

fatum/a and *F/fortuna*: religion and philosophy in Virgil's *Aeneid*

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*'Superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,
quoque vocat vertamus iter.'*

(“Since *Fortuna* has the upper-hand, let us follow her, and direct our journey where she calls”).

Palinurus addressing Aeneas, *Aen.* 5.22–23

*'Quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;
quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.'*

(“Let us follow where *fata* drag us back and forth: whatever happens, every *fortuna* must be overcome by endurance”).

Nautes addressing Aeneas, *Aen.* 5.709–10

Virgil's use of *fatum/a* and *F/fortuna* in the *Aeneid* is confusing and complicated.¹ As the above lines from the beginning and end of book 5 demonstrate, Virgil sometimes employs *fatum/a* and *F/fortuna* in similar contexts, and associates them with the same verbs and imagery.² This encourages the reader to compare the two, and to consider whether their meanings should be aligned, or whether each word carries individual significance. In this paper, I argue the

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¹ I use a capital 'F' in instances in which *Fortuna* is personified, e.g. as a goddess. The capitalization of *Fortuna* in passages from the *Aeneid* follows the text of Mynors (1969).

² Other examples of passages in which Virgil uses *fatum/a* and *F/fortuna* together and / or in similar ways include: 1.239–41; 4.109–10, 651–54; 8.333–36 (discussed below); 10.111–13; 12.676–77 (discussed below).

latter: though *F/fortuna* is one of the words Virgil uses to talk about fate, it bears different meanings and associations from *fatum/a*. These are drawn from philosophy, in which *fortuna* commonly translates τύχη, and from Roman religion and culture, in which *Fortuna* is an important goddess and “divine quality”.³

As there has been some confusion about the role of *fortuna* in Stoic philosophy, and how this relates to fate in the *Aeneid*, I begin by identifying the meaning of *fortuna* in philosophical texts from the 1st century BC, especially Cicero (**i. *fortuna* in philosophy**).⁴ When Cicero uses *fortuna* in contexts that discuss fate and Stoicism, it translates τύχη, “chance”, a force whose existence was incompatible with the Stoic theory of universal causal determinism. Cicero therefore follows Chrysippus, who attempted to reconcile popular belief in chance with the Stoic theory of fate, by arguing that events which seem random or unexpected are not in fact uncaused, but rather have causes which we do not understand or know about. This understanding of *fortuna* helps to explain why Virgil very rarely utters the word in the omniscient authorial voice, and why he associates *fortuna* particularly closely with characters who are ignorant of fate, such as Turnus and Dido. When Cicero uses *fortuna* outside of contexts that discuss fate and Stoicism, it still means “chance”, and is cast as a negative and unreliable force, to which wise and virtuous men should be immune. This further explains why Aeneas is progressively distanced from *fortuna* in the course of the poem, and why characters who leave things down to luck, such as Nisus and Euryalus, are fatally unsuccessful.

I then explore *Fortuna*’s significance in Roman religion and culture (**ii. *Fortuna* in religion**). As she was an oracular goddess, she is linked with fate. But she also has a broad range of other associations: with farmers and farming; with sailors and sea-travel; with women; and with military victory, civil war and the generals of the end of the Republic. All of these associations are relevant in different ways to understanding *F/fortuna* in the *Aeneid*, but for the purposes of this paper, I explore only the two that relate most closely to my concluding analysis of **iii. *F/fortuna* in book 5**: femininity and sea-travel.⁵ This analysis constitutes one example of how sensitivity to the differing meanings of *fatum/a* and *F/fortuna* can enrich and nuance our interpretation of the poem. *F/fortuna* is influential in book 5, and is cited as being responsible for two major setbacks for the Trojans: the storm and the burning of the

³ Following Clark (2007).

⁴ In particular, I offer an alternative argument to the suggestion of some scholars that *fatum/a* and *fortuna* are essentially the same thing in Stoicism and therefore the *Aeneid*. Examples of this view include: Quint (1993, 93, *ad.* 5.709–10): “the language is of course Stoic ... in Stoic vocabulary, Fate and Fortune are notoriously hard to tell apart”; Edwards (1960, 153 n.5), “on the whole ... Virgil, like the Stoics, seems to make no important differentiation between *fata* and *fortuna*”.

⁵ I offer a fuller exploration of the other religious and cultural associations of *Fortuna* and their relevance to the *Aeneid* in my doctoral dissertation (see n.* above).

ships by the Trojan women. Aeneas subsequently decides to leave the Trojan women behind on Sicily, and loses his helmsman, Palinurus, along with the rudder of his ship. I argue that, given *Fortuna*'s especial importance to sailors and women, and her symbolic association with the rudder, these events can be understood as an important stage in the progress of the Trojan mission away from the uncertainty and instability of *F/fortuna*, and towards the security of their fated future.

i. *fortuna* in philosophy

As scholars have frequently noted, Stoicism is one important context for understanding fate in the *Aeneid*.⁶ There are several compelling reasons for this. For one, the sheer prominence of fate in the poem has Stoic connotations: both critics and adherents of Stoicism were united in portraying belief in fate as a defining characteristic of the school.⁷ *Fatum/a*, the most common word for fate in the poem, appears 125 times. If we exclude *De Fato*, this is considerably more than in the entirety of the Ciceronian corpus.⁸ Indeed, in the singular (*fatum*), which is how it appears in the programmatic opening lines (*fato profugus*, 1.2), this is a relatively rare word in Latin, used specifically in philosophical works to refer to the Stoic conception of fate as universal causal determinism.⁹ The close connection between Jupiter and fate in the *Aeneid* may also be suggestive of Stoicism:¹⁰ Stoics equated fate with the providence of a universal world-god whom they identified with the Zeus / Jupiter of popular religion.¹¹ These two general points can be supported by more specific observations. Edwards (1960), for example, argues that the use of verbs of following and dragging to describe the

⁶ Scholars who read Stoicism into fate in the *Aeneid* include: Servius (*ad Aen.* 1.257; 2.689; 3.376; 8.334; 10.467); Heinze (1903) 293–304; Bailey (1935) 208; Edwards (1960); Rabel (1981); Lyne (1987) 73; Quint (1993) 93.

⁷ Accordingly, in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, both the Epicurean speaker Velleius and the Academic speaker Cotta make a point of criticizing and distancing themselves from the Stoic belief in fate (1.55; 3.14).

⁸ *fatum/a* appears 59 times in *De Fato*, and 95 times in all of Cicero's other extant works.

⁹ *TLL s.v. 'fatum'*. Cicero does not use the plural in the philosophical *De Fato*. Cf. especially Virg. *Geo.* 2.491, *inexorabile fatum*, where causal determinism must be the sense, because of the proximity of *rerum ... causas* (490); 8.334, *ineluctabile fatum*, and Servius *ad loc.* (*secundum Stoicos locutus est*). I discuss the latter passage below.

¹⁰ Jupiter in the *Aeneid* demonstrates knowledge of fate, which is described as being in his power (*sic fata deum rex / sortitur*, 3.375–76; *imperio Iovis fatisque*, 5.784), and is closely connected with his words (*fabor ... fatorum arcana*, 1.261–62) and his will (*neque me sententia vertit*, 1.260). Note, however, that Jupiter is not the only god associated with fate in the poem. Apollo, for example, is also portrayed as the source of *fata*, "prophecies" (e.g. 3.94–98; 6.77–80), though the harpy Celaeno suggests that Apollo himself receives *fata* from Jupiter (3.251–25).

¹¹ On the Stoic equation of fate with a universal god and the Zeus of popular religion see e.g. Diog. Laert. 7.135 = L&S 46B: ἐν τῷ εἶναι θεὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ Δία· πολλάς τ' ἑτέρας ὀνομασίας προσονομάζεσθαι ("God, intelligence, fate and Zeus are all one, and many other names are applied to him" -trans. L&S); Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.39 = L&S 54B = *SVF* 2.1077; Plut. *Mor.* 1056c = L&S 55R = *SVF* 2.997. Occasional references to an abstract *deus* in the *Aeneid* may also be Stoic (e.g. 4.440, 651; 12.677).

relationship between characters and fate in the poem follows Stoic precedent.¹² Rabel (1981) convincingly connects the spinning-top simile in book 7, describing Amata's descent into frenzy, with the Stoic Chrysippus' use of the characteristic movement of a spinning-top to explain the role of moral responsibility within universal causal determinism.¹³

F/fortuna is the second most popular word used to describe and reference fate (in the broadest sense) in the *Aeneid*.¹⁴ It / she is appealed to as having power over events,¹⁵ and characters claim that it / she has laid out a path for them to follow.¹⁶ *F/fortuna*, like *fata*, can also describe the destiny of particular people/s and cities.¹⁷ Despite the suggestions of some scholars,¹⁸ this use of *F/fortuna* is surprising, given the Stoic characterization of fate in the poem, because *F/fortuna* and *fatum/a* do not mean the same thing and are not used in the same way in Stoic sources contemporary to Virgil.

Cicero is our main source for Latin philosophy in the 1st century BC. His philosophical works therefore provide useful evidence for the range of meanings *fortuna* carried in philosophical contexts during this period. When Cicero uses *fortuna* in discussions of fate, it is usually as a translation of τὸ γῆ. The following passage is a good example, as it contains other indications that Cicero is translating Greek sources (Cic. *Acad.* 1.29):¹⁹

... quam vim **animus** esse dicunt mundi, eandemque esse **mentem sapientiamque perfectam**, quem **deum** appellant ... quam interdum eandem **necessitatem** appellant, quia nihil aliter possit atque ab ea constitutum sit, inter quasi fatalem et immutabilem continuationem ordinis sempiterni, non numquam quidem eandem **fortunam**, quod efficiat multa improvisa et necopinata nobis propter obscuritatem ignoracionemque causarum.

¹² Verbs of following and dragging are used with fate at 1.382; 5.709 (quoted above); 9.204 and 12.676–77 (discussed below). Evidence that this may be Stoic includes Seneca's translation of Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* (*ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt*, ep. 107.11), and Hippolytus' preservation of the Stoic comparison of man's relationship to fate to that of a dog tied to a cart, who either willingly follows or is unwillingly dragged (*Haer.* 1.21 = L&S 62A = SVF 2.975).

¹³ 7.378–84; for Chrysippus, Cic. *Fat.* 42–43.

¹⁴ *F/ortuna* and cognates appear 71 times in the *Aeneid*. There is only 1 instance of the plural (6.683), and 5 of the cognate adjective *fortunatus* (1.437; 6.639; 9.446; 11.252, 416). In addition to *fatum/a* and *F/fortuna*, *sors/sortes* has a meaning related to fate 13 times (including one instance of the verb *sortitur*: 3.376), and *Parcae* appears 8 times.

¹⁵ *Passim*, e.g. 1.628–29; 2.79, 385; 3.53, 251–52; 4.109; 5.356, 604, 625; 8.15–16, 127–28, 333–35, 578; 9.214, 282; 10.284, 435–36; 11.43, 425–27; 12.147.

¹⁶ e.g. 2.387–88; 4.603; 5.22–23; 6.95–97; 10.49; 11.128; 12.405, 677.

¹⁷ Especially of Troy (3.16; 6.62; 7.243) and the Trojans (3.493), but also of e.g. Dido (4.434), Aeneas (6.95–97), the town Ardea (7.413) and each individual human (10.107–12).

¹⁸ See n.4 above.

¹⁹ See Reid (1874) *ad loc.*

(“... and this force [all-pervading reason] they say is the **soul of the world**, and is also **perfect intelligence and wisdom**, which they entitle **God** ... and this force they also sometimes call **Necessity**, because nothing can happen otherwise than has been ordained by it under a fated and unchangeable concatenation of everlasting order; although they sometimes also term it *fortuna*, because many of its operations are unforeseen and unexpected by us on account of their obscurity and our ignorance of causes”. – trans. Rackham, 2014).

In this portion of book 1 of the *Academica*, Cicero's speaker Varro gives an account of the philosophy of the Old Academy, and defends this, following Antiochus, against what he sees as the innovations of the New Academy.²⁰ Despite not ostensibly being a Stoic text, this section draws on Stoic themes.²¹ Particularly recognisable is the Stoic conception of the universal *deus*, which was equated in identity statements with fate and reason.²² In this passage, we are told that the soul of the world may also be called “God”, “Wisdom” or “Necessity” etc, and it looks as though Cicero is suggesting that *fortuna* is yet another term that can be used to refer to this nexus of concepts integral to Stoic fate and cosmology.

However, closer analysis reveals that things are more complicated. *fortuna* is defined as a force which brings about things that are unexpected or unforeseen because their causes are either unknown or hidden. This description is strongly reminiscent of the Stoic Chrysippus' explanation of τύχη (“chance”) as an *αἰτία ἄδηλος* (cf. Cicero's *obscuritatem ... causarum*).²³ The sources suggest that this explanation was in response to a specific criticism of the Stoic theory of universal causal determinism: how can it explain random or chance events, that do not seem to have a cause? This is a serious objection: belief in chance “and in an all-encompassing determinism of the Stoic variety are mutually exclusive”.²⁴ Chrysippus responded by re-characterizing

²⁰ Academics generally should be taken to be the subject of *dicunt*.

²¹ Reid (1874) *ad loc*, for example, comments that “the whole of this section is so undilutely Stoic that one can only marvel how Antiochus tried to harmonize it with the teaching of the earlier Platonists and Aristotelians”.

²² See n.11 above.

²³ Reid (1874) *ad loc*. also notes the connection between Cicero's definition of *fortuna* and Chrysippus' explanation of τύχη. Dyck (1996) *ad* 1.115–21: “the Stoa explained fortune as a construct that covered human ignorance of causal relations”. The Stoics may have shared this definition with earlier philosophers, including Aristotle (*e.g. Ph.* 196b5), which helps to explain its presence in the *Academica*. See especially *SVF* 2.965–67; 971; 973. For the Chrysippean origin of the explanation of τύχη as an *αἰτία ἄδηλος*, see especially *SVF* 2.973: *ταυτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς γνωριμοτάτοις ἐστὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ [= Chrysippus] πολλακίς εἰρημένων*. However, *SVF* 2.965 (*οὐχ ὑπὸ πρώτων νομισθῆναι τῶν Στωϊκῶν, ὡς τινες οἴονται*) might suggest otherwise: though there is then a case to be made that Chrysippus would not be counted amongst the “first” founders of the School.

²⁴ Dyck, 1996, *ad* 1.115–21. This explains why, elsewhere, Cicero uses the existence of *fortuna* as an argument against universal causal determinism (*Div.* 2.19): *Si enim nihil fieri potest, nihil accidere, nihil evenire, nisi quod ab omni aeternitate certum fuerit esse futurum rato tempore, quae potest esse fortuna?* (“For if nothing can happen, nothing befall, nothing come to pass, except what has been determined from all eternity as bound to happen at a fixed time, how can there be such a thing as *fortuna*?” – trans. Falconer, 2014).

τύχη as an αἰτία, and thus maintaining the central tenet that everything happens through antecedent causes.²⁵ Though they may seem causeless, random events attributed to τύχη are in fact simply events whose causes humans do not and cannot understand. Crucially, this was not an admission that chance or causeless events existed, but rather an explanation for why people think they exist (Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Fate* 179.6 = *SVF* 2.967):

τὸ δὲ λέγειν τὴν τύχην αἰτίαν ἄδηλον ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ οὐκ ἔστι φύσιν τινὰ τύχης τιθεμένων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὰ αἰτία ποιᾶ σχέσει τὴν τύχην εἶναι λεγόντων.

(“To say that luck is ‘a cause obscure to human reasoning’ is not [the assertion] of those who are laying down some [real] nature that luck has, but of those who are saying that luck consists in men’s being in a certain state in relation to the causes”. – trans. Sharples, 1983, who here translates τύχη as “luck”).

Returning to the original passage from the *Academica*: it is now clear that, instead of claiming that *fortuna* is another word for fate, Cicero’s speaker is here explaining that the attribution of *fortuna* to an event is simply a symptom of human ignorance: *fortuna* is what we call fate when we fail to understand it. Accordingly, Cicero also uses *fortuna* as a translation for Chrysippean τύχη at *Top.* 63:²⁶

Cum enim nihil sine causa fiat, hoc ipsum est fortunae eventus, obscura causa quae latenter efficitur.

(“For since nothing happens without cause, this is exactly what *fortuna* is, an event which is the result of an **obscure and unseen cause**”. – trans. Hubbell, 2014).

This might already help to explain a certain aspect of Virgil’s usage of the word in the *Aeneid*. For it is overwhelmingly used in direct speech or “character text”:²⁷ to represent the viewpoint

²⁵ The view that everything happens by fate through antecedent causes is repeatedly attributed to Chrysippus in the *De Fato*. Chrysippus distinguished between different types of antecedent cause (*Fat.* 41): ‘*Causarum enim, [Chrysippus] inquit, aliae sunt perfectae et principales, aliae adiuvantes et proximae; quam ob rem cum dicimus omnia fato fieri causis antecedentibus, non hoc intellegi volumus, causis perfectis et principalibus, sed causis adiuvantibus et proximis.*’ (“Some causes’, he says, ‘are perfect and principal, others auxiliary and proximate. Hence when we say that everything takes place by fate owing to antecedent causes, what we wish to be understood is not perfect and principal causes but auxiliary and proximate causes” - trans. Rackham & Sutton, 1948).

²⁶ The presence of this passage in Cicero’s *Topica*, closely modelled on Aristotle’s *Topica*, again suggests that the Stoics may have shared this explanation of *fortuna* / τύχη as an αἰτία ἄδηλος with Peripatetics. See n.23 above.

²⁷ My use of “character text” follows de Jong (1987). The examples at 1.454, 517; 8.15; 9.41, 723 and 11.761, whilst not direct speech, seem clearly to represent the question or perspective of a character.

of a character rather than that of the (omniscient?) narrator.²⁸ The authorial voice only utters *fortuna* 8 times;²⁹ other characters do so 63 times. Indeed, in the instances in which the narrator uses *fortuna*, it is only appealed to as a force over the narrative and events in 3 cases within the entire epic: the burning of the ships (5.604),³⁰ the deaths of Pallas and Lausus (10.435),³¹ and Amata's suicide (12.593).³²

Characters that appeal to or reference *fortuna* thereby signify their belief that things could or might turn out differently. This belief is tantamount to an ignorance of *fatum/a* – of what must happen within the poem and Rome's history. Dido, for example, makes frequent reference to *fortuna* (4.433–34, 603, 652).³³

*'Tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori
dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.'*

(“I seek empty time, some respite and space for my passion, until my *fortuna* teaches me to grieve, defeated”).

'Verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna.'

(“But the *fortuna* of the fight could have gone either way”).

'vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi.'

(“I have lived, and completed the course which *fortuna* gave me”).

²⁸ Contrast *e.g.* how the narrator's voice emphasizes the role of *fatum* in the opening lines of the poem (1.2: *fato*).

²⁹ *F/fortuna* at 5.604; 6.683; 7.413; 10.435; 12.593, 920; *fortunatus* at 6.639; 9.446.

³⁰ I will discuss this episode in *iii* below.

³¹ In an interesting parallel, one of only 2 references to *Fortuna* in Augustus' *Res Gestae* designates it as the force responsible for the deaths of his adoptive heirs Gaius and Lucius (14: *filios meos, quos iuvenes mihi eripuit Fortuna, Gaium et Lucium Caesares*). *Fortuna* particularly characterizes Pallas' story: Evander hopes that *Fortuna* will not kill his son (8.572), and Aeneas begrudges *Fortuna's* role in both Pallas' short-lived military success and his death (11.42–44). Attributing sad or negative events to *Fortuna* may have been a technique by which to alienate them from the supposedly positive teleology of fate or providence: *Fortuna* appears fairly frequently in sepulchral inscriptions. Marcellus' death is, on the other hand, attributed to *fata* (6.868–70, 882–83), though this may be because it is referenced within Anchises' prophecy (6.759: *'te tua fata docebo'*), rather than by characters who only have an imperfect knowledge of fate.

³² It is particularly strange to assert that a suicide is a chance occurrence. Amata is, like Dido, called *infelix* (12.598) and *moritura* (12.602), which additionally undercuts the sense that her death is random, by foreshadowing it. Perhaps this use of *Fortuna* also constitutes “character text”, representing the viewpoint of the Latins when they receive news of her death.

³³ In support of my suggestion in n.31 above about the sepulchral associations of *Fortuna*, 4.652 has been found quoted on epitaphs (*e.g.* *CIL* 15, 316.1–2).

The narrator, however, describes her as *fati nescia* (1.299). Likewise, Virgil underlines that Turnus, whose speech to the Latins in book 11 constitutes the densest usage of *fortuna* in the whole poem,³⁴ and who utters the proverbial *audentis Fortuna iuvat* (10.284),³⁵ is ignorant and deluded about fate (10.501–04):³⁶

*Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae
et servare modum rebus sublata secundis!
Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
intactum Pallanta.*

(“The mind of men is **ignorant of fate** and of their future lot, and does not know how to preserve moderation when it is raised high by favourable events. There will come a time when Turnus will have wished that he hadn’t touched Pallas, and had ransomed him for a great price”).

This use of *fortuna*, explicated by the Stoic (and Aristotelian) definition of *fortuna* as a false label for unexplained occurrences, is therefore part of the poetic technique that brings out the poignant disjunction between human and cosmic or authorial perspectives in the poem: human characters think that things might turn out differently, whereas the narrator knows that they will not.

More broadly, that is outside of contexts that particularly discuss fate and Stoicism, Cicero admits the existence of *fortuna* (i.e. “chance”) in his philosophical works.³⁷ However, it (or she) is not cast in a positive light.³⁸ Accordingly, for Cicero, the man who relies on *fortuna* is making a mistake and will fail to be happy (*Para. Stoic.* 2.17):³⁹

³⁴ 11.378–444. Turnus references *fortuna* at 413, 416 and 425–27.

³⁵ *fortes Fortuna iuvat* (no. 144 in Otto, 1890); *fortibus est fortuna viris data* (Enn. *Ann.* fr. 233 Skutsch).

³⁶ See also 9.133–38.

³⁷ e.g. Cic. *Off.* 2.44, *aliquo casu atque fortuna*, or *Fin.* 2.89, where *fortuna* glosses *casu* earlier. See also Cic. *Marc.* 7, where *fortuna* is linked with *temeritas* and *casus*, all of which are set in opposition to *sapientia* and *consilium*.

³⁸ e.g. Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.61 (on Stoic deified abstractions being ridiculous): *Quo in genere vel maxime est Fortuna numeranda, quam nemo ab inconstantia et temeritate seiumget, quae digna certe non sunt deo* (“*Fortuna* has a very strong claim to be counted in this list, and nobody will dissociate *fortuna* from inconstancy and haphazard action, which are certainly unworthy of a deity” - trans. Rackham, 2014); Cic. *Div.* 2.18: *Nibil enim est tam contrarium rationi et constantiae quam fortuna* (“Surely nothing is so at variance with reason and stability as *fortuna*” - trans. Falconer, 2014).

³⁹ Publilius Syrus records the following proverb (*Sententiae* 711): *Virtuti melius quam fortunae creditur*. We find something similar in Lucretius, when he tries to eradicate the fear of death by arguing that being alive is more worrisome because we are subject to chance and fortune (3.1085–86): *posteraque in dubios fortunam quam vebat aetas, / quidve ferat nobis casus quive exitus instet* (“and it is uncertain what *fortuna* the next years may bring, what chance has in store, what end awaits us” - trans. Rouse, 2014).

Nemo potest non beatissimus esse qui est totus aptus ex sese, quique in se uno sua ponit omnia; cui spes omnis et ratio et cogitatio pendet ex fortuna, huic nihil potest esse certi, nihil quod exploratum habeat permansurum sibi unum diem.

“No one can fail to be supremely happy who relies solely on himself and who places all his possessions within himself alone; whereas he whose hope and purpose and thought hang entirely on fortune can have nothing certain, nothing that he is assured will remain with him for a single day”. – trans. Rackham & Sutton, 1948).

As the opposition in this passage suggests, the wise man or philosopher should instead strive to be self-sufficient, without the need of chance or good luck, and immune to any catastrophes that *fortuna* may bring.⁴⁰

Again, this helps to explain the association of *fortuna* with certain characters rather than others in the *Aeneid*. Nisus and Euryalus, for example, make the mistake of embarking on a mission that will only succeed if they are lucky (9.280–03):⁴¹

Contra quem talia fatur
Euryalus: 'Me nulla dies tam fortibus ausis
dissimilem arguerit; tantum fortuna secunda
haud adversa cadat.'

“In response to him Euryalus said the following: ‘May no day prove me unequal to such daring undertakings: only let *fortuna* turn out favourable, not hostile’”).

Their subsequent death underscores that “chancing it” in life-threatening, military situations is ill-advised. These lines also make clear that *fortuna* can be both good (*secunda*) and bad (*adversa*). I would suggest that both senses are inherent in Virgil’s use of the adjective *fortunatus* in his final apostrophe to the pair (9.446–49):⁴²

Fortunati ambo! Si quid mea carmina possunt,
nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet aevo,
dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

⁴⁰ See also Cic. *Tusc.* 5.17, 19; *Fin.* 4.17.

⁴¹ See also 9.214, 240.

⁴² Note that usually only the positive sense is stressed. See *OLD s.v.*

(“Fortunate pair! If my poems have any force, there will never be a day which removes you from the remembrance of the ages, as long as the household of Aeneas will dwell by the immovable rock of the Capitol, and a Roman father holds power”).

fortunati glosses Nisus and Euryalus’ reliance of *F/fortuna* in life, as well as their misfortune in death. It also, ironically, describes their good fortune to have secured through this death a place in poetry which may ensure that they are remembered for eternity.⁴³

In contrast, whereas Aeneas invoked *F/fortuna* regularly during the fall of Troy,⁴⁴ in the course of the epic he is increasingly distanced from it. By book 6, he can say to the Sibyl (6.103–05):

*Non ulla laborum
o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit;
omnia praecipi atque animo mecum ante peregi.*

(“No unknown or unexpected form of difficulty rises before me, o priestess: I have **anticipated** everything, and gone through it all in my mind in advance”).

Instead of leaving anything up to chance, he has thought ahead. As Bowra (1933, 15) notes, he thus fulfils Cicero’s criterion for a “brave and resolute man”, *fortis vero animi et constantis* (Cic. *Off.* 1.81):

Quamquam hoc animi, illud etiam ingenii magni est, praecipere cogitatione futura et aliquanto ante constituere, quid accidere possit in utramque partem, et quid agendum sit, cum quid evenerit, nec committere ut aliquando dicendum sit: ‘non putaram.’

(“Now all this requires great personal courage; but it calls also for great intellectual ability by reflection to **anticipate** the future, to discover some time in advance what may

⁴³ Leigh (1997) 67 makes a different but comparable comment about the *fortuna* of Julius Caesar in Lucan: “this episode (4.256) is marked by the bitter ironies of *fortuna*. Caesar when winning the civil war was never so lucky as when he won the judgement of posterity”. Cf. Virgil’s use of *fortunatus* in his description of Elysium (6.638–39): *devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta / fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas*. Like Nisus and Euryalus, the souls in Elysium experience misfortune in that they have died, but are also fortunate because of the honour they are given after death.

⁴⁴ 2.350, 385, 656. Note that at 6.62–64 he also relegates Troy’s *fortuna* to the past: *hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta; / vos quoque Pergameae iam fas et parcere genti, / dique deaeque omnes*. (“Let Trojan *fortuna* have followed us this far; but now it is also right for you spare the people of Pergamum, all you gods and goddesses”). Bowra (1933) also uses a philosophical perspective to argue that Aeneas develops and makes progress towards *virtus* throughout the poem.

happen whether for good or for ill, and what must be done in any possible event, and never to be reduced to having to say ‘I had not thought of that’’. – trans. Miller, 2014).

This kind of preparation and virtuous forward planning minimizes the threat posed by the unexpected and therefore the influence of *F/fortuna*.

Likewise, in book 12, the following are Aeneas' parting words to his son Ascanius before he re-enters the fight (435–36):

*Disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
fortunam ex aliis.*

(“Learn from me, son, virtue and true hardship, learn *fortuna* from others”).

fortuna, as explained above, can be good or bad. Aeneas' words here are usually understood as a wish that his son learns good *fortuna* from others, implying that Aeneas himself has not experienced this.⁴⁵ This reading is supported by comparison with the lines of Sophocles' *Ajax*, one of Virgil's models for this scene, in which Ajax addresses his son before committing suicide (550–01):

ὦ παῖ, γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὁμοῖος.

(“Boy, may you be **luckier** than your father, but in all other ways resemble him!” – trans. Lloyd-Jones, 1994–96).

Virgil's *fortuna* mirrors Sophocles' εὐτυχέστερος, and therefore seems to reference good *fortuna* rather than bad. However, given the alienation of *fortuna* from the wise and virtuous man in Cicero's philosophical texts, I would also suggest that Aeneas' advice constitutes a more general distancing of *fortuna* from his lineage and the project of founding Rome.

Turnus, on the other hand, fatally follows *fortuna* until the bitter end (12.676–77):

*Iam iam fata, soror, superant, absiste morari;
quo deus et quo dura vocat Fortuna sequamur.*

(“Now, sister, now the fates have the upper hand – stop your attempts at delay. Where the god and unyielding *Fortuna* call us, let us follow”).

⁴⁵ Tarrant (2012) *ad loc.* accordingly notes: “V. takes a considerable risk in having A. complain of bad luck immediately after being saved yet again by his mother”.

The negative attitude to *fortuna* in Cicero's philosophical writing, coupled with the contrast drawn between the idealized self-sufficiency and stability of virtue and the uncertainty and risk of relying on chance, therefore provides a backdrop against which the reader can chart Aeneas' progress vs the mistakes of other characters, and can learn which traits will contribute profitably to the Roman mission.

ii. *Fortuna* in religion

Fortuna, unlike *fatum/a*, was personified in traditional Roman religion, and was a popular goddess with several cult titles.⁴⁶ Indeed, it may be partly due to the various and long-standing religious associations of *Fortuna* that the word seemed apt to describe the irrational, un-philosophical force of random chance discussed above: religion was increasingly set in opposition to *ratio* and philosophy in 1st century BC literature.⁴⁷

Fortuna's religious associations link her with fate in the sense of prophecy: she was an oracular goddess. However, they also suggest other equally strong associations. I will now explain two of these, *Fortuna's* connection with women and with sailors / sea-travel, in order to lay the ground for my concluding analysis of *F/fortuna* vs *fatum/a* in book 5.

Fortuna is linked in a number of ways to femininity. Her cult titles make clear that, beyond simply being a female goddess, she was particularly associated with women.⁴⁸ Cicero describes *Fortuna Primigenia* as primarily a "companion in childbirth" (*gignendo comes*, *Leg.* 2.28), who was worshipped by mothers (*castissime colitur a matribus*, *Div.* 2.85) and makes reference to a cult statue before *Fortuna's* shrine at Praeneste, featuring a young Jupiter who suckled, along with his sister, at the breast of *Fortuna* (*ibid*). An inscription found at the site additionally suggests that women would pray to the goddess in the hope of children.⁴⁹ It seems that *Fortuna Virilis* (*Ov. Fast.* 4.133–64), *Muliebris* (*Livy* 2.40.1–12) and *Virgo / Virginalis* were also all the objects of female worship.⁵⁰ Indeed, *Livy* writes that the temple of *Fortuna Muliebris* was built as a monument to the women who helped to avert *Coriolanus's* siege of

⁴⁶ Weinstock (1971) 112 n.8 even goes so far as to say that "no other deity, perhaps not even Jupiter, had as many dedications and shrines at Rome as she had". *Cic. Leg.* 2.28 numbers several of her popular titles. Though *fatum/a* are not personified, the *Parcae* are personified goddesses with control over fate. See n.14 above.

⁴⁷ Especially in Epicurean texts: *Lucr.* 1.62–79, 107–09; *Cic. Nat. D.* 1.115, 118. The Stoics also, however, opposed the two by distancing "true religion" from irrational superstition: *Cic. Nat. D.* 2.71. Cf. *Virg. Geo.* 2.490–04; *Hor. Carm.* 1.34 – in each case *fortuna* is sided with religion against philosophy. See *Brunt* (1989) for further discussion.

⁴⁸ See *Warde-Fowler* (1914) 64; *Graf* (2006). See also *Ovid's* account of *Fortuna* in the *Fasti* (6.569–636). *Ovid* strongly associates her with women and positions his description of her next to his account of *Mater Matuta* (*Fast.* 6.473–568).

⁴⁹ *CIL* 1, 60.

⁵⁰ See also *Graf* (2006).

Rome in the 5th century B.C. In addition, the ancient temple to *Fortuna* in the *Forum Boarium* was contiguous with that of *Mater Matuta*,⁵¹ and both shared the same day of dedication: the *Matralia* on 11 June.⁵²

Both the shrine of *Fortuna* at Praeneste and that at Antium combine these female associations with prophecy. Cicero (*Div.* 2.85–87) tells us that at the ancient shrine in Praeneste a specially appointed *puer* would give prophecies by retrieving carved lots kept in a chest.⁵³ Likewise, Martial references *veridicae sorores* (5.1.3) at the shrine in Antium.⁵⁴ Moreover, repeated wordplay in literary sources suggests that there was at least a popular belief that *F/fortuna* was etymologically related to *ferre*.⁵⁵ This may strengthen the link between femininity and prophecy: *ferre* can also be used of childbirth, so perhaps *Fortuna*'s predictions traditionally related in particular to the new-born child.⁵⁶

It follows that, contrary to the suggestions of some scholars,⁵⁷ when Virgil uses *F/fortuna* with reference to fate or prophecy, he is activating a religious rather than philosophical meaning. Consider the following passage, in which Evander explains to Aeneas how he ended up in Pallanteum (8.333–36):

*Me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum*

⁵¹ See Livy 25.7; 33.27; Platner & Ashby (2002) 330–01; Littlewood (2006) 147–48: “the two Republican temples in the *Forum Boarium*, dedicated to *Fortuna* and *Mater Matuta*, formed a similar complex dedicated to the cycle of women’s cult. *Fortuna* presided over a woman’s passage from virginity to fecundity in the early weeks of marriage, while *Mater Matuta*, a kourtophros goddess, was responsible for the care of children entrusted to women who were not their natural mothers”.

⁵² Ov. *Fast.* 6.569 (part of his discussion of the *Mater Matuta* and the *Matralia*): *Lux eadem, Fortuna, tua est auctorque locusque*.

⁵³ Strabo (5.11) also calls the shrine χρηστηριάζων (“a seat of oracles”), and Tiberius was said to have been terrified *maiestate Praenestinarum sortium* (“by the majesty of the lots at Praeneste”, Suet. *Tib.* 63).

⁵⁴ Suetonius records the *Fortunae Antiatinae* giving Caligula prophetic advice (*Calig.* 57). See also *CIL* 10, 6555, which is a dedication to the two goddesses. Note, however, that Horace addresses *Fortuna* at Antium as one goddess, and does not mention her prophetic role (*Carm.* 1.35).

⁵⁵ The frequency of placements of *F/fortuna* and cognates next to forms of *ferre* in Latin poetry suggests this was thought to be etymological as well as alliterative wordplay. Cf. Enn. fr. 186 Skutsch: *quidve ferat Fors*; Lucr. 3.983: *casumque timent quem cuique ferat fors*; 3.1085–86: *posteraque in dubios fortunam quam vehat aetas, / quidve ferat nobis casus quive exitus instet*; 5.960–61: *Quod cuique obtulerat praedae fortuna, ferebat / sponte sua sibi quisque*; Catull. 64.222: *nec te ferre sinam fortunae signa secundae*; Virg. *Ecl.* 6.57–58: *si qua forte ferant oculis sese obvia nostris / errabunda bovis vestigia; forsitan illum ...*; and numerous examples from the *Aeneid*, e.g. 5.356: *ni me, quae Salium, fortuna inimica tulisset?*; 5.710: *quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est*; 10.111–12: *Sua cuique exorsa laborem / fortunamque ferent*; 11.345: *quid fortuna ferat populi*. An etymological link between *ferre* and *fortuna* is further suggested by Bailey (1935) 23; Canter (1922) 65 and n.1; Kajanto (1957) 13. Maltby (1991) references Lydus, *Mens.* 4.7: Φορτοῦναν ... ἀπὸ τῆς φορᾶς ἐμπερῶς ὀνομάσαντες; *ibid.* 4.100: Φορτοῦναν λέγουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπὸ τῆς φορᾶς.

⁵⁶ This is also suggested by Bailey (1935) 235.

⁵⁷ e.g. Edwards (1960) 153 n.5 and Quint (1993) 93, who claim that *fatum* and *F/fortuna* were equated by Stoics. See n.4 above.

*his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda
Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo.*

(“When I had been expelled from my fatherland, and was chasing the edges of the ocean, all-powerful *Fortuna* and unavoidable *fatum* set me in this place; the fearsome warnings of my mother, the nymph Carmentis, and the founder god Apollo forced me here”).

Evander claims that *Fortuna* and *fatum*, along with Carmentis and Apollo, forced him to settle in this part of Latium. Servius argues that Evander’s use of *Fortuna* here is Stoic (*ad Aen.* 8.334):⁵⁸

Secundum Stoicos locutus est, qui nasci et mori fatis dant, media omnia fortunae: nam vitae humanae incerta sunt omnia. Unde et miscuit, ut quasi plenum ostenderet dogma: nam nihil tam contrarium est fato quam casus; sed secundum Stoicos dixit.

(“**He spoke following the Stoics**, who attribute birth and death to the fates, and everything in between to *fortuna*: for all of human life is uncertain. That’s why [Virgil] has combined [*fatum* and *fortuna*], so that he could show, as it were, the whole doctrine: for nothing is so opposed to *fatum* as chance; **but he spoke following the Stoics**”).

We saw above that, when *fortuna* appears in discussions of fate and Stoicism, it is as a translation for τύχη in Stoic sources, and should be taken to mean “chance”, a force which does not exist according to Stoic philosophy. Attributing events to *fortuna* therefore demonstrates ignorance of causation and fate, rather than the existence of chance: Servius perhaps intends his comment *nihil tam contrarium est fato quam casus* to clarify that *fortuna* cannot mean “chance” here, as that would be incompatible with Stoicism. However, it is not clear how Servius’ Stoic reading works with the description of *Fortuna* here as *omnipotens*, or how it helps our understanding of Evander’s words. I would therefore suggest a different argument from Servius, which draws on *Fortuna*’s religious associations with women and maternity. Carmentis was an ancient Roman goddess who, like *Fortuna*, had prophetic powers and was associated with childbirth.⁵⁹ This connection is strengthened by the fact that, in the *Fasti*, Ovid weaves Carmentis into his account of the *Matralia*, which, as noted above, was the day dedicated

⁵⁸ This is perhaps one of the comments responsible for scholarly confusion about the meanings of *fatum* and *fortuna* in Stoicism: see n.57 above; n.4 above.

⁵⁹ *Ov. Fast.* 1.461–586. See also Wissowa (1902) 200–01; Gransden (1976) *ad* 8.334.

both to *Mater Matuta* and to *Fortuna* (*Fast.* 6.525–36).⁶⁰ Considering that the male Apollo is associated with *fatum/a* rather than *F/fortuna* throughout the *Aeneid*, perhaps 8.335–36 could be viewed as a repetition and expansion of the ideas in 8.334: Evander's reference to the *Carmentis nymphae monita* could work as a fuller expression of his earlier mention of *Fortuna*.

Fortuna's power also extended in particular over the sea. She is commonly portrayed in the iconography of the triumviral period and empire with a rudder (see e.g. *RIC* 2, 699 = fig. 1; *RRC* 516/1 = fig. 2). Matthews suggests that the coin minted by P. Sepullius Macer in 44 BC (*RRC* 480/25) is amongst the first instances of such a portrayal, and postulates a link between the emergence of this iconography and one of the most famous examples of Julius Caesar's relationship with *F/fortuna*.⁶¹ Caesar is said to have snuck into a small fishing boat to cross the Adriatic. When he reveals himself, according to Plutarch, he tells the fisherman not to worry about their crossing – Plutarch here uses *Τύχη* as a Greek translation of *F/fortuna* (*De Fort. Rom.* 319C-D):⁶²

‘γενναῖε, τόλμα καὶ δέδιθι μηδέν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιδίδου τῇ **Τύχῃ** τὰ ἰστία καὶ δέχου τὸ πνεῦμα, πιστεῦων ὅτι Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος **Τύχην**’.

(“Go on, good sir, be brave and fear nothing! But entrust your sails to **Fortune** and receive her breeze, confident because you bear Caesar and Caesar's **Fortune**” – trans. Babbitt, 2014).



FIG. 1: *RIC* 2, 699. Aureus of Vespasian, 74 AD. Laureate head of Vespasian on obverse; *Fortuna* standing on a pediment decorated with a ram's head, and holding a rudder and cornucopia on reverse. © Trustees of the British Museum.

⁶⁰ Littlewood (2006) ad 6.603 connects *Carmentis*, *Fortuna* and *Mater Matuta*: “the two *Carmentis* celebrations in *Fasti* 1 show *Carmentis* first as a prophetic goddess and second as a kourotrophos, while in *Fasti* 6 the cult of *Mater Matuta*, the kourotrophos, precedes that of *Fortuna*, who is associated with prophecy”.

⁶¹ Matthews (2012) 84, 78 n.254.

⁶² See also Weinstock (1971) 121–27; Ahl (1976) 295 n.41: “Plutarch selects Caesar's attempt to cross the Adriatic as an example of his *fortuna*”.



FIG. 2: RRC 516/1. Aureus of Mark Antony, 41 BC. Head of M. Antonius on obverse; *Fortuna* standing holding a rudder and cornucopia with a stork at her feet on reverse. © Trustees of the British Museum.

Weinstock relates the alleged historical occurrence of this event to Horace's description, probably following Pindar's portrayal of Τύχη (*Ol.* 12), of *Fortuna* as a goddess for seafarers (*Carm.* 1.35.1–8):⁶³

*O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
praesens vel imo tollere de gradu
mortale corpus vel superbos
vertere funeribus triumphos,
te pauper ambit sollicita prece
ruris colonus, te dominam aequoris
quicumque Bythyna lacessit
Carpathium pelagus carina.*

(“O goddess, **you who reign over your favourite Antium**, ready at hand to raise mortal flesh from the lowest level or to turn an arrogant triumph into a funeral cortege, your support is sought with anxious prayers by the poor tenant farmer, **and, as you are mistress of the deep, by whoever provokes the Carpathian Sea in a Bithynian boat**”. – trans. Rudd, 2004).

Indeed, this poem is particularly addressed to *Fortuna* at Antium, and Antium was a port.

⁶³ Weinstock (1971) 126: “This is the first explicit evidence that *Fortuna*, even if only the *Fortuna* of Antium, was the goddess of seafarers. She comes from the Pindaric model, where Tyche as Σώτραρα sits at the ship’s helm”. This assertion of primacy may not be right if Matthews’s suggestion about the coin of 44 BC is valid.

iii. *F/fortuna* in book 5

F/fortuna plays a prominent role in book 5 of the *Aeneid*. To conclude this paper, I will offer an extended analysis of this book, to illustrate how awareness of the philosophical distinction between *fortuna* and *fatum/a*, and sensitivity to the especial importance of *Fortuna* to women and sailors in Roman religion and culture, can clarify the meaning and function of *fortuna* and *fatum/a* in the *Aeneid*.

As the Trojan fleet leaves Carthage, the sky darkens with storm-clouds, and the worried helmsman Palinurus advises Aeneas that they should divert their course from Italy (17–25):

*Magnanime Aeneas, non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor
spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.
Mutati transversa fremunt et vespere ab atro
consurgunt venti, atque in nubem cogitur aer.
Nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum
sufficimus. Superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,
quoque vocat vertamus iter. Nec litora longe
fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos.*

(“Great-hearted Aeneas, not, even if father Jupiter were to promise it to me, would I hope to reach Italy under a sky like this. The winds are changed; they roar at cross purposes, rising up together from the darkening west, and the air is compressed into cloud. **We have the strength neither to struggle against them, nor even to direct our course. Since *Fortuna* has the upper-hand, let us follow her, and direct our journey where she calls.** Not far from here are the shores, I think, of Eryx, that are loyal to us and belong to your brother, and the Sicilian ports”).

Palinurus stresses the adverse weather conditions, and claims that the Trojans do not have the strength to struggle against them. Like Dido less than a hundred lines earlier (4.653, see above), he advocates following the path that *Fortuna* has given by returning to Sicily. Aeneas agrees. The marine associations of *Fortuna* discussed above make it fitting that Palinurus, a seaman, should invoke *Fortuna* here as a power over the sea.

Once they have landed on Sicily, Aeneas arranges funeral games for his father Anchises. It is during these that *Fortuna* reappears. Firstly, in association with Nisus and Euryalus during the footrace.⁶⁴ This episode is an important forerunner to the role of *F/fortuna* in these characters’

⁶⁴ At 353–56, Nisus claims that he and Salius were tripped up by *fortuna inimica*. Though Nisus in fact tripped up Salius on purpose, the role of *F/fortuna* during the footrace is suggested by *infelix, forte* (both 529) and *casus* (350).

death in book 9: as in the case of Dido and Turnus, the “losers”⁶⁵ of the epic are consistently associated with *F/fortuna* rather than *fatum/a*. Secondly, *F/fortuna* pervades the events surrounding the Trojan women’s deciding in desperation to burn the ships. Virgil introduces this episode with one of the rare authorial, rather than character, appeals to *F/fortuna* as a power over the narrative and events (604–08):

*Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.
Dum variis tumulto referunt sollemnia ludis,
Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
Iliacam ad classem ventosque aspirat eunti,
multa movens necdum antiquum saturata dolorem.*

(“It was from this point first that **Fortuna changed**,⁶⁶ and shifted her loyalty. While the others were paying religious rites at the tomb through these various games, **Juno**, daughter of Saturn, sent **Iris** from the sky to the Trojan fleet, and blew winds behind her as she went, stirring up many things, her age-old grievance not yet satisfied”).

Fortuna’s distinctive and proverbial changeability is stressed (*mutata*).⁶⁷ Moreover, not only is she a female goddess, but her agents here are all female: Juno, Iris and, as we will soon find out, the Trojan women themselves.

Iris then, at Juno’s command, disguises herself as the elderly Beroe, and addresses the assembled Trojan women, inciting them to burn the fleet so that they will be forced to stay and settle on Sicily (623–25):

*‘O miserae, quas non manus’ inquit ‘Achaica bello
traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus! O gens
infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat?’*

(“‘O wretched women,’ she said ‘whom during the war the Achaean army didn’t drag to death beneath the walls of your homeland! O unfortunate race, for what destruction is *Fortuna* reserving you?’”)

⁶⁵ My phrasing follows Quint (1993) and Armstrong (2002).

⁶⁶ Otis (1963) 275–76 argues that Virgil’s emphasis on *Fortuna*’s sudden and surprising change is misleading, because the burning of the ships is no surprise, but rather fated, and foreshadowed in the text by the strange omen of Acestes’ flaming arrow (5.522–24).

⁶⁷ Cf. e.g. Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae* 431: *Levis est fortuna: cito reposcit quod dedit*; Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.2–4; Turnus at 11.425–27; Enn. fr. 258–60 Skutsch.

Iris / Beroe successfully appeals both to her female audience and to their particular fear of the sea by invoking *Fortuna* as a power over their destiny. The Trojan women seize torches and brands to set the ships alight.⁶⁸ Any hesitations they have (*primo ancipites*, 654), including concerns about *fata* (*fatis vocantia regna*, 656) are dispelled when Iris sheds her mortal disguise and departs, creating a rainbow (657–60) which is taken as a confirmatory omen.

When news of what the women have done reaches the men, Aeneas is distraught. His behaviour contrasts with Cicero's explanation of the wise and happy man, who ought to be immune to the potential benefits as well as the vicissitudes of *fortuna* (*Para. Stoic.* 2.17, quoted above). The following passage of the *Tusculanae Disputationes* provides further context for Virgil's portrayal of Aeneas here. Cicero is discussing grief, and whether or not it is an appropriate and / or natural response to misfortune. In doing so, he offers his own version of a passage of Sophocles (*Tusc.* 3.71):⁶⁹

*Nec vero tanta praeditus sapientia
quisquam est, qui aliorum aerumnam dictis adlevans
non idem, cum fortuna mutata impetum
convertat, clade subita frangatur sua,
ut illa ad alios dicta et praecepta excidant.*

(“And there is none of wisdom so possessed, who with mild words has soothed another's woes, but does not, **when a turn of fortune comes**, fall broken by his own calamity; so words, for others wise, his own needs fail” – trans. King, 1945).

Though a wise man may counsel others well in the face of misfortune, nevertheless, when his fortune changes (*fortuna mutata* – note the same wording as *Aen.* 5.604), he cannot take his own advice, and, the context suggests, is overcome by emotion. Is this true of Aeneas here? His dramatic behaviour and wish for death after the burning of the ships in book 5 is not that far removed from Dido's exasperation and suicide, even though he tried to counsel her to calm down (*desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis*?, 4.360; *quamquam lenire dolentem / solando cupit et dictis avertere curas*, 4.393–94 – note the similar wording to *aliorum aerumnam dictis adlevans* in Cicero). This reading suggests that Aeneas, by still being liable

⁶⁸ Both Servius and Cicero suggest that *incendia* as well as *naufragia* are events characteristic of *fortuna*: Cic. *Off.* 2.19; Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.653 (following Cicero?)

⁶⁹ The passage of Sophocles that Cicero is reworking here has been identified as fr. 576 Jebb, probably from the lost play *Teucer*. Pacuvius' Latin *Teucer* was also popular, and quoted by Cicero (e.g. *De Or.* 2.193). These words are directed at Oileus. The likely context is that, though Oileus comforted Telamon when Teucer announced the death of Telamon's son Ajax, he is nevertheless inconsolable when he hears of the death of his own son, Locrian Ajax. See Pearson (1917) 215.

to emotional turmoil and distress in the face of unexpected adversity, is yet to obtain *virtus* and *sapientia*.

In his turmoil, Aeneas prays to Jupiter to either put out the flames or kill him on the spot with a thunderbolt. Thankfully, the king of the gods immediately answers his prayers by sending rain. But Aeneas is still shaken, and contemplates abandoning his plan to make for Italy, until Nautes steps in with some advice (700–10):

*At pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo
nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas
mutabat versans, Siculisne resideret arvis
oblitus fatorum, Italiasne capesseret oras.
Tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas
quem docuit multaue insignem reddidit arte –
haec responsa dabat, vel quae portenderet ira
magna deum vel **quae fatorum posceret ordo**;
isque his Aenean solatus vocibus inquit:
'Nate dea, **quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur**;
quidquid erit, **superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est**.'*

(“But father Aeneas, shaken by this bitter misfortune, shifted the great worries in his heart now this way, now that, thinking over whether he should settle in the fields of Sicily, **having forgotten the fates**, or whether he should make for the shores of Italy. Then the elder Nautes, the only man whom Tritonian Pallas had taught and rendered eminent for his many skills – she used to give him answers either as to what the great anger of the gods portended or **what the order of the fates demanded** – he, having comforted Aeneas, spoke these words: ‘Son of the goddess, **let us follow where fata drag us back and forth**: whatever happens, **every fortuna must be overcome by endurance**”).

This passage shows that the intrusion of *F/fortuna*, the burning of the ships, has worked against *fatum/a*: Aeneas is tempted to forget his divinely ordained mission and settle in Sicily (*Siculisne resideret arvis / oblitus fatorum*). Nautes, on the other hand, is associated with *fatum/a* rather than *fortuna* (*responsa; fatorum ... ordo*), and introduces his practical suggestion that Aeneas should leave the women behind with a reminder that they should follow *fata*, and endure *fortuna*. This advice is subtly but crucially different from Palinurus’ at the opening of the book (17–25, above): where the helmsman advocated following *fortuna*, Nautes substitutes this with *fata* (*superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur*’ vs *quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur*’).

The significance of this becomes clearer when Aeneas, after further encouragement from a dream-vision of Anchises, finally sets sail once more for Italy. Virgil describes his departure as follows (774–78):

*Ipse caput tonsae foliis evinctus olivae
stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos
proicit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit.
Certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt;
prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis.*

(“He, head encircled with leaves shorn from an olive tree, holds a libation bowl, **standing** far out **on the prow**, and casts entrails into the salty waves and pours flowing wine. His comrades, trying to outdo each other, strike at the sea and tear up the ocean’s planes; a wind, rising from the stern, follows them as they go”).

Rowing against the current was associated with struggling against *fata* in the *Georgics* (1.199–203). However, now the Trojans’ efforts are in the right direction, and they are rowing accompanied by a favourable wind. The image of Aeneas standing high on the prow foreshadows the depiction of Augustus at Actium on his future shield (8.678–81):

*Hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis,
stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammis
laeta comunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.*

(“From this side comes Augustus Caesar, leading the Italians into battle with the senate and the people, the *penates* and the great gods, **standing high on the stern**. His glad temples are garlanded with two flames, and his father’s star appears at his head”).

Virgil therefore matches Aeneas’ imminent arrival in Italy with Augustus’ achievements at Actium, suggesting both have equal significance in securing Roman *fatum/a*.

Crucially, Aeneas’ alignment with fate and divine purpose as he finally sails towards Italy comes with the exclusion of *F/fortuna* from the Trojan / Roman mission.⁷⁰ For one, the feminine contingent, linked with *F/fortuna* and unpredictability, have now been left behind

⁷⁰ As noted above, this motif of the increasing exclusion of *F/fortuna* from the future of Rome pervades the poem. All of the characters most associated with *fortuna* die (e.g. Dido, Turnus, Nisus and Euryalus).

on Sicily.⁷¹ In addition, Aeneas loses his helmsman, Palinurus, who at the beginning of the book (17–24, above) was closely associated with *Fortuna* (857–63):

*Vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus,
et super incumbens cum puppis parte revulsa
cumque gubernaculo liquidas proiecit in undas
praecipitem ac socios nequiquam saepe vocantem;
ipse volans tenuis se sustulit ales ad auras.
Currit iter tutum non setius aequore classis.*

(“Scarcely had the slumber that he didn’t want relaxed the tips of his limbs. And [Sleep], leaning over him, together with a part of the stern that had been wrenched off and **together with the rudder** cast him forth into the flowing waves headfirst and calling often to his companions in vain. He [*i.e.* the god Sleep], a flying bird, lifted himself up into thin air. The fleet nevertheless continued to make a safe course on the ocean’s plane”).

Phrontis in the *Odyssey* and Tiphys in the *Argonautica* provide precedents for the death of a helmsman in epic poetry,⁷² but one of the ways that Virgil differentiates the case of Palinurus is by specifying that the rudder itself is lost along with its guide. The iconographic connection between the goddess *Fortuna* and the *gubernaculum* discussed above corroborates the symbolism suggested by Palinurus’ association with *Fortuna* earlier in the book. With rudder and helmsman gone, in place of the path proffered by *Fortuna*, Aeneas’ fleet is now following the course (*iter*) of *fatum/a* and divine purpose.⁷³

A passage of Cicero encourages a political reading of Palinurus’ death, and of the exclusion of *F/fortuna* from the Roman mission that it symbolizes. In a letter of 60 / 59 BC to his brother, Cicero informs Quintus that the latter’s proconsulship in the province of Asia has been extended for a third year. By way of encouragement, he describes how, unlike in other forms of public service such as generalship, for the *proconsul*, success can be guaranteed, because it depends on thought and application rather than *F/fortuna* (*Q. Fr.* 1.1.5–6):

⁷¹ With the notable exception of Euryalus’ mother. Mention of her in book 9 (283–86, 473–502) coincides with the destructive resurgence of *F/fortuna* in Nisus and Euryalus’ night mission.

⁷² Hom. *Od.* 3.276–83; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.851–63.

⁷³ For a complementary analysis that sidesteps observations about the religious significance of *F/fortuna*, and the symbolism of the rudder, see Nicoll (1988) 465: “It could be said, therefore, that one reason why Palinurus must die is that he is the embodiment of a way of life – following *Fortuna* – which may be adequate, perhaps inevitable, for the pilot at sea, but which will no longer be sufficient for Aeneas once he reaches Italy ... Aeneas’ further progress must be made on the basis of a knowledge of *fata* to be given him by his father (6.759: *te tua fata docebo*) – a surer guide than *Fortuna*”.

Nunc vero ea pars tibi rei publicae commissa est in qua aut nullam aut perexiguam partem Fortuna tenet et quae mihi tota in tua virtute ac moderatione animi posita esse videatur. Nullas, ut opinor, insidias hostium, nullam proeli dimicationem ... [etc.] pertimescimus; quae persaepe sapientissimis viris acciderunt, ut, quem ad modum gubernatores optimi vim tempestatis, sic illi impetum fortunae superare non possent. Tibi data est summa pax, summa tranquillitas, ita tamen ut ea dormientem gubernatorem vel obruere, vigilantem etiam delectare possit.

“But as matters stand, **Fortuna has no part, or only a very small part**, in the public responsibility which has been entrusted to you. **It seems to me to lie wholly in your own ability and discretion.** We do not, I think, have to fear a hostile ambushade or a pitched battle [etc.] ... such things have happened time and time again to very wise men; **they could not overcome Fortuna’s onset any more than the best of seamen can master a violent storm.** Your portion is perfect peace and calm; and **yet if the helmsman falls asleep he could go to the bottom in such weather**, while if he keeps wide awake he may actually enjoy it”. – trans. Shackleton Bailey, 2014).

Cicero here draws on the well-worn analogy between ship and state: *gubernator* of course means “helmsman” before it comes to mean “ruler” or “governor”. The absence of *F/fortuna* from a stable political situation creates such calm that a helmsman / governor might fall asleep and be knocked overboard – just like Palinurus. On the other hand, one who stays awake will enjoy the ride. This passage therefore suggests that both Palinurus’ death and Aeneas taking the (rudderless) helm at the end of book 5 have political significance (*ipse ratem ... rexit*, 5.868). Virgil encourages the reader to understand that Aeneas taking command of the fleet is symbolic of his strengthening leadership and resolve more generally, and to associate his assumption of control with a rejection of *F/fortuna*: the women, Palinurus and even the rudder were all identified closely with the uncertainty and danger of *F/fortuna*, and have all been left behind. The resultant sense of confident progress and accordance with *fatum/a* and divine purpose forms a fitting transition to book 6, when Aeneas’ fleet will finally reach Italy, and he will gain confirmation from Anchises of Roman *fata* (*‘te tua fata docebo’*, 6.759).

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