examples and bibliography.

Augustus' own *Res Gestae*, with its list of exotic place names, draws explicit and repeated attention to the geographic extent of Rome's *imperium* and, in a very real sense, converts the entire world to a symbol of the emperor's achievements.¹³

This last aspect of Augustus' *Res Gestae*, its re-fashioning of the world from a Roman perspective, points to another important feature of "imperial" geography: the images that it creates, far from being simply objective descriptions of the world, are projected onto the real space the Romans have conquered. Vergil's own definition of the Romans' task highlights this quality of their accomplishment by juxtaposing most directly the Roman "art," *regere populos*, with the purely descriptive geography of the Greeks, whose efforts aim simply to measure and record the dimensions of the cosmos (*describere*, 6.850). Roman "rule" is to be prescriptive as well as descriptive, the image of the world it presents is not the static catalogue of the world as it is but rather a schema to be actualized. This actualization can take a number of forms, the most obvious of which is simply the administrative ordering of conquered territory, its measurement and division into rational units for governing,¹⁴ and the imposition of a straight and regular grid of Roman roads linking what are, in Roman eyes, the most important cities of the region. On a larger level, the notion that the boundaries of Roman *imperium* should be identical with those of the cosmos itself, implicit in the very conception of the world map erected by Agrippa and a frequent theme in Augustan literature and art, constitutes less a boast about the grandeur of previous conquests than an ideal to be realized.¹⁵ Thus Vergil's own "world map," the shield of Aeneas described in book 8, far from insisting that the Romans have already conquered the world, looks forward to the day when Roman *imperium* signified by a bridge will have reached the Araxes. And, indeed, the completion of that

13 See the analysis of Nicolet 1991.15–27.

14 Nicolet 1991.149–69 discusses those procedures by which the Romans literally mapped and reconfigured the landscape they occupied: "The Romans . . . for centuries organized their territory—especially their newly conquered territory—in light of its agricultural exploitation. They did this not only by surveying it and determining boundaries between public and private property, but also by actually constructing it on the terrain" (1991.149).

15 For an argument about how the conceptions of the world represented on Agrippa's map could have acted as a spur to further conquest and expansion, see Moynihan 1986. On expansionism in Augustan foreign policy, see especially Brunt 1963 and Gruen 1990. See also Romm's 1992.122ff. discussion of the paradoxical check on Roman expansion imposed by the very image of world conquest.

task will only pave the way for further expansion: the bridge is itself the path to a new goal.

Caesar's account of the Gallic wars reveals most clearly how the expansion of Roman dominions imposed a new conceptualization of space, a new map, onto the conquered territory. M. Rambaud has analyzed the depiction of space in this work under three headings: geographic space, strategic space, and tactical space, of which only the first two concern us here. About Caesar's conceptions of geographic space, the picture formed of the extent and boundaries of the entire region of Gaul, Rambaud makes two points that will be relevant to our discussion of Vergil's underworld. First is the importance of a perspective or point of view. For Caesar, the starting point from which he describes the shape of Gaul is, of course, provided by the Roman province, which, as Rambaud puts it, serves as a "balcony" from which Caesar contemplates the space to the North. Gaul begins at the Rhone and ends at the Rhine.¹⁶ Second, the space itself is given shape by its political divisions rather than vice versa. "Space is perceived less as a substructure of geographic shapes than as a mosaic of territories, each belonging to a distinct *civitas*."¹⁷ So, as we shall see, the underworld's regions are determined by their inhabitants. How conquest coincides with the conceptual reshaping of the conquered territory emerges even more clearly from Caesar's treatment of what Rambaud calls strategic space, that is to say, Caesar's description not of the extent of Gaul in the abstract, but of the actual space that he traverses.¹⁸ Most striking in the picture of space that emerges is its linearity. In accord with ancient processes of describing territory by tracing an itinerary through it, Gaul is reduced to a sequence of individual destinations following one after the other without reference to the cardinal points that could relate this itinerary to a two-dimensional map. So too, Rambaud notes the scarcity of any indication of left or right that might have given width to the line Caesar traces through Gaul.¹⁹ Within this schema, the individual nations of Gaul become beads on the string of Caesar's progress. This tendency, present in Caesar's geographic descriptions, would 400 years later produce what remains to our eyes one of the most peculiarly structured representations of

16 Rambaud 1974.114–15.

17 Rambaud 1974.115.

18 "C'est un espace ressenti, on voudrait dire, vécu," Rambaud 1974.116.

19 "Au fond, dans la vision linéaire de l'espace, le stratège ne prétend arriver ni à droite ni à gauche mais à l'objectif," Rambaud 1974.118.

the world, the Peutinger Table. This twelfth-century copy of a fourth-century itinerary map, whose primary aim was to record the staging posts on the network of roads leading from Rome, is 21 feet long but only one foot wide.²⁰ In both cases, the geometric connotations of Vergil's expression *regere populos* possess a literal application: to "rule" is to reduce space and territory to a straight line through it, which is also the route of Roman armies.²¹

If it is the Romans' mission to "set the world straight," the narrative of book 6 shows the same process at work on the hero of the poem himself. Aeneas enters the underworld by way of Daedalus' labyrinth, an image of inescapable wandering and of riddling passages that recalls only too clearly his own erratic itinerary toward Italy. But, by the end of the book, he has been straightened out. He proceeds from Cumae to Caieta, the next stage on his journey to Latium, along a "straight shore" (*recto litore*, 6.900).²² So too, the underworld itself is a circular space surrounded by a tangle of rivers: the Styx flows around it nine times.²³ But Aeneas, thanks to the guidance of the Sibyl, moves through it in a straight line. Indeed, Aeneas never recrosses the Styx, and, despite the Sibyl's caution about the *labor* involved in retracing one's path, Aeneas' route nowhere demands that he double back. Like Daedalus himself who escaped from Crete by air, Aeneas leaves the underworld by going up and out, through the gate of dreams that leads back to the sky.

This opposition between circular and linear motion is not unique to book 6. The poem begins with Aeneas being blown off course, and its first four books trace a spatial loop that returns Aeneas to exactly the same

20 On the Peutinger Table, see Levi and Levi 1981.

21 Indeed the process of producing linear routes through geographic regions was a crucial element in effecting and manifesting Rome's domination of space. Thus Purcell 1990.12ff. demonstrates how Gallia Cisalpina was progressively bisected by a series of straight Roman roads and suggests that the imposition of linear routes represents a pivotal transformation in the Romans' relationship with the territory they occupied. Purcell also points out that it was not the physical fact of the road that established the "route": rather roads served to monumentalize pre-existing concepts of linear itineraries.

22 Or "along a straight path," *limite*, the reading of the more recent manuscripts that is preferred by Mynors and Austin (see 1977.278) to avoid the repetition of the same word in the same metrical position in two successive lines.

23 This detail doubly assimilates the poem's image of the underworld to a world map: the Styx becomes an image of the river of Ocean that correspondingly envelopes the cosmos, and the series of nine concentric circles this pattern generates has since Servius' commentary (*ad Aen.* 6.439) been associated with the nine celestial spheres that, including the earth, make up the universe. See Norden 1957.27ff.

place he started from. This divagation interrupts Aeneas' unidirectional journey from Troy to Rome, which, as the agenda set out in the *Aeneid*'s proem makes clear, also provides the structure and goal of the epic itself. Correspondingly, as the digression created by Aeneas' journey to Carthage hinders Aeneas' progress, it similarly disrupts the narrative line of the poem: the narrative now proceeds through digressions—Aeneas' tale within a tale—that subordinate the plot line of Aeneas' wanderings to the languorous present of Dido's banquet and take us back into the past rather than forward into the future. So too, the generic identity of Vergil's poem becomes less certain. What had promised to be an epic poem in the Homeric tradition with a national theme begins to seem curiously like a modern tale of "the sorrows of love." I suggest that in book 6 as well, the topographic features of Aeneas' journey, in particular the tension between linear and circular progress, can be related to the way the poem defines its own literary properties. The progression from new territory to new territory, the crossing of rivers and the avoidance of "pitfalls" like Tartarus, keep Aeneas on track towards a definite goal; and the end point of that itinerary will be nothing less than the manifestation of, and prescription for, the imperial future of the Romans. Appropriately, the figure who keeps Aeneas from being side-tracked, delayed, or obstructed is a *vates*, a representative, that is, of the larger forces of destiny and of the epic tendencies of Vergilian narrative.²⁴

The correspondence between the exercise of a recognizably Roman administrative authority and the creation of an ordered landscape appears particularly in the fourteen lines that immediately precede the description of the region where Aeneas meets Dido (6.426–39). After the crossing of the Styx and the Sibyl's neutralization of Cerberus, Aeneas passes through three regions in quick succession occupied respectively by

24 It is, however, important to recognize that this schema involves its own paradoxes. The voyage to the underworld itself is a "digression" within the course of the larger narrative (so esp. Zetzel 1989.263). It only gives Aeneas a glimpse of the future by taking him back into his past and, as such, seems to suggest a circular direction not only for the "epic" as a whole, but for the processes of history as well—the future will be a purified replication of history. So too, if the Sibyl enables Aeneas to complete the epic topos of a katabasis, she insures that that katabasis ends where no epic has gone before, with a philosophically and historically constructed image of life after death, which, as much criticism of book 6 has pointed out, transcends and contradicts the Homeric image of the underworld. But if these developments ultimately raise questions about the validity of a simple equation between linear progress and the path of epic, they also show how central this pattern of imagery is to the larger issues of the poem.

those who died in infancy, the falsely accused, and suicides. Here the principle that different sections of the underworld belong to different classes of souls is most conspicuously applied. Nowhere else does the poem define so narrowly and unambiguously the inhabitants of a region. In the central member of this triad, Vergil draws attention to the process of apportionment itself (6.431–33):

nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes.
quaesitor Minos urnam movet; ille silentum
consiliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit.

Ancient commentators confirm the abundant use of technical legal terms in this passage and the closeness with which Minos' actions approximate actual Roman judicial procedure. The lot and the urn refer to sortition, the process used for distributing cases to be heard, the summoning of the *consilium* describes the empanelling of judges, and the final clause recalls the investigation of the crime itself.²⁵ At the same time, the expression *sedes non sine sorte datae* recalls another distinctively Roman administrative procedure, the process of *sortitio* by which plots of land were distributed among settlers in a newly founded Roman colony.²⁶

The poem itself participates in the creation or representation of this “ruled” landscape through the elaborate and ordered narrative structure with which the regions are described. Three spatial expressions, *continuo* (426), *hos iuxta* (430), and *proxima . . . loca* (434), each at the beginning of its line, provide a well-defined organizational pattern for the passage that results directly from the measured space it depicts. The ending of this section, too, has a geographic corollary: its final line describes the boundary created by the Styx itself, which surrounds the underworld nine times. Appropriately, the verbs for binding, *alligat* and *coercet*, themselves bound the final hexameter.²⁷ As in the case of the Caesarean procedure discussed

25 Ps.-Asconius in Verr. 2.1 p.224 Stangl: “Vergilius Minoem tamquam si praetor sit rerum capitalium, ‘quaesitorem’ appellat; dat illi sortitionem ubi ‘urnam’ nominat; dat electionem iudicum cum dicit ‘consilium vocat’; dat cognitionem facinorum cum dicit ‘vitasque et crimina discit.’” See also Norden 1957.245–46.

26 For the procedure of the *sortitio* see Keppie 1983.96f.

27 Indeed, the ending of the previous section had contained the reference to the same river (425), and the verbal echoes between the *ripam inremeabilis undae* of that line and the *palus inamabilis undae* of line 438 form a ring that again encompasses this section.

above, this narrative is also an itinerary; the order in which the regions are described mirrors and results from Aeneas' route.

This emphasis on geographical boundaries holds out the promise that both the underworld and Vergil's account of it will possess a clear structure, that both will provide a sure and authoritative "map" defining the experiences undergone in life by the souls who occupy these regions. However the poem's account of the inhabitants themselves suggests a different view of the boundaries that shape the region's topography. Norden has pointed out that infants, the wrongly condemned, and suicides (together with the inhabitants of the next two areas, those who died from love and those who died in battle) all belong to the categories of the ἄωροι (the untimely dead) and βίαιοθάνατοι (those who died from violence), both traditionally excluded from the underworld proper until they had completed their allotted life spans.²⁸ Their ability to wander at large in the world of the living gave these classes of souls a particularly important role in ancient magic. Vergil, however, has fixed them firmly within the borders of the underworld and describes the force of *fas* and the physical obstacle of the river as enforcing their exclusion not from the world of the dead but rather from the *altus aether* to which they long to return.²⁹ By this device, he conflates the separation of the dead from the living with the denial of the souls' desire to resume what they see as their rightful places and makes the physical boundary that delineates the space of the underworld emblematic of both. As Vergil's text places these souls on the wrong side of this boundary, so the circumstances of their deaths, their "fates," as the adjective *exsors* used of the infants and the emphasis on unjust judgments suggest, were unfair and cheated them out of their "share" of life. Thus, if within the underworld these regimented categories of souls represent an image of order and judgment, their lives call these notions into question. Two terms used of the first group, *infantes* and *exsortes*, in different ways negate the concept of fate. While *infantes* has as its primary meaning "without speech," the verb *fari* from which it comes is recognizably related to the

28 See esp. Norden 1893.371ff. and 1957.11–13. His most important source for this classification, and the one that attests to the exclusion of these souls from the underworld, is Tertullian *de anima* 56f.

29 See Dieterich 1913.152n. who stresses that, in the *Aeneid*, the boundary of the underworld proper is above all the river Acheron: "Wer gibt uns das Recht den ersten Raum des Hades als ein Zwischenregion, die Seelen dort als noch nicht in den 'eigentlichen' Hades aufgenommen zu betrachten?"

word *fas* itself.³⁰ So too, *exsors* not only contrasts the infants' loss of an "allotment" of life with the "allotted" spaces the souls receive in death (cf. *nec vero hae sine sorte datae . . . sedes*, 6.431), but also recalls the conception of the lot or share upon which the Greek equivalent of "Fate," *moira*, was based. The antithesis between life and death comes to describe the unbridgeable gulf separating the subjective experience of life as lived from the schematic description of it that emerges from the geography of the underworld itself.

Vergil's description of the act of judgment by which these souls are given their places reinforces the idea that the "justice" and "order" that give the dead their places in the landscape of Hades are less natural consequences of the lives they have led than constraints artificially imposed from without. The judgment of Minos sometimes appears as a kind of absolute or "divine" justice, which corrects and negates the false sentences that condemned the souls on earth.³¹ However Vergil's descriptions of these earthly trials focus our attention not on the charges but on the sentence: the souls were *damnati mortis*. Minos may establish that someone was not a traitor or a murderer, but the one thing he cannot do is return the condemned to life. Far from compensating or acquitting the falsely accused, Minos' judgment confirms the effects of their sentence, even as the procedure itself reproduces all too clearly their previous trial.

The description of this first section of the underworld ends with the *tristis palus inamabilis undae* that frustrate the souls' desire to return to the upper world; it is *amor* again that provides the defining characteristic of the next group of souls we encounter: *hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit* (6.442). Here, more conspicuously, the tension between experience and its poetic representation appears in Vergil's treatment of the region's

30 The impact of the term *infans* is heightened not only by the contrast with *fas* at the end of the passage, but also by the quasi-oxymoron that results from Vergil's description of Aeneas as "hearing their voices" (*continuo auditae voces . . . / infantum*, 6.426–27). The image of the "voices of the speechless" is somewhat less contradictory in Latin than in English: *infans* denotes the incapacity not to make any noise at all, but only to form articulate speech. This observation, however, points to a further contrast between the first inhabitants of the underworld, who lack this ability, and the poet himself, who begins the katabasis by praying that it be *fas* for him "to speak" (*loqui*, 6.266) of the things he has heard, and whose neatly balanced description of the "speechless" themselves demonstrates that his prayer was granted.

31 E.g., Norden 1893.373 ("nur wenn Minos wirklich durch Prüfung ihres Lebens gefunden hat, dass sie schuldlos sind, erhalten sie dieses Sitze"), Austin 1977.158, and Zetzel 1989.283 ("As is not the case in life, in death justice is true and unchanging").

geography. The section begins with a transitional phrase, *nec procul hinc* (6.440), that anchors the region at once within the narrative structure of the passage and within the spatial sequence of Aeneas' journey. But the space itself possesses properties that seem to resist such demarcation: it extends in every direction, *fusi in omnem partem*, and its particular features, secluded paths and myrtle groves, are designed to conceal. The region, in fact, seems to frustrate precisely the descriptive strategies that we have encountered in Caesar's "mapping" of Gaul. Since it extends in all directions, it should lack not only boundaries but the organizing point of view that the Roman province provides for Caesar's presentation of Gallic geography. Although the text begins emphatically with *nec procul hinc*, there ought to be no "from here" to provide the starting point for geographic description. So too, if Caesar's account of "strategic space" is based on his itinerary through it, not only would the "secret paths" of these regions seem to frustrate direct progress, but any account that reduced the region to the straight path produced by itinerary mapping would essentially misrepresent it. The region of the lovers therefore ought to be very much *terra incognita*, like the Hercynian forest whose very unaccountability and strangeness offer a foil to Caesar's regular efficiency in conquering Gaul.³²

As in the case of the previous zones of the underworld, here, too, the effort to fix the geographical boundaries of the region coincides with its integration both within the course of Aeneas' linear journey and within a specific moral schema. From the beginning of the passage, the language emphasizes how the region is subject to a process of description that is at once impersonal and external. The plains "are shown" (*monstrantur*, 6.440); "they call" (*nomine dicunt*, 6.441) them the "Mourning Fields." If we ask by whom the plains are pointed out, the obvious answer in this context will be the Sibyl, but the present tense here, especially in combination with the present of *dicunt* in the following line, suggests not one specific act of showing but a general, timeless description. Whoever the "they" who have named the "Mourning Plains" may be, their moral perspective continues in the description of the inhabitants as those whom "harsh love has consumed with its cruel wasting." This demonstration of the sufferings brought on by love, together with the description of love itself as harsh, plays upon the traditional moral antithesis between love and

32 Cf. Caes. BG 6.25.1: "huius Hercyniae silvae, . . . latitudo novem dierum iter expedito patet: non enim aliter finiri potest neque mensuras itinerum noverunt."

heroism and so helps to establish the disjunction between the two spheres that shows itself in Servius' pointed reminder that Aeneas will not be among the lovers after death.³³ At the same time, however, the passage abounds in the clichés of Hellenistic amatory poetry. The cruelty of love, the metaphor of disease, and the notion that love survives death itself all recall the language with which generations of literary lovers had described their own ailments.³⁴ Thus, as the very process of mapping the landscape of the lovers simultaneously points out that the region is in fact unmappable, so, too, the authorial voice that articulates the ethical and generic distinctions that the region's topography would seem to enforce loses its clarity; as we shall examine in greater detail later, it appears to invite contrasting and contradictory interpretations.

The contradictions present within the account of the region's landscape also manifest themselves in the discrepancy between the external perspective offered by the poem's narrative and the inhabitants' own view of their experiences. The particular figures whom the text names as occupying this zone of the underworld, like their counterparts in *Odyssey* 11, constitute a famously diverse group.³⁵ They include the loyal and loving wife Laodamia; Eriphyle, the adulteress whose weakness for gold brought about the death of her husband; the innocent and ill-fated Procris; two women of monstrous and legendary depravity, Phaedra and Pasiphae; and, strangest of all, Caeneus, a young warrior who was changed from female to male after having had sex with Neptune. Each of these figures can in her own way be said to have met death as the direct or indirect result of love, but would this be a valid or meaningful description? Eriphyle herself seems to provide an answer. The language with which the poet describes her at once recalls and questions the external descriptive processes in evidence at the beginning of the passage. No longer being pointed to (*monstrantur*, 6.440), she now does the pointing (*monstrantem*, 6.446), drawing the viewer's attention to the wounds inflicted by her son. By this gesture, Eriphyle also refutes the poem's diagnosis of the ailment that ended her

33 For an elegiac alternative to this Vergilian characterization of the relation between love and death cf. Prop. 2.27.11ff. Yes, love kills, but it also provides a way of drawing the soul back across the Styx and so breaking the "*lex*" that the Vergilian boundaries tend to enforce.

34 See Norden 1957.249f. for examples of the description of love as a wasting sickness. Cf. especially Theoc. 1.66, 2.29; Prop. 1.15.20; Ovid *Met.* 3.445.

35 For the significance of this catalogue, see especially Perret 1964.

life. She did not waste away from love's sickness: she was murdered. It was her son, not love, who was *crudelis* (6.446, cf. *crudeli tabe*, 6.442).

No character in this diverse catalogue more effectively calls into question the process of categorization that both the geography of the underworld and the poem's own descriptions simultaneously impose on the souls of the dead than the figure of Caeneus.³⁶ Caenis was a Lapith maiden with whom Poseidon had intercourse. (In Ovid's version of the story [*Met.* 12.169–209] this is portrayed as a rape.) When he offered to grant her a wish in compensation, she requested to be turned into a man. Consequently Caenis became Caeneus, a great Lapith warrior who died a heroic death in the battle against the Centaurs. The *Aeneid*, however, unlike any other version of the legend that survives, presents Caeneus returned again to "his" female form. Caeneus appears as a woman among the lovers rather than as a man among the heroes. The force described as responsible for Caeneus' conversion is none other than *fatum*, a term that both designates the power that maintains the divisions "mapped" in the underworld and, in its relation to the verb *fari*, recalls the process of speech itself.³⁷ Caeneus becomes a woman again because that is what is said of him. Indeed, the linguistic playfulness in Vergil's account of Caeneus makes the character's transformation appear literally as a consequence of the poem's description of him. Caeneus begins the sentence as a male with a masculine name, but the verb that describes the change he has undergone in becoming female again, *revoluta*, recasts him as grammatically feminine. The juxtaposition of *veterem* with the name Caeneus, as though derived from the Greek *kainos*,

36 For the sources of the myth and modern interpretations of it, see Forbes Irving 1990.155–62. For another interpretation of the significance of Caeneus' shifting and ambiguous gender, see West 1980. West reads Vergil's Caeneus as a figure who possesses aspects of both genders, a man's name but a woman's form, and argues that this double status mirrors the situation of Dido, who combines the ambitions and abilities of man and woman. This conflict tragically persists in the underworld where Dido behaves both as a male hero and as a female lover.

37 The centrality of this connection between speech and "fate" throughout Vergil's epic is demonstrated by Commager 1981 who elegantly presents *fatum*, i.e., what is said by Jupiter, as one of the "two voices" of the *Aeneid* described by Parry 1963. The connection is nowhere more relevant than here in the sixth book, where prophecy and katabasis are linked above all by the figure of the Sibyl, and where the culmination of the journey is literally the speaking of Rome's fate. Here, however, the predictive speech that determines fate belongs not only to the god, but also to the poet who, by asking for the right (*fas*) to speak out what he has heard (6.264ff.), makes his own utterance instrumental in proclaiming, and perhaps establishing, *fas* and *fatum*.

“new,”³⁸ invites us to examine the effects of this poetic transformation further. Vergil himself is innovating here, making his treatment of Caeneus “new” by returning him to her “old” self. But this is more than just word-play. Is the maiden Caenis the old Caeneus? Does the transformation of Caeneus back into a woman represent the recovery of the character’s original state before the encounter with Poseidon, as the judgments of Minos may be said to counterbalance the unjust experiences undergone by the falsely accused souls in the upper world? Or is this so-called return to the old self in fact a new twist imposed by the poet and the rigorous schema of the underworld, which can only oversimplify so diverse a life—a twist that has the effect of excluding Caeneus from where he ought to be, among the warriors, and returning him precisely to the position that he himself while alive so desperately wished to escape, that of the female victim of “love”?³⁹

A similar resistance to definition also emerges from the famous simile of the new moon used to describe Aeneas’ perceptions of Dido when he encounters her among the mourning shades (6.450–54):

inter quas Phoenissa recens a volnere Dido
errabat silva in magna; quam Troius heros
ut primum iuxta stetit agnovitque per umbras
obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam . . .

Before considering the implications of the image itself, we may note how the language of the passage reinforces the intrinsic opposition, both

38 Another possible etymology, given by Eust. *Il.* 1.264, connects the name with the verb καίω, “kill.”

39 The answer to this question will also be determined by how we understand the “transaction” between Caenis and Neptune. If Caenis was raped, as Ovid explicitly states, and as the particular demand made by Caenis in most versions of the story that she become not just a man but a man who cannot be wounded would seem to indicate, then the transformation back to the female gender constitutes a return to the state of victimization from which she desired to escape. But when Servius (*ad Aen.* 6.448) recounts the story a very different picture of Caenis emerges. Far from being a rape victim, she appears as little better than a prostitute striking a good bargain with Neptune in return for acceding to his desire. The transformation here is the *praemium stupri*. In this case, her appearance in the company of Phaedra and Pasiphae is not so incongruous, and her return to her female form acquires punitive overtones. According to the scholiast to Lucian (*Gall.* 19), the shift in gender becomes a trick Caenis plays on the god: she becomes a man before the loss of her virginity.

geographical and ethical, between the two figures. They meet not so much as individuals, much less former lovers, but as representatives of their respective nations. She is the Phoenician Dido, while he, throughout the encounter, is made to act as “the Trojan hero.” The name Dido in this context also plays up the contrast between the patterns of motion of the two characters: one of the traditional etymologies of the name Dido derived it from the Phoenician word for “wanderer.”⁴⁰ Dido is characteristically a wanderer, journeying from Tyre to found Carthage, and after falling in love with Aeneas wandering distracted throughout the city (4.68). But Aeneas here stands still (*stetit*) and from his stationary position observes the “wandering moon,” as Iopas had described it in the cosmological poem sung at Dido’s banquet in book 1 (1.742). This astronomical image suggests how Aeneas’ recognition of Dido conforms to the process of mapping that appears in his earlier progress to the underworld. As it is Aeneas’ itinerary that provides the map of the underworld, so it is only when she comes near Aeneas (*iuxta*, cf. the use of *iuxta* in 6.430 to “map” the position of the falsely accused) that the alien figure of Dido can enter into the poem’s narrative, even as her Phoenician name is made comprehensible by being given a Latin gloss.

Yet the more carefully and precisely the poem attempts to define and describe Dido, to fix her within the narrative, the more she slips away, just as she will ultimately resist Aeneas’ own request that she stop her wandering (*siste gradum*, 6.465) by fleeing back into the shadowy grove from which she emerged. Vergil adapts the simile of the new moon from Apollonius’ description of Lynkeus’ vision of Heracles in the Libyan desert (4.1477–80), but, by transplanting it to the shadows of the underworld, he throws into relief the paradoxical qualities inherent in the image of something that is simultaneously luminous and hard to see.⁴¹ A difference

40 See Hexter 1992.348. The etymology is attested by the historian Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 fr. 82) and the *Etymologicum Magnum*, s. v. διδῶ. Vergil himself plays on this understanding of the word’s origins at 4.211–12 when Iarbas refers to Dido as *femina quae nostris errans in finibus urbem . . . posuit*.

41 Depending on how the Apollonius passage is to be read, and on how Vergil read it, the possibility exists that the Latin poet has himself introduced details that render the moon even more obscure. Apollonius describes the time of the simile as νέφ ἐνὶ ἡμαρτι, which has been interpreted as a reference to the dawn, when the traces of the moon can be dimly made out in the light of the rising sun. If this translation is accepted, Vergil seems to have plunged the moon into even greater obscurity by changing the time to the beginning of the month when, as Henry 1889.280 points out, the moonrise is actually invisible. (Pace Norden’s attempt [1957.252] to get around the difficulty by assuming that *primo mense*

in the spatial relationship between viewer and viewed relates this paradox to the distortions introduced in the process of mapping the “Mourning Fields.” In the Apollonius passage, Lynkeus thinks he catches a glimpse of Heracles at a great distance and, indeed, it is only upon Lynkeus’ uncertain perceptions that the poet’s report of the epiphany depends.⁴² Apollonius never affirms the presence of Heracles in his own voice, and the vagueness and possibility of error that the simile introduces further distance the human observers from the traces of the god. Vergil, however, not only attests that Dido is actually there, describing her in the indicative, but, in contrast to the vast separation between Lynkeus and the fleeing Heracles, locates her right beside Aeneas (*iuxta*, 6.452). Where Lynkeus’ telescopic sight provides the only, uncertain, access to the distant Heracles, Aeneas looks through the wrong end of the telescope: it is through the very process of being seen that Dido is made *obscura*.⁴³

It is again the landscape within which this encounter takes place that provides the terms for relating the problems of representation raised by the figures of Caeneus and Dido to the question of the coherence and comprehensibility of Vergil’s poem as a literary text: the particular topographic features that make this portion of the underworld unchartable also possess distinctive associations with contrasting poetic genres.⁴⁴ Dido’s

refers simply to the first portion of the month when it is difficult but not impossible to see the moonrise.) Fränkel indeed goes so far as to emend the text of Apollonius to *νέης ἐνὶ ἡμέρῃ* to bring it into line with the Vergilian image. While this proposal has not won the favor of subsequent editors, both Vian 1981.198 and Livrea 1973.415 convincingly point out that the manuscript reading itself can mean “on the first of the month.” A similar ambiguity surrounds the clouds with which Vergil wreathes the moon; these may also be regarded as either a new obstacle to clear vision or as an accurate rendering of Apollonius’ *ἐπαχλύουσιν*. For Livrea this participle refers simply to the indistinct outlines of the new moon; for Vian it signifies that the moon is shrouded in mists.

42 See Feeney’s 1986.63 analysis of the significance of the distance of Heracles at this point in Apollonius’ poem: “At the moment when the Argonauts come closest to him, they are in fact further away from him than they have ever been.”

43 Cf. Otis 1964.294: “It is not the uncertainty of Dido’s presence that [Vergil] primarily wishes to convey (for she does after all emerge from the obscurity as Heracles did not), but, rather, the feelings of a man who cannot quite believe his own eyes.” For other interpretations of the scene, see Tatum 1984.438–40, with bibliography.

44 The conception of genre with which I am working is that set forth by Conte 1993. Conte’s analysis stresses that far from being simple taxonomic classifications imposed after the fact on poetic compositions or prescriptive sets of formulae laid out in advance to which the poet had to make his work conform, genres play a crucial role in the *processes* of both composing and interpreting poetic texts. They provide the sets of codes and models through and against which both poet and reader measure and define each work.

silence in response to Aeneas' address, as an obvious parallel to the famous silence of Ajax in *Odyssey* 11, provides a clear reminder of the epic model that shapes Aeneas' katabasis.⁴⁵ But the allusion also reveals the extent to which one particular portion of *Odyssey* 11, the section where Odysseus describes his encounters with the souls of the Greek heroes of the Trojan war (11.377–567), governs the geographic structure of the entire first unit of Aeneas' journey through the underworld. Vergil alludes to one of the three meetings that make up this episode, those with Agamemnon, Achilles, and Ajax, in each of the three large divisions of the region between the Styx and the crossroads where the paths to Elysium and Tartarus divide. The willingness of the untimely dead to endure poverty and hard labor if only they could return to life (6.436–37) recalls Achilles' desire to be a laborer among the living rather than a lord among the dead (*Od.* 11.489–91). Dido among the lovers behaves like Ajax, and Deiphobus' revelations of Helen's treachery in the region of the *bello clari* (6.509–34) echo Agamemnon's tale of his murder by Clytemnestra (*Od.* 11.405–34). Thus, not only does the spatial structure of this part of the Vergilian underworld emphasize its debt to the Odyssean katabasis in general; it specifically recalls the section of the katabasis in which the *Odyssey*, in turn, measures itself against Iliadic epic.⁴⁶ But other features of the landscape point to a very different poetic

45 On the patterns and significance of Vergil's allusions to *Odyssey* 11 in book 6, see above all Knauer 1964.107–47.

46 The thematic significance of gender distinctions in Vergil's underworld contrasts markedly with their function in the Odyssean katabasis. In the *Odyssey*, gender segregation serves not only as a reflection of the segregated world of Iliadic epic, but also as a means of articulating two alternative perspectives on the nature of heroic accomplishment. Before Odysseus can meet the heroes of the Trojan saga, Ajax, Achilles, and Agamemnon, he first hears from his mother Antikleia an "anti-*Iliad*," an alternative narrative of the years during which the Trojan War took place but which describes precisely the world Odysseus has left behind, Ithaka. When we finally do meet the heroes themselves, their concerns and interests lay primarily with the world described in Antikleia's narrative. In the *Aeneid*, one of the crucial themes that survives from the *Odyssey* narrative is the sense of the mutual destruction each sex wreaks upon the other; we move from Dido, for whom Aeneas was the cause of death, to Deiphobus, who was done in by his wife, Helen. But if, in the *Odyssey*, the woman were vocal and were given the opportunity not only to speak about themselves but to articulate a distinctive perspective on the actions of the past, here the only female figure that Aeneas attempts to address is silent. Nowhere is "the silencing of women" in the *Aeneid* (on which see Nugent 1992) more pronounced than here. With the striking exception of the Sibyl, an exception that proves the rule, no female character speaks in book 6. Indeed, the only specifically identified female beings encountered, apart from the "lovers" in the Mourning Fields, are the monstrous figures that throng the vestibule of the underworld (6.274–94). Thus where his epic model would have allowed

tradition. Appropriately for the region whose inhabitants are united by their experiences of what Norden (1957.247) well describes as *erotika pathemata*, many elements of the description look back to learned Hellenistic elegy and to erotic poetry. The *secreti calles* perhaps recall the untrodden paths recommended in the *Aetia* prologue.⁴⁷ The grove itself is an amatory landscape, particularly when the wood of which it consists is sacred to Venus.⁴⁸ So too, the wandering motion of Dido within the grove, contrasting with the purposeful, directed tread of Aeneas, is characteristic not only of her in her love-struck state, but of the distracted lover in general.⁴⁹

But how does this alternative set of generic markers, so well defined and so incongruous with the distinctively Homeric inspiration of Aeneas' katabasis, function within the poem as a whole? For Norden, the key concept is synthesis: the two poetic traditions blend into a new and seamless unity. Vergil's art combines epic *Grosszügigkeit* with "the psychological refinement of Hellenistic poetry" and gives the resulting confection the effect and intensity of tragedy.⁵⁰ However, the critical emphasis on the poem's polyvocality that has dominated work on the *Aeneid* over the past 30 years suggests an alternative to Norden's faith in the homogenizing power of Vergilian *Kunst*, one that draws attention precisely to the joints and oppositions between the different viewpoints offered by the epic emphasis on Aeneas' mission and an elegiac emphasis on the loss of love. The women, and Dido in particular, would thus represent "the cost of empire," the alternative voices conspicuously drowned out by the major

him scope for the articulation of an alternate, female perspective, the particular pattern of Odyssean allusions Vergil adopts acts in the opposite way. Dido occupies the structural position not of Antikleia, nor of any of the heroines Odysseus describes to curry favor with Arete, but of Ajax. The imposition of the epic model in this case is what condemns Dido to silence. (Knauer 1964.124f. suggests a corollary phenomenon by which the female figures of *Odyssey* 11 are supplanted or superseded by male equivalents in the *Aeneid*: it is the father Anchises who takes the place of the mother Antikleia in the *Odyssey*, and the parade of Roman heroes that provides the structural equivalent to Odysseus' catalogue of heroines.)

47 Call. *Aetia* fr. 1.27–28 Pf.

48 The myrtle also had funereal associations; it was used for the wreaths of the dead and planted by their graves.

49 *Error*, in the senses of both deception or intellectual confusion (e.g., Verg. *Ecl.* 8.41, Ovid *Am.* 1.2.35, *Met.* 3.431) and of physical wandering (e.g., Prop. 1.1.11) is typical of the lover; see Norden 1957.250 and Preston 1916.10. In the case of Dido, the description particularly recalls her own distracted wandering through the city of Carthage after first conceiving her love for Aeneas (4.68).

50 Norden 1957.247.

tonality.⁵¹ What I want to propose, however, is not so much that the imagery of erotic poetry constructs this genre as the distinctive mode of the inhabitants of this region or that it correspondingly subverts or counterbalances the “epic” ambitions of the dominant narrative. Rather, I want to highlight the interference between the two clearly demarcated poetic systems that determine the geographic characteristics of this region: the Homeric paradigm of Odysseus’ descent to the underworld and the conventions of amatory poetry appropriate to the passage’s erotic subject matter. Each poetic alternative creates a set of expectations that render the implications of the other meaningless. As Dido is distorted by being interpreted through the lens of epic, so Aeneas’ words and actions acquire a contradictory meaning when read against the traditions of amatory poetry. The passage therefore functions as a “locus” where the conflicting properties of the landscape reflect the process by which the epic utterance of the poem battles to control heterogeneous and antithetical material, defining itself, even as the landscape is mapped, against the alternative interpretative possibilities made available by elegy. In this case, however, I will suggest that the effect of the passage is not ultimately constructive. Rather, by pitting these two languages against each other, and negating both, the text points out the distance that separates each mode of poetic representation from the reality it pretends to describe.

As a first example of how the interference between differing perspectives and opposing sets of generic expectations calls into question the characterization of the inhabitants of the “mourning fields” initially offered by the narrative, let us take Vergil’s comment that Aeneas addresses the shade of Dido with “sweet love” (*dulci amore*, 6.455). What does it mean that Aeneas, in the midst of those whose sufferings result explicitly from an *amor* that is characterized as *durus*, should here be made to speak with “sweet love”? One possibility would be to take the phrase as a sign of Aeneas’ naïveté and lack of knowledge. Perhaps after he learns from his encounter with Dido about the destructive consequences of *amor* and their ineradicability, he will no longer think of love as sweet. According to this reading, Aeneas’ learning process leads to a validation of the narrative’s claim about the effects of love made at the beginning of the passage: it is

51 The doctrine of the “two voices” derives ultimately from Parry 1963; for its application to the poem’s presentation of women, the silencing of whose voices is portrayed as necessary for the completion of Aeneas’ mission, see especially Nugent 1992.

durus and dangerous. While this negative portrayal of love itself draws on the conventions of amatory poetry,⁵² it does so to enforce a distinctively anti-elegiac ideology: the description of love as deadly and destructive fits with the poem's continual presentation of love and desire as antithetical to the completion of Aeneas' mission and therefore both illicit and destructive.⁵³ Thus another possible reading of the passage would be to take *dulcis amor* not simply as the result of Aeneas' misperception, but as the articulation of an alternative point of view that calls into question the judgments made by the poem's narrative. Within this amatory landscape, perhaps, the values imposed by the epic frame no longer apply. After all, these women, far from rejecting or blaming love, are said, in the language of elegy, to persist in their affections even after death. Yet this construction of a simple contrast between a subjective "amatory perspective" and the epic values enforced by the narrative is equally unsatisfying: not only would the account of such a perspective itself derive from the same ultimately unreliable narrative voice, but the imposition of elegiac codes and conventions on these women's experiences transparently forms part of a strategy for demarcating them as external and "other." What is more, the norms of amatory poetry provide as inadequate an account of the diverse lives of the women who dwell here as does the blanket description of them as the victims of *durus amor*. When, for example, the poem claims that even after death their *curae* have not deserted them, if we take this as a restatement of the elegiac topos that love endures even after death, the proposition becomes a very dubious one. Does Dido still love Aeneas after death? Does Caeneus/Caenis love Neptune? It is the play between the two interpretative models offered by epic and elegy that reveals the incompleteness and inappropriateness of both.

The speech with which Aeneas protests his innocence to the shade of Dido demonstrates even more fully how the interference between generic codes makes the text itself impenetrable and ultimately suggests the poem's own inability to provide a comprehensible representation of experience. Aeneas' first and last words not only highlight his own difficulties in communicating with Dido, they also raise questions about the completeness

52 At the same time, as Knauer 1964.111 points out, the phrase also forms a component of the poem's allusion to its Odyssean model: Odysseus addresses the soul of Ajax with "honeyed words" (ἐπέεσσι προσηύδων μελιχίοισιν, *Od.* 11.552).

53 So the Sibyl herself has just chastised Palinurus for his *dura cupido* in wishing to cross the Styx before it is legally permitted to him (6.373).

and reliability of the narrative itself. Aeneas begins by asking Dido about the veracity of a message, "Was the message that reported your death a true one?" Since nowhere in the course of books 5 and 6 has any such message been mentioned, the reader may easily transfer Aeneas' doubts about this fictional *nuntius* to the "report" offered by Vergil's poem.⁵⁴ So too, Aeneas concludes with the assertion that he will never have the opportunity to speak to Dido again. "This is the last word that I am fated to address to you." But what exactly is the last word? The *hoc* in Aeneas' final sentence can point backwards to the speech Aeneas has just seemingly completed, the structure of which is itself ambiguous. It begins with the pathetic appeal to Dido occupying lines 456–59; this is followed by the tripartite oath through which Aeneas proclaims that he himself is not responsible for what has happened, and the speech would seem to conclude with its third component, the request for Dido to remain and endure Aeneas' gaze. However, while the tone of entreaty in line 465 would seem formally to conclude the rhetorical structure of the speech, the substance of his command rather suggests that the lines are an interruption of that structure, necessitated by Dido's sudden and unexpected withdrawal.⁵⁵ The real request that Aeneas wants to make of Dido, predicated upon his elaborate assertion of innocence, remains to be spoken. The *hoc* in the final line can therefore also be read as pointing forward to a further request, and the imperfect tenses of line 468, together with the reference to a speech only begun (*incepto*, 6.470, emphasized by hyperbaton), make clear that his entreaty continues. But the narrative of the poem does not allow us to hear what this "last word" may be.

Given these ambiguities, it is no surprise that the body of Aeneas' speech should also highlight the problems of interpretation and of the consistency and coherence of the narrative voice. The core of Aeneas' appeal lies in the claim that his departure from Africa was forced upon him by the orders of the gods and was contrary to his own desires: *invitus regina tuo de litore cessi* (6.460). Yet the very words with which he articulates this point create difficulties of interpretation that have proven as vexing as any in the epic. For at this moment, which Vergil marks out as particularly

54 For the effect of this and other factual discrepancies between the account of events presented in book 6 and the poem's earlier narrative, see Zetzel 1989.272ff. with note 38. Zetzel rightly questions earlier attempts to explain away such discrepancies as "poetic economies" or as signs of the poem's incomplete state.

55 So Heurgon 1974.398.

freighted with emotional seriousness in the context of his poem, the language that the narrative presents as the tearful expression of Aeneas' *dulcis amor* reproduces almost exactly the words in which the lock of Berenice excuses its departure from the queen's beloved head in Catullus' mock epic translation of an episode from Callimachus' *Aetia*: *invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi* (Cat. 66.39).

Three general critical strategies have tried to make sense of this unwelcome and jarring allusion.⁵⁶ The most radical was simply to deny that the reference to Catullus affects the interpretation of the *Aeneid* passage at all: the similarity was either unintentional or purely formal.⁵⁷ This attempt to wish the problem out of existence invites two objections. First, if we leave aside the question of intentionality, the sheer amount of effort that critics have expended in explaining or explaining away the allusion reveals how inescapably the Catullan parallel does impact on readings of Vergil, whether we want it to or not. Second, the infamous quotation itself is not the only point of contact between the two texts, rather it brings into focus a pervasive network of similarities that demonstrate how relevant Catullus' poem is to the situation in the *Aeneid*.⁵⁸ Not the least of these similarities is the cutting of the lock itself: the lover's gesture, which Catullus and Callimachus inflate into a kind of immortalization for Berenice, recalls only too vividly Dido's own death scene, where Iris cuts a lock of Dido's hair to allow her to die and escape the torments created by the knowledge that Aeneas—unlike Ptolemy Euergetes—will not return.

A second approach to removing the incongruity between the mock heroic tone of the Catullan passage alluded to and the emotional gravity required of Aeneas' utterance has been to argue that the Catullan poem itself possesses tragic undertones that belie its superficial wittiness.⁵⁹ Catullus introduces his version of the Lament of the Lock with a prefatory poem in which he declares that his own grief for his brother's death in the Troad has rendered him incapable of writing poetry. Thus, according to Tatum, it is not the surface triviality of the Catullus passage that Vergil wishes to invoke but the larger context of loss:⁶⁰ in reapplying the lock's words to Dido, the *Aeneid* accentuates "Catullus' subversion of Callimachean

56 For a recent treatment of "the state of the question," more complete than the following survey, see Griffith 1995.47–50.

57 E.g., Williams 1972.488 and Fordyce 1976.334.

58 See especially Tatum 1984.440ff. and Griffith 1995.51ff.

59 First suggested by Clausen 1970.90–91 and more fully developed by Tatum 1984.

60 Tatum 1984.440–44. Though Tatum's reading, too, hinges on the discrepancy between the way Aeneas understands his words and the way they will be interpreted by a reader who

rhetoric.”⁶¹ This is not the place to enter into a detailed analysis of Catullus 66, but the subversion that Tatum speaks of cuts both ways. Certainly a tension exists between the subjective expression of personal sorrow by the speaker of 65 and the subsequent poem's studiously Alexandrian treatment of a suffering whose triviality is constantly reinforced by the inflated gravity of the language that describes it. But to remove that tension by privileging the “real” sorrow of the poet seems to me to oversimplify the effect of the poems. Such a reading removes the darker possibility that, far from being an intrusion to be read past, the humor of the lock's speech in fact problematizes our understanding of the persona's own expression of grief in 65.⁶² That the situation of the Catullan persona—and of Dido in the *Aeneid* passage—possesses so many points of contact with that of the lock does not provide the interpretative key that allows us to go beyond these incongruities of tone, rather it makes them all the more arresting.⁶³

knows the Catullan allusion. At the same time that Aeneas seeks forgiveness for the sufferings he has caused Dido, he quotes a line of poetry that can only remind the reader of the extent and irremediability of those sufferings. A similar kind of irony is involved in Lyne's 1994.191–93 interpretation of the passage. According to Lyne, the allusion to Catullus bears a diametrically opposite relevance to the situations of Dido and Aeneas: for Dido the image of the immortalized lock functions as a “contrast simile,” offering a foil to the cutting of her own lock that ended her sufferings by condemning her to the underworld. In the case of Aeneas, however, the lock's apotheosis predicts his own eventual triumph and divinization.

61 Tatum 1984.444.

62 See Fitzgerald 1995.29ff. on the general problem of surface and depth in the interpretation of Catullus and, on poem 66 in particular, 1995.196–201. Fitzgerald's own 1995.197 comments on the effect of the Catullan allusion at *Aen.* 6.460 closely anticipate the position taken here: “Perhaps Vergil follows Catullus here in suggesting that words can never be controlled by the intentions of their speaker, being so marked with their own history and its diverse contexts that there is never a clear and univocal answer to the question, ‘Who is speaking?’”

63 A similar objection may be raised to the position adopted by Griffith 1995. Griffith argues that Catullus recasts the lock's speech in order to allude to Achilles' mourning for Patroclus, in the course of which the hero himself ostentatiously cut off all his hair, and that this allusion provides an appropriately dignified epic analogue for the poet's personal grief over the death of his brother. Vergil's allusion thus constitutes what Thomas 1986.188–89 describes as a window reference, inviting the reader to read through the immediate citation to recover or restore the appropriate passage to which that text, in turn, alludes (Griffith 1995.56). But the very term “window reference” in this context misleads with its suggestion that the intermediary citation becomes transparent to its own embedded allusion. The trivial “surface” of the Catullan poem still affects the reader's response to Aeneas' words: it is this passage that provides the filter through which we access any other levels of allusion. (Cf. Hexter's 1992.336ff. treatment of the effects of multiple allusions in the reader's interpretation of the figure of Dido.) Again, discrepancies in tone render this Catullan intermediary all the more visible.

The third option for reconciling the Catullan allusion with the seriousness demanded of its context lies in accentuating the epic's ability to reconfigure the Catullan passage in a way that assimilates it to the different set of expectations and conventions operative among its own audience. Thus Norden, who throughout his treatment of this episode stresses Vergil's creation of an artistic unity out of disparate poetic traditions, draws attention to the manner in which Vergil "einen Vers fast wörtlich aus gänzlich anderem Zusammenhange herübernimmt."⁶⁴ Conte has offered the subtlest analysis of the process by which such an apparently anomalous allusion can be integrated into the "register" of the surrounding text. He begins by stressing that the stylistic features of the Catullan passage itself perfectly suit an expression of profound grief in an elevated poetic style. It is only the trivial context in which such words are used that gives them their ironic edge. "Virgil does nothing more than peel away the extraneous quality of the rhetoric in its Catullan context. Once the irony is removed, the original register is restored, and the values and functions of the stylistic signs are *reconnected* within their own literary system."⁶⁵ According to Conte, the reader's own sense of the decorum of genres, of what does and does not conform to the expectations put in place by the poetic code in which a text is written, enables him/her to recognize and expel inappropriate elements.

But is the "Catullan" contribution to the accumulated connotation of the line so easily "peeled away"? Conte here makes the interpretation of the phrase's tone and emotional valence contingent on poetic context. The same words become serious or parodic depending on whether the elevated expression of feeling is appropriate to what they express. But I would argue that Catullus' previous use of the phrase necessarily changes its meaning. For those who know the passage, the ironic tone of the lock's speech becomes a part of what the line signifies. As the reader struggles to expel the intrusion of a poetic register "extraneous" to epic, the citation also facilitates the opposite process; it allows us to see the serious epic situation of Aeneas' last words to Dido through the lens of parody. Thus I propose reading the line in a way that acknowledges the interpretative difficulties it raises rather than seeking to resolve them: the very language in which Aeneas makes his avowal creates a barrier that makes it possible for the

64 Norden 1957.254.

65 Conte 1986.89.

reader to respond to it in a way diametrically opposite to what context would seem to demand. The different poetic tones of the passage interfere with one another in a manner that, far from exemplifying the homogenizing power of the epic voice, renders that voice itself problematic by opening up alternative interpretative perspectives on the action and situation.⁶⁶ Not only does this reading harmonize with the passage's larger exploration of the validity of the definitions and meanings imposed upon experience by the poem's narrative, but it also signals other incongruous and dissonant elements within Aeneas' own speech.

Aeneas' speech to Dido introduces into the "secluded paths" of the Mourning Fields the full breadth of the epic universe with its clearly bounded regions and substructure of *imperia*. The oath with which he swears that his departure was involuntary rehearses the hierarchical division of the epic cosmos into the heavens, the earth, and the underworld, and reminds Dido that the orders of the gods regulate every sphere.⁶⁷ They direct his course in the underworld, even as they expelled him from her territory on earth. His own progress becomes a measure of this larger power. But it is not only the divine machinery and cosmic scope of epic that his speech invokes; it also affirms the narrative teleology of the poem as a whole. The story Aeneas tells about himself and his motives largely repeats the version of events presented earlier in the *Aeneid*. In retelling it here, Aeneas hopes to win for this narrative the accession that Dido so pointedly denied it in book 4 when she contemptuously questioned whether her destruction was really a matter of such great importance to the gods (4.379–80). This final attempt to gain acceptance for the epic version of their relationship also constitutes the ending of their story. The sense of closure is emphatic: this is the last time they will speak. Fate, and the plot of the poem, call him on to other things.

But the poet's description of this epicizing utterance as an expression of "sweet love" opens up alternative and disconcerting possibilities for the interpretation of the speech. If we attempt to translate the passage as a part of the language of love, that is, according to the codes of

66 Cf. also the interpretation offered by Skulsky 1985.455 who similarly treats the Catullan allusion as "a brilliant demonstration of intentional, complex, and controlled ambivalence."

67 The logical structure of his argument, in fact, depends on the acknowledgment of this hierarchy: if the gods are strong enough to make him enter the underworld, *a fortiori* they can control his actions on earth.

erotic poetry, it yields an equally coherent but antithetical meaning. As Norden's commentary points out, Aeneas' declaration abounds in formulaic devices that recall the topoi and conventions of love poetry. The oath in lines 458ff., "gehört seit Alters zum ständigen Inventar erotischer Poesie."⁶⁸ So too, the very idea of love as a cause of death (*funeris heu tibi causa fui?* 6.458) will reappear in Ovid's version of the story of Hero and Leander (*Her.* 18.200), and Vergil himself has highlighted the same notion in his own treatment of the passion and madness caused by love at *Georgics* 3.258ff. The centrality of this topos in Roman elegy will be obvious, particularly to the reader of Tibullus. Already these two intrusions of erotic language set Aeneas' approach to Dido in a different light. In an erotic context, the figure done in by desire is generally the active male lover whose desires are rejected by the *dura puella*. This is certainly the case in the *Georgics* passage, where the youth who has perished from desire cannot be recalled to life by the *virgo* who has been responsible for his *funus crudele*. So too, it is usually the man who either pledges fidelity in the form of an oath or accuses his lover of violating the oaths she swore. In this way, Aeneas' phrases not only emphasize the reversal in gender roles that have obtained throughout his relationship with Dido; at the very moment when Aeneas attempts to justify his desertion of Dido, the language and imagery he uses conjure up the image of Aeneas himself as an elegiac "victim of love," and consequently as a pursuing *amator*. This pattern of imagery reaches its crescendo in the final lines of the speech. As his efforts to gain Dido's pardon—and her acquiescence in the "epic" narrative of their meeting—become more frantic, he cries out *quem fugis?* (6.466). Much of the impact of this phrase derives from its reminiscence of the question Dido had asked of the departing Aeneas, *mene fugis?* (4.314),⁶⁹ but the expression can also occur in an amatory context, used by the male lover seeking a sexual encounter with an unwilling girl.⁷⁰ It finds a later parallel, for

68 Norden 1957.254. The use of oaths in Greek and Latin erotic poetry is treated by Reitzenstein 1912.9ff. and Preston 1916.57–60.

69 See von Albrecht 1965.59; also Skinner 1983.16 whose treatment of the scene throughout emphasizes how allusions to earlier passages of the poem in Aeneas' speech signal the role reversal experienced by each character.

70 For the use of the opposed terms *sector* and *fugio* to describe what is euphemistically termed "the love chase," see Preston 1916.28. Among his examples from Latin poetry are Plaut. *Miles* 91, 778, 1113 and Catullus 8.10; Greek treatments of the motif include Theocritus 6.17 and 11.75, Aristaenetus 2.16, and Callimachus ep. 31. Horace *Odes* 1.23 is built entirely around the metaphor of the lover as hunter and the beloved as quarry.

example, in Apollo's speech to Daphne in book 1 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where the god insists that the nymph only flees because she "does not know whom she flees."⁷¹ That the present encounter takes place in a dark forest provides a further reminder of the typology of literary rapes, especially as we know them from Ovid's poem. And lest the unwanted image of Aeneas the rapist, abducting a married woman from her husband, seem unprepared for in the text of book 6, this was the intention that the hero was forced explicitly to deny in his encounter with Charon: *casta licet patrui servet Proserpina limen*. Indeed the figure of Theseus, who came to the underworld for just such a purpose, offers an uncomfortable precedent for Aeneas at many stages of his katabasis.⁷²

The description of Dido's response to this speech of Aeneas at once recapitulates the alternative views of her offered by the "epic" and "elegiac" readings of Aeneas' words and links the resulting generic uncertainty both with problems of artistic representation and the imagery of the landscape in which she appears (6.469–74):

illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat
nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur
quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.
tandem corripuit sese atque inimica refugit
in nemus umbriferum, coniunx ubi pristinus illi
respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem.

Aeneas' last request attempts to end Dido's characteristic and elusive wandering and to fix her in space. As I discussed before, it is unclear whether halting Dido's progress is, in fact, the goal of Aeneas' discourse or simply the precondition for the delivery of some final statement that the poet does not allow us to hear. But if such stasis alone is Aeneas' aim, he achieves it, for the listening Dido is an image of immobility. And the

71 *nescis, temeraria, nescis / quem fugias, ideoque fugis*, *Met.* 1.514–15.

72 On the pattern of allusions to Theseus in book 6, see Zarker 1967 who argues that the unsavory aspects of Theseus' character, such as his abandonment of Ariadne and participation in the attempt to abduct Persephone, make him a foil to the character of Aeneas, the purpose of which is to emphasize by contrast the nobility of the Roman hero's mission. One could also argue that the Thesean paradigm in and of itself focuses attention on similar actions on Aeneas' part (especially his treatment of Dido) and so complicates rather than simplifies our response to them.

alternative similes with which the poet describes her allow this immobility to be assimilated to either the epic or elegiac presentations of her encounter with Aeneas. She has either become the quintessential *dura puella* resisting her lover's entreaties or a cliff of Marpessian marble, an image that recalls her own taunt that Aeneas himself was the spawn of the hard cliffs (*duris . . . cautibus*, 4.366) and, through that taunt, a series of epic scenes going back to Patroclus' words at *Iliad* 16.35.

Vergil's specification that she is like a Marpessian *cautes* gives two additional qualities to Dido's stillness. First, the image that anchors Dido within the epic tradition also makes of her a geographic landmark: Marpessos was a cliff on the island of Paros and its luminous marble connects the cliff's conspicuousness with the image of the rising moon, which earlier provided a visible corollary for the obscure figure of Dido.⁷³ At the same time, the artistic usefulness of Parian marble as a raw material for sculptors also suggests that, in the act of being "frozen" by Aeneas' words, Dido herself has been transformed into a statue.⁷⁴ And, in fact, the line that describes her attitude in response to Aeneas' words, *illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*, recalls precisely the description of another sculptural image that turns away from Trojan prayers, the figure of Athena on the temple of Juno at Carthage, *diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat* (1.482). Again we may compare the story of Daphne where Apollo's pursuit ended in Daphne's transformation into an immobile laurel tree, and where the god's attempt to halt his victim's motion led to her "immortalization" in this frozen form. But if we see this description of Dido as an attempt to fix her into an artistic representation of herself, then the *Aeneid* allows her to undergo a second metamorphosis that reveals the emptiness of such an image. As the frozen Dido—unlike Daphne—resumes her motion, exchanging the brightness of Parian marble for a shadowy grove, she also quite literally excises herself from the poem's narrative. The echo of the poem's description of the image of Athena at Carthage, in addition to suggesting the petrification of Dido, also connects her final appearance in the poem's narrative with the scene where she is first portrayed. The closing of this narrative ring, by which the figure of Dido escapes the epic spotlight, coincides with the restoration of the legend of Dido to the state it was in

73 Cf. Austin 1977.167.

74 So Norden 1957.256–57 who sees this addition to the traditional use of stone as a figure for emotional unresponsiveness as "a fine nuance" reminiscent of Hellenistic taste.

before Vergil produced his own image of her. Earlier accounts of Dido, recently analyzed by Hexter, highlighted her loyalty to Sychaeus and presented her as *casta* and *univira* to the end; so too when first described in the *Aeneid* itself, again in book 1, Dido appears as Sychaeus' *coniunx*.⁷⁵ The final effect of the passage, an effect dramatically emphasized by the sudden switch in tense of the closing verbs *respondet* and *aequat*, is to suggest the survival of an unseen Dido distinct and apart from the memorial of Dido. Both Dido herself and Vergil's representation of her exist in the present tense. No passage in the poem more eloquently demonstrates the power of the narrative to reconstitute the past nor more tellingly exposes the gulf that separates this "map" of experience from the reality it purports to represent.

In the previous analysis, my emphasis has been less on resolving the ethical and political consequences of the conflicting readings the text makes available than on demonstrating how the very presence of these conflicts raises questions about the representational capacities of any utterance, from Aeneas' address to Dido to the poet's own attempt to "speak out" the things he has heard and to "expose the things that have been drowned in mist" (6.266–67). I want to conclude by suggesting why Aeneas' katabasis provides a particularly appropriate context for such an investigation of the relationship between poetic representation and reality. My answer involves the medial status of book 6 as a whole. Within the structure of the *Aeneid*, the descent to the underworld lies at the half-way point when the poem's plot becomes less the escape from the Trojan past than the actualization of the Roman future. Book 6 offers at once a recapitulation, or re-presentation of the past, and a prophecy, both for the future events of the poem and for events beyond the poem. Hence the *katabasis* itself is in many ways a re-iteration, one element in an expansive sequence of repeated journeys. The Sibyl's warning to Aeneas focuses our interest not on the single journey, but on "retracing one's steps." The Sibyl herself is able to "show the way" (*doceas iter*, 6.111) because she has, in fact, been to the underworld before. So too, Aeneas supports his demand to undertake this journey with a catalogue of other heroes who have preceded him, beginning with Orpheus and Pollux (who *itque reditque viam totiens*, 6.122).

A similar sense of repetition and of intermediacy also applies to

75 Cf., e.g., Mac. *Sat.* 5.17.4–6, treated by Hexter 1992.339ff., to which article this discussion is much indebted.

the status of book 6 as a literary representation.⁷⁶ Here, for the first time, the poem reproduces or re-narrates events that have already been described, the fall of Troy for example, or the death of Palinurus, and the discrepancies between the versions presented here and those suggested in the earlier narrative focus the reader's attention on the poor match between the two levels of representation. At the same time that the distortions of the poet's narrative as description become apparent, book 6 as a whole acquires a prescriptive dimension. This is true not only in the sense that the poem here offers an account of the future to match its recapitulation of the past, but also because the poem's presentation of the underworld, particularly of Tartarus and Elysium, also possesses a moral function; it suggests how the audience's own life should be lived, how the future should be constructed. This ambiguous position of the narrative at the point where earlier "reality" becomes representation, and representation molds the future, provides a final parallel between Vergil's text and the political function of maps in Augustan Rome. The map, too, as the record of a journey, distorts and schematizes the landscape it describes; nevertheless it also offers a pattern both for future expeditions and for the conceptual and physical transformation of the represented region.

The significance of the motif of repetition in the *Aeneid* has received increasing attention in recent years. In a 1984 article on the temple doors at Cumae, William Fitzgerald saw the winding structures of Daedalus' labyrinth as a figure for an artistic representation of the past that, in turn, facilitates its further re-enactment. This second phase of repetition looks forward rather than backward and allows the tragic experiences of the past, rather than re-absorbing those who have experienced them, to become the model for future success. More recently, David Quint has used the Freudian narratology of Peter Brooks to contrast two types of repetition that appear in the poem: the romance-like wanderings and mere repetitions of the poem's first half, in which the disastrous events of Troy seem destined to be replayed over and over again, and the more purposive repetition of the final books.⁷⁷ There past experiences are revisited only to be revised; victory replaces defeat, and the entire process of repetition can subsequently be recast as a single narrative moving towards a triumphant conclusion. This

76 See also Fitzgerald's 1984.56 remarks on the thematic connections between repetition and representation with reference to Daedalus' labyrinth.

77 Quint 1993.50–96, esp. 50–53, citing Brooks 1985.99–100.

direction towards a repetition that can serve as a correction of the past, as Quint shows, addresses the specific psychological needs of an audience attempting to fit their own experience of civil war into a story that ends happily, as well as the specific ideological needs of a regime whose later self-image compelled it to rewrite much of its own early history. The model of mapping used here can advance this discussion by making clear that the motif of repetition creates links between Vergil's poem and contemporary political discourse that extend beyond the level of content and ideology. Maps themselves facilitate a similar pattern of victorious repetition: they allow one army to follow in the route of another and surpass its accomplishments.⁷⁸ So Tacitus (*Agr.* 13) will claim that Julius Caesar, if he did not actually subjugate Britain, facilitated its conquest by showing the island to the Romans. In signalling his own work's ability not just to reflect but to transform experience and then to make the images he produces an authoritative model for the future, therefore, Vergil locates his text among the various instruments of Roman culture that convert description to prescription and so make the future a triumphant rewriting of the past.

Aeneas' encounter with Palinurus, the first of the episodes from the poem's earlier narrative that Aeneas "revisits" in the underworld, provides a final demonstration of the connection between the construction of a representation of the past and the completion of an itinerary. Palinurus meets Aeneas among the crowd of shades gathered at the Styx. While the souls within the regimented landscape of the dead yearn for the upper world from which they are separated by the boundary of the Styx, this undifferentiated crowd on the other side of that barrier have a diametrically opposed desire to reach their final places in the schema of the underworld. Since his own body was cast adrift without burial and only those who have been properly buried can pass in Charon's boat, Palinurus is forced to wait on the bank for a hundred years. For Palinurus the steersman to make the voyage across the river into the underworld his own body must reach the end of the larger journey that books 1 through 6 narrate by arriving on the Italian mainland.

But this transition from sea to land has a larger symbolic significance: as Palinurus' body is at sea, so his story is disconcertingly fluid. As has been often observed, the details that Palinurus gives of his death here do not jibe with the version presented by the narrative of the

78 Cf. Veg. *Inst. rei mil.* 3.6, discussed by Rambaud 1974.112.

poem itself. Even the geographic position where he fell overboard cannot be pinned down: here it is said to be in the Libyan sea, but earlier it was in the Tyrrhenian, on the voyage between Sicily and Italy. Correspondingly, the description of his meeting with Aeneas starts off with an allusion to one of the classic loci for the discussion of the “truth” and reliability of poetic representations.⁷⁹ Aeneas complains that the loss of Palinurus before he reached Italy was the one respect in which the prophecies of Apollo (*fallax haud ante repertus*, 6.343) have deceived him. Commentators have claimed *Choephoroë* 559 (ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων, μάντις ἀψευδῆς τὸ πρίν) as a model for the expression, but another Aeschylean accusation of Apollo is equally relevant, that levelled against the god by Thetis for predicting long life for her son (καὶ γὰρ τὸ Φοῖβου ἀψευδὲς στόμα ἤλπιζον εἶναι, fr. 284.5–6 Mette). This, in turn, provides one of Plato’s illustrations of the dangerous lies that poets tell about the gods at *Republic* 383a7. Indeed, Aeneas’ statement raises the issue of the accuracy of poetic representations in another way as well, since the very mention of this prophecy, nowhere else referred to in the poem, constitutes one of the discrepancies between the account of events presented here and the poem’s earlier narrative. The separation of Palinurus’ body from the Italian mainland, therefore, at once mirrors the distance between poetic representation and reality and, correspondingly, in calling into question the reliability of the prophet Apollo, endangers the stability of the divine ordinances that establish the map for the poem’s narrative as effectively as his desire “to turn fate off course”⁸⁰ (*fata deum flecti*, 6.376) by crossing the Styx before it is legally permitted to him.

As Palinurus’ assurance that he did, in fact, live to reach Italy restores confidence in the power of prophecy, so the establishment of a tomb for his bones on the Italian shore will fix his memory. The Sibyl can only console Palinurus for having to wait on the bank of the Styx with words (*cape dicta memor*, 6.377), but her *dicta* hold the promise of a physical monument, a burial mound, that will in turn give solidity and permanence to labile words. The tomb will preserve his *nomen*. Palinurus will literally become a place on the map, indeed a landmark for future

79 See especially Zetzel 1989.272–74 on the poetic effect of these factual discrepancies.

80 Alternatively, he wishes to turn Aeneas off course by returning him to Velia (6.365) to perform funeral rites that would themselves be a repetition within the narrative of the rituals accomplished on behalf of Misenus.

steersmen. However if the Sibyl's promise of Palinurus' enduring presence in the real terrain of Italy recalls the traditional epic economies of memorialization—life bartered away for an eternal tomb, and the perpetual exchange between physical artifact and transient utterance—the case of Palinurus casts doubt upon the representational capacities of the monuments that provide for this real presence. If we regard the *Aeneid* itself as the narrative that preserves Palinurus' deeds, as we have seen, the account it offers of them does not conform to his own presentation of them. Similarly, the tomb possesses properties that contrast with the characteristics of the *umbra* of Palinurus himself.⁸¹ Cape Palinurus is highly visible, but Palinurus can scarcely be recognized by Aeneas (*vix cognovit*, 6.340). While the tomb is eternal, the consolation it brings Palinurus is emphatically transient (cf. *parumper*, 6.382). By showing us the ghost of Palinurus alongside the tomb of Palinurus, the poem at once reveals the potency and the limits of such memorials, their capacity to transform and, at the same time, the insubstantial shades from which they are produced.

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81 Precisely the same discrepancy reappears in Aeneas' meeting with Deiphobus. Aeneas had built an *inanis tumulus* for Deiphobus before leaving Troy (6.505). But that conspicuous memorial preserves only Deiphobus' *nomen*, not his body. By contrast, the ghost of Deiphobus is scarcely recognizable (6.498) because of its mutilations, the *monimenta* (6.512) left by Helen.

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