

The Name of the Game: The *Troia*, and History and Spectacle in *Aeneid* 5

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When Heinze dismisses the games in *Aeneid* 5 as a weakly motivated imitation of the games in *Iliad* 23, he does so mainly because Aeneas' games are commemorative, an anniversary celebration, rather than the immediate representation of grief offered by the Homeric funeral games. For Heinze, Virgil's decision to place the games after the Carthaginian episode meant the 'not very welcome consequence [...], that it needed to be a memorial celebration, and not as in the *Iliad* a real funeral before the freshly dug grave'. The lack of a fresh grave means that the Virgilian event 'is not something unique, but something which can be repeated at will'.¹

And that, I suspect, is precisely the point for the Roman poet, who is deliberately drawing attention to the poem's 'belatedness'. In a culture that is obsessed with anniversaries and annual rites, with the measurement and organisation of time itself, and with the organisation and presentation of spectacular ritual, a freshly dug grave is not in itself particularly important or necessary.² So, the Virgilian games should be understood to *improve* on the Homeric precedent by inserting the death of Anchises into a kind of prototype ritual calendar, invented by Aeneas on his return to Sicily on the anniversary of his father's death.³ The 'improvement' is not only a matter of poetic rivalry, but more importantly perhaps serves to remind the reader of the fact that archaic Greece, unlike Augustan Rome, did not conceive of time as a continuous, linked sequence of years. The passing of the year itself is referred to, and it is made explicit that the games should be thought of, not as a singular occasion, but as the first in a series:

*annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis,
ex quo reliquias diuiniq[ue] ossa parentis
condidimus terra maestisque sacrauimus aras.
iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,
semper honoratum (sic di uolulistis) habebo.*

With the passing of the months the circling year is drawing to an end since we laid in the earth the remains of my divine father, and sanctified the altars of grief. And now the day is at hand, if I am not mistaken, which I shall always keep as a day of grief, (such was your will, gods,) always as a day of honour. (5. 46-50)

By emphasizing the memorial nature of the games, and by alluding, as Andrew Feldherr has shown, in a sustained and deliberate way to the Augustan circus games, Virgil gives *Aeneid* 5 an important role in the poem's Augustan agenda.⁴ The purpose of this paper is to examine the ways in which the equine 'dance' called the *lusus Troiae* fits this Augustan agenda. In particular, I want to question its antique and ritualistic connotation, both within and without the poem. What is at issue here, too, is the association of the Trojan ride with spectacle. And to bring spectacle and memory and history together, the question I am addressing is: what is the role of the *lusus Troiae* in the organisation of memory, and what can it tell us about the interaction between spectacle and memory not only in the poem, but in Augustan Rome?

1. MEMORY, REPETITION, AND MASTERY

Anchises' death itself formed the brief and painful conclusion of book 3 - the part of the story that Aeneas does not tell Dido in the Odyssean account of his travels. Instead, he refers to the death of his father at the very end of book 3, as both his final labour and the turning point of his voyage:

*hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta uiarum:
hinc me digressum uestris deus appulit oris.* (3.714-5)

The poem had begun, of course, just out of sight of Sicily. Now the return here with the foundation of the annual remembrance rites first and the foundation of the city which follows it (albeit prompted by the terrifying event of the burning of the ships) re-orders the chaotic and Odyssean first half of the *Aeneid* as a manifestation of the ordered, and politicised, cosmos represented by the *Circus Maximus*.⁵

Given this context of the un-narrated, and revisited, death of the father it is possible also to interpret the function of the funeral games as part of the 'private' voice which conveys a personal narrative of loss and trauma and its recovery.⁶ Alternatively the games can be understood as an aetiology of Rome's uses of commemorative ritual. In any case, the games are very much outside the rest of the poem - 'a world apart', as Michael Putnam puts it in his essay on Book 5. Putnam's case is, briefly, that the events of the book, and in particular the games, are outside the tragic sphere of the poem, which they allude to with often bitter irony. The games, according to Putnam, are 'enclosed within the world of ritual'. (And I want to return to this to establish exactly what kind of a ritual we are dealing with here.) Putnam's reading of the book is so valuable still because it succeeds in showing us how the 'game' of Book 5 is a formalised,

or mastered, version of the more chaotic or traumatic events of Books 2 and 3 - and 1 and 4. This mastery or order has clear political ramifications, as both David Quint⁷ and Feldherr have shown: the world of the poem, and the world of the circus easily fit an Augustan reading of order imposed on chaos.

In book 5, the role played by Aeneas as organiser of the games puts him, for once, in a position of authority and of relative social integration. More than anywhere else in the poem, it is during the games that Aeneas really begins to look like Augustus himself, and to take on the role of a quasi-divine ruler. He is referred to as *pater* in the first half of book 5 six times (twice as many as Books 8 and 12).⁸ This alone would suffice to draw some important parallels between Aeneas and Augustus. But there is more. The prominence given to the boxing contest, which we are told was one of Augustus' favourite events, and indeed the keen and personal interest that Aeneas is seen to take in the games, point to a deliberate parallel between Aeneas and Augustus in this book. Consider Suetonius' description of Augustus watching circus games, either with friends - or in the royal box.⁹ When he is present at the games, Augustus watches with keen interest, possibly to avoid the criticisms levelled against Julius Caesar, who appears to have spent the duration of the games going through his correspondence (*Aug.* 45). Much is made of the gifts selected and awarded by Aeneas himself to the contestants after each of the events. Also in *Aug.* 45, Suetonius talks about the personal interest Augustus takes in handing out prizes - and the interest he takes in athletics and boxing. The prize-giving and gentle conflict resolution performed in this book by Aeneas differ from the awkwardness, or remoteness, that usually characterises his interactions with others.¹⁰ Aeneas' easy soothing of tempers, his reassurance of anxious and angry contestants, and indeed his ability to impose closure and resolution on irrational anger, make him look more confident in his own authority than he appears elsewhere in the poem. In the controlled and ordered version of the cosmos, just like that created by Augustus himself during the games in the *Circus Maximus*, Aeneas, like Augustus, I suspect, can act as Jupiter, omnipotent and serenely in control of this 'world apart'. Just as Suetonius likes to draw our attention to Augustus' divinity by having him watch the games *ex pulvinari*, so there are a number of occasions when I think Virgil intends to make us sense a parallel between Aeneas and Jupiter himself. For instance, we can hear Jupiter's smiling reassurance to Venus that her descendants' fate is secure (*manent immota tuorum | fata tibi* 1. 257-8) resonating in his reassurance to Nisus and Euryalus that their prizes are secure, that nothing will change:

*tum pater Aeneas 'uestra' inquit 'munera uobis
certa manent, pueri, et palmam mouet ordine nemo.* (5.348-9)

A little later, Aeneas smiles or laughs and hands over the prizes: *risit pater optimus olli* (5. 358). Smiling or laughter are rare in the *Aeneid*, and I would suggest that the kind of indulgence shown by Aeneas here is not unlike that shown by a smiling Jupiter in the face of Juno's irrational savagery (after Juno has demanded the extinction of Trojan traces in Rome: *olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor*, 12. 829). Similarly, Jupiter smiles at Venus' whining (after Venus' rant demanding an end to the sufferings of the Trojans: *Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum*, 1. 254). Venus, too, smiles a wicked smile when she catches Juno out (*adnuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis*, 4. 128).

But human mirth is rare. Apart from Aeneas' indulgent smile at the prize-giving, Book 5 also has the only occasion of communal laughter, at Menoetes' misfortune (*illum et labentem Teucris et risere natantem | et salsos rident reuomentem pectore fluctus*, 5. 181-2). The two remaining laughs in the poem are more contemptuous or bitter, delivered by Mezentius and Turnus - both in dire straits (9. 740 and 10. 743). So I would argue that Aeneas' only smile in the poem is important, and goes together with other indications of calm and confidence, and with his role as sponsor and 'controller' of the games to give him a divine or at least a very authoritative character here. That this quasi-divine authority is associated with circus games - and with the idea of an annual memorial - gives this book a very 'Augustan' feel. It is no coincidence then, that Aeneas, like Jupiter elsewhere, is in a position to impose an end on anger and rage:¹¹

*tum pater Aeneas procedere longius iras
et saeuire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis,
sed finem imposuit.*

(5. 461- 63)

2. SPECTACLE AND HISTORY

In all, it seems clear enough that the book is dominated by the interaction between spectacle and history, and by the idea of commemorative spectacle as an important link between past and present - and as an important way of anticipating a future organised by annual ritual returns and repetitions. Michael Putnam was the first to show the poignancy of the relationship between game and reality throughout the book.¹² Andrew Feldherr's more recent work on the ship race, and his book on spectacle in Livy, brings to the fore the Augustan context of the circus games, and their ideological significance. Feldherr's work demonstrated persuasively the way in which the world of the circus can be interpreted as an ordered and controlled, perhaps an ideal, version of the 'real', Augustan universe.

On the face of it, the *lusus Troiae* is the culmination of the meeting of past, present, and future, through the medium of spectacle. In gazing at their children, and seeing in their faces the features of their fathers, the Trojan spectators experience the coincidence of tradition and future. For Virgil's Roman audience the spectacle evokes their own *iuventus*, still celebrating the same rites, still bearing - in their imagination at least - the same features, and the same names. Thus, a spectacle of this kind can be seen to offer immediate access to the past - a form of continuity and living tradition that Augustus in particular, and Roman culture in general, aspires to.

But I don't believe that spectacle and performance always sit that comfortably in the Roman mind with the display and the experience of tradition. In what follows, I will examine how the status of the *lusus* as a part of the circus games may problematise, even call into question, its function as a historically meaningful spectacle.¹³ For many critics, the *lusus* is more a ritual than a 'game' or mere display. I think Virgil does his best to make it look and feel 'ritual', by embedding it in a story of its antiquity and continuity on the one hand, and embedding it in the poem's own imagery (I am thinking especially of the labyrinth here), which adds its own sense of 'antiquity', or ritual. I suggest that the poet's insistence on the continuity and tradition of the *lusus*, and his careful use of the labyrinth image are intended to separate the *lusus* out from the rest of the circus games - to make it more than a mere performance. At the same time, we know

that the *lusus* in fact was in Augustan times a firm circus favourite. Before looking at the *Aeneid's lusus* itself we should cast a glance over some of the historians' descriptions. Suetonius for instance implies that Augustus is keen on the *lusus* because he believes it to be an ancient and respectable way to display elite youth to the public (*prisci decorique moris existimans clarae stirpis indolem sic notescere, Aug. 43*). But the context makes it clear that there are serious issues over the nobility performing at all, since Suetonius mentions, also in *Aug. 43*, the fact that Roman *equites* used to perform on stage and as gladiators, but that the senate eventually decided to forbid this. It is clear from what Suetonius says that the *Troia* is one of a number of displays which take place in the circus, and also that the participation of patrician or equestrian boys and men in such spectacles is not without its problems. For instance, the orator Pollio's grandson was injured, and there was quite a row about this in senate, which ends in the *Troia* being stopped. Quite apart from broken bones, we know enough about Roman attitudes to the stage to realise that putting one's grandson of patrician status in the Circus would need some pretty good justification - a connection with ancient Trojan custom might just serve that purpose - but clearly this only worked intermittently. Other sources tell us of the range of occasions for the *lusus*, which included: Caesar's triumph in 46 BC (Dio, 43.23.6 and Suet. *Jul. 39*); the dedication of Caesar's temple in the Forum 18 Aug 29 BC (Dio, 51. 22.4); the *Ludi Apollinares* in 40 BC (Dio 48.20.2); the dedication of the theatre of Marcellus in 13 or 11 BC (Pliny 8.65 and Dio 54.26.1); the funeral of Drusilla in AD 38 (Dio 59.11.2); and the *Ludi Saeculares* in AD 47 (Tac. *Ann. 11.11*).

With a few exceptions, the *lusus* is always produced as part of the Circus games, and in the historians' accounts it is usually represented in the context of other spectacles. Take Dio's account of Caesar's triumph in 46: as a part of the triumph there are games to dedicate the new forum and temple of Venus. In Dio's account of the lavish games given by Caesar following his triumph, performing aristocrats are disapproved of - again, the *Troia* is the exception. ('...some of the knights, and, not to mention others, the son of one who had been praetor fought in single combat. Indeed a senator named Fulvius Sepinus desired to contend in full armour, but was prevented; for Caesar deprecated that spectacle at any time, though he did permit the knights to contend. The patrician boys went through the equestrian exercise called "Troy" according to ancient custom, and the young men of the same rank contended in chariots', Dio 43.23). Suetonius has Julius Caesar produce entertainments of all sorts, which include senators fighting in the arena, the *lusus Troiae*, and a mass stampede resulting in fatalities. The *Troia* is here given only the briefest of mentions, stuck between young noblemen racing chariots and wild beast hunts in *Jul. 39*. And again, there is the issue of performing senators, fighting for instance in the forum as gladiators. And the *eques* Decimus Laberius, also in *Jul. 39*, performs his own mime and then receives five hundred thousand sesterces and a gold ring to restore him to equestrian status so that he can return from the stage to the seats allocated to those of his rank in the orchestra.

Tacitus' account of the performance of the *Troia* at the secular games in 47 (featuring the young Nero and Britannicus) in *Annals 11.11* emphasises the popular appeal of Nero on this occasion (*favor plebis acrior in Domitium loco praesagii acceptus est*), and so draws attention to the anti-theatrical prejudice with which Nero is tainted anyway. I think this serves to demean the *lusus* by associating it with the enthusiasm of the masses for an effective performer - and one who appreciates the popular mythologies which go with his 'star' persona. (Tacitus concludes by

recording the popular tale of the snakes found by Nero's cradle - and the pleasure Nero clearly takes in this kind of thing: *vulgabaturque adfuisse infantiae eius dracones in modum custodum, fabulosa et externis miraculis adsimilata: nam ipse, haudquaquam sui detractor, unam omnino anguem in cubiculo visam narrare solitus est.*) Thus, it seems to me the *lusus* is contaminated with Nero's weakness for spectacle and his love of made-up mythology.

On the other hand, there is a very evocative mention of the *lusus* in Seneca's *Troades*, where the religious and ritual aspects of the event are far more emphasised (and where a connection appears to be being made between the *lusus* and the dance of the *Salii*).¹⁴ The context is Astyanax's imminent death, and his mother's regret for the lost world of old Troy, and for the lost youth of her son. The *lusus* is one of the things that, in a sense, will die with him:

*nec stato lustris die
sollemne referens Troici lusus sacrum
puer citatas nobilis turmas ages.*

On the appointed day you'll not renew the Trojan Game's holy rites, noble boy at the head of
swift squadrons. (Seneca, *Troades*, 777-9)

Seneca presents a scenario in which there should be a special day for performing the *lusus*, and implies that the *lusus* itself has sacred and ritual qualities. In this scenario, the *lusus* is part of what Propertius calls *sacra diesque* (4.1.69) - rites associated with particular days (and places). But the *lusus* of both Seneca's and Virgil's world is performed at a variety of times, in a variety of places. In the *Troades*, it is clearly part of an old world, the death of which is the subject of the play. So Seneca's non-performed *lusus* could well be a revision of Virgil's more optimistic presentation of a renewed and sacred *lusus*. Where Virgil's *lusus* shows promising and energetic youth commemorating the past and looking forward to the Roman future, Seneca shows a culture that is deeply tainted by death and decay. Seneca's moribund and crepuscular Troy mirrors a bleak view of contemporary Rome, in which the ritual connection with the past is not possible. Perhaps both authors are commenting on the *lusus* as an event which has the potential to offer historically meaningful spectacle: Seneca's view of the possibility of this is typically pessimistic, while Virgil's may be viewing Augustus' appropriation of the *lusus* with some optimism. But we have already seen that the young Nero took part in the *lusus* - and in fact in a very 'sacred' and ritualistic context, that of the secular games. In Tacitus' account, as we saw, the sacredness of the occasion is somewhat disrupted by Nero's base popular appeal. I wonder if the Senecan Andromache's regret is also targeting the fact that the modern *lusus* is a mere performance - ideal for the actor-emperor, but nothing to do with the 'real thing'.

3. VIRGIL'S LUSUS

Virgil deals straightaway with the problem of the *lusus* as performance, by focussing first on the interaction between the boys and their audience. The emphasis on the Trojans' recognition of their ancestors in the features of their children makes it clear that what the children are performing is history, and tradition, not any old spectacle. Then, as if to emphasise the inappropriateness of viewing the children as performers, he draws attention to their shyness in the face of applause - and links the applause with the recognition of ancestral features. This

recognition distinguishes the spectacle of the *lusus* from, say, a gladiatorial fight, or a chariot race: the relationship between viewer and performer is one of kinship, thus eroding the usual barriers which help normally to objectify the performer in the eyes of the viewer. Here, the performers return the gaze - the Trojans look into the faces of their children and see, almost literally, themselves looking back.¹⁵

*excipiunt plausu pauidos gaudentque tuentes
Dardanidae, ueterumque adgnosunt ora parentum.* (5. 575-6)

In this way the performance of the *lusus* emphasises community instead of the fragmentation that we might associate with the modern experience of spectacle. I would argue that Virgil's emphasis here on familiar ties consciously undermines the potential for objectification that is inherent in any performance, and especially in the Roman arena. We have seen how closely the historians seem to associate the performance of the *lusus* with other spectacular events, and we have seen how misgivings about performing aristocrats appear to touch on discussions of the *lusus*. It is not surprising then that Virgil wishes to distance this event from other circus events. At least a part of the difference lies in the ties that bind spectators and performers.

The description of the performance itself steps the *lusus* in antiquity in two important ways. First, through the use of the labyrinth simile the poet creates links with other parts of the poem, especially Book 6, and with the Greek world, *via* Catullus perhaps:

*ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alta
parietibus textum caecis iter ancipitemque
mille uiis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
frangeret indeprensus et inremeabilis error.* (5. 588-91)

Second, the elaborate story of the tradition passed on *via* Ascanius and Alba Longa all the way to contemporary Rome, works with Augustus' desire to make the *Troia* a revived ancient custom, a historically legitimate way of getting the elite to perform in the circus:

*hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus
Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam,
rettulit et priscos docuit celebrare Latinos,
quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troia pubes;
Albani docuere suos; hinc maxima porro
accepit Roma et patrium seruauit honorem;
Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen.* (5. 597-603)

And there are the dolphins, too, which evoke the dolphins set up as lap-counters on the *spina* in the *Circus Maximus* by Agrippa:¹⁶

*haud alio Teucrum nati uestigia cursu
impediunt texuntque fugas et proelia ludo,
delphinum similes qui per maria umida nando
Carpathium Libycumque secant.* (5. 592-5)

The dolphins' paths, cutting and weaving through the sea, are an alternative image to that of the labyrinth - but they also appear on the shield of Aeneas, encircling the central image of the battle of Actium. This means that the dolphins on the shield, which in one way come from the *Shield of Heracles* and help to give the Virgilian shield its 'cosmic' feel, are also a way of binding the cosmos of the shield to the cosmos of the circus.¹⁷

So, the young Trojan boys are framed by their reflections in the Trojan past (at the start of the passage: *ueterumque adgnosunt ora parentum*), and into the Roman future (at the end: *Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur agmen.*). They become associated with the *Circus Maximus*, and with Roman domination of the seas, through the dolphins, thus partaking of the imagery of cosmic order which surfaces frequently in the *Aeneid* and of course elsewhere in Augustan culture. But their performance is also, it seems, deeply resonant of Greek myth. I think that what is happening here is something like this: the *lusus* has come to prominence in Virgil's own time as a popular circus act, which, through its name alone appears to be linked with Trojan heritage. Because of this name, and because it is odd and inaccessible in the rules it appears to follow, it has an air of antiquity. There are legitimate questions to be asked about Virgil's perhaps emphatic use of *nunc* when referring in the last line of his description to the name of the game (5.603). Does this mean something along the lines of 'now that Augustus has re-discovered this game, we call it *Troia*'? Or does it mean 'and we still call it *Troia* now'? I suspect, as do others, that it is the former.¹⁸ But, of course, as Mary Beard and others have shown, it is the exegesis and the myth-making accompanying Roman ritual which make up its meaning.¹⁹ So the name of the game matters very much: it allows Virgilian mythography to connect the remote and somewhat strange, but clearly popular, ritual with the story of Rome's Trojan origins that both he and Augustus wish to tell.²⁰ And if the interaction between rituals and the texts which surround them is as close as we suspect then the *Aeneid's* linking of the *Troia* game with its Iliadic and Greek background may have helped to make this particular circus act respectable enough for patrician boys to perform.

But what about the labyrinth? If the dolphin image links the Troy-boys with the world of the shield, the labyrinth image links them with another important work of art in the poem - the temple gates at Cumae, which depict the Cretan labyrinth. As is well known, both labyrinths allude clearly to Catullus 64.²¹ It has also been said before that the description is, to some extent, reminiscent of the description of Ariadne's dance-floor on the shield of Achilles. This in turn, the scholia inform us, may be influenced by the idea that Theseus and the boys and girls who escaped from the Minotaur learn to perform a dance under Daedalus' guidance. (This dance is the rather odd 'crane dance' in Plutarch's *Theseus*.) So, there is a Hellenising, and intellectual, 'history' of the *Troia*, which runs alongside the dolphin symbolism and with the story of a continuous tradition going back to Alba Longa. In addition to all this there is an Etruscan pot, the Tragliatella Oenochoe, which depicts, it seems, a circular labyrinth, some riders on horseback, and the word TRUIA (and some copulation - which is not directly relevant to the present discussion). For some, this means that the labyrinth, and the *lusus* itself are a part of deep and ancient mythology, which permeate Mediterranean culture across times and places. The connection between the Trojan ride, the city of Troy, and the mythic or symbolic use of the image of the labyrinth is appealing to critics of all colours, from Jackson Knight in the 1930s to contemporary Lacanian or psychoanalytic discussions.²² Much can also be made of the labyrinth

itself as a motif throughout the *Aeneid*. The final confrontation between Turnus and Aeneas is preceded by a chase, which can be said to resonate with labyrinthine language. So Aeneas is described thus, looking for Turnus on the battlefield: *Aeneas tortos legit obuius orbis| uestigatque uirum* (12.481-2); Turnus is running around in demented circles, not unlike the more organised circles traced by the boys: *et nunc huc, inde huc incertos implicat orbis* (12.743). Or, a little further on, *mille fugit refugitque uias* (12.753) revisits the thousand paths of the labyrinth (*mille uiis*, 5.590). In addition, there are some clear indications that Troy itself functions as a kind of labyrinth in Book 2 - and that this is revisited in book 9, when Nisus and Euryalus are lost in the woods.²³

So the *Troia* is embedded in the very fabric of the poem, and it is this embeddedness, this creative and imaginative re-casting of a well-known spectacle, that turns it into such a deeply resonant and mythic event. I think that Karl Weeber's assessment of the situation regarding the antiquity of the *Troia* is probably right. In Weeber's view the introduction of the *lusus* coincides with a new or renewed interest at Rome in Trojan ancestry, and a new fashion amongst prominent Roman families for tracing their origins to Trojan heroes. Both Suetonius' careful expression in *Aug.* 43 (*existimans*), and Virgil's own emphatic *nunc* appear to confirm the thesis that there is indeed some doubt about the antiquity of the game.²⁴

But what really matters is the fact that in Virgil's *Troia* we have an excellent example of the importance of the complicated relationship between ancient rituals and the texts which bring them to life for us. Virgil's game, with its three contexts - the Roman circus, Greek mythology, and the poetry of the *Aeneid* - is suspended between myth and history, and between ritual and spectacle in a very Roman, and I think also a very *modern* way.²⁵

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NOTES

- ¹ R. Heinze *Virgils epische Technik* (Leipzig 1915) 147 (my translation).
- ² See D. Feeney 'Horace and the Lyric Poets', in N.Rudd, ed., *Horace 2000: A Celebration*. (London 1993) 58-60.
- ³ See Williams' commentary *ad loc.* He finds that Anchises' funeral games are evocative of the *Parentalia*.
- ⁴ See A. Feldherr 'Ships of State: *Aeneid* V and Augustan Circus Spectacle' in *CA* (1995) 245-65. Feldherr's work, both here and in A. Feldherr, *Spectacle and Society in Livy's History* (Berkeley and London 1998) on spectacle and history is crucial to much of what I am saying here.
- ⁵ See Feldherr (1995) 246 on the turning posts in the ship-race.
- ⁶ For this kind of reading see Peter Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (New York and London 1984). Here, Freud's concept of the compulsion to repeat functions as a kind of 'masterplot', a model for all narrative. The point of this, very crudely, is that repetition or 'return' (to origins, or the repressed) runs counter to the simple movement forward. In the case of *Aeneid* 5, clearly the return to Sicily and the 'repetition' of Anchises' death interrupts the simple movement forward to Italy and to the successful end of the poem. The return to Sicily can be read in Freudian terms as a return to the repressed - the unworked-through, silence-inducing death of the father, and as a return to origins: Sicily is the starting-point in many ways of the transition from Troy to Rome. 'Remembering, Repeating, and Working Through' is essentially the work done by Books 2,3, and 5 of the poem. In terms of their *narrative* function, repetitions are painful, according to Brooks because 'they create a delay, a postponement in the discharge of energy, a turning back from immediate pleasure, to ensure that the ultimate discharge will be more complete. The most effective or, at the least, the most challenging texts may be those that are most delayed, most highly bound, most painful.' And of course, it is part of the narrative 'effectiveness' of the *Aeneid* that it so painfully delays its ultimate outcome.

- ⁷ D. Quint 'Painful Memories: *Aeneid* 3 and the Problem of the Past' in *CJ* 78 (1982) 30-38; 'Repetition and Ideology in the *Aeneid*' in *MD* 23 (1989): 9-55; *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton 1993).
- ⁸ Compared with three times in each of Books 8 and 12, and only once or twice in other Books - never in Books 4 or 6. I don't think this is a meaningless statistic: both 8 and 12 have reason to stress Aeneas' role as a founding father, but 5 must be seen as the showcase-book: this is where, because of the games theme, Aeneas is closest to Augustus - and to Jupiter.
- ⁹ *Ipse circenses ex amicorum fere libertorumque cenaculis spectabat, interdum ex pulvinari et quidem cum coniuge ac liberis sedens.*
- ¹⁰ See D. Feeney 'The Taciturnity of Aeneas' in *CQ* NS 33 (1984) 204-219 (reprinted in S.J. Harrison, *Oxford Readings in Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford 1990) 167-90) on Aeneas' problems with successful dialogue.
- ¹¹ See D. Feeney, *The Gods In Epic* (Oxford 1991) 137-42 on the association of Jupiter with *finis*.
- ¹² See M.J. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid: Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design* (Ithaca 1965) 64-104.
- ¹³ See Feldherr (1998) 10-19 on history and spectacle.
- ¹⁴ At least one scholar took this seriously enough to come up with a date (19th March) for the performance of the *lusus*. A. v. Premerstein 'Das Troiaspiel und die tribuni celerum' in *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* (Vienna 1898) 261-66 argued that the Troia was ritually meaningful only on specific religious occasions - and that it had a kind of parallel life as a 'mere spectacle': 'Selbstredend war die sacrale Bedeutung der Troia auf ganz bestimmte gottesdienstliche Anlässe beschränkt; daneben wurde sie (...) sehr häufig als blosses Schaustück bei den Circusspielen aufgeführt.'
- ¹⁵ See Feldherr (1995) 264.
- ¹⁶ See P. Zanker *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988) 67-8.
- ¹⁷ And of course the circus is made to resemble the cosmos when Julius Caesar surrounds it with an 'ocean'.
- ¹⁸ K.W. Weeber 'Troiae Lusus: Alter und Entstehung eines Reiterspieles' in *Ancient Society* 5 (1974) 171-196. On *nunc* see 195, and J. Scheid and J. Svenbro *The craft of Zeus. Myths of weaving and fabric.* (Harvard 1996) 44.
- ¹⁹ See, for instance: M. Beard 'A complex of times: no more sheep on Romulus' birthday' in *PCPHS* 33 (1987) 1-15; M. Beard 'Looking (harder) for Roman myth: Dumézil, declamation and the problems of definition' in F.Graf (ed.) *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1993) 44-64; D. Feeney *Literature and Religion at Rome* (Cambridge 1998), especially 115-9.
- ²⁰ On the lateness of Roman aetiological myth, and of Roman mythology itself see e.g. J. Bremmer 'Three Roman aetiological myths' in F.Graf (ed.) *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1993), especially 173-4.
- ²¹ The most recent treatment of this is, I think, Allen Miller 'The Minotaur within: Fire, the labyrinth, and the strategies of containment in *Aeneid* 5 and 6' in *CPh* 90 (3) (1995) 225-40, which contains all the relevant bibliography, most notably P. Reed Doob *The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London 1990).
- ²² e.g. Miller (1995).
- ²³ See P. Hardie's commentary on *Aeneid* 9 on this.
- ²⁴ Weeber (1974) 195 and n.26 ('Suetons vorsichtige Ausdrucksweise, und Vergils sonst kaum verständliches *nunc* könnten andeuten, dass beide Autoren sehr wohl wussten, dass die Troia kein uraltes Spiel war.')
- ²⁵ See A. Benjamin 'Tradition and experience: Walter Benjamin's "Some motifs in Baudelaire"' in A. Benjamin (ed.) *The problems of modernity* (London and New York 1989) 122-40.