INTRODUCTION

1 STRUCTURE AND THEMES

Book 12 is the longest book of the *Aeneid*,[1] but also one of the most highly concentrated. The action unfolds within a single 24-hour period and focuses almost exclusively on the combat between Aeneas and Turnus that will determine the outcome of the war between Trojans and Latins. T. agrees to meet A. in the opening scene, but the decisive encounter is repeatedly deferred and does not take place until the end of the book. After T. is wounded and his plea for mercy is rejected, the book ends with T.'s death at A.'s hands. The only part of the book that does not relate directly to the duel or its delaying is the conversation between Jupiter and Juno in 791–842; although it is essential in determining T.'s fate, that episode looks beyond the immediate circumstances to the union of Trojans and Latins that will follow A.'s victory.

An outline of the action may serve as a point of reference for the following discussion:

1–80	Latinus and Amata try to dissuade T. from meeting A. in single combat. T. is not deterred: he calls a truce and challenges A.
81–112	T. and A. arm.
113–33	The field is prepared; both sides gather to watch the duel.
134–60	Juno encourages Juturna to subvert the truce.
161–215	The preparations continue; oaths are sworn by A. and Latinus.
216–310	Juturna disguised as Camers urges the Rutilians to break the truce; a general melee ensues.
311–82	A. is wounded, and T. goes on the offensive.
383–440	A.'s wound is miraculously healed; he returns to the field.
441–99	A. pursues T., but Juturna, disguised as T.'s charioteer Metiscus, keeps him out of A.'s reach. A. is attacked by Messapus and, enraged, begins to kill the enemy indiscriminately.
500–53	T. and A. deal slaughter all around them.
554–92	Venus prompts A. to attack the city of Latinus; panic erupts among the besieged inhabitants.
593–611	Amata commits suicide.
614–96	T. rejects Juturna's efforts to protect him and resolves to die nobly; learning from Saces of the city's plight, he rushes to meet A. alone.

[1] At 950 lines – 952 in the conventional numbering, but what would be lines 612–13 are bracketed by all editors – it is significantly longer than the next longest book, 11 (915 lines), and would remain so even if 882–4 are bracketed, as suggested in the commentary. Further discussion and supporting evidence for points made in the Introduction will often be found at the relevant places in the commentary; I have not included cross-references where they can be readily inferred.

697–765	First encounter of A. and T. T.'s sword – in fact that of Metiscus – shatters on A.'s armour, and he flees with A. in close pursuit.
766–90	A.'s spear is held fast in a wild olive tree sacred to Faunus. Juturna and Venus intervene to rearm the combatants.
791–842	Jupiter persuades Juno to end her hostility to the Trojans; he grants her request that the Latins be allowed to retain their language and customs.
843–86	Jupiter sends a Dira to terrify T.; Juturna retires in despair.
887–952	A. kills T.

The end is The End

Book 12 has long been regarded as one of Virgil's greatest achievements,[2] but its unresolved ending has occasioned much puzzlement and has prompted numerous sequels and continuations (on which see below, pp. 31–3). The issues raised by the killing of T. will be taken up in a later section (pp. 16–30); my aim here is to show that there is every reason to believe that the text as transmitted reflects Virgil's fully developed thoughts.

Like other books of the *Aeneid*, book 12 contains some traces of the poem's unrevised state, but on the whole it does not appear to be less finished than earlier books, as it might be expected to be if Virgil had composed it last. It has only one clearly incomplete line (631, but cf. 218n.) as against, e.g., six each in books 7, 9, and 10. A few passages may show a lack of final revision (e.g. 161–74), but not as many as in several other books.

The poem's essential integrity and the place of book 12 within it are convincingly demonstrated by the many structural symmetries, large and small, exhibited by the text as it stands. At the most basic level, there is the division into two six-book units, each with a distinctive narrative focus, traditionally called the 'Odyssean' and 'Iliadic' halves, respectively.[3] That bipartite division is underscored by correspondences between structurally significant places in the poem, most notably books 1, 6, 7 and 12. Each half concludes with the premature death of a young man (Marcellus in 6 and T. in 12, each a potential future leader), while the war in Italy that breaks out in 7 is brought to an end in 12 in a way that recalls its beginning: Juno employs the Fury Allecto to incite T. and the Latins against the Trojans, and Jupiter sends the Allecto-like Dira to isolate T. and seal his doom.[4]

[2] For example, Mackail (1930) li thought that 6, 11 and 12 were 'books in which the general workmanship is most elaborate, and in which Virgil is perhaps at his greatest'; Warde Fowler (1919) 39 'It is my experience that the twelfth book calls for more thinking, more leisurely reading, than any other part of the poem'; Putnam (1965) 152 'Book XII is in many ways the best constructed book of the *Aeneid*, particularly rich in associations with the rest of the poem.'

[3] See, e.g., Anderson (1957), Otis (1964), Gransden (1984).

[4] Some comms. in fact regard the Dira and Allecto as identical, but this seems to me unlikely; see n. on 845–52.

Correspondences between books 1 and 12 cluster thickly in the final scenes of the latter book. On the large scale, the conversation between Jupiter and Juno in 12.791–842 balances that between Jupiter and Venus in 1.213–96; each scene contains a prediction by Jupiter of the future of Rome. The last first-person authorial statement in 12.500–4 echoes (and implicitly answers) the first, in 1.8–11. At a more detailed level, the phrase *soluuntur frigore membra*, which describes A. at his first appearance in 1.92, is applied to T. in his last moment of life, 12.951. The first and last speeches of the poem both begin with an indignant question introduced by the particle *-ne* attached to a personal pronoun (1.37 [Juno] *mene incepto desistere uictam . . . ?*; 12.947–8 [A.] *tune hinc spoliis indute meorum | eripiare mihi?*).[5] Finally, an accumulation of closural language toward the end of the book strongly suggests that Virgil saw the end of book 12 as the end of the poem: e.g. 793 *quid deinde restat?*, 803 *uentum ad supremum est*, 873 *quid . . . iam . . . superat?*

In short, despite the poem's apparently abrupt conclusion, there can be no doubt that the *Aeneid* ends where and how Virgil meant it to end.[6]

Delay and pairing

One conspicuous motif of the book is delay,[7] specifically delay of the single combat between T. and A. that was proposed in the previous book as a means to determine the outcome of the war.[8] The importance of delay as a theme is highlighted in the opening scene, in which T. twice denies that he wishes or is able to put off the crucial encounter: 11 (his first words in the book) *nulla mora in Turno*, and 74 *neque enim Turno mora libera mortis*. T.'s words have a meaning of which he is unaware, in that it is his allies, especially his sister Juturna, who will succeed in putting off the duel until the end of the book.[9] The motif is seen from an opposing perspective in two of A.'s speeches. When he announces his decision to set fire to Latinus' city, he orders his men that there is to be no delay in carrying out his order: 565 *ne qua meis esto dictis mora, Iuppiter hac stat.* And when A. finally confronts T., he taunts him for delaying their duel in words that mockingly echo T.'s *nulla mora in Turno*: 889 *quae nunc deinde mora est? aut quid iam,*

[5] On the possible implications of that parallelism see below, p. 5.

[6] S. West (2007) 13 thinks it possible that V. intended to add a brief epilogue, but a narrative epilogue that stands outside the framework of a book would be formally unique in ancient epic, while a first-person *envoi* such as *G.* 4.559–66 (see also Ovid, *Met.* 15.871–9 and Stat. *Theb.* 12.810–19) could hardly avoid seeming anticlimactic and would in any event not bring formal closure to the narrative.

[7] Forms of *mora* appear ten times in the book, about a quarter of the word's occurrences in the poem (11, 74, 431, 506, 541, 553, 565, 676, 699, 889).

[8] Book 9 is similarly constructed around T.'s attempt to storm the Trojan camp, which is held off until nearly the end of the book; cf. Hardie (1994) 3.

[9] T.'s eventual awareness of Juturna's action is expressed in his command that she delay no longer, *absiste morari* (676).

Turne, retractas? For most of the book A. is the implacable opponent of delay: in addition to the passages just cited, cf. 431 *odit . . . moras*, 699 *praecipitat . . . moras omnis*. It is, however, A. who is responsible for the last and most significant delay in the book. When T. pleads with A. to spare him or to return his body to his people, A. hesitates and is on the point of being persuaded.[10] For a long moment it appears that the inevitable conclusion will be not just deferred but cancelled. The final obstacle to A.'s destiny that must be removed is the promptings of his own better nature.

The role played by delay in this book is a microcosm of its place in the poem as a whole. Since Juno is aware that she cannot prevent the Trojans from finding a new home in Italy, her strategy throughout is to forestall that fated outcome: *sed trahere* ('draw out') *atque moras tantis licet addere rebus* (7.315). Her most nearly successful tactic is the affair with Dido, which is itself characterized several times in terms of delay: see 4.51 (Anna to Dido) *causas . . . innecte morandi*, 407 (in the simile comparing the Trojans preparing to leave to a column of ants) *castigant . . . moras*, 569 (Mercury to A.) *heia age, rumpe moras* (with *morantem* in the previous line).

A second prominent feature of the book is the frequent pairing of narrative elements. Examples include the successive arming scenes of T. (81–106) and A. (107–12), the paired oaths of A. (175–94) and Latinus (197–211), the dual interventions of Venus and Juturna (411–19, 468–80; 784–5, 786–7) and the unique double *aristeia* of A. and T. (500–53). Pairing also operates at the level of similes, as in the case of 684–9 (T. compared to a rolling rock) and 701–3 (A. compared to three mountains). In structural terms, such pairing has its counterpart in the bipartite arrangement of several episodes: so, for example, the *aristeia* of T. (324–45 and 346–82) and the following description of A.'s healing (383–410 and 411–40).[11] This pervasive dualism at the level of narrative corresponds to the paired characterizations of A. and T., even in parts of the book where they are physically apart – which is to say, in most of the book. (See below, pp. 13–16.)

These two elements of the book's narrative are connected, since delay always has a binary relation to that which is being put off, and delay is in turn followed by a new forward motion: if A is used to represent motion toward the goal and B stands for an obstacle that slows or stops that motion, the movement of book 12 could be represented as A B A B A B etc., ending with A (i.e. T.'s death).[12]

[10] The shift from T. to A. as the source of hesitation is marked by balanced uses of *cunctari*, of T. in 916 and 919 and of A. in 940.

[11] Other sections with a bipartite structure: 441–99, 554–611, 614–96, 728–90, 843–86. For details see the introductory notes to those passages.

[12] A structural analysis on that basis might look like this: A 1–133; B 134–60; A 161–215; B 216–310; A 311–17; B 318–410; A 411–67; B 468–613; A 614–733; B 733–87; A 788–90; B 791–886; A 887–929; B 930–41; A 941–52. The boundaries of some sections could be defined differently, but the basic pattern is clear.

Themes concluded

Book 12 also performs a closural function by bringing to completion a number of themes that have run through either the poem as a whole or its latter six books. Several of these processes of culmination are made possible by delaying the finale: what takes place in the interim not only generates suspense about the finale but also deepens our understanding of the end when it does come.

(a) Juno's anger

Juno's anger against the Trojans is the driving force of the *Aeneid*'s plot, as the anger of Achilles is for the *Iliad*. Prominent in the poem's opening lines (1.4 *saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram*),[13] it reappears near the opening of the poem's second half (cf. 7.291 *stetit acri fixa dolore*) and in the divine council scene of book 10 (63 *acta furore graui*, with *dolorem* in 64). In this book that anger as it affects A. and his people is finally assuaged by Jupiter's promises and concessions (cf. 841). But even as Jupiter effects this reconciliation, he remarks on Juno's propensity to anger as a defining characteristic, 830–1 *es germana Iouis Saturnique altera proles,* | *irarum tantos uoluis sub pectore fluctus*.[14] The implication is that Juno's anger has been allayed, not permanently stilled. Furthermore, when anger breaks out once again in the final lines, it takes a Junoesque shape; in a form of ring composition, the poem ends as it began, with 'remembering anger' (1.4 *memorem . . . ob iram*), but the mindful wrath is now that of A. (945 *saeui monimenta doloris*).[15]

(b) The Trojan War replayed and reversed

Even before A. sets foot in Italy, he is told by the Sibyl that he will experience there a re-enactment of the Trojan War and will face a second Achilles: *non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra* | *defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,* | *natus et ipse dea* (6.88–90). At many points in books 7–12 Virgil evokes incidents of the Trojan War.[16] The final book brings this pattern of recollection, and with it the reversal of Trojan fortune, to its conclusion.

At the large-scale level, the aborted duel between A. and T. near the opening of the book is modelled on the disrupted duel between Paris and Menelaus in *Iliad* 3; the disruption in Homer is caused by the Trojans, here by the Latins (another instance of inverted recollection). The actual confrontation to which the book builds recalls the duel of Hector and Achilles in *Iliad* 22, with the Trojan now in the role of victor.

More specifically, the book contains many passages where language or plot developments that originally involved A. or the Trojans are now applied to the Latins or to T. A few examples:

[13] Other early references to Juno's anger occur in 1.25, 130, 251.
[14] The phrase has been variously interpreted; see commentary.
[15] On other resemblances between A. and Juno see below, p. 20.
[16] Anderson (1957) remains the standard discussion. See also Quint (1993) 65–83.

When Juno incites Juturna to break the truce, she describes T. as facing unequal fates: *nunc iuuenem imparibus uideo concurrere fatis* (149). The line recalls two descriptions of Trojans unequally matched against Achilles, Troilus in 1.475 *infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli*, and A. himself in 5.808–9 *Pelidae . . . forti | congressum Aeneas nec dis nec uiribus aequis*.

The scene in which the Latins break the truce is particularly rich in such reversed recollections, which involve the corresponding episode of the *Iliad* and Virgil's own account of the decision by the Trojans to receive the Horse (2.195–249).

241–3 *qui sibi iam requiem pugnae rebusque salutem | sperabant, nunc arma uolunt foedusque precantur | infectum*. Virgil underscores the Latins' change of attitude with a clear echo of A.'s rueful reflection on the Trojans tricked by Sinon: *captique dolis lacrimisque coactis | quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles, | non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae* (2.196–8).

266 (Tolumnius casts a spear to break the treaty) *aduersus telum contorsit in hostis*. This phrase contains two cross-references, to the Trojan Pandarus breaking the treaty in the *Iliad*, recalled in 5.496–7 *Pandare, qui quondam iussus confundere foedus | in medios telum torsisti primus Achiuos*, and to Laocoon hurling his spear at the belly of the Horse, 2.50–2 *hastam | in latus inque feri curuam compagibus aluum | contorsit*.

A.'s plan to attack Latinus' city (554–92) is a sort of delayed vengeance on A.'s part for the destruction of Troy. The attack is suggested to A. by Venus (554), recalling her appearance to A. amid the destruction of Troy (2.589), and the assault is to be with fire (12.573). Specific echoes include 12.569 *eruam et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam* ~2.603 *sternitque a culmine Troiam*, 611–12 *totamque a sedibus urbem | eruit*. Other parallels cast A. and his men in the sinister role of Pyrrhus storming Priam's palace: e.g. 577 *primosque trucidant* ~ 2.494, 579 *ipse inter primos* ~ 2.479.

The destruction of a *turris* that had been built by T. (672–5) recalls the Trojans' attack on a *turris* at Troy (2.460–7). As a hollow wooden structure provided with wheels, the destroyed tower also recalls the Trojan Horse.[17]

T.'s recognition that Jupiter is his enemy (895 *di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*) is the counterpart to A.'s awareness in 2.325–7 that Jupiter has turned against Troy: *fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens | gloria Teucrorum; ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos | transtulit*.

In the final scenes of the book, inverted echoes of Troy cluster thickly around T. himself in his encounter with A., as the new Hector meets the new Achilles.[18]

(c) The war in Italy as a quasi-civil war

At the outbreak of the war in Latium, Virgil makes an unmistakable allusion to the civil war between Caesar and Pompey by having Juno call A. and Latinus

[17] See n. on 672–5.
[18] See nn. on 891–2, 894–5, 896–8, 899–900, 902, 908–12, 920, 926, 931–8, 946–7, 947, 952.

son-in-law (*gener*) and father-in-law (*socer*): *hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum* (7.317). The connection is secured by the fact that Virgil had already used *socer* and *gener* to describe Caesar and Pompey in 6.830–1.[19] Book 12 renews those associations, while also looking beyond the end of hostilities.

The clearest example in the book of civil-war language is A.'s use of *discordia* in 313 to describe the fighting that breaks out as the truce is violated. The term recalls such earlier Virgilian uses as *Ecl.* 1.71–2 *en quo discordia ciuis | produxit miseros!* and *G.* 2.496 *infidos agitans discordia fratres*, as A.'s question *quo ruitis?* recalls the opening of Horace's *Epode* 7 *quo, quo scelesti ruitis?*[20]

Latinus' characterization of the war as *bellum infandum* in 7.583 is repeated in the mouth of Jupiter in 12.804; in the earlier passage the religious connotations of *infandum* are spelled out (*contra omina, contra fata deum, peruerso numine*), but there may also be a hint of 'a war that should not be fought', given who the people fighting it are. That aspect is explicitly highlighted in Virgil's anguished question to Jupiter at 12.503–4. Jupiter's description of the union between Trojans and Latins clarifies the issue retrospectively: the people who have been at war are not only destined to live in peace, but to intermarry and to form a single nation (834–40). From that future perspective, the present conflict is a civil war in the strict sense.

Virgil's narrative subtly anticipates that merging of peoples by blurring the distinction between foreign Trojans and native Italians. For example, A. is 'Italianized' through similes that link him with Italian places, to *pater Appenninus* (702–3) or to a bull fighting in the Calabrian mountains (715–24), while T.'s Italian identity is complicated by similes that compare him to the Ganges or the Nile (9.30–2) and to a Punic lion (12.4–9).[21] At a more allusive level, the proper names of the combatants can convey a similar message: cf. e.g. 459 *Arcetium Mnestheus* (sc. *ferit ense*), where the ancestors of two Roman *gentes* meet as enemies.

A consequence of portraying the war in those terms is that moral clarity about the opposing sides and the outcome becomes difficult to maintain; the losing Italians cannot be demonized, since they are destined to unite with their conquerors, and victory is less than straightforwardly glorious if it requires killing one's future kinsmen. As Tacitus characterized the civil wars that brought Augustus to power, these are 'wars that cannot be entered into or carried out by honourable means'.[22]

In describing the resolution of the conflict and in hinting at what will follow, Virgil again alludes to recent events and does so in a characteristically ambivalent

[19] Camps (1969) 96–7.
[20] See commentary for additional references.
[21] See Reed (2007) 5–6, 58–60.
[22] *Ann.* 1.9.3 (of Octavian) *ad arma ciuilia actum, quae neque parari possent neque haberi per bonas artes*. The remark forms part of the favourable *post mortem* assessment of Augustus, and is meant as exculpatory. Similar tactics have been employed to mitigate A.'s descents into fury.

fashion.[23] A.'s oath before the aborted duel, in its promise of *clementia* and respect for tradition, is strongly reminiscent of the image cultivated by Augustus following his final victory;[24] but A.'s last words before killing T. (948–9 '*Pallas . . . poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit*') unmistakably echo the words of Ennius' Romulus as he prepares to kill his brother Remus (*Ann.* 95 Sk. *nam mi calido dabis sanguine poenas*), an act that by Virgil's time had become a paradigm for civil war.[25] We are shown how the warring peoples will achieve their destined union in time to come, but the poem's last scene evokes the memory of Rome's 'primal sin' of fratricide.

The afterplot

At the end of the *Aeneid* A. stands over the body of T., whose shade goes complaining into the darkness below. There is no triumph, no celebration, no vision of a better future. At the same time, the poem abounds with indications of what will follow that stark finale. The most prominent references to future events are Anchises' speech to A. in the Underworld (6.756–859) and the shield forged by Vulcan for A. (8.626–728), which between them constitute a history of the Roman people down to Virgil's own time. The first such reference, Jupiter's prophecy to Venus (1.257–96), is the one that reaches furthest forward, extending beyond the present of Virgil and his contemporaries to predict *imperium sine fine* (279) for the Romans. In contrast to those far-reaching views of the future, book 12 contains several allusions to events that will follow immediately on the poem's final scene.

Early in the book, Virgil describes the preparations for the duel between A. and T. in great detail: 113–33 set the stage and show the spectators assembling, and 161–215 reproduce the oaths sworn by A. and Latinus. The elaborate build-up might seem superfluous, since the truce is soon violated and the opposing sides return to combat, but the episode serves a vital function in laying out conditions for the future union of Trojans and Latins. Particularly important is the part of A.'s oath that sets out his intentions if he prevails: equal status for Trojans and Latins, no assumption of power (*regnum*) by A., but instead deference to the authority of Latinus, and a new foundation to which Lavinia will give her name (189–94). A.'s references to Latinus as father-in-law (*socer*) and to Lavinia as giving her name to the new city tactfully introduce another result of his victory, his marriage to Lavinia; that development is three times explicitly mentioned by T., early in the book as a consequence should A. be victorious (17 *cedat Lauinia coniunx*, 80 *illo quaeratur coniunx Lauinia campo*) and in his final speech as a *fait accompli* (937 *tua est Lauinia coniunx*).

[23] On ambivalence as a fundamental aspect of the *Aeneid*'s meaning see below, pp. 17–30.

[24] Cf. nn. on 189–94, 190, 192–3.

[25] Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 7.17–20 *acerba fata Romanos agunt* | *scelusque fraternae necis,* | *ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi* | *sacer nepotibus cruor*, with Mankin ad loc.

Although the fulfilment of A.'s promises is delayed by the breakdown of the truce, it would be reasonable to expect that they will go into effect once the outcome of the duel is decided. That expectation is confirmed, with significant modifications, by the later scene (791–842) in which Jupiter and Juno negotiate the terms on which she agrees to suspend her opposition to A.'s victory. Jupiter's promises supersede A.'s proposed arrangements in two important respects – the Trojans will be culturally subordinate to the Latins, and Jupiter, rather than A., will be responsible for setting religious practice[26] – but the essential framework of the earlier agreement is maintained and now acquires divine sanction. In particular, Juno's reference to 'laws and treaties' (*leges et foedera* 822) recalls A.'s use of the same terms (190–1).

Another moment that looks ahead to events in the near future is A.'s speech to Iulus before returning to the battlefield (435–40). The reference to a time not far off (*mox*) when Iulus will be of mature years, combined with the fact that we do not see father and son together again in the poem, gives A.'s words the character of a valedictory. Virgil thereby alludes to the tradition that A.'s reign in Latium was destined to be short, and that he would be succeeded by his son (as foretold by Jupiter in 1.265–6).[27] A.'s transformation into the divine figure Indiges is also foreshadowed, in Jupiter's speech to Juno (12.794–5).

The many continuations inspired by the poem's unresolved ending all develop hints in Virgil's narrative that allow no significant event subsequent to T.'s death to remain in doubt.

2 TURNUS AND AENEAS

In a formal sense T. is the protagonist of the book. His name is its first word, his recognition of his destiny is the high point of its central section, and his death brings it to a close. In its concentration on a central figure, book 12 most closely resembles book 4, dominated by the figure of Dido.[28]

No other character in the *Aeneid* has been as variously evaluated as T.[29] According to Page, 'the figure of Turnus is one which kindles the imagination and touches the heart . . . Although Aeneas is Virgil's hero, still his natural feeling

[26] Compare A.'s *sacra deosque dabo* 192 with Jupiter's *morem ritusque sacrorum* | *adiciam* 836–7; further discussion in the n. on 836–7.

[27] Also as anticipated in Dido's curse (4.618–20): *nec, cum se sub pacis leges iniquae* | *tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,* | *sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena. Pax iniqua* is Dido's characterization of the agreement reached by Jupiter and Juno, 'unequal' in that it assigns the Trojans a subordinate status (cf. 835–6 *commixti corpore tantum* | *subsident Teucri*).

[28] The opening words of the two books share a significant detail of word order; see n. on 1.

[29] Good summary of divergent views in Traina (1990) 324–5. For some detailed analyses cf. Schenk (1984), Traina (1998), Thomas (1998).

seems to be with Turnus, and, almost in spite of himself, he makes him the more interesting figure'.[30] For Willcock, on the other hand, T. is nothing but a thug.[31]

One reason for the divergence of opinion is that more is at stake in the assessment of T. than with any other character apart from A. himself. The view one takes of T. as a moral actor will necessarily influence how one regards A.'s action in killing him, and, as we shall see, how one interprets A.'s killing of T. has a good deal to do with how one interprets the poem as a whole. Views of T. are therefore impossible to separate from broader questions of interpretation.

Another reason is that Virgil's portrayal of T. is not unequivocal and allows for a diversity of reactions. In fact, almost everything about T. is ambiguous. He has a dual ancestry, Italic and Argive.[32] He is prophetically introduced by the Sibyl as a new Achilles (6.89 *alius Latio iam partus Achilles*),[33] a role he eagerly embraces (cf. 9.742 *hic etiam inuentum Priamo narrabis Achillem*), but one that he ultimately exchanges for that of Hector.[34] The armour he wears projects a conflicting symbolism, with the chimaera on his helmet representing chaotic violence while the image of Io on his shield recalls a victim of Jupiter's lust and Juno's anger.[35] His eagerness for battle would seem to cast him as a hypermasculine figure, but in fits of helplessness his words evoke the desperate heroines of myth.[36]

Corresponding to those ambiguities is a pattern of behaviour that oscillates between extremes, in particular between bravado and loss of nerve. At times the change takes place with dizzying speed, as when T.'s eager pursuit of the phantom Aeneas (10.647–58) turns within the space of a few lines into an outburst of suicidal despair (10.666–84).

Shifts of this kind are especially frequent in the last book. For example, T.'s ferocity in his arming scene (81–106) contrasts sharply with his subdued appearance the following morning (219–21). His determination to meet A. even at the cost of death (676–96) vanishes when his (in reality Metiscus') sword shatters against A.'s armour (733–45), and he turns and runs for his life. In his final speech to A. (931–8) T. professes a willingness to die and in the next moment asks that

[30] Page (1900) xxii. Page may have been thinking of Milton as described by Blake, as being 'of the devil's party without knowing it'. Camps (1969) 39 offered a similarly positive assessment: 'Turnus is no more conceived as an antipathetic character than is Achilles in the *Iliad*.'

[31] Willcock (1983) 94, cited with approval by Galinsky (1988) 323. See n. on 512.

[32] Traina (1990) 325.

[33] Why *alius* and not *alter*? Traina (1998) 100 suggests that T. is 'a different Achilles', i.e. an Achilles who loses; Thomas (1998) 281 sees *alius* as opening the way for a third Achilles, A., who will come into being in Latium at the end of the poem. Neither explanation seems fully persuasive.

[34] T.'s claim to be a second Achilles is undercut already in book 9; cf. Hardie (1994) 7.

[35] Io's story is nearly replicated by the experience of T.'s sister Juturna, raped by Jupiter and made an instrument of Juno's anger.

[36] Most clearly in 10.668–79, on which Harrison notes resemblances to the monologues of abandoned heroines such as Medea and Ariadne. On blurring of gender categories in T.'s depiction see also Reed (2007) 60–72.