

AENEAS, TURNUS, AND ACHILLES

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Recent scholarship has reaffirmed the depth and subtlety of Vergil's allusions to the *Iliad*.¹ Particularly complex are the allusions to Achilles, which appear in the portrayals of both Aeneas and Turnus. W. S. Anderson, in his influential article on Vergil's use of the *Iliad*, has argued that although Achilles is initially invoked as a model for both Aeneas and Turnus in *Aeneid* 9, as the poem progresses Vergil establishes Aeneas as the true heir to Achilles, while Turnus becomes a new Hector or Paris.² The present essay will attempt to modify this view by showing how Achilles serves as a model for both Aeneas and Turnus right up to the end of the *Aeneid*. It is hoped that the resulting discussion will illuminate some facets of Vergil's allusive technique as it appears in the presentation of the poem's major protagonists.

The Sibyl's prophecy at 6.89–90 heralds Turnus as a new Achilles: . . . *alius Latio iam partus Achilles, / natus et ipse dea* . . . , and the resemblance is supported in Book 7 by the picture of Turnus as a fiery young warrior angry over the loss of a woman who he thought had been promised to him by a superior.³ Book 9 opens with Iris

¹ K. Büchner, "Vergilius," *RE* 8A 1448–50; L. A. MacKay, "Achilles as model for Aeneas," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 11–16; W. S. Anderson, "Vergil's Second *Iliad*," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 17–30; V. Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*, trans. G. Seligson (Ann Arbor 1962) *passim*; B. Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1964) 313–82; G. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen 1964); M. Wigodsky, "The Arming of Aeneas," *C&M* 26 (1965) 192–221; K. Quinn, *Vergil's Aeneid: A Critical Description* (Ann Arbor 1968) 278–88; W. R. Johnson, *Darkness Visible* (Berkeley 1976) 23–48, 114–34; and P. Burke, "Drances Infensus: A Study in Vergilian Character Portrayal," *TAPA* 108 (1978) 15–20. See also R. Heinze, *Virgils Epische Technik* (Leipzig 1903) 94–96, 144–55, 167–232.

² Anderson (above, note 1) 26–28.

³ I am grateful to *TAPA*'s anonymous referees for this insight and for other helpful criticism.

urging Turnus to take advantage of Aeneas' absence by attacking the Trojan camp, a clear reference to *Iliad* 18.165–202 where Iris rouses Achilles to drive the Trojans from the Greek camp. Anderson, as we have noted, has argued that Vergil uses this allusion to support Turnus' own false notion that he is a new Achilles (9.742), a delusion which is gradually dispelled in Book 10 after the reappearance of the real successor to Achilles, Aeneas. The resemblance of the attack of the Latins on the Trojan camp to the attack of Hector and his companions on the Greek camp in *Iliad* 8 and 12 seems to support such a view, placing Turnus in the role of Hector and not Achilles (cf. 9.47–167 and *Il.* 8.157–565; 9.503–735 and *Il.* 12.35–471).⁴ Later, however, the issue is complicated further as in his slow retreat before the Trojans Turnus is reminiscent of Ajax in *Iliad* 11 (cf. 9.789–801 and *Il.* 11.544–74). Finally, just at the end of his retreat, Turnus whirls and jumps into the river, suddenly recalling Achilles' two leaps into the river in *Iliad* 21 (cf. 9.815–16 and *Il.* 21.18, 233).⁵

The evocation of three different Homeric models for Turnus in Book 9 must initially qualify any identification of him with one particular character from the *Iliad*. This continues to be the case in Books 10 and 11. Turnus' renewed attack on the Trojans echoes Hector's charge against the Greeks in *Iliad* 16 (cf. 10.118–45 and *Il.* 16.102–24; 10.163–214 and *Il.* 16.168–97; 10.362–79 and *Il.* 16.419–26; 10.380–404 and *Il.* 16.692–97). The death of Pallas, though it plays the same role in motivating the revenge of Aeneas as does the killing of Patroclus for Achilles, seems, however, to conflate references to the deaths of both Patroclus and Sarpedon, as does the later killing of Camilla (cf. 10.464–73 and *Il.* 16.431–61; 10.491–95 and *Il.* 16.830–42; 11.823–27 and *Il.* 16.492–501; 11.778–835 and *Il.* 16.783–867). The effect of these allusions is to suggest that youthful beauty is sacrificed to *furor* on both sides. Furthermore the identification of Turnus with Hector is at least blurred here, and when Turnus is lured away from battle by an *imago* of Aeneas there is certainly an

⁴ With one exception, noted below, all the allusions examined in this essay are cited by Knauer (above, note 1) 371–431 in his exhaustive table of correspondence between the *Aeneid* and the *Iliad*. Anyone who studies the relationship between Homeric and Vergilian epic is greatly indebted to him for his meticulous scholarship.

⁵ The allusion is not cited by Knauer. It should be noted that in retreat Turnus receives gentle treatment from the river, unlike Achilles who has come to kill Trojans in the Scamander. Water seems to be a special place of respite for Turnus, perhaps because of his relation to water nymphs; cf. his trip down the river at 10.687–88.

allusion to the deception of Achilles by the apparition of Hector (cf. 10.633–88 and *Il.* 21.599–611).⁶ The quarrel with Drances in Book 11 casts Turnus in the roles of Hector and Paris; when the assembly breaks up, Turnus recalls Hector as he rallies the Latins for the final contest (cf. 11.343–444 and *Il.* 7.348–64; *Il.* 18.285–309; 11.446–76 and *Il.* 2.786–810).⁷

Through the end of Book 11 it seems that Turnus is usually presented as the successor in the *Aeneid* to Paris and Hector. But there are also direct allusions to Ajax, Patroclus, the Homeric Aeneas, and especially to Achilles in the portrayal of Turnus in Books 9 and 10 which suggest caution in assigning Homeric models for Turnus. Such caution is vindicated by the beginning of Book 12 (4–9) where the simile of a wounded lion clearly alludes to the description of Achilles at *Il.* 20.164–75. The use of an allusion to Achilles for the most vivid description of Turnus' *violentia* (on which, see below) is significant for our understanding of the coming confrontation with Aeneas. The figure of Achilles is again present in Turnus' arming at 81–106, which strongly resembles the arming of Achilles at *Iliad* 19.368–403, a scene which represents the Greek hero at the height of his powers. These last references to Achilles in Turnus' preparations to meet Aeneas again militate strongly against an exclusive identification of Aeneas as the successor to Achilles. Vergil insists on some kind of correspondence between Turnus and Achilles right up to the eve of Turnus' final duel with Aeneas. The implications of this are enriched by a consideration of Turnus' relationship to other characters in the *Aeneid*.

From his first appearance in the poem, Turnus is presented as intense and emotional. After Allecto's visitation, he is seized by a towering rage:

arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit;
saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli
ira super . . . (7.460–62)

⁶ The entire episode beginning with the conversation of Juno and Jupiter recalls the rescue of the Homeric Aeneas from Achilles at *Iliad* 20.290–317. Whether the pairing of Turnus with the Homeric Aeneas is in any sense supportive of other resemblances between Turnus and the Vergilian Aeneas is problematical, as Vergil does not exploit this particular possibility elsewhere (but see 12.896–900 and *Il.* 20.285–87).

⁷ The two models for Turnus are neatly conflated in the horse simile at 11.492–97, which recalls both Paris (*Il.* 6.506–11) and Hector (*Il.* 15.263–68). See Anderson (above, note 1) 27–28 and Burke (above, note 1) 19.

The question of whether Turnus' anger here is a completely alien force introduced by Allecto or a manifestation in heightened form of qualities innate to him is not strictly relevant to the present argument.⁸ It is what Turnus comes to represent which is of importance, regardless of the origins of these characteristics. A primary element in his portrayal is *furor*, the onset of which blinds Turnus at a crucial moment in the siege of the Greek camp:

Diffugiunt versi trepida formidine Troes,
et si continuo victorem ea cura subisset,
rumpere claustra manu sociosque immittere portis,
ultimus ille dies bello gentique fuisset.
sed furor ardentem caedisque insana cupido
egit in adversos . . . (9.756–61)

Other warriors are led astray by the onset of *furor*: Euryalus (9.342–55), Pallas (10.386–87), Camilla (11.709–11), and most conspicuously Aeneas in his earlier foray among the Greeks at Troy:

arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis. (2.314–17)

Aeneas is in fact swept away repeatedly by emotion in Book 2, and must be brought back to his senses by others (cf. 2.594–620, 776–89).

Furor has many victims in the *Aeneid*, but Turnus alone is said to embody *violentia*. During the heated exchange with Drances, *violentia* is twice used of Turnus (11.354, 376). In the initial scenes of Book 12, the word appears twice more, to describe the qualities represented by the lion simile (12.9), and to characterize Turnus' resistance to the plea of Latinus (12.45). The concentration of these uses in the later stages of Turnus' campaign against the Trojans seems to indicate some kind of escalation of Turnus' ferocity, which begins perhaps to set him apart from the other victims of *furor*.⁹

⁸ Pöschl (above, note 1) 91–93 insists on Turnus' essential innocence; Otis (above, note 1) 377–78 argues that the intervention of Allecto cannot be the exclusive source of Turnus' *furor*. The precedent of divine interventions in Homer would support Otis, but then Homer has nothing which can really be compared with Allecto, much less the *Dira*. See also Johnson's insightful description of Turnus' madness (above, note 1) 50–54, 144–46.

⁹ On the implications of the simile see Otis (above, note 1) 372–73; Pöschl (above, note 1) 109–12.

Turnus' fervid intensity is fed by a preoccupation with personal honor and fame akin to that of the Homeric hero.¹⁰ Lured from battle by the *imago* of Aeneas, he finally discovers Juno's ruse and is ashamed, wishing for death before humiliation, hesitating between suicide and a return to battle.¹¹

quid manus illa virum qui me meaue arma secuti?
quosque (nefas) omnis infanda in morte reliqui
et nunc palantis video, gemitumque cadentum
accipio? quid ago? . . .

haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc,
an sese mucrone ob tantum dedecus amens
induat et crudum per costas exigit ensem,
fluctibus an iaciat mediis et litora nando
curva petat Teucrumque iterum se reddat in arma. (10.672–75;
680–84)

He is again kept from the center of battle in Book 12, this time by his sister. Regaining control of the situation, he returns to face Aeneas, and resolves to make at least an honorable death:

usque adeone mori miserum est? vos o mihi, Manes,
este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas.
sancta ad vos anima atque istius inscia culpae
descendam magnorum haud umquam indignus avorum.
(12.646–49)

Similar qualities can be found in Nisus (9.184–87) and Pallas (10.369–78, 449–51) but once again the earlier Aeneas offers the clearest parallel:

. . . succuritis urbi
incensae. moriamur et in media arma ruamus.
una salus victis nullam sperare salutem. (2.352–54)

The fatal mix of pride and *furor* which brings Turnus to his death is summed up in his reaction to the pleas of Saces to defend the Latins from Aeneas:

¹⁰ See Otis (above, note 1) 348; Pöschl (above, note 1) 126–29; and E. L. Highbarger, "The Tragedy of Turnus," *CW* 41 (1947–48) 120.

¹¹ The mix of allusions here is particularly rich. Turnus, like Achilles, is lured from battle by an apparition; in his subsequent quandary he recalls both Hector before Troy and Sophocles' Ajax.

... aestuat ingens
 uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
 et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus. (12.666–68)

At this point in the poem Turnus has come to represent in his final opposition to Aeneas a complex mixture of forces. While reflecting in some way the Homeric Achilles, he is also in the role of Hector to Aeneas' Achilles and Paris to Aeneas' Menelaus. At the same time, he is the ultimate exemplar of a noble but doomed kind of heroism also manifested in varying degrees and in various ways by Nisus and Euryalus, Pallas, Lausus, Camilla, and Aeneas at Troy. Finally, as Putnam and others have shown, Turnus is closely linked to the most poignant example in the *Aeneid* of nobility destroyed by *furor*, Dido (4.65, 69, 101, 283, 376, 443, 465, 697).¹² The verbal similarity between the description of Dido's wound at 4.1–5 and the lion's wound (received in the fields of Carthage) initiates a parallelism between the two tragic figures which reaches its fullest expression in the stalking of both by the hunter, Aeneas (4.68–73; 12.749–55).¹³

Turning to the correspondence between Aeneas and Achilles, we note immediately that this relationship should be seen within the larger context of a narrative pattern which figures prominently in the last four books of the *Aeneid*. The anger of Aeneas at the death of Pallas, leading to a final confrontation with Turnus, is clearly based on the rage of Achilles over Patroclus' death and his subsequent duel with Hector. Aeneas in fact plays the role of Achilles as early as the games of Book 5, but this episode is isolated from the major part of the "Iliadic" *Aeneid* by Books 6 through 8. The narrative pattern begins in earnest when Aeneas receives divinely-made armor at the end of Book 8, and continues with some interruptions to the end of the poem.¹⁴ Aeneas' absence from Latium in Books 8 and 9 corresponds to Achilles' withdrawal from battle in *Iliad* 1–18, as is clear from the allusion which heralds his return. As Aeneas stands on the deck of his ship, a flame shoots forth from his helmet, and the

¹² M. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid* (Cambridge, MA 1965) 154–57. See also Pöschl (above, note 1) 129–30 and J. Hunt, *Forms of Glory: Structure and Sense in Virgil's Aeneid* (Carbondale, IL 1973) 83–98.

¹³ The difference between Aeneas' degree of self-knowledge in Book 4 and Book 12 is of course succinctly present in the *nescius* of 4.72.

¹⁴ Major breaks occur at the Nisus and Euryalus episode in Book 9, modelled loosely on *Iliad* 10, the burials of Book 11, which recall *Iliad* 23, and the truce of Books 11 and 12, based primarily on *Iliad* 3 and 4.

brightness is compared to the Dog Star (10.270–75). Here are compressed two references to Achilles, the first to his initial return to battle at *Iliad* 18.205–14, the second to the moment just before he closes with Hector for the last time at *Iliad* 22.25–32. The effect of the conflation is to presage at once Pallas' death at Turnus' hands and Aeneas' subsequent revenge in the final duel. Though we might with Anderson see this return of Aeneas to battle as marking the end of Turnus' Achillean fantasy, the later allusions to Achilles which we have noted in the delineation of Turnus suggest that the issue is more complex than that.

The *aristeia* of Pallas and his subsequent death continue the correspondence between *Aeneid* 10–12 and *Iliad* 16–22 (with the curious twists noted above, p. 304). Aeneas' revenge begins at 10.511. His selection of eight youths for Pallas' pyre echoes Achilles' twelve victims at *Iliad* 21.26–33, while his harsh treatment of Magus and Tarquitus alludes to Achilles' confrontation with Lykaon at *Iliad* 20.67–135. The rampage continues, and as Aeneas draws near to Turnus, the exchange of Juno and Jupiter at 10.606–32 invokes Poseidon and Hera at *Iliad* 20.290–317, thus making Turnus' removal from battle an echo of Aeneas' escape from Achilles (see above, note 6). Aeneas' revenge comes to a temporary climax in the deaths of Lausus and Mezentius (10.762–908). His speech over the corpse of Lausus is reminiscent of Achilles' lament over the dead Patroclus at *Iliad* 19.315–37: for both men, another man's death brings thoughts of their fathers. The last request of Mezentius at 10.903–06 in turn recalls Hector's final plea to Achilles at *Iliad* 22.338–43. These last two allusions make the final scenes of Book 10 mirror in a curious way the connection between the deaths of Patroclus and Hector. Lausus is for a moment a surrogate for Mezentius, as Patroclus is for Achilles, while at the same time Mezentius is clearly to be seen as a surrogate for Turnus. In a broad sense the scene looks forward to the final meeting of Aeneas and Turnus in Book 12. Yet in killing Lausus Aeneas assumes a role which Turnus has just played, of an older and stronger warrior dispatching a brave but overmatched young man. Viewed in this way, the death of Lausus looks to the future (Turnus' death) but also to the past (Pallas' death). The parallelism which seems to be initially suggested here between Aeneas and Turnus is, however, immediately qualified by Aeneas' lament for the dead Lausus, which is clearly meant to contrast with the vaunt of Turnus over Pallas' corpse (cf. 10.491–509 and 825–32).

Achilles fades from view during Book 11, surfacing again for Aeneas' duel with Turnus. Before discussing that final scene we

should consider briefly the significance of the Achilles model in the characterization of Aeneas. There are similarities between the two heroes to be sure. The combination of a furious desire for revenge and a certain resignation in Aeneas are Vergil's recasting of Achilles' second *mênis* and fatalistic lack of concern for his own life.¹⁵ And yet there are also differences. The resignation of Achilles is primarily a recognition that with Patroclus gone life is not worth living, coupled with the realization that once he has killed Hector, his own death will follow shortly.¹⁶ Aeneas' weariness has a longer history, rooted not so much in the death of Pallas as in all the losses which he has sustained since leaving Troy.¹⁷

There are crucial differences too in the motives for vengeance in each man. By emphasizing the relatively distant, avuncular relationship of Aeneas to Pallas, Vergil has made Aeneas' anger, however violent, essentially an expression of his *pietas*, in this case the responsibility which Aeneas feels to Pallas and Evander, and not the reaction to a deeply personal loss. Indeed because Aeneas' *furor* (10.545, 602, 802; 12.946) is in the service of *pietas*, he has seemed to some to be the only character in the *Aeneid* who, once possessed by *furor*, is not destroyed by it. Those who hold this view tend to see Aeneas' final victory as a confirmation of his assumption of the mantle of Augustan hero: he transcends the self-centered heroism of a Turnus or Camilla and makes *furor* serve a higher destiny.¹⁸ There are others, however, who see in Aeneas' final outbursts an indication that he has at last succumbed to the violence against which he has struggled so long.¹⁹ However one views the implications of Aeneas' conduct, a violent desire for revenge sits rather uneasily with him. All through the poem we have seen Aeneas forced to deny his personal desires in favor of civic responsibility so that by Book 10 a certain emotional deadness seems to have settled on him. Though the relationship to Pallas can be seen as an expression of *pietas*, there

¹⁵ See MacKay (above, note 1) 12–13.

¹⁶ See *Iliad* 18.79–126; also C. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, MA 1958) 202–04.

¹⁷ See 12.435, where again there are multiple allusions. The speech recalls Hector's parting words for Astyanax (*Il.* 6.476–81) and Ajax' prayer for his son (Soph. *Ajax* 545–83). Yet Aeneas' attitudes, resignation to a luckless fate, looking beyond his own life to the future of his son, are in the spirit of the Achilles of *Iliad* 18–24.

¹⁸ E.g., Otis (above, note 1) 381–82, 392–93; A. Thornton, "The Last Scene of the *Aeneid*," *G&R* (1953) 82–84.

¹⁹ E.g., Putnam (above, note 12) 162, 200–01; Johnson (above, note 1) 114–34.

is still suggested an abandonment of that self-control, or even self-denial, which he has learned so painfully, especially in his reaction to the broken truce and Turnus' absence in Book 12:

tum vero adsurgunt irae, insidiisque subactus,
diversos ubi sensit equos currumque referri,
multa Iovem et laesi testatus foederis aras
iam tandem invadit medios et Marte secundo
terribilis saevam nullo discrimine caedem
suscitat, irarumque omnis effundit habenas. (12.494–99)

The unbridled fury depicted here does not seem as commensurate to its motivation as does the corresponding anger of Achilles.

As Book 12 opens, Vergil's allusions to the *Iliad* have cast both Turnus and Achilles in various roles. The major narrative pattern of Books 8–11 supports the reflection of Achilles in Aeneas, Patroclus in Pallas, and Hector in Turnus. At the same time this pattern has been qualified and undercut in several ways, one of which is occasionally to cast Turnus unmistakably in the role of Achilles. The lion simile at the beginning of Book 12 continues this trend. There follow the pleas of Latinus and Amata which mirror the speeches of Priam and Hecuba in *Iliad* 22 and so reinvolve the correspondence between Turnus and Hector (cf. 12.19–63 and *Il.* 22.38–89). Then comes the arming of Turnus, which shifts the focus back to Achilles in *Iliad* 19. The truce and its breaking allude to *Iliad* 3 and 4, so that the familiar pattern from *Iliad* 16–22 fades momentarily, to return for good at 12.614. But before this one more complexity is provided by Aeneas' speech to Ascanius (12.435–40) which recalls the scene between Hector and his son in *Iliad* 6 (see above, note 17).

The duel itself follows of course the clash of Achilles and Hector in *Iliad* 22,²⁰ and we might suppose that the identification of the real *alius Achilles* is made explicit there. Familiar Homeric incidents are summoned and transformed so as to make Turnus' last stand a unique and terrifying episode.²¹ Two speeches to Juturna betray in him a realization of his desperate situation, again recalling Hector (cf. 12.635–42, 676–80 and *Il.* 22.99–130, 297–305). The closing of the two heroes on one another is made vivid by a series of similes.²² After the initial spear-casts, Turnus' first blow breaks his sword and the great chase begins. The broken sword is a curious reflection of

²⁰ See D. West, "The Deaths of Hector and Turnus," *G&R* n.s.21 (1974) 21–31.

²¹ See Johnson (above, note 1) 114–34.

²² See Putnam (above, note 12) 180–86.

the sword of Menelaus which breaks over the helmet of Paris at *Iliad* 3.361–63; even in this final scene caution is required in assigning Homeric models.²³ The race itself, with its many references to the corresponding scene in *Iliad* 22, is interrupted by Aeneas' unsuccessful attempt to free his spear, the resupplying of Turnus by Juturna, and of Aeneas by Venus (12.733–90). The buried spear recalls Achilles' spear which sticks in the river bank at *Iliad* 21.171–79. There, however, it is Achilles' opponent, the obscure Asteropaeus, who tries unsuccessfully to free the spear. The return of arms to both heroes corresponds to Athena fetching Achilles' spear for him at *Iliad* 22.273–77. Taken together, these allusions again seem to qualify the secure identification of Aeneas with Achilles, Turnus with Hector, and to blur the roles of victor and vanquished.

Juno and Jupiter now settle the outcome in their conversation, a chilling variation on the exchange of Zeus and Athena at *Iliad* 22.167–85. Johnson has recently shown again how Turnus' confrontation with the *Dira*, a hellish surrogate for Homer's Athena, transforms Hector's moment of lucid vision into a nightmare.²⁴ The two men exchange speeches, modelled on the exchange of Achilles and Hector (cf. 12.889–93, 894–95 and *Il.* 22.261–72, 250–59), and then Turnus rises to one final effort. His attempt to wound Aeneas with a stone conflates three other such attempts, by Diomedes, by the Homeric Aeneas, and by Athena (cf. 12.896–900 and *Il.* 5.302–04; 20.285–87; 21.403–05), but overshadowing these sources is Vergil's brilliant transformation of the great dream-simile at *Iliad* 22.199–201: Turnus' death has already begun as the *Dira* drains his strength away. The final exchange between Aeneas and Turnus contains one further allusive subtlety. As Aeneas moves in to kill him, Turnus tries once more to escape with a plea which alludes to two sources: Hector's last request at *Iliad* 22.338–43 and Priam's first speech to Achilles at *Iliad* 24.486–506. The conflation seems to underscore the savagery of Aeneas' final outbreak by invoking not only Achilles' act of revenge but also his final compassion, which contrasts strongly with Aeneas' *ira*.

Whether Aeneas' last violent act is redeemed by his *pietas* or becomes a sign of his victimization by *furor* is beyond the scope or intent of this essay to decide. The allusions to Achilles traced here can, however, afford some perspective on Vergil's methods of com-

²³ West (above, note 20) 28–29 detects no Homeric precedent for Turnus' broken sword, but the resemblance seems clear enough.

²⁴ Johnson (above, note 1) 146–49.

position. While the last three books of the *Aeneid* do reflect a narrative pattern derived from the *Iliad*, and this pattern is often supported by allusions to specific Homeric characters, it is clear that Vergil freely departs from the pattern if it suits his purposes, as in the vivid portrayal of Turnus which begins Book 12. Thus a consistent identification of one Homeric character with a corresponding figure from the *Aeneid*, or even the developmental hypothesis advanced by Anderson, can be misleading and reduce the richness of Vergil's allusive technique.

The drawbacks of too rigid an approach are evident if we consider again the potential impact of allusions to Homer on the last scene of the poem. If Aeneas recalls only Achilles and Turnus only Hector, then the harshness of Aeneas' final act is certainly emphasized, particularly by the allusion to *Iliad* 24 discussed above. But if *both* Aeneas and Turnus reflect in some way the Homeric Achilles, then it is possible to see an element of self-destructiveness in Aeneas' victory which would be consistent with Vergil's Homeric model. The death of Patroclus signals the end of something in Achilles, the warm humanity which Patroclus represents.²⁵ That Achilles subsequently dispatches Hector, who is wearing armor which both he (Achilles) and Patroclus have worn seems to confirm in a more direct way the effects on himself of Patroclus' death. Vergil's complex transfiguration of this chain of actions points in the same direction: Pallas' death leads inevitably to the killing of Turnus by Aeneas, an act which, according to the present hypothesis, Vergil also portrays as self-destructive.

If in killing Turnus Aeneas is also destroying something in himself, then one must ask what that something is. The pattern of allusions to Achilles in each character affords some preliminary distinctions. The *furor* and *ira* of both Turnus and Aeneas are depicted against a background of allusions to Achilles, but Aeneas also shares with Achilles a certain resignation to fate which is lacking in Turnus until the very end of the poem. This distinction is supported by the internal correspondence we have noted between Aeneas' behavior at Troy and the rage of Turnus over the loss of Lavinia. The parallel quality here is not simply *furor*, but a kind of unbridled individualism which Aeneas learns with some success to curb, but Turnus retains up to the moment of his death. Thus in killing Turnus Aeneas may

²⁵ See J. L. Myres, "The Last Book of the *Iliad*," *JHS* 52 (1932) 295; Whitman (above, note 16) 203; C. R. Beye, *The Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Epic Tradition* (Garden City, NY 1966) 139-40.

be said to be putting to rest in Turnus and in himself that anachronistic Achillean heroism which is to be replaced by *pietas*, the cornerstone of the new civilization of Rome. How or whether the *furor* which drives Aeneas to this final sacrifice is different from the *furor* of Turnus or of his own frenzied mission at Troy is of course the question which Vergil poses for us but does not finally answer.