

will not touch the temple Gates of War (A. 7.618 *abstinuit tactu* “he shrank from touching them”; see JANUS). Aeneas’ early hypothesis, gazing tearfully at Trojan scenes painted on Carthaginian walls, asserts *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt* “here too are tears for misfortune, and human sorrows pierce the heart” (A. 1.462; see SORROW; WEEPING). At the end, TURNUS’ words move us with their supplicatory appeal (A. 12.932–33: *si qua parentis | tangere cura potest* “if any care of a parent can touch you”), but they lack the accompanying gesture of touching his conqueror.

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tourism The restlessness of the long-besieged Trojans provokes avid curiosity about the seemingly abandoned plains of TROY, suddenly accessible to them after the feigned Greek retreat that marks the turning point of the TROJAN WAR (A. 2.13–25). With the city’s gates thrown open, the Trojans are struck by the desire “to go and see the Greek CAMPS,” to stand where ACHILLES once stood, and to walk the beach where the fleet once lay at anchor (A. 2.26–30). So too are they struck with an eagerness—here, as often, ill-starred—for bringing home oversize souvenirs (A. 2.31–34; see TROJAN HORSE). Both aspects anachronistically mirror, in peculiarly Virgilian fashion, contemporary Roman and imperial touristic habits (see ANACHRONISM). Troy itself, after all, enjoyed constant tourism during the Augustan period; OVID, for instance, writes, “I was anxious to see it, and saw both the temple and the place; that is all that remains there” (*Fasti* 6.423–24; see TEMPLES). Yet AENEAS journeys both from Troy and to it, and the anachronisms in his sightseeing along the way are those both of MEMORY and of PROPHECY: there is joy for the Trojan refugees when at BUTHROTUM they happen upon HELENUS’ *parva Troia* “little Troy” (A. 3.333–36, 3.349–52), but that joy is tempered by the recognition that this is not Troy, and can never be their own (A. 3.492–505). And for Aeneas, in his tour of EVANDER’S PALLANTEUM (A. 8.310–58), which is at once destined to be, and somehow already is, Rome, there is the awe of recognizing home in someplace he has never been (see ROME, TOPOGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE F).

See also TURNER, J.M.W; VERGILIAN SOCIETY OF AMERICA; VIRGIL, TOMB OF; WANDERING

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tragedy (1–3)

(1) Overview

Virgilian deployment of elements from Greek tragedy is fundamentally a feature of *A.* alone, and forms part of its complex and polyphonic generic texture (see AUGUSTAN POETRY; GENRE). The characters of DIDO, AMATA, and TURNUS have all been seen as echoing tragic figures; Virgil’s bleak sense of the fragility of individual human lives subject to unmerciful larger powers (see HUMAN–DIVINE RELATIONSHIP) and the sympathy that this vulnerability generates for them (see SUBJECTIVE STYLE) determine key parts of *A.*’s ideological coloring, and provide an important counterpoint to its collectively Roman (and specifically Augustan; see AUGUSTAN IDEOLOGY) triumphalism, which is equally important in the poem.

(2) Greek tragedy

Virgil’s debt to Greek tragedy has been recognized since antiquity. MARTIAL refers to the poet as *cothurnatus* “wearing buskins” (Martial 5.5.8, 7.63.5), the traditional footwear of tragic actors. Ancient commentators (see COMMENTARIES 1) assumed that Virgil knew the Greek tragedies directly, as he surely did; both SERVIUS and MACROBIUS list numerous instances they believe are borrowed from them. Famous examples include IRIS cutting Dido’s lock of HAIR from EURIPIDES (A. 4.704–5 compare *Alcestis* 73–76); the comparison of Dido to PENTHEUS and ORESTES (A. 4.469–73) from Euripides (*Bacchae* 918–19) and AESCHYLUS (*Libation Bearers* 1048–62), respectively; and Dido’s SUICIDE from SOPHOCLES (A. 4.663–65; compare *Ajax* 826–28). Richard HEINZE first demonstrated the value of applying the principles of ARISTOTLE’S *Poetics* as a tool for interpreting *A.*, particularly the notion of *peripeteia* “reversal” that causes Dido’s fortune to change from happiness to destruction. Similarly, others have analyzed Dido’s and Turnus’ falls as a tragic conflict between divine FATE and human free will. Recent interest in INTERTEXTUALITY has

shown that Virgil's relationship with the tragedians is deeper than previously realized (see, e.g., Conte 1986). At the same time, the importance of tragedy's social and political context as applied to *A.* reveals that its ideological program owes much to the complex ways Greek tragedies deal with ideological quandaries. As a result of these modern critical trends (see CRITICAL THEORY), several tragic themes have been identified as prominent in *A.*, e.g., failed rites of passage such as those of Marcellus (see MARCELLI) and NISUS AND EURYALUS (compare the similar fates of Euripides' HIPPOLYTUS and Pentheus); ritual distortions leading to destruction such as human SACRIFICE and bacchanals (see BACCHUS; MAENADS); and the clash of old and new heroic ideologies in figures such as Dido and AENEAS (compare Sophocles' AJAX and PHILOCTETES). The extensive use of tragic motifs is seen as complementing the EPIC's Homeric intertext in exposing troubling aspects of Augustan ideology (see MOTIF). Any assessment of *A.*'s relationship to Greek tragedy certainly needs to account for the role of Hellenistic epic (see HELLENISTIC POETRY) and Roman tragedy (see below). For instance, Book 3 of APOLLONIUS OF RHODES' *Argonautica* displays a similar amalgam of tragic and epic elements. Regrettably, the fragmentary nature of Republican Roman tragedy and of many Hellenistic texts makes it impossible to determine the true extent of Virgil's originality in this regard.

(3) Roman tragedy

The fragmentary nature of Republican Roman tragedy prohibits a full assessment of its importance for Virgil's works; yet there can be little doubt that it constitutes an important part of his intertextual program, especially in *A.* Servius and Macrobius provide ample citations of lines and episodes that they attribute to Roman tragedians, especially ENNIUS, PACUVIUS, and ACCIUS. Some famous examples occur in the description of the storm (*A.* 1; see STORMS), the fall of Troy (*A.* 2; see FLIGHT FROM TROY), and Aeneas' journey (*A.* 3). More specifically, Servius in his comment on *A.* 2.557 ascribes the portrayal of PRIAM'S BODY on the shore to Pacuvius (*ex incertis fabulis* fr. RIBBECK); in his comment on *A.* 2.17 he also indicates that the TROJAN HORSE's function as an offering to MINERVA derives from Accius (*Deiphobus* fr.

127 Ribbeck). Other examples include Dido's comparison to Orestes and Pentheus, which Servius in his comments on *A.* 4.469 and *A.* 4.474 attributes to Pacuvius (*ex incertis fabulis* fr. 53 Ribbeck), and Aeneas' farewell to his son ASCANIUS before he meets Turnus (*A.* 12.435–36), which probably comes from Accius' portrait of Ajax (Accius, *Armorum iudicium* 156, quoted by Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 6.1.58). The last two examples are also attributed to Greek tragedies (see above), illustrating a vexing interpretative problem: to what extent are Virgil's tragic echoes not of Roman tragedies but of their Greek originals? Another problem for our ability to appreciate Virgil's use of tragedy is the loss of most prior Hellenistic and Roman epic. Did, for instance, Ennius' *Annales* already display tragic characteristics akin to those of *A.* as some of the evidence seems to suggest (e.g., Servius on *A.* 2.486)? When it comes to assessing the larger interpretative context of Roman tragedy and its relationship to Virgil, here too we face insurmountable difficulties. As in Greece, performances of plays in Rome occurred in a religious setting and promoted the values of the Roman elites who commissioned them. Yet we are unable to tell whether the ideological negotiations enacted in the Greek tragedies (and in Virgil) were also important in their Roman counterparts.

See also COMEDY AND COMIC STYLE

Reference Works

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Further Reading

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STEPHEN HARRISON (1);
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traitor, Aeneas as Throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages, Virgil's presentation of AENEAS as