

# OCULOS AD MOENIA TORSIT: ON AENEID 4. 220

VICTOR A. ESTEVEZ

WHEN Iarbas complains to Jupiter about events at Carthage, the god's reaction is immediate:<sup>1</sup>

Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem  
audiit omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit  
regia et oblitos famae melioris amantis.

*Oculos torsit* is regularly taken to mean "he turned his eyes": so, J. Henry.<sup>2</sup> Conington-Nettleship have "looked toward Carthage."<sup>3</sup> A. S. Pease offers parallels, but no interpretation,<sup>4</sup> and refers to an article by A. Burger,<sup>5</sup> who argues that *oculos torquere* = *lorua tueri*: Jupiter, accordingly, "looked fiercely." R. G. Austin's comment ("*Torsit* need mean no more than 'turned' ") may be a response to Burger.<sup>6</sup>

Our passage follows the description of Fama, "protinus ad regem cursus *detorquet* Iarban" (4. 196), and Iarbas' question, "an te, genitor, cum fulmina *torques*, / nequiquam horremus?" (4. 208-9). Repetitions of this type are common enough in the *Aeneid* and there is often some point to them.<sup>7</sup> This paper presents another interpretation of *Aeneid* 4. 220 and offers some suggestions on the Fama-Iarbas-Jupiter passage as a whole (4. 172-237) and on Mercury's words to Aeneas at 4. 269: "regnator, caelum et terras qui numine *torquet*."

Virgil describes Fama at 4. 188: "tam ficti prauique tenax quam nuntia ueri." The connotations of *prauus* are entirely negative: "misshapen," "deformed," "perverse," "vicious." At 4. 190 the creature "pariter facta atque infecta canebat." *Infecta*, more than just the equivalent of *non facta*, is the true participle of *inficere*—"imbue," "stain," "infect," "poison"—and so the perfect complement to *prauus*: her words and deeds are poisoned and poisonous as well as distorted and perverse. This Fama then "twists," *detorquet*, her steps toward Iarbas, much as she twists, distorts, perverts the truth. A similar sense of moral depravity suggested by context occurs at 11. 765-67, where Arruns stalks the unwary Camilla: "*furtim* celeris *detorquet*

1. Lines 219-21. All citations from Virgil are from R. A. B. Mynors, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford, 1972).

2. *Aeneidea*, vol. 2 (Dublin, 1878).

3. *The Works of Virgil with a Commentary* (London, 1884), ad 219.

4. *Publi Vergili Maronis "Aeneidos" liber quartus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935).

5. "Deux adjectifs en -VOS," *REL* 8 (1930): 222-30.

6. *P. Vergili Maronis "Aeneidos" liber quartus* (Oxford, 1966).

7. A few examples from Book 4 will suffice: *suspensam* (9, Dido hangs in suspense between two choices), *pendet* (79, she hangs on Aeneas' words), *pendent* (88, as a result the work at Carthage lands in abeyance); "non arma iuuentus / exercet" (86-87), "quin potius pacem . . . / exercemus" (99-100, Juno maliciously offers Venus the "exercise" of peace, as ill-omened an *exercitatio* as the lack of it at Carthage which prompted the offer).

habenas . . . et certam quatit *improbis* hastam." To pervert or distort as Fama does seems to be the single most common figurative use of *detorquere*.<sup>8</sup> At the literal level, of course, she merely turns her steps toward Iarbas, but the word in context carries nuances of moral or ethical perversion and distortion. In addition, because of this negative nuance, *detorquet* suggests a physical distortion in the turning itself, perhaps an ugliness of gait.

In *cum fulmina torques* the word has its common meaning of "brandish," "whirl," "hurl." Like *detorquere*, *torquere* can carry a figurative meaning of "pervert," "distort," although this seems to be less frequent than for *detorquere*.<sup>9</sup> Yet *torquere* seems nicely placed between *pravi-inflecta-detorquet* and the following *nequiquam-caeci-inania-inanem*; for does not Iarbas, in this angry questioning, ask whether the whole cosmic mechanism of thunder and lightning, purportedly the chief instrument of the sky father's wrath, is not a deception, since evil appears to go unpunished and piety unrewarded? One does not usually associate Aeneidean Jupiter with perversion and distortion (while Fama has these for her very stock in trade), and at the literal level we read simply "you hurl thunderbolts"; yet the negative environment (the character of Fama, the nuances of *detorquet*, and the content and tenor of Iarbas' speech) suggests something more like "(deceptively) hurl (sham) thunderbolts."

We come finally to *oculos torsit*. Whether "he looked fiercely" (Burger) or simply "he turned his eyes," either befits a mood of emotional intensity, the former self-evidently. As for the latter, Austin, after his initial comment (cited above), continues: ". . . but it might suggest the suddenness of Jupiter's reaction to reproach." In this case, *oculos torsit* may be viewed as the violent alternative to a less vigorous, less emotionally charged *oculos conuersus*.<sup>10</sup> Since *torquere* so often means "hurl," "he hurled his eyes" suggests itself as a possibility. Although Latin prefers *in* + accusative to *ad* for verbs of throwing, Virgil has "telumque aurata ad tempora torquet."<sup>11</sup> At 10. 473, Jupiter, after addressing Hercules, "oculos Rutulorum reicit aruis." The mood is different from above: he has just spoken *dictis amicis* (10. 466) to his son of some sad but immutable facts: "stat sua cuique dies" (10. 467), "tot gnati cecidere deum, quin occidit una / Sarpedon, mea progenies" (10. 470-71). Pease suggests that *oculos torsit* answers to *aspicis haec?* (4. 208).<sup>12</sup> It does, but it answers especially to "cum fulmina torques, / nequiquam horremus?," for Jupiter intends to show that men indeed have cause to fear his justice. Herein lies an interesting possibility: that *oculos torsit* carries with it something of *fulmina torques*, that is, that Jupiter "hurled his

8. E.g., Livy 42. 42. 5 "calumniando omnia detorquendoque suspecta et inuisa efficeret"; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 7 "uerba uultus in crimen detorquens."

9. E.g., Cic. *Caec.* 77 "uerbo ac littera ius omne torquere"; perhaps Juv. 6. 449-50 "curuum sermone rotato / torqueat enthymema."

10. See 11. 121, 11. 746, 12. 172, and 12. 705, where the turning of eyes occurs at moments of reverence or wonder.

11. *Aen.* 12. 536. See also 2. 478, 8. 491, and 9. 568 for *iactare* with *ad*. But in these cases, fire is thrown to rooftops, and the sense may be more "up to" than simply "at."

12. "*Aeneidos*" *liber quartus*, ad 4. 220.

(thunderbolt) eyes" as a hostile, punishing act.<sup>13</sup> The figure of sight as a weapon is at least potentially present in such words as *acies*, *acumen*, and *aculus* for eyes and vision.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, Virgil has "quotiens oculos coniecit in hostem" (12. 483) of Aeneas seeking to do battle with Turnus, a hostile situation in which Aeneas' eyes are a kind of weapon out to kill. As with the other uses of *delorquere* and *torquere*, therefore, layers of meaning suggest themselves: the broadly accepted "he turned his eyes"; then, because *torquere* so often means "hurl," "he hurled his eyes"; finally, in response to *fulmina torques*, "he hurled his (thunderbolt) eyes" as weapons of punishment. But what of the nuances that darken the preceding *delorquet* and *torques*? Do these cast their shadow in turn upon *oculos torsit*? Jupiter's action does not prima facie suggest a distortion or perversion like that of Fama or the deception of which he stands accused by Iarbas. Indeed, standing so accused, the god would not likely respond by justifying the charge. Yet I think *delorquet* and *torques* suggest something negative, even wrong, in Jupiter's response.

All other instances in Virgil of *torquere* or compounds for sight involve frenzy—of Amata, *sanguineam torquens aciem* (7. 399); Allecto, *flammea torquens / lumina* (7. 488); Turnus, "ardentis oculorum orbis ad moenia torsit / turbidus" (12. 671); the drought-crazed Calabrian serpent, "flam-mantia lumina torquens / saeuit agris" (G. 3. 433-34); Proteus, "ardentis oculos intorsit lumine glauco" (4. 451). These all refer to fiery or bloody eyes, unlike the eyes of Jupiter in that respect. Propertius has "swelling eyes" in 1. 21. 3: "quid nostro gemitu turgentia lumina torques?," of a subject whom L. Richardson takes to be in a state of terror.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps we should not imagine here a Jupiter so enraged as to be all but rabid, with flaming, bloodshot, or bulging eyes, but the importance of *ira* in the earlier part of the episode<sup>16</sup> and Virgil's use elsewhere of *torquere* for frenzied sight suggest not only that Jupiter is angered here, but that he has been carried somewhat beyond ordinary *ira*, if perhaps short of full-fledged frenzy or *furor*.

13. This hostile bolt may be construed as a step in the figurative assault upon Carthage. See F. L. Newton, "Recurrent Imagery in *Aeneid* IV," *TAPA* 88 (1957): 31-43.

14. Note in this connection the use of *figere* and compounds with vision, e.g., 1. 226, 1. 482, perhaps 4. 4 ("haerent infixi pectore uultus"), 6. 469, 11. 507. The first of these, conceivably in anticipation, is of Jupiter looking upon Libya: "constitit et Libyae defixit lumina regnis." The next time he looks at Carthage the expression will be *oculos torsit*. See also Ovid *Met.* 4. 196-97, *Am.* 1. 8. 15-16, and *Tr.* 4. 2. 31 "ille ferox et adhuc oculis *hostilibus* ardens," with its enticing possibility of a pun on *hostilibus*.

15. Propertius: "*Elegies*" I-IV (Norman, 1976), ad loc. *Torquere* and compounds make for vigorous action; rarely, in fact, do they appear in the *Aeneid* with other than violent, hostile overtones, e.g., 3. 669, 4. 482, 5. 177, 5. 738, 5. 831, 6. 547, 6. 797, 8. 429, 9. 93, 12. 180.

It is worth noting that in two passages involving frenzy the word appears, although without direct reference to vision: (1) the ship compared to the wounded snake: "nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus / parte ferox ardensque oculis et sibila colla / arduus attollens" (5. 276-78); (2) Aeneas in pursuit of Turnus: "haud minus Aeneas tortos legit obuius orbis, / uestigatque uirum et disiecta per agmina magna / uoce uocat. quotiens oculos coniecit in hostem / alipedumque fugam cursu temptauit equorum, / auersos totiens currus Iuturna retorsit" (12. 481-85).

16. I.e., "illam Terra parens ira irritata deorum / extremam . . . / progeniuit" (4. 178-80); "incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras" (4. 197); "isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro" (4. 203).

This goes against what is normally said of Jupiter in the *Aeneid*. W. Kühn, for example, contrasts Virgilian Jupiter with Homeric Zeus, arguing that the latter would show anger at such a coming to pass as in this episode, while the former remains unmoved or undisturbed ("unbewegt"), speaking to Mercury with calm, objectivity, majesty, and solemnity.<sup>17</sup> Yet Kühn's suggestion of objectivity aside, one may speak in such wise while gripped by a passion. Juno does so at 1. 37–49, although speaking *flammato corde* (1. 50), and Iarbas, for all his rage, prefaces his angry questions and accusations with all the formalities. Kühn goes on to see Jupiter's questions (4. 234–36) as a mitigation of mood,<sup>18</sup> but elsewhere the question form is almost a commonplace in speeches of anger.<sup>19</sup> Highet, while not referring to this passage explicitly, observes that in the *Aeneid* many questions are not requests for information but unanswerable queries equivalent to "passionate exclamations."<sup>20</sup> Later he sees resemblances in the content and context of Jupiter's words to Mercury in two antecedent epic speeches: Zeus through Hermes to Calypso (*Od.* 5. 29–42, 105–15) and Heracles to the Argonauts on Lemnos (*Ap. Rhod.* 1. 865–74); but in neither of these does he detect anything like Jupiter's "rebuke" to Aeneas through Mercury and its "peremptory and imperious" tone, although in Homer and Apollonius neither Odysseus nor the Argonauts has embarked on a holy mission like that of Aeneas.<sup>21</sup>

However, there is no real conceptual need in this paper to argue against Kühn's interpretation of this passage or against what is generally held of Jupiter in the *Aeneid*. At issue rather is a substratum of suggestion, which in a literary work may run counter to what may generally and correctly be held to be the explicit sense of lines (in narrative poetry, counter even to the narrative itself). A. Parry has shown how this may work in the *Aeneid*: the tragedy of the last books suggests that "the formation of Rome's empire involved the loss of the pristine purity of Italy," which runs counter to a more explicit message of the *Aeneid*, that Rome was "a happy reconciliation of the natural virtues of the local Italian peoples and the civilized might of the Trojans."<sup>22</sup> He speaks elsewhere of a "public voice of triumph, and a private voice of despair."<sup>23</sup> And B. Knox has demonstrated how the imagery

17. *Götterszenen bei Vergil* (Heidelberg, 1971), pp. 66–67; see also G. Highet, *The Speeches in Vergil's "Aeneid"* (Princeton, 1972), p. 259 ("Jupiter speaks with less bluster and more majesty than the Zeus of the *Iliad*"), and A. H. F. Thornton, "The Problem of Anger in the *Aeneid*," *AULLA* 14 (1972): 62, who says that Aeneidean Jupiter is never angry.

18. *Götterszenen*, p. 68.

19. E.g., Juno, 1. 39–41, 1. 48–49; Neptune, 1. 132–34; Iarbas, 4. 208–10.

20. *Speeches*, p. 113.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 261.

22. "The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Arion* 2 (1963): 68. A. Bradley, "Augustan Culture and a Radical Alternative: Vergil's *Georgics*," *Arion* 8 (1969): 358, makes a similar suggestion, that Virgil entertains in the Orpheus myth the "possibility of a culture based on freedom rather than sublimation" and that he dramatizes in the myth the "perennial conflict in which the kind of freedom Orpheus stands for is doomed to a necessary defeat at the hands of a repressive civilization." R. D. Williams, "The Purpose of the *Aeneid*," *Antichthon* 1 (1967): 32–33, echoes and refers to Parry's argument. Similar work has been done on Horace, e.g., J. W. Ambrose, Jr., *Irony in Book IV of Horace's "Odes"* (Ph.D. diss., Brown, 1962).

23. "Two Voices," p. 79.

of Book 2 "does more than enforce the impression made by the events, it interprets them."<sup>24</sup> His analysis is familiar to all: the serpent and fire imagery is eventually transformed from images of deceit and destruction to images of rebirth and hope. Yet midway through Book 2, the serpent to which Pyrrhus is compared when he enters the palace of Priam (2. 471–75) is a creature reborn: *positis nouus exuiis*, a foreshadowing of the eventual transformation of the book's dominant imagery; thus, this particular instance of the image interprets the event by running counter to it, for all at this point in the narrative is despair and destruction. If we grant the possibility of a subliminal suggestion of *ira* on Jupiter's part in Book 4, then the suddenness and decisiveness of an action taken by the king of gods and men in a state close to *furor* have serious interpretative repercussions.<sup>25</sup>

Only here in the *Aeneid* does Jupiter speak and act in such a way. Usually, while remaining firm, he consoles, reassures, and conciliates; he compromises at times and relents; he appeals for unanimity among the gods and shows remarkable self-restraint in the face of Juno's intransigence and the actions of her divine and human agents.<sup>26</sup> His words to Venus set the tone, and three later speeches recall the episode.<sup>27</sup> Interestingly, where he comes closest to sheer exasperation—after Juno's last attempt to save the doomed Turnus—the event recalls both his gentleness with Cybele and his hard words for Aeneas.<sup>28</sup> We hear occasionally of a wild and savage Jupiter,<sup>29</sup> and he conciliatingly admits to Juno his own proneness to anger (12. 830–31), but we rarely witness these moods or qualities. To be sure, we see the fall of Troy through the eyes of Aeneas (2. 617–18):

ipse pater Danaïs animos uirisque secundas  
sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitāt arma.

But even here Virgil calls him simply *pater*, as opposed to *Iuno . . . saeuissima*

24. "The Serpent and the Flame," *AJP* 71 (1950): 381.

25. The decisiveness is self-evident. On Jupiter's suddenness, see Austin, "*Aeneidos*" *liber quartus*, ad loc., and A. Schmitz, *Infelix Dido* (Gembloux, 1960), p. 103, who refers ad loc. to Jupiter's instantaneous reaction, a sense of urgency, even to divine stupefaction at events at Carthage.

Elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, where Jupiter speaks in majesty, even as he stands questioned, accused, or opposed, the narrative introductions to his words tend to exhibit greater amplitude than here, often with a full phrase referring to his majesty and power (e.g., 1. 254–56, 9. 93, 10. 1–5, 10. 101–3, 12. 791–92, 12. 829). Here he is simply *omnipotens* (and that, not in the syntactical unit which actually introduces his words), which is how Iarbas had addressed him. Virgil refers bluntly and without amplification to the one attribute of Jupiter which matters here, his power. Austin, "*Aeneidos*" *liber quartus*, ad 206, observes that Iarbas' *omnipotens* is "pointed; the whole burden of Iarbas' bitter complaint is that Jupiter's power seems worse than useless." The transition from stimulus to response is abrupt: the god turns violently toward Carthage and decides immediately whether and how to act. The narrative introduction to the speech contains the bare minimum of detail: "tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat" (222). Even the forced quantity of *-tur* conveys a sense of harshness.

26. See Jupiter to Venus, 1. 257–96; Cybele, 9. 94–103; the gods in council, 10. 6–15, 10. 104–13; Heracles, 10. 467–72; Juno, 10. 607–10, 10. 622–27, 12. 793–806, 12. 830–40.

27. Cf. in the first Venus episode: "quae te, genitor, sententia uertit" (1. 237), *olli subridens* (1. 254), *parce metu* (1. 257), and "neque me sententia uertit" (1. 260), with Cybele to Jupiter (9. 90) and Jupiter to the council (10. 6–7) and to Juno (12. 829).

28. Cf. Jupiter to Cybele: "mortaline manu factae inmortale carinae / fas habeant?" (9. 95–96) and to Mercury: "quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur?" (4. 235), with Jupiter to Juno (12. 796–97).

29. E.g., 2. 326–27, 9. 670, 11. 901, 12. 849.

... *furens* (2. 612-13) and "Pallas . . . nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeua" (2. 615-16); he plays no actively destructive role like that of Neptune (2. 610-12) and in any case acts not in anger but to accomplish Troy's fate. As for what may seem an act of gratuitous cruelty, the sending of a Dira to dispatch Juturna (12. 845-86) and entrap Turnus (12. 908-14), this serves mercifully to abbreviate the doomed hero's agony and hasten the inevitable victory of Aeneas. In short, Jupiter the patient seems out of character in this episode of Book 4.

The king of gods and men speaks and acts as though Carthage were the last straw in a long history of heroic antagonism on the part of Aeneas, as though he had not struggled and suffered dutifully since the fall of Troy,<sup>30</sup> had not given up—so far as he could understand—all hope of a heroic death,<sup>31</sup> had not lost his wife at the start and his father (3. 709 "omnis curae casusque leuamen") at the close of the seven years' wandering, as though, in sum, Aeneas, recalcitrant and uncooperative bearer of the world's fate, had definitively abandoned his mission. But if K. Quinn is correct, as I think he is, to suggest that "it is left to the reader to conjecture how far Aeneas allowed himself, as time went by, to acquiesce in Dido's interpretation of their relationship," the matter of Aeneas' conception of and attitude toward his mission at this point is equally open to conjecture.<sup>32</sup> The carefully elusive Virgil affords the hero's deeds and words some scope only after the command to depart, yet even then the figure of Dido continues to dominate the book. To be sure, he has seriously compromised himself; but there is still hope. First, he knows better than to renege, for his father's image visits and terrifies him nightly (4. 351-53). Indeed, B. Otis, while granting the need for further intervention, reads the Anchises visitations as a very hopeful sign: Anchises was Aeneas' conscience, lost when the old man died; his dream appearances signalled its return.<sup>33</sup> Second, Aeneas feels guilt, for he speaks of his delay at Carthage as "[Ascanii] capitis iniuria cari" (4. 354). Moreover, it can be argued that the fleet was being prepared all along, although the work went slowly due to his involvement with Dido and her building projects. Several lines in the storm scene in Book 1 indicate that the ships must have sustained heavy damage and that the surviving nineteen limped to shore in need of more than masts and oars.<sup>34</sup> Ilioneus had spoken

30. Kühn, *Götterszenen*, p. 68, suggests, in fact, that Aeneas is not so much blameworthy here for ignoring the fates as for being essentially untrue to his better nature, something, one might add, the gods have grown not to expect from him on the basis of past dutifulness. On Aeneas' nature and his growth into his mission, see W.-L. Liebermann, "Aeneas—Schicksal und Selbstfindung," *Studien zum antiken Epos*, ed. H. Görgemanns and E. A. Schmidt (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976), pp. 173-207.

31. 1. 94-101, 2. 317, 2. 353-54, 2. 668-70.

32. *The "Aeneid": A Critical Description* (Ann Arbor, 1968), p. 142.

33. *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 267-68. R. D. Williams, *P. Vergili Maronis "Aeneidos" liber tertius* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 4-6, also speaks of Aeneas' crucial dependence on Anchises. See also G. Sanderlin, "Aeneas as Apprentice: Point of View in the Third *Aeneid*," *CJ* 71 (1975): 53-56; and J. W. Mackail, *The "Aeneid"* (Oxford, 1930), ad loc.

34. I.e., "tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet" (1. 108); "tris . . . / in breuia et Syrtis urget . . . / inliditque uadis" (1. 110-12); "laxis laterum compagibus omnes / accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt" (1. 122-23).

of *quassatam classem* (1. 551) and Anna of *quassatae rates* (4. 53), battered or shattered fleet and ships. Yet Aeneas gives the command: *classem aptent taciti* (4. 289). In the *Aeneid*, *aptare* of ships regularly refers to the last minute preparations prior to departure.<sup>35</sup> Wholesale repair would call for something more like *reficere*, as in Horace *Odes* 1. 1. 17–18 “mox reficit rates / quassas.” “Frondentisque ferunt remos et robora siluis / infabricata fugae studio” (4. 399–400) will therefore refer to additional lumber needed for reserve equipment to be fashioned aboard ships at sea.<sup>36</sup> In this connection, it is significant that the ants to which Aeneas’ men are compared in the following simile (4. 401–7) put up stores *hiemis memores*: the Trojans are putting on supplies of unfinished wood against the possibility of damage on a still stormy sea, they, too, being *hiemis memores*. Aeneas then commands, “quae rebus sit causa nouandis / dissimulent” (4. 290–91), which may refer as easily to sailing ahead of schedule and out of season as to sailing away at all.<sup>37</sup> As for the mood of Aeneas’ men (4. 295 *imperio laeti parent*), let us not assume them wiser and more dedicated than Aeneas: they almost always seem happy to depart a place and continue the journey.<sup>38</sup>

In addition, Jupiter seems not to take all manner of extenuation into account. The lovers had been the victims of a divine plot (I refer to the agreement between Venus and Juno, and the storm). The season itself discouraged sailing, and earlier the wanderers had been allowed to await more propitious weather (3. 69). Never before had Aeneas been so discouraged, first by the loss of his father, then to have come so close to Italy and been blown off course. He has twice looked with sadness and perhaps some understandable envy upon cities already begun by exiles like himself.<sup>39</sup> For seven years frustrated in female affection, unable to embrace his wife (2. 790–94) and his mother (1. 406–9), he all too humanly succumbs to Dido.<sup>40</sup> Inexperi-

35. 3. 472, 5. 573, 8. 80. Similarly, equipment is readied for use with *aptare*: *neruorque aptare sagittas* (10. 131), or figuratively: *animos aptent armis* (10. 259).

Ilioneus had asked Dido’s permission “*siluis aptare trabes et stringere remos*” (1. 552). Although Virgil occasionally uses *trabs* for ship (3. 191; perhaps 4. 566, for *mare turbari trabibus* may refer to the sea churned by beams or timbers, i.e., oars), it is not likely he is asking here to “fit out the ships and strip treelings for oars,” which requires hysteron-proteron. Here *aptare* has its meaning of “fashion,” as in “*fraxineasque aptare sudes furcasque ualentis*” (G. 2. 359).

36. See ad 399–400 P. H. Peerlkamp, *P. Virgili Maronis “Aeneidos” libri I–IV* (Leyden, 1843); T. E. Page, *The “Aeneid” of Virgil: Books I–VI* (London, 1894). Page suggests *frondentis remos* = “boughs from which to make oars.” But if usable oars are not at the ready, how do they make their hasty departure once they have shown their hand by boarding the ships with equipment in whatever state of completion or incompleteness?

37. Austin, “*Aeneidos” liber quartus*, ad loc., suggests simply “change of plans,” adding, “*rebus nouandis* suggests a revolution (and to Aeneas, this was just what it seemed to be).” It is not clear, however, whether Austin refers to the suddenness of the departure and the time of year or to the fact that the Trojans are leaving at all.

38. See Pease, “*Aeneidos” liber quartus*, and Austin “*Aeneidos” liber quartus*, ad loc. Austin is especially good here: “Note how uneasy Aeneas’ men have plainly been at Carthage, and compare their simple alacrity with his worried indecision: they have no problems like his to complicate their little world.” Servius ad loc., perhaps finding *laeti* an indictment of Aeneas, glosses it “alacres, festini”; see J. Kvičala, *Neue Beiträge zur Erklärung der “Aeneis”* (Prague, 1881), pp. 100–101, for a discussion of Servius’ comment.

39. 1. 437, 3. 492–505.

40. The problem plagues Aeneas. In the underworld he seeks recognition and forgiveness from Dido, but she refuses him, turning to the sympathetic companionship of Sychaeus (6. 474), leaving

enced in leadership, having deferred to his father throughout the journey (Anchises interprets signs and omens, Anchises gives the orders for departure<sup>41</sup>), he now, for the first time since Troy, lapses. His only other lapse has been on the night Troy fell, a night of chaos hardly conducive to clarity of thought and blind obedience to commands which flew in the face of the heroic system in which he had been trained. His goal remains indefinite, elusive, and threatening.<sup>42</sup> He knows of a Hesperia and an Ausonia, now vaguely synonymous with an Italia he has finally seen, but under unfavorable circumstances: *o terra hospita* (3. 539). He has been told of glory, domination, fertile fields, hope of peace,<sup>43</sup> but has heard as often of struggles, horrible wars, famine, dangerous Greek cities, and a mysterious and surely frightening brush with the realms of the dead.<sup>44</sup> Signs and omens, moreover, have been misinterpreted before. Conceivably, too, Carthage—in the west, a new city in whose foundation he now takes a major role, ruled by a queen who is in some sense the promised *regia coniunx*—answers for Aeneas at some level to the description of his journey's end.<sup>45</sup> And the death of Anchises, the worst blow of all, had gone unpredicted by Celaeno and Helenus (3. 710–13). Where else had seers failed to report on the will of the gods? Despite this uncertainty, Jupiter's question, "Ascanione pater Romanas inuidet arces?" (4. 234), reads as though the god expected Aeneas to know of the great prophecy of Book 1. Ausonia, Hesperia, later *Oenotria tellus*, and such, all mythological synonyms, and legendary eponymous adjectives like *Lavinius*, are one thing; but *Romanus*, though also eponymous, is quite another and very much in its own class. Mercury repeats the word to Aeneas, but it has no special effect on him. And how can it, until Book 6?<sup>46</sup>

So long as Jupiter will have fate work its way with as little divine intervention as possible, then the human element must be given more scope.<sup>47</sup> If

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Aeneas with no one. Later, the betrothal to Lavinia brings no joy. The difficulty extends itself as well to his attempts to embrace his father in the underworld (6. 697–702).

W. H. Semple, "Aeneas at Carthage: A Short Study of *Aeneid* I and IV," *BRL* 34 (1951–52): 134, sees the affair with Dido as a result of inaction on Aeneas' part rather than of any positive step: "He drifts into the love affair; he drifts into the position and duties of consort . . . he didn't himself seek this entanglement, but somehow found himself in it."

41. E.g., 3. 9, 3. 103–17, 3. 188–89, 3. 266–67, 3. 472–73.

42. Semple, "Aeneas at Carthage," p. 129: "If any excuse can be offered for the delay at Carthage, it amounts to this—that Aeneas did not yet know *all* that was imperilled by his idling with Dido: he had only a partial revelation of what was involved."

43. E.g., 2. 781–83, 3. 97, 3. 164, 3. 393, 3. 543.

44. E.g., 3. 256, 3. 386, 3. 396–98, 3. 442, 3. 458–59, 3. 539.

45. P. McGushin, "Aeneas' Lasting City," *Latomus* 24 (1965): 417, makes an important distinction: "Carthage represents the *moenia* of his mission: he has still to learn and to recognize the *mores* without which the walls are but an empty gesture."

46. See Semple, "Aeneas at Carthage," pp. 128–29: a hint "so little understood that Aeneas in his defense to Dido makes no reference to any other object in his voyage but to gain in Italy a site for a new Troy and a kingdom for his son."

47. H. L. Tracy, "*Fata Deum* and the Action of the *Aeneid*," *G&R* 11 (1964): 190–91, is very critical of Jupiter's management of fate, advancing the view that he does not interfere often enough or in the right manner: "He needs memoranda from his subordinates and parishioners to set him in action. . . . His excursions into the human scene may indeed be prompted by short term considerations. . . . Apart from one or two sudden directives, Jupiter's supervision of Aeneas is merely



there is any hope at all at this point of a humanly effected peaceful resolution of the Carthaginian entanglement, one worked out by Aeneas himself (and Dido) with the needed prodding, as Otis indicates, of a divine admonition, that hope lies in time, the only element Jupiter in his angry impatience will not allow. Granted Dido's rage that Aeneas plans to leave at all, this suddenly planned departure during the seasons of storms passes for her as a special insult (4. 309–14). When ready pathetically to compromise, she sends a message: *tempus inane peto* (4. 433). It may or may not have worked, for *inane* may suggest time granted in vain; yet even in her final frenzy (4. 590–629) she has a lucid moment to acknowledge her madness, the results of her *impia facta*, and the fact that she has not now the power physically to harm Aeneas or detain him: “tum decuit, cum sceptras dabas” (4. 597), a power long since abdicated, well before, to her own mind, the news of the intended departure. Furthermore, she has not at her disposal the potent and dangerous arts of a Medea. Having tried her hand at magic, she failed. Surely the elaborate ritual described in 4. 504–21 does not take place solely to deceive Anna and prepare for the suicide. In her desperation she half hopes, half believes it will work to change either Aeneas' mind or her own heart.<sup>48</sup>

Jupiter, therefore, in his angry impatience, bears as much responsibility for the curse of Dido as do Aeneas, Juno, and Venus. Thus he shares the blame for the enmity between Rome and Carthage and for Hannibal, Dido's avenger, who comes so close to destroying what he himself is now so bent on having Aeneas hasten to found. Of the guilty parties, Aeneas is the least to blame. Under the circumstances—Aeneas' history of dutifulness and self-sacrifice, as well as the extenuating realities at Carthage and before—Jupiter's action seems precipitate and unnecessarily harsh and uncompromising. If the personal hatred of Juno for a people and a hero, the accessibility to bribery of a petty divinity like Aeolus,<sup>49</sup> and the oversolicitous meddling of a mother can lead to *fatis contraria fata*, Jupiter is supposed to have the larger view.<sup>50</sup> He more than any other god knows the immutability of fate:

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permissive or corrective. . . . His interferences in human actions are trivial and capricious. . . . On the few occasions when Jupiter interferes with Aeneas' action, he does so suddenly, peremptorily, and without much exploration.” This sweeping dismissal of Jupiter's effectiveness may be too strong, but I agree with Tracy to the extent at least that in this episode of Book 4 something is radically wrong.

48. This is on the assumption that her true purpose is the one she gave out to Anna: “*quae mihi reddat eum uel eo me soluat amantem*” (4. 479). A. M. Tuper, “Didon Magicienne,” *REL* 48 (1970): 229–58, however, sees the ritual (4. 504–21), the curse (4. 607–29), and the suicide—a ritual suicide similar to *deuotio*—as a whole. On her view, then, 4. 504–21 is not an isolated episodic digression, and the entire action, in view of Aeneas' troubles in Italy and the reality of the Punic Wars, made for indeed effective magic.

49. Little can be offered in defense of Aeolus and Juno, but B. Otis, “The Originality of the *Aeneid*,” *Vergil*, ed. D. R. Dudley (London, 1969), p. 34, defends Venus as “reassured as to the long-run,” but “wholly ignorant of the short-run.” See also O. Phillips, “*Aeole, Namque Tibi*,” *Vergilius* 26 (1980): 18–26, for a very careful analysis of the Aeneidean versus the Odysseian Aeolus.

50. There are as many views of the meaning of fate, its relationship to the will of the gods and in particular the will of Jupiter, and the interplay, if any, between fate and free will, as there are scholars to express them. G. E. Duckworth, “Fate and Free Will in Vergil's *Aeneid*,” *CJ* 51 (1956): 358, speaks in terms of “double causation.” For F. A. Sullivan, “Virgil and the Mystery of Suffering,” *AJP* 90 (1969): 167, fate is “what *ought* to happen.” Tracy, “*Fata Deum*,” p. 190, sees Jupiter

when Aeneas' fortunes reached so low an ebb that Venus asked whether Jupiter had changed his mind, he serenely informed his daughter: "manent immota tuorum / fata tibi" (1. 257-58).<sup>51</sup> Are they any less *immota* at Carthage, and should not Jupiter direct his wrath at the forces that actively conspire to oppose him rather than at the weakness of well-intentioned human nature? Does he not act as shortsightedly here as have Aeneas, Juno, Venus, and Dido in the past?

The king of gods and men acts at the behest of a spurned and infuriated suitor, whose own fiery mood has been aroused by some truth told with mean intention and by half-truths, distortions, exaggerations, and outright lies. Fama had been inventive and carefully colored her message: *pulchra . . . dignetur* (4. 192) fairly drips with sarcasm; *luxu . . . fouere* (4. 193) suggests an utter surrender to sensuality; *quam longa* (4. 193) reads the lovers' intentions in the worst possible light; *regnorum immemores* (4. 194) has no firm basis in fact.<sup>52</sup> Iarbas, rejected would-be lover, naturally fastens upon the sexual liaison, elaborating an image of a degenerate, effeminate Aeneas (4. 215-17):

et nunc ille Paris cum semiuiro comitatu  
Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem  
subnexus, rapto potitur,

capping it with (4. 217-18):

nos munera templis  
quippe tuis ferimus famamque fouemus inanem.

He uses a traditional western description of the eastern male to remind Jupiter of an embarrassing incident of divine bribery and a deception that led to immeasurable human suffering, and to caricature a people dear to the god's heart and a hero upon whom fate has laid an immense responsibility. In addition, he condescendingly suggests, using the *fouere* with which Fama described Dido and Aeneas, that Jupiter's reputation needs the same kind of coddling. Note, too, that while the earlier accusations were framed as

as "something like an executive officer under Fatum." Liebermann, "Aeneas—Schicksal und Selbstfindung," p. 175, suggests that Book 4 makes it clear "wie sehr es auf die Eigeninitiative des Aeneas ankommt. Die *fata* sind ein Eingebot, nicht eine Bestimmung, die unter allen Umständen in Erfüllung gehen wird." Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, pp. 226-27, is especially good and I rather incline to his view: the "correlation of divine and human affairs . . . [is] intricate as well as necessary; freedom is not an alternative to predestination but an essential component of it. Or put in the terms of the *Aeneid* itself: both men and gods can accept fate with piety; both men and gods can reject fate with *furor*; and fate itself is the predestined product of their interpenetrating acceptances and rejections." See also P. F. Lebrun, "La notion de fatum dans l'oeuvre de Virgile," *LEC* 44 (1976): 35-44; C. H. Wilson, "Jupiter and the Fates in the *Aeneid*," *CQ* 29 (1979): 361-71. But Aeneas pretty clearly views fate and the expressions of Jupiter's will as imperatives to be acted upon.

51. H. Georgii, *Die antike Äneiskritik* (Stuttgart, 1891), pp. 208-9, commenting on Servius ad 220: "nec uideatur esse contrarium, quod turbantur omnia Ioue Africam prospiciente: nam utrumque a turpi liberat fama," suggests that Servius sees not a contradiction in the narrative itself so much as a disproportion between the motive or catalyst to action on Jupiter's part, "die Rachsucht des Iarbas," and the far-reaching consequences of Jupiter's intervention, although he also bears in mind Aeneas' higher destiny and the unworthiness of his present life at Carthage.

52. See Austin, "*Aeneidos*" *liber quartus*, ad loc., and M. Strain, "Virgil *Aeneid* 4. 188-194," *PVS* 14 (1974-75): 18-21.

questions, at this point Iarbas states them as facts. Nowhere else in the *Aeneid* does a god sustain such an insult, whether from mortal or immortal. Stung by Iarbas' vituperative challenge as to the justice and efficacy of his management of the universe, he must now prove to himself and to Iarbas that he is indeed "diuum pater atque hominum rex" and, if Hightet is correct, who understands Iarbas to suggest "the wielder of thunderbolts may not exist,"<sup>53</sup> that he indeed does. It is a wonder Jupiter does not blast Iarbas, but the petty king is his son;<sup>54</sup> and the god has his own *fama melior* to consider: having been accused of injustice and partiality, he would only corroborate the charge by smiting the accuser rather than look to the allegation, which, however, he does not really do. On the surface and if everything Fama and Iarbas said were true, Aeneas indeed deserved severe treatment. Throughout the *Aeneid*, when obstacles are thrown up to the accomplishment of Aeneas' mission, they come from without, while the battered Aeneas remains true to his purpose. Here, thanks to Jupiter's intervention "without much exploration," he believes the trouble to lie at the very heart of the matter, with Aeneas himself.<sup>55</sup> Thus, the insulting challenge of Iarbas in tandem with what the god mistakenly believes (and that without justification) to be the true problem provides ample motivation for *ira* on the part of Jupiter at this point.<sup>56</sup> A similar confluence of stimuli occurs nowhere else in the *Aeneid*.

Later, when Mercury addresses Aeneas, his first words are largely his own. Curiously, they both echo and in part refute Fama (4. 265-67):

. . . tu nunc Karthaginis altae  
fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem  
exstruis? heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum!

He then introduces Jupiter's specific message with the formalities usually appearing in the narrative just before Jupiter speaks and which were missing when the god summoned him earlier (4. 268-69):

ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo  
regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet.

And so *torquere* makes another appearance. Atlas himself is twice described

53. *Speeches*, p. 117.

54. Hammon was long associated with Zeus-Jupiter. Catullus refers to the shrine there as *oraculum Iouis aestuosi* (7. 5). Iarbas calls Jupiter *genitor*, and only rarely does Virgil use the term where there is no connection by blood. Donatus ad 4. 220 suggests that Jupiter is not angered at Iarbas, despite the insults, because of the latter's ritual correctness: he keeps his hands upon the altar as he prays.

55. See Tracy's final comment, n. 47 above.

56. The fact that the series of actions resulting in the reaction of Jupiter begins with Fama lends support to the idea of the god himself as a victim of something like a temporary *furor*. Fama, after all, is very like Allecto in Book 7, a similarity noted by F. Klingner, *Virgil: "Bucolica," "Georgica," "Aeneis"* (Zurich, 1967), pp. 444-45, and others. Thornton, "The Problem of Anger," p. 62, advances the well-argued view that of itself anger in the *Aeneid* is morally neutral, "its moral evaluation depending on the specific situation in which it occurs." This applies even to the anger of the gods, although Juno's anger is always evil, because "it runs counter to fate (I. 18 ff.)." It can be argued here, however, in Thornton's own terms, that Jupiter's anger, because of its inspiration (Fama and Iarbas) and its precipitate and careless expression, is evil.

in the *Aeneid* with "axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum" (4. 482, 6. 797). "Caelum et terras qui numine torquet" seems more appropriate to him, although the image of the Titan seems more appropriate to the turning of the heavens than of the earth. Earlier in Book 4 Atlas is he "caelum qui uertice fulcit" (4. 247). Although Virgil is dealing at once with Atlas the mythological figure and Atlas the personified mountain (which might better be said to support rather than to turn the heavens), I think Virgil reserves *torquere* for a more complex use with Jupiter. The very difficulties of the clause focus special attention on it and suggest a peculiar importance. While Jupiter may turn heaven and earth, cosmologically speaking, he need do only one or the other. *Torquere* may be taken to mean "govern" or "control," as in "cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques" (12. 180) of Mars (hardly a happy parallel). Zeugma has often been suggested: "who turns heaven and governs the earth."<sup>57</sup> But however we construe the words, something ominous lurks beneath the surface. In view of the totally negative environment generated by and around the appearances of *detorquere* and *torquere*, and because of the suffering caused on the divine as well as on the human level by the mission of Aeneas and by the projected founding of Rome, all of which suffering results from the carrying out of fate and Jupiter's will, Virgil may well be suggesting in his private voice a message Mercury does not intend to convey: that Jupiter is he who torments, *torquet*, heaven and earth by his divine will.<sup>58</sup>

There is more then to *oculos torsit* than simply "he turned his eyes," "he looked fiercely," "he hurled his eyes," or even "he hurled his (thunderbolt) eyes." Jupiter, angered beyond ordinary *ira*, stung to action and a firm assertion of his Olympian governance in response to Iarbas' insulting challenge, and because of his own lack of exploration, acts precipitately and out of all proportion to any action or temporary inaction on the part of the hero. This finally results in events far more disastrous than some temporary setback in the founding of Aeneas' kingdom. The god's is therefore a distorted reaction. Jupiter, father of gods and men, reacting here in almost human fashion, seems to be not immune to the forces of irrationality and chaos marshalled against him and Aeneas.<sup>59</sup> Against these very forces he had set

57. So Conington-Nettleship, Page, Pease, et al.

58. An interval of 49 lines does not necessarily weaken the association or its effect. Elsewhere even larger intervals between repeated words do not interfere with such associations. At 4. 53 Anna offers as an excuse for delay: "dum non tractabile caelum." At 4. 439 Aeneas is not *tractabilis* to the message Anna brings him from Dido, which is followed by the simile of the storm-tossed oak. Aeneas has become as intractable as the very forces of nature in the simile and *tractabile* is recalled as a quality of the sky and the season in the earlier passage. See also n. 7.

59. See M. O. Lee, *Fathers and Sons in Virgil's "Aeneid": "Tum Genitor Natum"* (Albany, 1979), p. 143: "And the supreme irony, the terror of the final page [of the *Aeneid*] is that the vindictive spirit has been sent by the father-god. The world has indeed gone awry. Jupiter makes his hero act as Juno has acted throughout the poem." Against this view, however, Thornton, "The Problem of Anger," pp. 57-59, 63-65, argues that the anger of Aeneas at Turnus is not a moral lapse and thus, by implication, neither Aeneas nor Jupiter succumb to the kind of *furor* personified by Juno and Allecto. The discussion on both sides, however, with Pöschl and Otis arguing for Aeneas' justification, Putnam, Quinn, and D. A. Little against it, has centered on the final page, while our own passage lies well outside that sphere. The vindication of Jupiter and Aeneas in Book 12 does not exclude the possibility of a Jupiter gone awry in Book 4, and faulting them in 12 certainly admits of negative possibilities elsewhere.

himself on the side of Aeneas to contend might and main, and over them he intended to and knew he finally would prevail. In this respect the fortunes of Jupiter and Aeneas (as, in the traditional Roman view, the fortunes of Jupiter and the Roman state) are inextricably intertwined.<sup>60</sup> It is fitting then that, in a sense, both Aeneas in his weakness and Jupiter in his hasty intemperance fall from grace in Book 4. Eventually, of course, Jupiter, Aeneas, and Rome will prevail, but against obstacles set up not only by a persecuting Juno, a misguided Venus, a dispirited Aeneas, and an abandoned and vengeful Dido, but by Jupiter's own blameworthy shortsightedness in this sorry episode.

*University of Missouri*

60. Note that in close proximity both Jupiter and Aeneas suffer from the pangs of *cura* in Book 1: "Talìa uoce refert curisque ingentibus aeger / spem uultu simulat" (1. 208–9); "atque illum talis iactantem pectore curas" (1. 227).