

ASPECTS OF PROPHECY IN VIRGIL'S *AENEID*

A.D. Botha, University of Durban-Westville

I

Some introductory remarks on the subject-matter of the *Aeneid*, and on the immediate historical context in which the epic took shape, are advisable before we consider aspects of prophecy in Virgil's presentation of his theme.

The formal story and substance of the poem are fully expressed in the prologue:¹

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit
litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae. (1.1-7)

"My tale is of war and a man who, driven ever onward by fate, was the first to come from the shores of Troy to the coast of Lavinium in Italy. He was greatly buffeted both on land and sea by the might of heaven, because of ruthless Juno's vigilant anger, and suffered much in war too, that at last he might found his city and bring his gods into Latium. Such was the origin of the Latin race and the Alban kings and the battlements of mighty Rome."

Virgil's treatment of his central theme, as is well known, invites a comparison with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But his hero's ultimate goal, as decreed by fate (1.2), transcends that of his Greek exemplars. For Aeneas not only endures suffering and hardship in his destined search for a new home (*Aen.* 1-6, Virgil's *Odyssey*), but after a bloody war in Italy (*Aen.* 7-12, Virgil's *Iliad*), establishes there a new way of life for his followers which leads eventually to world-rule by Rome (Williams 1975:154-155).

Thus the *Aeneid* is not only an account of a man's adversity but is also a national epic, a creative expression of Rome's fated rise to military and historical supremacy (cf. *altae moenia Romae*, 1.7).

Having stated his theme Virgil appeals for the inspiration to explain why heaven itself, and the wilful goddess Juno besides, imposed such trials on Aeneas in the performance of his mission:

Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso
quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
impulerit. (1.8-11)

¹ Williams (1987:31) alludes to the pervasive importance of the prologue. Latin quotations are taken from his editions of *Aen.* 1-6 (1975) and *Aen.* 7-12 (1973). See too, Thornton 1976:77-118, for the narrative sequence of the poem.

"Divulge to me, o muse, the reasons, what high power was affronted, or what aggrieved the queen of heaven, that she compelled a man famed for the exemplary nature of his life to face such adversity and to undergo such tribulation."

Next, to account for Juno's malice Virgil recalls her intense concern for Carthage, her fierce indignation at the judgement of Paris, and her bitter resentment of Ganymede (1.12-22).

In spite of his singular qualities, then, Aeneas is persecuted by a goddess who opposes the grand design of fate in the *Aeneid*, the fulfilment of which is disposed by Jupiter, the supreme power in the universe. Accordingly, compelled by Jupiter on the one hand but menaced by Juno on the other, Aeneas is forced to wander the sea for years, far from his destined home, and is then engaged in the Latin war when he finally reaches Italy:

Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem. (1.33)

"Such was the inordinate toil of founding the Roman race."

It will be seen at once that the story-line of the *Aeneid* is motivated throughout by the activity of supernatural powers (cf. *vi superum*, 1.4). Their influence is shown in the intractable working of fate, which orders the life of men and nations according to Jupiter's will. It is also revealed in the intrusion of gods, goddesses and minor powers who act on the events at critical turns. These entities may try to overthrow the invincible decrees of fate, or they may behave in harmony with the inevitable outcome of the action. But wherever their intrusion is felt, it entails decisive consequences for the human individuals involved.

In all, Virgil's use of the gods in the *Aeneid* reflects the baffling intersection of the human and divine levels in the genesis of Rome's greatness (Thornton 1976:75), a problem which poses an unsolvable enigma for him:

tantaene animis caelestibus irae? (1.11)

"Can such extended rancour be harboured in divine hearts?"

As the consummator of fate in the *Aeneid* Jupiter ordains Rome's birth as well as her current imperial might. Virgil thus looks forward unerringly in the *Aeneid* from Troy to Rome - from Homer's epoch, the actual setting of the story, to the age of Augustus in which he writes. Augustus, of course, finally extinguished the fires of civil war and, in the ensuing peace, a notion of the real scale of Rome's greatness emerged at the height of her literary culture.²

Understandably, then, Augustus wished for an epic poem extolling his deeds. The *Aeneid* came about under his influence but its genesis challenged Virgil's artistic integrity. Could he respond freely to his muse in view of the impulse inspiring the poem? (Quinn 1968:294).

Virgil solved this dilemma by presenting aspects of the *Aeneid* as a synthesis of legend and history in which past and present cohered; he integrated Homeric areas of the epic with his own view of Augustus' exploits. Thus the *Aeneid* might be seen as delineating a fated historical process which culminated under Augustus. Yet we should not discount the *Aeneid* as servile propaganda, or discredit Virgil as Augustus' ideological partisan. For though Virgil's homage to Rome and Augustus cannot be argued away, his main concern is the interaction between the powers that shape the historical process and the individual lives which are bound up in its evolution (Williams 1975:177).

² See Williams (1987:4-10) for the political background.

We now consider aspects of prophecy in the *Aeneid*. Three passages will be dealt with: 1.257ff., 6.756ff. and 8.626ff. Each passage is concerned in part with contemporary history, as opposed to the Homeric setting of the main action, and shows the deterministic influence of prophecy especially clearly.³

II

Even as Aeneas and his band embark on the last stage of their frustrated journey to Italy (1.35), Juno lashes them with an elemental storm in a bid to wreck their enterprise (1.36-123). But Neptune intervenes to alleviate their plight, so that they manage to reach the coast of Africa near Carthage with the loss of only one ship (1.157-222).

Dismayed by the menace in her son's destiny, Venus, Aeneas' goddess mother, now intercedes with Jupiter on his behalf (1.229-253; Highet 1972:125-127). Having contrasted the Trojans' sufferings with Jupiter's promise of a colossal empire for them, she voices the essence of her appeal in a plaintive question:

quem das finem, rex magne, laborum? (1.241)

"Great father, what end to their ordeal do you grant them?"

Then, to lend weight to her plea, she recalls Jupiter's indulgence towards another Trojan prince. Exploiting this as a contrast, she reverts briefly to Aeneas' plight before ending on a note of reproach:

hic pietatis honos? sic nos in sceptris reponis? (1.253)

"Is this the reward of the honour we showed you? Is this how you install us in the empire you promised?"

Jupiter's reply⁴ transforms Venus' fears into an apocalypse of Roman history which at once reveals the inflexible purposes of fate in the Homeric field of the *Aeneid*. The destiny of the Trojans, their promised city, Aeneas' translation to the stars: all stand irrevocably ordained by Jupiter's will (1.257-260). Since Venus' qualms demand more elaboration, however, Jupiter unveils as well the future of Trojan-Roman history beyond the Homeric limits of the main action (1.261-296).

When Aeneas has fought a war in Latium and has founded his city there, he will be succeeded by his son Iulus, who will transfer his kingdom to Alba Longa (1.263-271). Iulus in turn will be followed by the Alban kings, from whom will come Romulus, the eventual founder of Rome (1.272-277). Romulus will endow his people with his own name (here the speech, exactly at its centre, grows to a climax): and they will scale the confines of the universe, the limits of space and time, Jupiter himself will grant them a boundless empire (1.278f.).

Finally, when time has elapsed in allotted spans Augustus, who will be called Julius after his Trojan ancestor, will initiate an era of world-peace and Janus' gates will close on the madness of civil war; Augustus' power and fame will be bound only by the sea and the stars to which he will be raised (1.283-296).

³ Contrast Quinn (1968:112) - the three prophecies "are nonsense unless we accept a deterministic view of history", and Williams (1983:6) - determinism would be "a politically boring and dangerous concept" for Virgil to use.

⁴ The details of Jupiter's speech are drawn from Highet (1972:98-99) and especially from Williams (1983:138-142).

Jupiter's will unfolds beyond the dramatic moment of the narrative into the remote future and issues in the events of Virgil's own day (1.286-296). Virgil here sees the growth of Roman history as an elliptical trajectory extending from the 12th century BC into the present and culminating in an era of world-peace under Augustus. Jupiter's prophecy, however, is no mere servile praise of Augustus but perceives his reign as the extension of a unified purpose willed by heaven, disposed entirely by an invincible fate, and actuated too by the merits of his forerunners.⁵

In terms of Virgil's hypothesis, then, the good arts which Aeneas transmits in the course of his mission - piety, duty, tradition (12.435-440) - make up an integral part of Rome's enormous destiny and merge with its fulfilment in the matching ideals of the Augustan age: universal peace and good faith, the eternity of Roman rule, and freedom from civil war (1.291-296).⁶

III

One of the functions of Jupiter's prophecy is to raise the essence of Virgil's story above the level of consideration for the human actors involved (Williams 1975:154, 177). Virgil achieves this aim in a variety of ways.

First, he makes the prophecy follow on Aeneas' despair in the aftermath of the storm unleashed by Juno (cf. 1.220-222). Immediately afterwards, he contrasts Jupiter presiding in heaven, his thoughts fixed on Africa (1.226), where the tragedy of Dido will soon unfold. The king of the gods, though he dictates his will on universal nature - even his smile dispels the storm (1.255) - has failed to exert his powers on Aeneas' behalf.

Again, shortly before the prophecy Virgil introduces Aeneas into the epic in the actual fury of Juno's storm (1.90-101; Quinn 1968:102-103). The reader is thus kept vividly in mind, throughout the prophecy, of Aeneas' anguish which is bound up with his unwitting involvement in Rome's destiny and his resulting ignorance of the cause of his misfortunes (1.377; 464f.).

Jupiter's prophecy, then, not only justifies Aeneas' travail in the perspective of Rome's enormous destiny but also reveals the impervious attitude which the wrangling powers of heaven adopt towards him.

Dido too, is a victim of divine indifference in the perspective of Jupiter's prophecy. Immediately after the prophecy, Jupiter makes Dido welcome Aeneas in Africa (1.297-300). His intrusion initiates her downfall, which is contrived at the outset by the lesser gods. For Dido is at first made to fall obsessively in love with Aeneas but, when he abandons her, she is moved to invoke a despairing curse on him and his people (4.612-629). Her anguish engenders the future Punic wars, which Jupiter himself presently condones with serene indifference (10.11-15).

Virgil therefore makes Jupiter's prophecy overlook the outcome of the Punic wars (cf. 1.278-282), so that he can give a detailed account of the liaison between Aeneas and Dido and of the paths of Dido's ultimate fate. Conceived in the shadow of the destiny of Rome, her end lies in madness and death and in the generation of the fated enmity between Rome and Carthage which will annihilate her every achievement (cf. *excidio Libyae*, 1.22).

⁵ Williams (1983:138-142) presents the details.

⁶ Williams (1983:142, 237-238) compares the ideals of the two epochs.

Finally, Aeneas himself becomes blind to his mission in the course of his amour with Dido, but must inevitably assume his destiny again; Jupiter himself commands him, through Mercury, to renounce his folly and to persevere in his quest (4.256-276; 560-570).

IV

After he leaves Carthage, a gale drives Aeneas to Sicily and the tomb of his father Anchises. He fails to grasp this portent but uses the opportunity to hold funeral games in Anchises' honour (5.104-603).

After the games, Juno incites the Trojan women to set fire to Aeneas' ships (5.605-643). Confounded by this latest setback Aeneas wavers again, but his vacillation is conquered by a vision of his father. The ghost of Anchises invites him to a meeting in Hades "to learn of his future race and walls" before he engages in the Latin war looming ahead (cf. 3.458-460).

Apollo's priest Helenus, in an earlier prophecy, has declared the supremacy of fate in the major action of the *Aeneid* (3.395; cf. 10.113), and has instructed Aeneas to approach the sibyl of Cumae in Italy for more revelations. The Trojans have since reached Italy (6.1-8), where the sibyl of Cumae consents to be Aeneas' guide in Hades. Clearly, Aeneas' meeting with his father in the underworld has been ordained by fate (Thornton 1976:105).

The actual meeting in Hades takes the form of a parade of Roman heroes marshalled by Anchises (6.756-853; 855-859).⁷ The prophetic images passing before him prepare Aeneas for the trials he must endure in Italy: the heroes of future Rome fill him with a notion of the glory to come (6.889).

The Alban kings initiate the parade; they are the descendants of Aeneas' son Silvius who, succeeding Iulus as king of Alba Longa, hands down the virtues established by Aeneas himself (6.760-776; 12.435-440). This is the source of the righteous warriors who will colonize Italy and from whom Romulus, the founder of Rome, originates (6.777-787). As in Jupiter's prophecy, Romulus extends the power of Rome to embrace the earth and sky (6.781-787; 1.286-296).

Augustus next appears to Aeneas, in broken chronological sequence, as the second founder of Rome (6.788-807). He initiates an age of peace and freedom from civil war, extending Roman power beyond the limits of the universe (6.795-797). The preceding cycles of Roman history culminate in his military exploits, which are aligned with Virgil's own day (6.794-800; 1.286-296). Anchises closes the vision of Augustus with a pregnant question:

et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis,
aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra? (6.806f.)

"Do we still hesitate, then, to match our valour with deeds, does fear still prevent us from colonizing Italy's soil?"

This reproach not only challenges Aeneas' lack of resolution, it also foreshadows the Iliadic half of Virgil's story. For though Aeneas makes no reply, we can deduce his response from his eventual reaction to the parade (6.889). His resoluteness leads him on to wage the Latin war and thereby initiates the vast cycle of history which Anchises is illuminating.

After the vision of Augustus, the Roman kings and various military figures from the early Republic appear, in renewed chronological order, before Aeneas (6.808-825). They are followed, again in broken temporal sequence, by Pompey and Julius Caesar, who are charged

⁷ The division is Hightet's (1972:101). See too Williams (1983:144-150).

with waging war against their own country (6.826-835). Next, in restored chronological order, appear the Roman conquerors of Greece and Carthage and various military figures from the later Republic (6.836-846).

So far the review of Roman heroes has dealt with war and peace, with the involvement of individual personalities in the expansion of Roman power, a process which culminates in universal empire and attendant peace under Augustus. This accounts for Anchises' famous coda to the review, which is addressed to the citizens of future Rome. (A spellbound Aeneas can have little grasp of what he is hearing (6.854)). The coda realigns the reader's interest with Virgil's own day and proclaims the unique contribution of Augustan Rome to world-history:

tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos. (6.851-853)

"Remember, Roman, to rule the world with your empire (for such are your arts), crown civilization with peace, show mercy to the conquered, and crush the proud by means of war."

Finally, the parade closes on a note of triumph with the figure of M. Claudius Marcellus, the greatest Roman example before Augustus of subjugating the proud (6.855-859).

The review of Roman heroes stirs Aeneas to action but he fails to grasp its significance (6.854). Like Jupiter's prophecy, the review is also a revelation of Rome's capacity for universal power under Augustus. Moreover, it clearly anticipates the Iliadic half of the *Aeneid*, for its coda provides a thematic basis for Virgil's account of the Latin war.⁸

The reality of Augustan Rome, then, the remote sequel to Aeneas' impending campaign, is itself postulated as the outcome of war, as the product of Roman military supremacy, won down the ages at the expense of other attainments (6.847-850).

Moreover, civil war is condemned in the review but Virgil's attitude to the Latin war, the implied beginning of Rome's fated rise, is not expressed except for the sibyl's emphatic avowal of its horror (6.86).

It is war, then, that links the epochs of Aeneas and Augustus, and the era of peace secured by Augustus merits its prominence in the review; but the means of its achievement is singled out as a theme yet to be developed.

The parade of Roman heroes, we conclude, far from giving ideological praise to Augustus, firmly upholds Virgil's poetic integrity. This is achieved not only by the use of a literary device (Anchises, not the poet himself, praises Augustus), but also by the independent stance which Virgil adopts towards the thematically integrated events in the Iliadic half of his story.⁹

V

Consoled by his father's oracle, Aeneas leaves Cumae under Neptune's protection (7.23). The workings of destiny precede his arrival in Latium too, the home of the Latins and their king Latinus. For the marriage of Turnus to Lavinia, daughter of Latinus, is opposed by portents

⁸ See below, n.10.

⁹ Where the horror of war (not merely civil war) is recounted in detail. Like his predecessors, Augustus is here no more than an instrument of destiny. For an argument along these lines, see Williams (1983:149).

(7.58): Lavinia is destined to marry a foreigner, who will unite with the Latins and exalt their name to the stars (7.98-101; 272). Jupiter himself therefore confirms that Latium is Aeneas' destined home (7.122; 141-143), and an embassy to Latinus obtains a settlement in Italy, a promise of Lavinia's hand for Aeneas, and an alliance with the Latins (7.259-273).

Juno, however, soon intrudes in the action. She induces the Fury Allecto to plant the seeds of the Latin war (7.545); and when Latinus abdicates she herself bursts open the gates of war (7.313-316). Preparations for battle now start throughout Italy, though the Latin war is narrated only from Book 9, once its deeper meaning has been conveyed on the prophetic shield which the fire-god Vulcan makes for Aeneas.

In the Iliadic half of the story, then, Aeneas is drawn into a ravaging war (6.86). This aspect of his fate has been absorbed into the dimensions of Roman rule in the earlier prophecies, so that his situation is justified again in the perspective of Rome's enormous destiny. He is now the largely oblivious instrument of Rome's universal mission, but under a dispensation which Virgil himself cannot fathom (cf. 1.2; 7; 8-11; 33).

Turnus himself gives the signal for war at the start of Book 8. Aeneas, however, seized by fear and doubt, heeds a vision of the Tiber and makes an alliance with King Evander (8.18-21), who conducts him on a tour of his city. Evander's review of the ancient locale is a thematic parallel to the pageant of history which will appear on Aeneas' shield (Otis 1964:331). Hence, dismayed again by her son's misfortunes Venus induces Vulcan to forge armour for Aeneas at this point (8.370-406), including the remarkable shield. And when Evander denotes Aeneas as marked out by fate and surrenders the command of his army to him, Venus condones his decision with portents of battle (8.520-529).

Aeneas accepts the portents as signifying his inflexible destiny but balks at the coming war (8.532-540). Yet, submitting again to his fate he departs to his predestined allies. Encountering Venus in a secluded valley, he receives the prophetic shield which Vulcan has made for him.

The manifold scenes on the shield make up the *ecphrasis* (8.626-728), in which war is a paramount theme. Vulcan has access to the secrets of destiny (8.627) and shows the wars to come in temporal order on the shield. He includes the universalizing campaigns of future Roman history, compressed into Augustus' achievement, and the battles from the intermediate period of Italian history (Hardie 1986:347).

Thus the *ecphrasis* repeats the themes with which the earlier prophecies were worked - Aeneas' toil as the implied beginning of Roman expansion; war as the divinely sanctioned means whereby Rome achieves world-empire; and the growth of Roman power under Augustus to possess the universe. In narrating the *ecphrasis*, Virgil reaffirms this nexus then centres its significance on Aeneas and the Latin war, which is not directly accounted for on the shield (8.629).

The themes described from the upper rim of the shield are bound up with the birth and preservation of early Rome (8.630-662; Hardie 1986:350). They include a tableau of the entry of the Gauls into Rome in 390 BC and a display of the religious rites held in thanksgiving for their repulse (8.663-666).

The bottom rim of the shield displays a scene of punishment and reward in Hades (8.666-670), which has been Romanized by the earlier parade of heroes and is occupied now by Catiline and Cato. So the emanations of Roman power again extend beyond the confines of the universe (Hardie 1986:352).

Catiline and Cato mark the transition from Vulcan's perception of the early destiny of Rome to his picture of the battle of Actium. (The intervening three centuries of history are

overlooked by the *ecphrasis*). The battle is depicted at the centre of the shield (8.671-728) and is enclosed and marked off from the scenes on the rim by the expanse of the sea (8.671). Thus the two major divisions of the *ecphrasis*, which occur before and after 8.670, distinguish the sea as another cosmic domain implicitly occupied by Roman power after Augustus' victory at Actium (Hardie 1986:353-354).

The first scene from Actium on the shield shows Augustus sailing into battle (8.678-681). Both the elements of his race, Italian and Roman, accompany him, so integrating the historically remote sub-divisions of the *ecphrasis* (8.626; Hardie 1986:347). Flames stream from Augustus' brows and the Julian star (recalling Iulus (cf. 1.288)) dawns above his helmet (8.680f.).

Hence the battle which ensures Roman world-dominion and universal peace under Augustus links past and present, heaven and earth, the imminence of Augustus' victory and his promised assumption to the stars (1.287; 6.795-797; 851-853). Roman power is thereby extended, as in the earlier prophecies, to reach the domain of heaven as well. At the same time, however, Augustus' impending victory is envisioned as the climax to a series of historical events from the time of earliest Italy to the present.

The role of heaven as the instigator of Roman world-empire at Actium is explicit in Vulcan's portrayal of the actual engagement. First, he fills out the picture of the Roman forces with a sequence in which Agrippa, favoured by the gods and the elements, sails into battle. Then, having shown the opposing forces of Antony and Cleopatra, he depicts the battle proper as a brief but furious theomachy, at the end of which Apollo routs Augustus' enemies and their gods (8.698-713).

Correspondingly, the first of two final sequences on the shield intimates Augustus' stupendous triumph after Actium as the result of divine benefaction (8.714-719). Hence the religious rites held in Rome and Augustus' homage to the gods of all Italy. Similarly, the final sequence on the shield shows Augustus seated before Apollo's temple in Rome, reviewing the nations of a universe subjugated even in its topographical aspects (8.720-728).

Aeneas' shield, then, replicates the earlier prophecies by depicting Rome's universal power as the result of a military supremacy endorsed by heaven and culminating in an epoch of world-peace under Augustus.

Virgil's notion of Actium as the end of civil war, as the forerunner of Roman world-empire, pays tribute to Augustus but reduces his prowess to the outcome of a historical continuum ordained by fate and achieved by the calamity of war. This view is supported by a key scene which shows Aeneas, at once after the *ecphrasis*, lifting the orb of Rome's destiny onto his shoulder and with it "the glory and fate of his descendants" (8.729-731).¹⁰ For the two sides in the Latin war have since been made ready and Virgil can now offer the theme of war, in all its horror, as the fated means whereby Rome's destiny is realized.

VI

One of the functions of prophecy in the *Aeneid* is to harmonize the Homeric field of the epic with a vision of Roman history reaching beyond the temporal limits of the main action. Virgil employs this device to overcome the problem of commemorating Augustus' achievements in a work rooted in the Homeric age.

¹⁰ Cf. n.8 above.

Prophecy also acts, however, to reduce Augustus' achievements in the *Aeneid*. Jupiter's prophecy decrees Augustus' prowess as the outcome of a fated historical process in which he and his forerunners are put at the absolute disposition of heaven. The parade of Roman heroes fulfils a similar purpose, though the disruption of its chronology tends to flatter Augustus; but Jupiter has ordained Augustus' deeds as the summit of Rome's destiny and it is unavoidable that Anchises should praise them.

The *ecphrasis* too, delimits Augustus' prowess as the outcome of a historical design initiated by heaven. Not only is the battle of Actium portrayed as a theomachy but the gods also foster the collective elements, Italian and Roman, which invest Augustus' victory. His triumph is thereby reduced to the fulfilment of a common destiny acting on a broad basis of human endeavour.

Prophecy also serves to emphasize the unaccountable human suffering which accompanies Rome's fated rise in the *Aeneid*, as shown above all in Aeneas' wavering pursuit of his mission. Juno is ruthlessly opposed to the purposes of heaven in the poem and vents her fury on Aeneas, who becomes insubstantial under the pressure of her vindictiveness. He is condemned to a seemingly perpetual odyssey and, when he finally reaches Italy, is drawn into the Latin war which initiates Rome's destiny.

Thus the horror of war becomes the inevitable precursor of Augustus' triumph after Actium and a vision of universal peace, of the abolition of evil and distress, reveals itself as the final outcome of Roman history in the *Aeneid*.

Prophecy, then, is fulfilled in the *Aeneid* only at the cost of extended human suffering provoked or allowed by heaven. This poses an unsolvable enigma for Virgil, so that the portrayal of individual affliction in the historical process largely subsumes the lateral themes which he explores in his account of Aeneas' toil in initiating Rome's destiny.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Hardie, P. 1986. *Virgil's Aeneid: cosmos and imperium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hight, G. 1972. *The speeches in Virgil's Aeneid*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Otis, B. 1963. *Virgil: A study in civilized poetry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Quinn, K. 1968. *Virgil's Aeneid: A critical description*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Thornton, A. 1976. *The living universe: gods and men in Virgil's Aeneid*. *Mnemosyne Supplement* 46: E.J. Brill.
- Williams, G. 1983. *Technique and ideas in the Aeneid*. West Hanover, Mass.: Yale University Press.
- Williams, R.D. 1973. *The Aeneid of Virgil Books 7-12*. London: MacMillan.
- Williams, R.D. 1975. *The Aeneid of Virgil Books 1-6*. London: MacMillan.
- Williams, R.D. 1987. *The Aeneid*. London: Allen & Unwin.