

## THE TENTH BOOK OF THE *AENEID*

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In the vast range of Vergilian studies, the tenth book of the *Aeneid* has been more completely ignored than any of its companions.<sup>1</sup> A review of the bibliographies of Mambelli and Duckworth<sup>2</sup> reveals how little attention has been devoted to the book that contains several of Vergil's finest scenes, and comprehensive studies of the author and his work tend to treat it with a certain disdain. It is my belief, however, that it deserves better than that.

I am not here concerned with the structure, the architecture of the book; this has recently been often and well treated.<sup>3</sup> I shall rather comment upon some of the things that the poet says and to what they may allude.

The book opens with a *concilium deorum* (1-117); the second word of the first line is *interea*, indicating the simultaneity of this scene with action in the previous book.<sup>4</sup> Nowhere else in the poem do the gods meet in assembly; such a lofty beginning bespeaks the importance of

<sup>1</sup> V. Ussani, "Il decimo libro dell' 'Eneide'," *Studi Virgiliani* (Roma 1932) 2.235-53, furnishes very little detail. F. Klingner, *Virgil: Bucolica Georgica Aeneis* (Zürich and Stuttgart 1967) devotes one chapter (566-81) to Book 10.

<sup>2</sup> G. Mambelli, *Gli studi virgiliani nel secolo xx* (Firenze 1940), and G. E. Duckworth, "Recent Work on Vergil (1940-1956)," *CW* 51 (1957-58) 89 ff., 123 ff., 151 ff., 185 ff., 228 ff., and "Recent Work on Vergil (1957-63)," *CW* 57 (1963-64) 193-228.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. K. Büchner, *P. Vergilius Maro: Der Dichter der Römer* (Stuttgart 1956) 387-94; G. E. Duckworth, "The Architecture of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 75 (1954) 1-15, "The *Aeneid* as a Trilogy," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 1-10, "Tripartite Structure in the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 7 (1961) 2-11; B. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1963) 352.

<sup>4</sup> For the problems of time and chronology involved in this book and its relation with Books 8 and 9, see, most recently, Büchner (above, note 3) 390. Vergil nowhere else presents scenes simultaneous with others elsewhere in the poem; his presentation otherwise is consecutive. Very valuable is G. E. Duckworth, "The Chronology of *Aeneid* viii-x," *AJP* 59 (1938) 135-44. See also O. W. Reinmuth, "Vergil's Use of *Interea*, a Study of the Treatment of Contemporaneous Events in Roman Epic," *AJP* 54 (1933) 323-39, particularly 325-27 and 336-37.

the book. First Jupiter complains that the other gods have ignored his instructions to stay out of the conflict on earth; then Venus and Juno plead their respective claims, and Jupiter concludes by displaying seeming neutrality: *fata viam invenient* (113).<sup>5</sup> He of course knows what *necessitas* will bring. There is not much great poetry in this scene, but there are several striking effects.

Venus' plea recalls both the Sibyl's vision to Aeneas and Jupiter's own prophecy to her. Venus laments that a second army (27) opposes the Trojans, although the Sibyl had forecast this (6.88-90) and Aeneas had not been surprised or shocked by the revelation (6.103-5). Venus certainly knew the difficulties that her son would have to face, but she expresses resentment here, unfairly, and compounds her emotional outburst by adding Tydides to the enemies of the Trojans. Her plea, calculated to win Jupiter's sympathy rather than to withstand argument, is demolished almost point by point by Juno, who has much the better of the argument. Jupiter tacitly admits this, since he does not here speak out for the side that he knows will triumph and that he himself favors.

As her last bidding, Venus requests that she be allowed to save Ascanius from the debacle. She no longer asks to do the same for Aeneas (perhaps because she now fears him lost: *si* in 44). Her dream is reduced from the lofty hopes of empire to the salvation of her grandson: *nil super imperio moveor* (42). Here is her great concession, and here is her great rebuke of Jupiter, for in words reminiscent of the latter's promise of empire, *imperium sine fine dedi* (1.279), she now denies his promise and her hope.<sup>6</sup> The metrical pattern of the two clauses is identical. At this point, it seems that the great task that was the founding of the Roman race has ended abortively, beleaguered in the Trojan camp.

Juno's response is considerably briefer and much more powerful than Venus' whining, and the reaction of the remaining gods, their doubts and hesitation, is presented in a passage rendered weighty and

<sup>5</sup> See the remarks of G. E. Duckworth, "Fate and Free Will in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *CJ* 51 (1955-56) 361.

<sup>6</sup> So too Klingner (above, note 1) 572: "In Wirklichkeit ist der halb trotzig, halb wehklagend ausgesprochene Verzicht auf das verheissene Reich . . . der schärfste Zwang, mit dem sie Jupiter zusetzt: soll er sich doch hörig der Juno beugen und seinen Weltplan der Geschichte umstossen!"

majestic by frequent instances of alliteration (96-103). Nor do Jupiter's remarks disappoint the expectation of gravity. The key lines are 107-8, marked by the effect of the spondaic beginning of 107, underscored by the three monosyllabic words that appear first, the initial *q*'s, the unusual form *secat*, the rare monosyllabic line ending, the unusual metrical pattern of the last three words,<sup>7</sup> the archaic form *fuat*, and the uncommon elision in the fifth foot.

Line 118 begins with another *interea*, to shift the reader's attention to the contemporaneous struggle on earth. Aeneas is returning during the night with the newly-won Etruscan allies, and himself holds the helm, with Pallas at his side (159-62).

The relationship between the two that is indicated by these lines is of the utmost importance. Evander, on the site of Pallanteum, had entrusted his son to Aeneas with these words (8.514-17):

hunc tibi praeterea, spes et solacia nostri,  
Pallanta adiungam; sub te tolerare magistro  
militiam et grave Martis opus, tua cernere facta  
adsuescat, primis et te miretur ab annis.

Pallas here is learning from the older man, and also, like Dido (1.753-56), is asking about Aeneas' experiences and sufferings in the past. Only those with whom Aeneas becomes deeply involved emotionally bid him relate his *infandum dolorem* (2.3). Aeneas stands *in loco parentis* to Pallas: he is *pater*, Pallas is *filius* and *contubernalis*, and Aeneas is fully conscious of the trust shown him, for after the death of Pallas, who is to him a maturer Ascanius, his first thoughts are of that faith and trust (515-17);

Pallas, Euander, in ipsis  
omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas advena primas  
tunc adiit, dextraeque datae.

There thus seems to be no doubt in Vergil's mind about the relationship of the two. Aeneas is as deeply wounded as he would be by the loss of his own son.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> On these last two points, see E. G. O'Neill, Jr., "Word-Accents and Final Syllables in Latin Verse," *TAPA* 71 (1940) 338-40.

<sup>8</sup> I thus cannot agree with Otis (above, note 3) 361, who says "the picture of Pallas lacks the emotional connotations required to explain his supposed hold on Aeneas."

Pallas, however, has not yet had the opportunity to prove himself worthy of the highest esteem. This he will be able to do only in battle, and Vergil proceeds to set the scene for this. He invokes the Muses to assist him in the enumeration of the Etruscan forces (163–214), and the next section resumes the narrative. Aeneas, the new Palinurus, is visited by supernatural beings as Palinurus had been by Somnus at the end of Book 5; the outcome in the former instance had been fatal, here it is joyful and optimistic. Palinurus is put to sleep, Cymodocea makes certain that Aeneas is awake. The parallel is obvious (cf. 5.852–53 and 217–18). And Somnus, disguised as Phorbas, addresses Palinurus as *Iaside* (5.843), while Cymodocea does not use the patronymic *Anchisiade*,<sup>9</sup> but the even loftier substitute indicating Aeneas' divine parentage, *deum gens* (228), which gains in emphasis from the monosyllabic line ending.

When Cymodocea finishes her story and report of events, Aeneas, although not fully aware of the import of the occurrence (*inscius*, 249), prays to Cybele for her favor and support. Then follows the first scene to have immediate effect upon the struggle between the Trojans and the Italian forces: the return of Aeneas and his assumption of command. He orders his company to prepare themselves for battle and then shows himself at a distance to his besieged followers (258–62). He stands high in the prow, *stans celsa in puppi*, exactly as the great figure sculpted on the shield that he brandishes on his left arm; Augustus, *stans celsa in puppi* (8.680), goes against the enemy toward destined triumph.<sup>10</sup> So, we know, Aeneas will triumph too; the victory may be delayed, but it will come.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See E. A. Hahn, "Note on Vergil's Use of Anchisiades," *CW* 14 (1920–21) 3: "In my opinion the poet bestows this name upon his hero only when he wishes subtly to indicate Aeneas' relation to his father."

<sup>10</sup> J. R. Bacon, "Aeneas in Wonderland: A Study of Aeneid viii," *CR* 53 (1939) 102, comments upon this clause: "The words . . . are also full of allusive significance. . . . It is a symbol of the hope of fulfilment of his destiny."

<sup>11</sup> Otis (above, note 3) 355 does not note the repetition of these crucial words from the eighth book; rather he says that "Virgil uses with great éclat the simile applied by Apollonius to Jason. Aeneas is like the bane-bringing star Sirius or—as Virgil himself adds—like a red comet in the night; both foretell bad news, such as Aeneas undoubtedly is to the Latins." But surely it is more logical to see Aeneas' antecedent at this crucial moment in the picture of Augustus rather than in the shallow Jason.

Turnus, however, is not dismayed, even by the flames that mark Aeneas' helmet and shield.<sup>12</sup> He displays his accustomed bravado but no indication of understanding that the outcome may depend upon more than his own prowess (*audentis Fortuna iuvat*, 284). Aeneas' allies then land, inspired by Tarchon's eager ramming of his ship against the shore, and are met by a spirited resistance led by Turnus himself.

An Homeric battle scene follows; killing is routine, bodies pile up, Aeneas, basically passive, hurls weapon after weapon. But the outcome is inconclusive; neither side has an advantage, and the siege of the Trojan camp has not been broken (360-61):

haud aliter Troianae acies aciesque Latinae  
concurrunt, haeret pede pes densusque viro vir.

To a large degree, the book thus far has been only expository; little or nothing has been presented to engage the emotions. The story of the poem has not advanced at all, with the sole, yet important, exception of Aeneas' return to the battlefield. The remainder of the book is largely devoted to three of Vergil's finest character portrayals, and it is these, to my mind, that give the book its qualities of greatness.

The deadlock of line 361 is immediately broken by the arrival of the Arcadian cavalry, under the leadership of Pallas, who, we must assume, had gone, after landing with Aeneas, to join the horsemen who had traveled overland. His hero's role begins at once and he occupies stage-center until 509.

The cavalry, forced to fight afoot by the unfavorable terrain, are being routed until Pallas, by word and deed, causes them to recover their spirit. His first words mark his quality (369-78); the words *patriae* in 371 and *patria* in 374, although different parts of speech, have the same larger sense. Pallas fights for family and country in the same way that Aeneas does; personal glory, though sought, is secondary. When he is first introduced in Book 8, he is characterized as *audax* (110), and he now displays his eager boldness in battle, *haec ait, et medius densos prorumpit in hostis* (379) and *ire prior Pallas, si qua fors adiuvet ausum / viribus imparibus* (458-59).

<sup>12</sup> Lines 270 ff. recall 8.680-81, and suggest another link with Augustus. The passage in Book 8 echoes the omens concerning Ascanius in 2.682 ff. and 692 ff.

Pallas' *aristeia* turns the tide (397-98); he is described here, and also in 426, as a *vir*, a misleading designation, for he is a *vir* only in relation to his inferiors, not to his betters. The picture that Vergil draws of him is of a *iuuenis*, a young man sent to do a man's job, to which his strength is not equal. But here the *vir* is aided by the *omnis virtus* of the allies (410) and then he kills his last man, Halaesus.

There now appears a match for Pallas, a perfect match in every respect, Lausus, in some senses the most winning character Vergil drew in the entire poem. His good looks and his skill in taming horses and hunting wild beasts have already been mentioned, but emphasis was placed upon his misfortune in having Mezentius as his father (7.649-54). Here, unfrightened by Pallas' prowess, he rallies his forces, *pars ingens belli* (427). The scales on both sides are now in balance, *ducibusque et viribus aequis* (431). These words can be construed in a double sense; the more obvious is that the *agmina* have equal strength and leaders who are worthy of each other. Or we may see herein an instance of hendiadys, referring to the comparable ability of the two young men. This equality is emphasized by *hinc . . . hinc* and by their similar fates (433-38):

hinc Pallas instat et urget,  
hinc contra Lausus, nec multum discrepat aetas,  
egregii forma, sed quis Fortuna negarat  
in patriam reditus. ipsos concurrere passus  
haud tamen inter se magni regnator Olympi;  
mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste.

The first of these greater foes enters at once, summoned by his sister Juturna. Turnus, with his customary arrogance, claims Pallas as his due and—here is the dreadful thing—wishes Evander present to witness his son's death (441-43).

Pallas, however, displays no fear and is the first to cast his weapon. But against Turnus he fights *viribus imparibus* (459), and his great enterprise is doomed, in spite of a prayer to his father's guest-friend, Hercules (460-61). Hercules listens and pours forth tears (*lacrimasque effundit inanis*, 465), which emphasize the woe and misery of human existence, recalling perhaps the most poignant line in the entire poem, *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt* (1.462), and Aeneas' own steadfast despair against the railing of Dido (4.449). Hercules is un-

able to postpone or avert the impending death. So too Aeneas, likewise a guest-friend of Evander (516-17), is unable to be present at the crucial moment of Pallas' warring career.

Jupiter's solace of his son is grave, reminding him of the limits of human life, but also showing how one may "survive" after death (467-72). This passage evokes the language of Lucretius (1.76-77) and forecasts the afterlife that Pallas will enjoy (cf. *quisque suos patimur manis*, 6.743). The second half of 468 and the first half of 469 recall the Sibyl's sombre words about the accessibility of the underworld (6.128-29).

Pallas hurls his spear with great strength (*magnis viribus*, 474) and follows up with his sword. But to no avail. His spear fails to kill, and Turnus' pierces his breast. Turnus hands the body over to the Arcadians for burial; his last words speak of the high price Evander has paid for Aeneas' friendship (494-95). Then he strips Pallas of his armor, reversing the latter's wish (462-63), but he is unaware of the doom that he will bring upon himself by having won the baldric, and the poet permits himself one of his rare apostrophes (501-2):

nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae  
et servare modum rebus sublata secundis!

And yet what Turnus has done is customary under the rites of war;<sup>13</sup> Pallas would have stripped him had he had the chance. In Book 12, at the very end, when Aeneas is on the verge of sparing Turnus, the booty of this battle reminds him of the debt that he owes Evander and his son, and of the obligation that he had undertaken to revenge the latter's death. These are Evander's words (11.177-81):

quod vitam moror invisam Pallante perempto  
dextera causa tua est, Turnum natoque patrique  
quam debere vides. meritis vacat hic tibi solus  
fortunaque locus. non vitae gaudia quaero,  
nec fas, sed nato manis perferre sub imos.

The bond of *fides*, established in Book 8 and of which Evander here reminds Aeneas, is satisfied and redeemed by the conclusion of the poem. Yet, in spite of the urgency of this *fides*, the internal struggle in

<sup>13</sup> On this theme in Vergil see R. Hornsby, "The Armor of the Slain," *PQ* 45 (1966) 347-59.

Aeneas' mind and emotions that raged while he stood over Turnus might have been won by his sense of *humanitas* had he not at that very moment been reminded of Pallas.

The news of Turnus' triumph reaches Aeneas at once, and he is immediately transformed.<sup>14</sup> He becomes a demon on the battlefield, with his purpose being to reach Turnus, whereas before his efforts had been random and essentially passive. He first captures eight youths to be reserved for sacrifice at Pallas' pyre, a singularly Homeric touch found nowhere else in the poem. Pallas is Aeneas' Patroclus, whose death changes the entire aspect of the conflict. At the end of the scene the Trojans burst from the camp; the siege is at last broken (604-5).

The scene now returns to Olympus. Jupiter sarcastically chides Juno by intimating that the Trojans' current success is indeed due to Venus' support rather than their own prowess (607-10). His tone has the desired effect upon his sister-wife, and she, in a complete reversal from the beginning of the book, is reduced to pleading, as Venus had then been. Subserviently, she addresses him as *pulcherrime coniunx* and *omnipotens*, and intimates that her one desire now regarding the war is to save Turnus (613-16). Her words *pugnae subducere Turnum* echo Venus' desire to save at least Ascanius from disaster (46-47). Hercules had hoped that Pallas could be saved (464 ff.), but that was not permitted. Yet Turnus cannot be allowed to die at this point, for there would be no tragedy in the death of one marked by arrogance and haughtiness, who had not yet begun to attain a bit of wisdom by personal suffering.

Jupiter therefore allows Turnus' fate to be postponed, and Juno straightway descends to earth to rescue Turnus by fashioning an image of Aeneas—the image, unlike the man, without strength (*sine viribus*, 636)—which Turnus eagerly pursues. He challenges "Aeneas" to stand and fight (649), while only a few lines later, Vergil makes Turnus' mocking tone rebound upon himself, when the real Aeneas hunts the missing foe (663). Finally Turnus, when on shipboard, although he does not fully understand what has happened (he is *ignarus rerum* [666])

<sup>14</sup> Cf. R. S. Conway, "Vergil's Creative Art," *PBA* 17 (1931) 28: "[The secret of the book] lies in the story of Pallas and its effects, which, though indeed they reach out beyond the Book, make the turning-point of its story. So far as I know no commentator has yet realized what Vergil has indicated by repeated emphasis, the complete difference which the death of Pallas makes in Aeneas himself." The same view had been stated earlier in his *Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928) 135-36.



about the past as Aeneas was about the future [*rerumque ignarus*] at the end of Book 8), rages violently in his despair, and longs for death so that his honor will be spared reproach (676-79). His emotional state, emphasized by the verb *fluctuat* (680), is equated to the changeability of the sea (683), but all his efforts are thwarted by Juno, and he arrives at the city of his father Daunus. The void created by his absence is filled at once, at Jupiter's instance, by Mezentius, the best warrior on the Italian side after Turnus himself. Juno removes one hero to save him for a later day; Jupiter brings another forward for his last day on earth.

In Book 7, Mezentius and Lausus had been introduced together; Mezentius' violent nature and lack of respect for the gods are his trademarks (7.647-48). Here too he advances violently and precipitates a unanimous reaction of weapons and hate (689-92):

at Iovis interea monitis Mezentius ardens  
succedit pugnae Teucrosque invadit ovantis.  
concurrunt Tyrrhenae acies atque omnibus uni,  
uni odiisque viro telisque frequentibus instant.

The chiasmus of *omnibus uni*, / *uni odiis* emphasizes the loathing with which he is held and makes his relations with his son, soon to be brought out so strikingly, all the more unexpected. He now enters upon a great aristeia, and presents the armor from one of his first victims to Lausus, soon to face Aeneas; Lausus is, in his physical presence, a vicarious Turnus. Mezentius' behavior is compared to that of a wild boar, which no one dares to approach; all attack him from a distance; there are none who do not hate him (714-16). His successes conclude with the killing of Orodes, *pars belli haud temnenda* (737), who, with his last breath, warns Mezentius that his moment will soon come too. Mezentius, surprisingly, says that Jupiter will look out for his future, a strange remark for a *contemptor divum* (742-44). The death of Orodes is perhaps meant to forecast that of Lausus, himself *pars ingens belli* (427).

Once again, as at 361, the battle is deadlocked (755-61). The balance of these lines is noteworthy, both in choice of vocabulary and in word placement. Everything indicates the equality of the two sides, in exploit and in suffering. It is a deadlock that can be broken only by a meeting of champions, and, as Mezentius rages like Orion over the field, Aeneas prepares to meet him.

Now, for the first time on Italian soil, we see Aeneas actually fighting an opponent worthy of him. Mezentius' spearcast bounces off Aeneas' divinely made shield and kills his companion Antores. Aeneas, here designated *pius* (783) to contrast him with Mezentius, whose prayer for success had been to his own right hand and weapon (773-74), has greater success in turn; his spear lodges in Mezentius' groin, but does not have the force to prove fatal. Aeneas gleefully and eagerly (*laetus . . . fervidus*, 787-88) draws his sword to despatch his crippled enemy.

Aeneas thinks Mezentius defenseless; he has not reckoned with the latter's son. Lausus, deeply affected by his father's plight, interjects himself into the struggle, to cover his father's withdrawal. It is an exploit brief in duration, but one that time, reaching far into the future, will not forget. Vergil here allows himself another personal intrusion into the narrative (791-93). These lines remind us of his similar eulogy of Euryalus and Nisus (9.446-49).

Lausus' feelings for his father (*cari genitoris*, 789) introduce a factor not even hinted at before. Mezentius, a monster to all others, is a father who evokes the deepest emotions in his son; and it is a relationship that is fully reciprocated, as we shall soon see. It may be that herein Vergil denies what he had earlier said, that Lausus deserved a better father (7.654). For the two were clearly very close, and this relationship is suggested by the positioning of the words for father and son as Mezentius makes good his escape (799-800):

socii magno clamore sequuntur,  
dum genitor nati parma protectus abiret.

Aeneas is outraged and finds himself suddenly on the defensive (802). The abruptness of the monosyllabic line ending indicates the harshness of Aeneas' position. Weapons rain upon him as hail in a storm, while he tries to persuade Lausus to withdraw from his path (810-12):

sustinet et Lausum increpat Lausoque minatur:  
"quo moriture ruis maioraque viribus audes?  
fallit te incautum pietas tua."

Aeneas, the epitome of *pietas*, so often throughout the poem called *pius*, recognizes the excellence of the young man, recognizes too that

his own strength is far too great for Mezentius' son and defender. In his mind, he may well have pictured Ascanius at some time fighting for him, or Pallas protecting Evander, or himself succoring Anchises. But Lausus does not withdraw, he waxes even more violent; Aeneas' patience runs out, as do the threads of Lausus' life, and Aeneas' sword, made by a god, pierces the tunic made by Lausus' mother. Another in Vergil's great line of young people dying before their time has fallen (812-20).

Not until this book has Aeneas become *saevus*;<sup>15</sup> yet, in spite of his violent emotion, he is not deprived of his humanity. His involvement with the end of Lausus is indicated by the bracketing of *Aeneas* by *medium* and *iuvem* in 816. Lausus' death is underscored by the similarity of *recondit* and *reliquit*, in final position in the line. The sombreness of the scene is intimated by the abundant alliteration.

Aeneas' reaction to his triumph over Lausus is totally different from Turnus' after the slaying of Pallas. There is no boasting, no vaunting, only compassion, the compassion that none but a father can feel (821-32); and it is this relationship that the patronymic *Anchisiades*<sup>16</sup> emphasizes. Line 824 is a paraphrase of 9.294, *atque animum patriae strinxit pietatis imago*, where Ascanius is touched by Euryalus' devotion to his mother. The two lines are in essentials the same, and must rank as one of Vergil's finest statements of what his poem is, at least in part, ultimately about, the affection of human being for human being. Aeneas then, in 825, takes his leave of Lausus in words recalling those of Anchises addressed to Marcellus, *heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas* (6.882), and anticipating his own last farewell to Pallas (11.42-44):

"tene" inquit "miserande puer, cum laeta veniret,  
invidit Fortuna mihi, ne regna videres  
nostra neque ad sedes victor veherere paternas?"

<sup>15</sup> J. W. Mackail, *The Aeneid* (Oxford 1930), note *ad loc.*: "It should not escape notice that the epithet *saevus*, 'furious', is never applied to Aeneas until he has been wrought up to extreme passion by the death of Pallas; thenceforward it becomes almost habitual, to emphasize that his grief and anger are unextinguishable except by the death of Turnus."

<sup>16</sup> T. R. Glover, *Virgil*<sup>3</sup> (London n.d.) 223-24: "Lausus is but a boy—*puer*—but he has done what Aeneas did himself years before, he has saved his father—the patronymic *Anchisiades* is not without purpose—and now all the honour that a hero can pay to a hero Aeneas will render to Lausus. *Pietas* covers his feeling for Lausus as well as his feeling for Anchises."

These are the three main characters<sup>17</sup> whom Vergil addresses as *miserande*; the link among the three seems even stronger than merely linguistic. Both Pallas and Lausus represent Marcellus; they, however, die with the glory of achievement, which in Marcellus' case was never attained, only forecast.<sup>18</sup>

In the meantime, Mezentius escapes to the bank of the river Tiber, where he begins to recover a bit from his wound and the shock caused thereby. But all the time he is as concerned about his son as about himself (839-43). The frequentative *rogitat* shows his worry, as does the adjective *maesti*. But, before any news can be brought him, the body of Lausus appears, borne by companions whose grief is underscored by the initial spondaic *flentes*, followed by a decided pause; and Lausus himself is described in the remainder of the line, with three successive spondees, alliterative pairs, chiasmus of case, and repetition of *ingens* in different cases. Mezentius had feared as much (*praesaga mali mens*), but the realization is no less hard.

He at once pours forth his pain in terms of self-reproach (846-56); the disjointed order of the first line, with its double alliteration, leads up to the emphatic position of the words *quem genui*, preceding a definite break in the line. The first words of the next line are similarly set off by their position before the caesura; their dread meaning, of life won at the cost of death, underscores Mezentius' terrible anguish. The remainder of this line, together with the next, is, for him, the moment of truth and the realization of what his past life has really meant to himself and his son. Wounded by Lausus' death as he could have been in no other way, his only wish is to join Lausus in the underworld; his return to face Aeneas is thus inevitable.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Only one other, Cydon in 10.327, is so addressed.

<sup>18</sup> I think Otis (above, note 3) 351 is too narrow in his view when he says, "The death of Pallas is a tragedy of sorts—Pallas is the great Marcellus figure of the poem—but, like Marcellus himself, he is also an *exemplum virtutis* who in dying rouses the very forces that bring victory." The ultimate question, however, is not one of victory but of humanity. Otis is more generous to Lausus on p. 354, where Pallas and Lausus are called "the noble Marcelli of each side." V. Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil*, tr. Gerda Seligson (Ann Arbor 1962) 106, sees deeper when he says: "Pallas and especially Lausus and Mezentius are tragic figures because they fall not only through the fatality of war, but because they attract their destinies through the grandeur of their souls."

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Conway (above, note 14) 28: "[Mezentius] is brought to realize the truth and confess it, but not through the prospect of his own death—note this Vergilian touch; it is the death of his son that has pierced his armour and brings him to repentance."

One should not, however, balance Mezentius' return with Turnus' failure to do so.<sup>20</sup> Mezentius is master of his actions, whereas Turnus' withdrawal from battle was divinely caused, and his efforts to return to the battlefield were thwarted by the same divinity. It is not Turnus' will, or lack thereof, that comes into question here. Nor would this book have been the appropriate place for Turnus and Aeneas to meet in the final combat. Turnus has not yet begun to recognize that he is wrong; this realization comes only in the last two books, beginning with the attack of Drances, after which he is largely on the defensive. Death without understanding would be the opposite of tragic; he must first suffer, as did Achilles, and as does Mezentius, for whom life holds no further attraction. Turnus too will return, when the occasion is right.

After his resolve, Mezentius painfully raises himself and eagerly (*haud deiectus*, 858) orders his horse to be brought. It is quite clear that the animal was, other than Lausus, the only object of the old man's affection, and his gentleness with the horse shows us further the sympathetic side of the man so hated by all (860-66). Then, driven by passion (*aestuat ingens, / uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu*, 870-71), he calls upon Aeneas to face him, which the latter eagerly does. As Mezentius before had invoked his own power to aid him (773-74), here Aeneas calls upon the great gods and bids Mezentius come forward (875-76). His response is what we now expect, a mixture of savagery and tenderness; the two sides of the old man are displayed in unison (878-82):

ille autem: "quid me erepto, saevissime, nato  
terres? haec via sola fuit qua perdere posses:  
nec mortem horremus nec divum parcimus ulli.  
desine, nam venio moriturus et haec tibi porto  
dona prius."

Only Aeneas in the entire poem, and he only here, is addressed as *saevissime*. He is so to Mezentius because he destroyed the old man's desire for life in the only way possible, through his son.

The book is almost at its end. Mezentius, mounted, rides around Aeneas firing his weapons, until Aeneas slays the horse that pins his

<sup>20</sup> As does Otis (above, note 3) 360, who says that "This 'return' of Mezentius is of course the pointed obverse of Turnus' non-return."

rider as he falls. Aeneas then stands over his foe and chides him (897-98), but Mezentius retains his dignity and composure, and begs only that his body be spared for burial and thus escape the wrath of his foes. The customs of war are harsh, harsh are men's deaths; Mezentius requests no more than Lausus had received (900-2):

"hostis amare, quid increpitas mortemque minaris?  
nullum in caede nefas, nec sic ad proelia veni,  
nec tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus."

The crucial word here is *meus*. It represents all that had existed between father and son, who will now everlastingly be together. This was Mezentius' wish, and he intentionally offers his neck as an easy target to Aeneas' blow.

Mezentius and Turnus are different in one other respect, a sense of awareness of reality and the future. Throughout the book, Vergil frequently uses adjectives of knowledge and ignorance. Turnus' actions after the death of Pallas provoke Vergil's remarks about the *nescia mens hominum* (501), and when he is rescued by Juno he is *ignarus rerum* (666). But Mezentius foresaw much, if not all; he anticipated the death of his son (*praesaga mens*, 843), and he knew full well what death would bring (*haud inscius*, 907). The passing of Mezentius closes the Lausus episode; the story of Pallas, however, will not conclude until the very end of the twelfth book, when Aeneas, satisfying the vow implied in 11.177-81, will comfort the *manes* of the youth. The great passion<sup>21</sup> set under way in the charged tenth book will thus at last be assuaged.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> It is the greatest passion that Aeneas feels throughout the poem, next to his feelings for Dido. His action in covering Pallas' body with a robe woven by Dido herself (11.72-77) underscores his similar emotions toward them.

<sup>22</sup> This paper has profited from the comments and suggestions of Miss Bertha Tilly, Prof. Robert B. Lloyd, the Association's Editor, and its anonymous referee. Responsibility for the views expressed, however, is mine alone.