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Fama and Fiction in Vergil's Aeneid

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This and That

This chapter builds on the analysis of the mutually reliant poetics of *fama* and *pietas* in chapter 3's exploration of "matter out of place." Characters within the *Aeneid*'s story world, in their attempts to hew their lives into the shape of a dimly perceived divine order, are regularly called to translate a puzzling "that" into a newly meaningful "this," as *pietas* demands. Readers are invited to share in the processes of recognition and substitution required by *pietas*, working out "what properly goes with what" and in what sense "this" can be recognized or remembered as "that" in the narrative structure of the *Aeneid*.¹ But as we saw in chapter 3, tidying up—either materially or through figurative substitutions—means getting involved in disorder. The same process of recognition that enables readers and characters to grasp divine authority yields many of the anomalies that are fundamental to the shifting complexities of the poem's fictive knowledge.

Near the start of *Aeneid* 7, a boy's flippant remark turns a meal into an omen for the Trojans. After wolfing down the more obviously enticing food, they find themselves hungry enough

1. Burke 1934/1984, 74–75 and 1945/1969, 503.

to turn to the serving dishes, which happen to be made of wheat. At this point, Aeneas' son Iulus asks, rather frivolously, "Hey, are we eating even the tables?" (*heus, etiam mensas consumimus?* 7.116). This joke provides the clue to an enigma. Aeneas recognizes their meal as portentous and their picnic spot as the site of their new—yet ancestral—home: *hic domus, haec patria est* (7.122). Aeneas goes on to explain to his companions the mysteries of the fates (*fatorum arcana*, 7.122) that he says Anchises bequeathed him: "When, son, after sailing to unknown shores, hunger drives you, after the meal is eaten up, to consume tables, at that moment hope for homes in your weariness, and there remember to place your first roofs with your own hand and to build them up with a rampart" (*cum te, nate, fames ignota ad litora uectum / accisis coget dapibus consumere mensas, / tum sperare domos defessus, ibique memento / prima locare manu molirique aggere tecta*, 7.124–27). Aeneas has struck on a happy solution to a puzzle that he seems to have forgotten until Iulus' flippancy reminds him (*nunc repeto*, 7.123).

Readers of the poem, on the other hand, meet a fresh anomaly in Aeneas' newly recovered recollection of his father's words. We have a nagging memory of hearing from Aeneas on an earlier occasion the story of an extraordinarily similar, but much less heartening prophecy from Celaeno after the Trojans have been fighting off the Harpies, who make their anger felt at the Trojan cattle raid on the Strophades in Book 3. In Aeneas' earlier account, the Harpy Celaeno caps her sisters' punitive defilement of a stolen feast. She adds the verbal category confusion of a riddling prophecy to the material filth spread by the other Harpies: "You will go to Italy and you will be allowed to enter the port. But you will not surround with walls the city granted you until after cruel hunger and the wrong done us in our slaughter impel you to devour with your jaws tables that you've gnawed at" (*ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit. / sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem / quam uos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis / ambasas subigat malis absumere mensas*, 3.254–57).

This indigestible meal proclaims the endlessness of the Trojans' homeless wandering, even within Italy: eating tables seems hardly possible, and if it could be done at all, it would surely prove a distressing low point among the Trojans' many misfortunes. According to Aeneas' own narrative, Anchises hears Celaeno's prediction, and prays to the gods to turn aside the threatened disaster. So readers have generally found it hard to picture him at some other time presenting a cheerful prophecy that uses the same bewildering riddle as the Harpy's. The moment of recognition in Book 7 solves a problem for Aeneas within the fiction, but his solution presents a new enigma to the poem's readers.

The table-eating scene is one of those moments in the *Aeneid* when the experience of the poem's readers diverges sharply from the experience of characters within the story world. We readers experience the Trojans' meal through the coloring of the poetic narrative, which echoes Celaeno's words, as we shall see later in this chapter. The Trojans themselves, on the other hand, perceive their meal through the playful lens of Iulus' joke, in which "table" becomes a metaphor for "flat bread." When Aeneas hears Iulus' words, he connects what they have just experienced with the perplexing hunger that was foretold by his father. "*This* was *that* hunger," he realizes, in an Aristotelian flash of recognition: he grasps that Iulus' tables match the tables of his father's prophecy.

Aeneas at this point in Book 7 can satisfy the demands of *pietas*, which drives him to work out "what goes with what" in order that he may comprehend and obey the gods' will. But the *Aeneid's* readers have a problem: for us "*that* hunger" refers to a memory quite different from the one that Aeneas has just described, and takes us instead to the prophecy that we heard from the Harpy Celaeno in Aeneas' Book 3 narrative. Solving the riddle set by the tables omen brings a sense of disruption and dissonance for readers even at the very moment when the importance of recognition is most fully felt.

Critical responses to Aeneas' recollection of Anchises' words in Book 7 show that readers have found an episode almost unrecognizable which they thought they remembered from the story that Aeneas told Dido and the other Carthaginians in Book 3. A scholarly yen for coherence reveals itself in uneasiness at the gap between our memory of Celaeno in *Aeneid* 3 and Aeneas' recollection of his father's words. The prediction of table eating seems too remarkable to be anything but a single prophecy, though two wildly different speakers are cited. The shift in speakers as well as the adjustments in the prophecy's emphasis between *Aeneid* 3 and 7 have given birth to a mystery that continues to haunt Vergilian criticism. In earlier days, scholars invested heavily in the poem's incompleteness to ease their discomfort at the gap between our memory of Book 3 and Aeneas' recollection in Book 7.² The change of speaker may be regarded as a slip that

2. See especially Williams 1983, 262–78 on "the peculiarities of Book 3." For further bibliography, see Hexter 1999, 64. A modified version of the "incompleteness" approach can be found in R. D. Williams' commentary, who notes that the prophecy "of the eating of the tables, given to Celaeno in III, is attributed at its fulfillment to Anchises. . . . [This] is a real discrepancy, but represents simply an inconsistency of memory of the sort to be expected in any long work" (1962, 21). He swiftly moves further towards the "death-bed" principle of unity: "A poet's attitude of mind may change over a period of eleven years; he may like episodes such as those of the Harpies and of Polyphemus at the beginning and come to like them less at the end, and be inclined to change them," 22. But see Hardie

indicates the further work that Vergil needed to put in on the poem. Interpretation is beside the point once we have decided that Vergil, the master craftsman, would (of course!) have revised away the inconsistency, had he not unfortunately found himself on his deathbed first. So *that's* why he wanted the *Aeneid* burned! More recently, scholars have been inclined to look for a different kind of unity even in the *Aeneid's* inconsistencies.³

There is no way to settle decisively what originally caused this quirk in the text. It is probably easier to believe that an author had some plot points to smooth out before his death than to surrender fully to a narrative in which Aeneas has heard two prophecies so similar and yet so importantly distinct. But as W. R. Johnson and Denis Feeney have emphasized, the *Aeneid* often challenges our everyday sense of what counts as believable.⁴ So we may agree that writers often change their minds during a long period of composition, and still attend to the jarring inconsistencies of the poem we have.

The category-confusing mingling of furniture and food in Celaeno's threatening prediction serves as a kind of verbal dirt to finish the work that the Harpies have already done with their material filth in their struggle with the Trojans. The Harpies, dripping loathsome emanations from their part-woman, part-bird, part-divine bodies, physically instantiate hunger and filth and category confusion. They use the foulness from their mouths and the terrible sound they make to pollute the Trojans' meal; this is a suitable punishment for the Trojans' violation of the Harpies' territory and theft of their cattle for food. Celaeno, who calls herself "greatest of Furies" (*Furiarum ego maxima*, 3.252), makes a prediction which serves more as a retributive curse (like Dido's in Book 4) than a piece of guidance, though she cites Apollo and Jupiter as the sources for her prophetic authority.

In Book 7, after Iulus diminishes the Trojans' sense of anomaly by solving the riddle of how tables can make the second course of dinner, Aeneas cleans up the prophecy in other ways, too, giving it a new import and—even more crucially—a new speaker. But for readers, the poetic texture of the narrative renews the pollution that was so critical in Aeneas' Book 3 telling. Just when Aeneas' new story of Anchises is tidying things up for the Trojans, making the verbal anomaly into a helpful prodigy—a sign that they have found their place at last—readers of the poem are confronted with Celaeno's dirt again.

(1997, 139–40) on the "radical incompleteness" of Roman epics.

3. O'Hara, in particular, began this work in *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy* (1990) and has more recently extended his program of examining the poetics of inconsistency in Roman epic (2007).

4. Johnson 1976; Feeney 1991.

Just as Celaeno's prophecy in Book 3 relies on category confusion, and verbally extends the disorderliness embodied by the Harpies, so now this disorder is reenacted in the poetic memory of Book 7. Celaeno's presence in poetic *fama* persists anomalously, even after her disruptive voice has partly been drowned out by the voices of Aeneas and his father, Anchises. The renewal of pollution in poetic memory at the table-eating scene becomes a prelude to the process of mental contamination that Celaeno's kindred Fury, Allecto, subsequently carries out, when on Juno's orders she spreads the mad desire for war.

From Book 7 on, the *fama* generated by the *Aeneid* stems primarily from the Fury Allecto's poisoning of minds in Italy. The out-of-control *furor* that Allecto disseminates is both transgressive in its madness and a force that maintains the ordered excess of mourning and memory. In this sense Vergilian *furor* resembles the disorderly order enforced and embodied above all by Aeschylus' Erinyes, though the Aeschylean Erinyes' characteristics are shared between Allecto and the Harpies as *Dirae*. The exceptionally frequent repetition of the adjective *dirus* in various feminine forms is very striking during the Strophades episode: the word describes Celaeno herself (3.211), their speech (3.228), the Harpies collectively (3.235 and 262), and the hunger Celaeno predicts (3.256).⁵ Many readers have noted the difficulties involved in trying to classify in name or function the chthonic—or puzzlingly-not-always-chthonic—goddesses. It is never entirely clear whether or to what extent specific members of the groups *Dirae*, *Erinyes*, *Eumenides*, *Furiae*, *Harpypiae* share an identity in the poem. The topic has proved itself endlessly debatable because these divinities are characterized precisely by their capacity to take on varied tasks in fluid forms and in contrasting spheres—at Jupiter's throne, in Tartarus, or in the mortal world between. Vergil's Allecto has all the Tartarean venom of Aeschylus' Erinyes; like them, she terrorizes her victims both visually and verbally, but she contaminates with poison and through mental disorder, rather than through the filth spread by Aeschylus' polluting goddesses and by Vergil's Harpies.

The personified *Fama* of Book 4 is also in many ways a figurative sibling of the Harpy Celaeno. While the poem describes the Harpies' belly-discharge as *foedissima* (exceedingly filthy), and mentions their *ora* (mouths/faces), endlessly pale with hunger (3.216–18), we learn of *Fama* (4.195) that

5. See especially Harrison 1985, 151–52 on the associations between Harpies and Erinyes, and on the repetition of *diraldirae* in this section of Book 3. The question is also addressed by Panoussi 2009, 88–90. Austin 1977 at 6.605 plausibly regards the *Furiarum maxima* as “unidentifiable,” a judgment echoed by Mackie 1992, 354. But Harrison (1985, 144) reminds us that the Harpies are “the ‘hounds of almighty Zeus’ and under divine protection in Apollonius.”

the filthy goddess scatters her gossip into men's mouths (*haec passim dea foeda uirum diffundit in ora*). When Celaeno wants to punish the Trojans for their treatment of her sister Harpies, she adds speech to her foul effluvia. We are reminded that mouths can spew words as well as ingest food. Philip Hardie has already demonstrated how closely Book 4's *Fama* and the Fury Allecto are associated, verbally and conceptually.⁶ In its varied emanations, the contamination spread by all these divinities works with Juno's memory-filled anger and Jupiter's order, to reach across time and supply the prophetic energy with which epic *fama* incorporates the *Aeneid's* violence and unease into an Augustan vision linking past, present, and future.

4.1 Memories of the Harpy

A trend in *Aeneid* criticism over the past few decades has been to argue that closure is gendered masculine in the *Aeneid*, while feminine forces keep opening up the story and delaying the end.⁷ At first glance the two speakers of the table-prophecies seem to fall into that alignment. Celaeno presents the table eating as an impediment that must necessarily precede the foundation of the Trojans' Italian city. Anchises, by contrast, offers it as a token of hope for the weary that they may begin to establish homes. The omen has effectively the same relation to the Trojans' future in Italy in both versions—that is, the table eating is something that has to happen before the final stages of Trojan settlement. In the event, although Aeneas remembers Anchises' closural spin on the sign, several books of fighting with the local inhabitants follow the portentous meal in Book 7. Still, in Anchises' prophecy table consumption becomes one of the series of markers that enable the

6. Hardie 1998, 249–50 and 2009b, 100–101.

7. See, for example, Feeney 1991, 137–38; Oliensis 1997, 303–4 (but Oliensis 2009 takes a rather different view, closer to Hershkowitz 1998 and to my own argument here). Keith 2000, 74–77 examines the complicated gendering of war and peace in the epic. Mitchell-Boyask 1996, 294 aligns divine characters with ends, humans with delays. The binary of masculine closure and feminine energy/delay breaks down too thoroughly to account for the complexities of how the *Aeneid's* narrative structures are gendered, however. Spence 1988 and Hershkowitz 1998 (and to some extent Hardie 1993) acknowledge the collapse of any notionally polarized opposition of masculine closure/order and feminine *furor* (an acknowledgment partly indebted to deconstructive approaches among Latinists). Fowler 1998, 165 suggests that “one of the ways in which the opposition between male control and female disorder is deconstructed in the *Aeneid* is through the notion of energy. Male power when manifested as control becomes a lack of power, in that it stops things happening, it shuts the gates, whereas female *furor* opens the gates and starts things up: it lets the genius out of the bottle and inspires the poet to further poetry.” But Jupiter is thoroughly implicated in the anti-closural energy that generates epic.

Trojans to grasp both in geographical terms and in terms of their own story that they are within reach of the end. So it might seem clear that, at least for the *Aeneid's* Roman readers, it would cast an entirely benevolent light on the Trojans' Italian settlement for Aeneas to obliterate Celaeno's prophecy and replace it with Anchises' version. Seeing the episode from Anchises' point of view would put it in the category of orderly, masculine closure.

We shall see that the particular details of the episode shake this hope of clarity. We cannot get rid of the Harpy so easily. Aeneas himself may have forgotten his own story of Celaeno's speech, but critical comment on this section of the poem confirms that many readers vividly remember Celaeno's version, and for good reason.⁸ The *Aeneid's* words give us, as readers of the poem, an experience very different from that of the Trojans within the fiction. The poetic narrative paints the meal in colors that clash with the light-hearted conviviality which inspires Iulus' joke.

The narrative lead-in to Iulus' flippant observation is astonishingly violent, especially given that the poem presents the meal as prompted by Jupiter (*sic Iuppiter ipse monebat*, 7.110).

Aeneas primique duces et pulcher Iulus
 corpora sub ramis deponunt arboris altae,
 instituuntque dapes et adorea liba per herbam
 subiciunt epulis (sic Iuppiter ipse monebat)
 et Cereale solum pomis agrestibus augent.
 consumptis hic forte aliis, ut uertere morsus
 exiguum in Cererem penuria adegit edendi,
 et uiolare manu malisque audacibus orbem
 fatalis crusti patulis nec parcere quadris:
 'heus, etiam mensas consumimus?' inquit Iulus
 nec plura, adludens.

Aeneas, his high chiefs, and lovely Iulus
 rest their bodies under the branches of a tall tree,

8. O'Hara has argued that Celaeno's is a "falsely pessimistic prophecy, the fulfillment of which is painless, [. . .] doubly effective in achieving her goal of hurting the Trojans, for she causes them to be worried needlessly now, and optimistic in Book 7 when they are actually on the brink of great trials and suffering in Italy" (1990, 25). Her prophecy may be misleadingly pessimistic in making the tables appear uneatable objects, but it tallies quite closely with the outcome in light of the specific words used by the narrator. O'Hara's perception of Celaeno's prophecy as the one that later creates ill-timed optimism reveals an interesting slippage, which indicates the continued weight of Celaeno's words for readers of Book 7, even though she herself is unmentioned at that moment of joy for the Trojans—their erroneous optimism is Anchises' responsibility at that point.

and set about feasting, and place wheaten cakes across the grass
 under their meal (Jupiter himself was guiding them in this)
 and add to the Ceres-given base with the fruits of the countryside.
 At this point, by chance, once the rest had been eaten, when dearth of
 foodstuff
 compelled them to turn their teeth against slight Ceres
 and with hand and bold jaws to break through the circle
 of the destiny-laden loaf and not spare the spreading pieces,
 “Hey, are we eating even the tables?” says Iulus,
 nothing else, in fun. (*Aen.* 7.107–17)

Desperate hunger drives the Trojans to gnaw and violate the slender goddess Ceres. The expression *penuria edendi* (“dearth of foodstuff,” 7.113) points to the deadly problems that newcomers to a foreign land, perhaps with hostile inhabitants, may expect to find in food gathering.⁹ *Penuria* does not normally mean the nagging hunger that lingers at the end of a meal which is not quite big enough. The figurative substitution of Ceres for grain is perfectly normal, but in this context, surrounded by words such as *morsus* and *uiolare*, it makes the Trojans’ attack on their bread almost brutal—poor little delicate Ceres is ravaged by their teeth.¹⁰ The Trojans take no prisoners, violating the circular trenchers with their hands and aggressive jaws (*malis audacibus*)—there is no mercy for the pieces (*nec parcere quadris*, 7.114–15). If it were not for Celaeno’s words in Book 3, readers would experience the mismatch between the desperation evoked by the narrator and Iulus’ lighthearted comment primarily as a depiction of boyish courage in hard times, a youthful version of the cheerful front Aeneas puts on at the Libyan landfall much earlier in the poem (1.207–9).¹¹

But when we recall the exact words of Celaeno’s speech, the grim attitude of the Book 7 narrative looks familiar.¹² Celaeno uses her speech as a weapon in the fight between Harpies and Trojans after the wanderers land on the Strophades—the Harpies’ islands—and plunder their herds for food.

9. Horsfall 2000, 110 summarizes the characteristics that link this episode with stories of Greek colonization. Stubbs 1998 offers similar suggestions, using Dionysius’ version of the story to suggest “over-population and perhaps [. . .] domestic disturbance.”

10. Compare 1.177–78, where the same metonymy occurs with a different emphasis: *tum Cerem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma / expediunt fessi rerum. . . .*

11. Another view is offered by Harrison 1985, 157–58, who sees “playful humour behind the picture of mighty heroes doing violence to defenceless little wheat-cakes.”

12. Grassman-Fischer 1966, 39–46 examines several details of the verbal connections and dissimilarities between the “Table-prodigy” and Anchises and Celaeno’s versions of the event.

una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno,
 infelix uates, rumpitque hanc pectore uocem:
 ‘bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuuencis,
 Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis
 et patrio Harpyias insontis pellere regno?
 accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta,
 quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
 praedixit, uobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.
 Italiam cursu petitis uentisque uocatis:
 ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit.
 sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem
 quam uos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis
 ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas.’

One perched on a soaring cliff-edge, Celaeno,
 ill-boding prophet, and this heartfelt cry erupts:
 “So it’s war you bring in return for murdered oxen and for slaughtered
 bullocks,
 true descendants of Laomedon—you’re getting ready to bring war
 and drive harmless Harpies from their fathers’ kingdom, are you?
 Well then, take and fix in your thoughts these words of mine,
 which the almighty father foretold to Phoebus, which Phoebus Apollo
 foretold to me, and which I, the greatest of the Furies, unfold to you:
 Italy is the place you seek with your journey and with the winds you
 summon:
 You will go to Italy and you will be allowed to enter the port.
 But you will not surround with walls the city granted you before
 cruel hunger and the wrong done us in our slaughter
 impel you to consume with your jaws tables that you’ve gnawed at.”
 (*Aen.* 3.245–57)

The poem itself in Book 7 encourages us to pay close attention to the verbal particularities of the episode’s presentation. When we learn that the prophecy is fulfilled by Iulus’ joke (“Hey, are we eating even the tables?” 7.116), we discover the critical importance of how this event is put into words: “Hearing that expression was what first brought an end to their labors” (*ea uox audita laborum / prima tulit finem*, 7.117–18). It is the way they experience the meal verbally that promises closure to Aeneas and his followers, not the actual eating of the wheat platters.

In Book 7 the narrative colors the Trojan meal with a tinge of brutality that echoes the Harpy's hostile prediction. "You'll go to Italy, and you'll be allowed to enter the port," Celaeno admits. "But you will not surround with walls the city granted you before cruel hunger and the wrong done in this slaughter impel you to consume with your jaws tables that you have gnawed at" (*sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem / quam uos dira fames nostraque iniuria caedis / ambas subigat malis absumere mensas*, 3.255–57). The aggressive onslaught on Ceres described in Book 7, caused by the Trojans' "dearth of foodstuff" (*penuria* [. . .] *edendi*, 7.113), lives out Celaeno's promise of cruel hunger (*dira fames*, 3.256). The verbs that explain the reason for this onslaught in both versions share a root: in Book 7 we hear *penuria adegit edendi*: lack of food "compelled" (7.113) the Trojans to turn on the bread. In Book 3 Celaeno says that they will not found their city before terrible hunger "impels" them (the verb in 3.257 is *subigat*) to eat up their tables with their jaws—*malis* (3.257)—another word echoed by the narrative in 7.114.

Scholars have wondered whether there is some sacrilege involved in the action as well as the language in Book 7: within the story world, are the Trojans perhaps eating a meal that is in some sense sacred? There are good reasons to refrain from positively ascribing a sacrilegious act to Aeneas here.¹³ The very fact that readers have worried about this problem, though, draws attention to the sense of transgression in the poem's language, whether this is figuratively transgressive in a more limited sense, or (less plausibly) denotes an act of sacrilege in the story world.

The violation mentioned in *Aeneid* 7 (*uiolare* [. . .] *orbem*, 7.114) recalls the original trespass that now causes the Trojans' table eating, in accordance with Celaeno's retributive logic.¹⁴ She says that "the wrong done us in our slaughter" (*nostraeque iniuria caedis*, 3.256) will bring about a reenactment of the Trojans' transgressive meal on the Strophades. The Trojans have tried to eat inappropriate food in the Harpies' domain, so they will either be driven to eat still less suitable food, or they will fail to

13. When the *Aeneid's* narrative invokes the possibility of ritual violations, it situates these in such deep uncertainty as to put the difficulty of maintaining ritual purity in the foreground, rather than indulging in a too easy implied condemnation of Aeneas and others as willful or reckless defilers. That would call for a level of clarity about sacred order that is almost always out of reach in the poem. See Horsfall 2000, 117 on the "table" eating. Horsfall 2006, 61 argues more generally against readers who hold Aeneas accountable for following "correct" Roman usage."

14. Horsfall 2006, 204 (on *Harpyias insontis* at 3.249) alludes to the "wrong but wromantic" and "right and repulsive" Cavaliers and Roundheads of Sellar and Yeatman's parodic history *1066 and All That*: "The Harpies revolting but wronged, the Trojans guilty but unwitting; a good, typical Virgilian moral and dramatic complication."

establish their own domain in Italy. The fact that the Trojans' slaying of the Harpies' cattle echoes the *Odyssey's* cattle-slaughtering episode, where the sacred cattle of the sun are expressly forbidden food, reinforces further this pattern of transgression and violation. The impression given by Celaeno that this need to eat unfoodlike food will delay the Trojans' discovery of their future home mirrors the equivalent episode in the *Odyssey*, where their stolen feast denies Odysseus' companions their homecoming.¹⁵

So when Aeneas tells the Trojan prophet Helenus that Celaeno has provided an exception to the general message that they should head for Italy (3.365–67), it is fitting that he should speak of the “obscene hunger” (*obsceua fames*) that she foretells, not of those mystifying tables. Helenus, however, does not respond exactly to the concern Aeneas articulates, but instead tells him not to dread munching on tables (*nec tu mensarum morsus horresce futuros*, 3.394)—we are perhaps to imagine that his prophetic gifts give him access to Celaeno's exact words as well as Aeneas' summary? Aeneas has been more troubled about the implications of the prophecy for his Italian future, whereas Helenus emphasizes its enigmatic presentation and foreshadows the moment in Book 7 when the prophecy will be harmlessly fulfilled, at which point Aeneas will cite Anchises.

Yet the prophecies of Celaeno and Anchises claim the same ultimate source. Celaeno names the *pater omnipotens* as the original author of the words she is handing down to the Trojans, which she heard via Apollo: “Well then, take and fix in your thoughts these words of mine, which the almighty father foretold to Phoebus, which Phoebus Apollo foretold to me, and which I, the greatest of the Furies, unfold to you” (*accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta, / quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo / praedixit, uobis Furiarum ego maxima pando*, 3.250–52). Aeneas categorizes his father's version as mysteries of the fates, *fatorum arcana* (7.123). This implicates Jupiter *pater omnipotens*, in his role as author-cum-administrator of *fata*. Jupiter uses precisely this expression in his Book 1 prophecy, telling Venus, *fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet, / longius et uoluens fatorum arcana mouebo*, “For I'll speak out at greater length, since this worry gnaws you, and I'll unroll and stir up the mysteries of the fates” (1.261–62).¹⁶ No

15. Readers may choose, of course, to emphasize the differences between the Homeric episode and what happens in the *Aeneid*, as Stubbs 1998 and Akbar Khan 1996 do.

16. While Celaeno's claim to the supreme paternal authority of Jupiter depends on oral transmission, Anchises seems to have left something solid behind him to be treasured by future Romans. The phrase *fatorum arcana* echoes not only Jupiter's words in 1.261–62, but also Aeneas' promise to the Sibyl regarding the Sibylline books: *te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris: / hic ego namque tuas sortis arcanaque fata / dicta meae genti ponam*, “Great shrines await you also in our realms: for in fact I shall lay down your lots and the hidden fates spoken for my people” (6.71–73). Bailey 1935,

convincing method of arbitrating between these divergent authorial claims suggests itself. The authority for the prophecies, resulting both in benefits for the future Trojan–Italian settlement and in problems for it, must be shared between a whole group of sources and speakers—Jupiter, Apollo, Anchises, and Celaeno. Yet the sharpest division, between Anchises and Celaeno, highlights the role played by the *vehicle* of divine wisdom—it is not only its origin that is important.

Though the table eating is experienced verbally both by the *Aeneid*'s characters and the poem's readers, these experiences diverge in important ways. If we take Book 3 and Book 7 equally seriously as part of the fiction, Aeneas has a memory of Anchises' prophecy, which we readers know nothing about.¹⁷ Unlike the Trojans, however, we have both Iulus' words and the poet's. Aeneas cannot read and reread his own story, recapturing verbal resonances between different speeches and different texts. In noting this difference I do not mean to suggest that the *Aeneid* shows an interest in this kind of verisimilitude. But even if the actual "table" eating is quite harmless—and there seems nothing intrinsically dreadful about munching on plate-like objects made of some kind of bread¹⁸—verbal echoes shape the reader's memories, so that Celaeno projects the portent onto a story of pollution, failed colonization, and the disruption of traditions.

4.2 When "that" becomes "this"

What about Aeneas' memory? Scholars have attributed forgetfulness about Celaeno to both Aeneas and Vergil, but Aeneas describes himself as forgetting his father's words, until jolted by his son into recollecting Anchises' advice.

'heus, etiam mensas consumimus?' inquit Iulus,
nec plura, adludens. ea uox audita laborum
prima tulit finem, primamque loquentis ab ore
eripuit pater ac stupefactus numine pressit.

206 (see also 228ff.) on 1.261–62 asks, "are the *fata* here the 'spoken word' or will of Iuppiter himself, which he now intends to declare, or is Iuppiter here rather in the position of a prophet to the other gods, declaring, like an earthly prophet, the destiny laid up for Aeneas?"

17. Aeneas would have access to both versions, that is, if we take as *part of the fiction* two occurrences that which are hard to reconcile, one where Celaeno speaks a threatening prophecy, which Anchises hears and dreads, another where Anchises delivers an encouraging prophecy of similar content.

18. Commentators are undecided whether these edible flat things most closely resemble pita, pizza, naan, or perhaps matzos.

continuo 'salve fatis mihi debita tellus
uosque' ait 'o fidi Troiae saluete penates:
hic domus, haec patria est. genitor mihi talia namque
(nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit:
"cum te, nate, fames ignota ad litora vectum
accisis coget dapibus consumere mensas,
tum sperare domos defessus, ibique memento
prima locare manu molirique aggere tecta."
haec erat illa fames, haec nos suprema manebat
exitiis positura modum.'

"Hey, are we eating even the tables?" says Iulus,
nothing else, in fun. Hearing that expression was what first brought
an end to their labors, and his father snatched it from his mouth
as soon as he spoke, and checked him, stunned by the divine presence.
Immediately "Greetings, land owed me by the fates!"
he says, "and you faithful home-gods of Troy, greetings!
Here is our home, this is our country. For in fact my father
Anchises (now I recall) left me just such mysteries of the fates:
'When, brought to unknown shores, hunger
compels you, son, your feast eaten up, to consume the tables,
At that moment remember to hope for homes in your weariness, and there
work to set up your first homes with a mound.'
This was that hunger, this awaited us, to set, at last,
a limit to our ruin." (*Aen.* 7.116–29)

When Aeneas tells us in direct discourse what his father said, he picks up exactly the same verb for "eating" (*consumere*, 7.125) that Iulus chose (7.116). Unlike the hyperbolic, violent terms in which the reader has just experienced the Trojans' hunger, which were also used by Celaeno, Anchises has apparently described the hunger in a more neutral way. It is *fames*, perhaps merely the unsatisfied feeling sometimes remaining when dinner is over (*accisis . . . dapibus*, 7.125); no adjective *dura* is attached. Within the fiction, the Trojans, of course, have no access to the narrator's extreme language—so their experience of what happens seems to match Anchises' presentation.

Anchises' prophecy provides more than one type of closure for the Trojans. As we have seen, it grants them a homecoming: *hic domus, haec patria est*, Aeneas declares. But for the Trojans, Iulus' joke also brings an ending because an event that was incomprehensible in the abstract—what would

it mean to eat tables?—has become meaningful when they see how eating tables can resemble eating flat pieces of bread. The prophecy turns out to have been a kind of riddle, which has now been solved. The riddle's solution depends on understanding its metaphorical structure. Iulus' unwitting explication of the prophecy emerges when he describes a particular action figuratively: eating the bases of their food becomes eating tables for the Trojans once it is *called* eating tables.¹⁹ The sense of a *finis* comes not only from the hope given by Anchises' form of the prophecy, but also from the very fact that a question has been answered.

A joyful resolution takes place for the Trojans when something that was incomprehensible because it was unlike anything in their experience suddenly makes sense to them. If we temporarily adopt I. A. Richards' terms for unpacking a metaphor, we could say that Celaeno and Anchises had both provided a metaphor that was all vehicle, no tenor—they offered an enigma, in other words.²⁰ Iulus unites vehicle with tenor, turning an enigmatic threat into a play on words. Thanks to Iulus, Aeneas can say, "This was that hunger, this, at last, awaited us, to set a limit to our ruin" (*haec erat illa fames, haec nos suprema manebat / exitiis positura modum*, 7.128–29). Aeneas recognizes that "this"—the hunger just experienced—was "that"—the hunger narrated in advance by Anchises.

In this metaphorical operation in *Aeneid* 7, there is more than one sense in which a "this" is joined with a "that." The *vehicle* matters here. In its standard literary-analytical sense the vehicle is "eating tables," while the tenor is "eating flat-bread." But the identity of the speakers brings about a second level of figuration. In a different sense one could also label "vehicle" the means by which—or the speaker by whom—this metaphorical expression is communicated. The interpretative implications of uniting tenor and vehicle (in the usual sense—metaphorical expression), of seeing eating flat-bread as eating tables, will differ depending on whether the speaker for that metaphor is Celaeno or Anchises. This is one reason for the discomfort readers have experienced at the change in speaker between Books 3 and 7.

19. This is why the solution attempted by Stubbs 1998, 3–12 seems to diminish the importance of this episode. Stubbs aims to remove much of the figurative force from the idea of consuming *mensae* by suggesting that this is a perfectly normal concept. But if it were so recognizable a concept, even in the abstract and without Iulus' help, why would Helenus need to reassure them (3.394–95)?

20. The "vehicle" in Richards' sense in *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* is a term for the metaphorical expression of literal meaning, while the tenor is the actual idea conveyed by the metaphor; here the vehicle is "eating tables," and the tenor turns out to be "eating flat-bread." Choosing appropriate terms to describe how a metaphor works is difficult; Black 1962, 47 n. 23 points out just a few of the now widely acknowledged problems with "tenor" and "vehicle," the terms introduced by I. A. Richards. However, these labels are still common in discussions of metaphor, and classicists favor them for the ingredients of similes.

The thisness of the that, or the thatness of the this, extends further than Iulus' link between tables and flat-bread. The prophetic resonance of this association comes from the fact that once eating flat-bread is recognized as eating tables, eating tables (now "this") can be seen in terms of a new "that"—either a homecoming, perhaps (if it is associated with Anchises), or a delay in homecoming (if it is associated with Celaeno). The figurative associations of the two prophecies therefore have little to do with the riddle-solving resemblance between tables and edible plates, and much more to do with the paradigmatic function of a father as contrasted with a Harpy. The whole episode recounts a specific foundation legend within the large-scale foundation narrative provided by the *Aeneid* as a whole. So it makes sense to start by assessing Anchises' advantages as speaker of a founding prophecy, quite apart from his more cheerful presentation of the omen.

First of all, there is the fairly obvious advantage that instead of being a terrifying female divinity who associates herself with infernal powers, Anchises is a man, a proto-Roman *paterfamilias*, whose figurative paternity extends to Romans contemporary with Vergil, and whose physical paternity of Aeneas has been made possible by Venus (*Venus genetrix*). The living Anchises, depicted in Books 2 and 3, is privy to little information about divine intentions. He relies on his interpretations of divine signs and prophecies, which he sometimes gets disastrously wrong, and sometimes right.²¹ When faced with doubt or divine hostility, he has recourse to prayers.²² His understanding and authority are limited, so he makes up for his own limitations with pious reliance on the Olympian gods' protection and efforts to understand their will: accordingly, when Celaeno threatens the Trojans, he prays to the gods for protection (3.263–66).

But even at this stage, when Anchises serves as a perceptibly fallible guide, the role of this *pater* is central, and not only as *paterfamilias* with responsibility for religious rituals. Even where Anchises has no special opinion to

21. He gets it right, for instance, at 3.537–43 where he understands that four snow-white horses grazing threaten war at first in Italy but promise the eventual hope of peace. His interpretation of this sign is based on an unfolding of the figurative effects of horses' functions in war and their willingness to submit to the bridle. But obvious examples of Anchises' nearly catastrophic misinterpretations take place during the fall of Troy as well as in the Trojans' subsequent travels. When Aeneas returns to his house, obeying Venus' instructions to take his family out of Troy, Anchises refuses to budge from home. He has inferred the gods' will for him from their destruction of the city (2.641–42), following on from Jupiter's expression of anger in the thunderbolt that lamed him (2.647–49). More immediate and transparent divine signs are needed to convince him of his mistake (2.680–704). His next serious interpretive decision leads the Trojans to settle in Crete (3.102–17), where drought and plague attack (3.135–46).

22. 2.687–91; 2.699–702; 3.263–66. These prayers mark out very clearly Anchises' ignorant mortal status, but they also appear to be highly effective.

offer, Aeneas (who is newly bereaved of his father) emphasizes his advisory role.²³ And when we return to the main narrative of the poem, after Anchises' death at the end of Book 3, qualifications about his unique status evaporate. Once he takes his place among the *pii* in Elysium, knowledge of the future becomes a bulwark for Anchises' paternal authority, enabling his ghost to help drive Aeneas away from Carthage (4.351) and, by Jupiter's command, to visit Aeneas while in Sicily with advice, a warning, and the instruction to come and see him in the underworld (5.722–39; 6.695–96). By the time we get to Book 7, we have heard Anchises dispensing wisdom about the afterlife and providing a full commentary on the spectacle granted to Aeneas of Rome's future leaders and their *fama* (6.678–892).

Anchises' table-prophecy offers some positive instructions to bring about an end of the Trojans' travel narrative: *tum sperare domos defessus, ibique memento / prima locare manu molirique aggere tecta* ("At that moment remember to hope for homes in your weariness, and there work to set up your first houses with a mound," 7.126–27). An end of the story of their wanderings means a beginning of the story of Rome.²⁴ So Anchises' imperative *memento*, enjoining them to recognize the location of their future home, strikingly echoes his injunction of Roman self-definition in Book 6, where he reaches beyond his immediate listener to address a future Roman: *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento / (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* ("As for you, Roman, remember to rule nations with your power—these will be your arts—to set the stamp of custom on peace, to spare the submissive, and to bring down the arrogant in war," 6.851–53).²⁵ The imperative *memento* is in the same metrical position in both commands. Anchises' wording of the table prophecy works at the broadest level to serve a particular conception of epic teleology. He associates the location of their home with the subject position that their descendants will step into as Romans. It is no wonder that remembering Anchises as prophet allows Aeneas to recognize a strange place as the Trojans' *patria*—the land of their fathers (7.122). By contrast, it would

23. 3.57–60, 169–70, 472, 558–59.

24. Book 7, of course, may end their travels but does not end even that part of the Trojan story narrated in the *Aeneid*. Hardie 1993, 12 comments: "Insofar as the *Aeneid* performs in other ways the all-inclusive function of the *Annals* of Ennius, it reasserts its quality as a totalizing epic; but it also manages to leave itself open to continuation. This is partly the achievement of the end of the poem, which as so many have felt is not an ending at all (except for Turnus), merely the beginning of this history of the Aeneadae once they have vindicated their right to settle in the land of the future Rome."

25. Feeny 1998, 36 suggests another link forward to Rome's future offered by Anchises' version of the table prophecy when he notes that Anchises "is using Sibylline language of the same kind used by the Sibylline oracle for the *ludi saeculares*: 'remember, Roman'" (*memnēsthai, Rōmaie*, 3).

hardly be auspicious for Aeneas to invoke, at the very moment of homecoming, Celaeno's prophecy, which represents the Trojans as violators.²⁶

To the extent that Book 7's narrative recalls Celaeno, the table-eating omen links the Trojans' safe arrival with a distressingly violent attempt at colonization, and what is more, an attempt that is unsuccessful. In Book 3 Aeneas, telling the Carthaginians about his wanderings, depicts the Trojans' arrival in the Harpies' territory as a break in their travels, accompanied by a meal, not as an essayed settlement.²⁷ But he admits that this is not how Celaeno sees it. In her view, Aeneas and his followers are trying to displace the Harpies from their fathers' kingdom, their *patrium regnum*. The Trojans' arrival on the Harpies' islands and their slaughter of the herds amount to a disruption of the proper ways that land is handed from fathers to their descendants.²⁸ The Harpies' filth, dirtying the Trojans' food, fittingly punishes what they perceive the Trojans as doing, that is, violating their territory.²⁹ As avengers who maintain due order—who even defend the values of *pietas*—they fulfill the expectations raised by their categorization as Furies, with their Erinys-like manifestation, and Celaeno's self-presentation as a spokesperson for the *pater omnipotens* (3.251).

In the geography of the underworld, however, Anchises speaks as a representative of Elysium, while the Harpy has associations with the pollution of Tartarus. Aeneas introduces the Harpies to his Carthaginian audience by declaring, “No monstrous prodigy grimmer than these, nor any pestilence more fierce or wrath of the gods has emerged from the ripples of the Styx” (*tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saeuior ulla / pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis*, 3.214–15). Given that Rome is to hold vast tracts of land under its sway, the state may not want to attribute the origins of its *imperium* to a prophecy associated with the punitive powers of hell. Celaeno would contaminate Rome's origins if she should be strongly associated with the city's foundation.

Throughout the poem, different levels of success in achieving settlements are indicated by the success or disruption of meals that the Trojans

26. See Hardie 1993, chap. 4, “Succession: Fathers, Poets, Princes,” especially 88–94.

27. Akbar Khan 1996, 132–33; he argues against Nethercut 1968, 90 and Kinsey 1979, 118–19, although Kinsey acknowledges that Celaeno's is “a curious description of what the Trojans are doing”; Putnam 1982, 267–87 at 270; Harrison 1985, 150–54.

28. And if we want to connect mythic representations with social practice in first-century Rome, we may note that “descendants” is the operative word—there is not the same emphasis on the transmission of property from father to son that one encounters in the later European system of primogeniture—see Saller 1994, especially 161–80.

29. Panoussi 2009, 86 notes that Aeneas' narrative presents both Trojans and Harpies as defilers, especially by repeating forms and cognates of *foedare*, “to foul.”

eat on their various arrivals.³⁰ This is especially prominent in Book 3, where their disastrous meal on the Strophades is one of a series of pollution-fouled horrors, many of them food-related, all of which mark out their failure to find a home. In chapter 3 we saw that the Trojans' first attempt at a settlement is in a land horribly contaminated by the murder of Polydorus. This filth is not an abstract awareness that pitiful memories taint the region, but a pollution that is renewed materially in Polydorus' flowing gore. Aeneas emphasizes the Harpies' history of disrupting meals when he first narrates the Trojans' encounter with them: the Harpies only moved to the Strophades after they had been kicked out of Phineus' home, leaving their "earlier tables"—*mensas* [. . .] *priores* (the ones they had prevented the prophet Phineus from using, 3.212–13).

Celaeno's prophecy is therefore a verbal development of the Harpies' initial strategy with their unwelcome guests, which is to tear apart their feasts and pollute what they leave. Only after the Trojans use weapons against the Harpies does Celaeno attack her enemies through speech with her threat of famine. Celaeno speaks out words that provide a culmination of the physical pollution spread by her sisters. Her speech carries forward the memory of this violation into the Trojans' future; its riddling ambiguity performs another category confusion, presenting furniture as food. Just as memory itself can convey death pollution, so—for readers, if not for the Trojans within the fiction—the anomalous memory of the Harpy takes her verbal and material defilement onward to the mid-point of the poem, so that recollection of her words pollutes the narrative of the Trojans' arrival in Italy.

4.3 Recognizing divine authority

From a Trojan perspective Anchises' prophecy brings an ending, but from a reader's perspective his presence in this particular section of the narrative opens things up instead of shutting them down. Over the last few years, several scholars who want to slacken the tension around the prophecy's

30. For example, the successful—if unhappy—alliance with Evander is marked by a feast (8.175–84), whereas no food marks the attempted union with Latinus in Book 7; the landing in Libya results in a partially successful—if extremely unhappy—settlement as Aeneas joins in the founding of Carthage, which seems paralleled by the contrasting experiences of the two groups of Trojans: Aeneas finds suitable food on their arrival (1.174–79), but Ilioneus fails even to step on shore without being attacked (1.540–41). Both groups then participate in feasting after being welcomed by Dido: the narrative invites us to toy with envisaging a historically impossible settlement uniting Trojans and Carthaginians.

speakers have tried to untangle the knot through analysis of the poem's narrative technique.³¹ Instead of separating the reader's perspective from that of characters within the epic, some earlier readers assumed that if Vergil had lived longer he would have provided the answer by revising Book 3. The assumption driving such an approach for these critics seems to be that only one prophecy "really" exists, but that a certain fragmentation of the narrative gives this single prediction a double identity by assigning it to two different speakers and by rewriting it slightly.³² Readers whose interpretative expectations have been formed over the last half-century may be less willing than R. D. Williams and others to hypothesize an ideal, unified form of the story existing apart from its narrative discourse.

Yet this earlier approach pinpoints why Aeneas' unexpected reference to Anchises as speaker and the citation of his variant on the tables prophecy is so disturbing. I have chosen to treat the text as it stands, and to examine the jarring discrepancy as a part of how the poem works on its readers. But moments like these make the narrative drive and the fictive continuity of the epic come to a juddering halt. A fragmentation of the narrative comes just when the narrator and Aeneas are emphasizing closure, when they are grasping at a limit to Trojan suffering: *haec erat illa fames, haec nos suprema manebat / exitiis positura modum* ("this was that hunger, this awaited us, to set, at last, a limit to our ruin," 7.128–29). The Trojans can agree that "this"—the hunger just experienced—was "that"—the hunger narrated in advance by Anchises. For the reader "that" hunger has vanished: our own "that" was part of Aeneas' earlier narration, in Book 3, and has been eradicated along with any mention of Celaeno.

The role of recognition in the rhetorical effects of the table prophecy may be understood partly in terms of Aristotelian *mimesis*. We saw in chapter 1

31. For example, Horsfall 2000, 112–13 takes the line (not unreasonably) that we don't need to have had everything narrated to us explicitly. Yet imagining that Anchises "really" did give Aeneas the version of the prophecy that he quotes in Book 7 does not efface his bizarre obliteration of Celaeno's version—the one that we readers know. Block 1984, 234–35 suggests, "Aeneas's apparent lapse of memory at VII 122f can now be seen as a deliberate device used to reveal his state of mind." Harrison 1985 comes closer to my own approach, arguing that we should see Anchises' prophecy not as a textual/narrative contradiction, but as a displacement of Celaeno's prophecy that is achieved through successful attention to ritual and divine will. Another possibility would be to emphasize Aeneas' role as narrator of both versions of the prophecy. Aeneas would have different rhetorical aims when addressing Dido and the Carthaginians in Book 3 from those that would dominate his aims when he speaks to his Trojan followers in Book 7. See, for example, Hexter 1999, 66–67 and 72 on Aeneas' presentation of positive and negative exempla of hosts (the Harpies serve as a negative paradigm), and on Dido as an "interested misreader." Seider 2010 extends this line of thought to argue that Aeneas purposefully tells a lie in Book 7, so as to establish a new memory of the prophecy, relying on his authority as leader to suppress the individual memories of his companions.

32. See Williams 1962, 22.

how Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* expresses the connections between metaphor and mimetic pleasure in terms of the identification between a “this” and a “that.”³³ As Stephen Halliwell argues, drawing on Paul Ricoeur, *mimesis* in the *Poetics* “requires and draws on the preexisting intelligibility of action and life in the world at large: mimetic art may extend and reshape understanding, but it starts from and depends on already given possibilities and forms of meaning in its audiences’ familiarity with the human world.”³⁴ It is these underpinnings that the *Poetics* have sometimes seemed to share with the *Rhetoric*: the notion of the probable (*to eikos*) suggests that listeners’ perceptions of how their world is structured are central to persuasive efficacy.³⁵ Because perceptions of social and political structures depend partly on how these structures are represented, *mimesis* creates as much as it reflects the world of lived experience.³⁶

So the patterns of recognition at work in interpretations of the table prophecy are widely operative in the ability of fictions to shape knowledge, perception, and memory through their systems of figuration. “Thats” and “this’s” recombine in almost uncanny ways even while conventionally established identities and associations are ruptured.

Aeneas’ citation of Anchises results in a tension between several different kinds of recognition, which shape both our experiences as readers and the fictional experiences of characters within the epic. I outline below four

33. *Rhetoric* 1371b: *alla sullogismos estin hoti touto ekeino, hôste manthanein ti sumbainei*. Halliwell 2002, 189–200 emphasizes this common ground between *mimesis* and metaphor and points out that “in both cases it is not that a comparison is drawn or a similarity recorded, but rather that something is seen or comprehended *as* something else” (190). See also *Poetics* 1448b17ff.

34. Halliwell 2002, 174, who depends in turn on Ricoeur 1984, 52–87. On Ricoeur’s *Time and Narrative*, see Compagnon 2004, 94–96.

35. This aspect of the importance of *to eikos* holds despite the fact that the ways to present “the probable” can vary widely. See Eden 1986, 115–16 and Morgan 1993, 181–93, who argue that Aristotle’s probability is to be sharply differentiated from Ciceronian verisimilitude; Morgan convincingly distinguishes an understanding of the “probable” that depends on abstraction, with fiction part way between history and philosophy, and a “probable” persuasiveness established through verisimilitude, located in the elaboration of contingent details. Ricoeur 1977, 13 argues that “the triad of *poiêsis-mimêsis-catharsis*, which cannot possibly be confused with the triad *rhetoric-proof-persuasion*, characterizes the world of poetry in an exclusive manner.” Prendergast 1986, 50–51 attributes the conflation of the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* to semiologists such as Genette.

36. See Barthes 1970/1974, 167, 173, and particularly 184–85, 205–6. Barthes is concerned to highlight the textual underpinnings of literary “reality”: “the artist is infallible not by the sureness of his performance (he is not merely a good copyist of ‘reality’) but by the authority of his competence; it is he who knows the code, the origin, the basis, and thus he becomes the guarantor, the witness, the author (*auctor*) of reality” (167). But we can neither reduce *mimesis* to a naive rhetoric of transparency, nor limit it to a self-contained literary sphere. As Prendergast 1986, 248 reminds us, “the aesthetics of *mimesis* also entail a politics, and more particularly that there are important connections between the political and the literary meanings of the idea of ‘representation.’”

ways that the process of recognition connects the figurative resonances of the episode with the poem's narrative structures, so as to generate the complex effects of the double prophecy that are felt by the *Aeneid's* readers. All four forms of recognition are enacted at the moment when Aeneas recognizes Iulus' "tables." The interaction between these different ways of matching "this" with "that" makes the episode in Book 7 pivotal for understanding how the poetic authority of the *Aeneid* is interwoven with the subject matter of its story. The poem's construction of its fictive knowledge as in some way divine depends on this interplay of memory and recognition both for characters within its story and for readers.

i. One kind of recognition takes place for characters several times within the *Aeneid's* story world: events come true which have been predicted by seers, or by interpreters of divine signs. When this happens, characters are granted a hope that they can understand the divine story that they are living out. If characters in the poem have already met people, seen places, or experienced events through prophetic divine narratives, they are granted some comprehension of a divine plot when they reencounter these people and places in their lived experience. We see this when Aeneas greets the "land owed by the fates" (*fatis mihi debita tellus*, 7.120) after he hears Iulus' revealing joke. Mortals are encouraged to believe that their story is moving towards an already emplotted ending. So recipients of divine communications are able to match a "this" with a "that" as Aristotle's recipient of *mimesis* does—in fact, we could call this form of recognition a back-to-front *mimesis*, as experience comes to fulfill prior representation.

Sometimes the poem's language even echoes Aristotle's demonstrative pronouns in this inverted mimetic recognition, as Aeneas does when he declares, "this was that hunger" (7.128). Another example occurs a little later; at the start of Book 7, we learn how King Latinus receives divine messages warning him against a local marriage for Lavinia and announcing the foreign sons-in-law who will raise their name to the stars (7.96–101). Later, when Ilioneus, as ambassador of the Trojans in Latium, describes Aeneas and the reasons for the Trojans' arrival to Latinus, the king remembers this warning; Latinus recognizes that "this man" (Aeneas, as Ilioneus presents him) "was portended as his son-in-law, that man who had set out in accordance with the fates from a foreign home, and was being called to rule with equal authority," *hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum / portendi generum paribusque in regna uocari / auspiciis* (7.255–57).

A similar moment of recognition occurs in Book 3, when on their journey Anchises recognizes the landmarks and dangers which Helenus has warned the travelers about: “Here, doubtless, is that Charybdis: these are the crags, these the fearsome rocks that Helenus sung” (*nimirum hic illa Charybdis: / hos Helenus scopulos, haec saxa horrenda canebat*, 3.558–59). “That Charybdis” is the one described in advance by Helenus; now, as if map-reading, the Trojans match their informant’s descriptions with what they see.³⁷ Helenus’ prophecy serves primarily as guidance on the Trojans’ journey, in contrast with the divine imperative that Latinus confronts, but the inverted *mimesis* of prophecy, and the way the poem marks the moment of recognition with demonstrative pronouns, operates the same way in both instances.

It is no coincidence that many such moments of recognition bring the Trojans at least a semblance of safety or allow them to reach their destination. This is just what happens in the moment when they match up their doughy meal to the tables of Anchises’ prophecy. Even without the emphasis given by demonstrative pronouns, the Trojans’ search for a home—*sedes*—works according to the same logic of recognition throughout the poem. The repetition of the word *sedes* in a variety of senses has a linking effect similar to the riddle-solving element of matching a “this” with a “that.”³⁸ Divine communications have long promised an eventual resting place, and at the start of Book 7 the noun *sedes* and cognate verb forms occur with unusually dense frequency, connecting Latinus’ existing home with the Trojans’ new settlement.³⁹ We are told, for example, that with no male heir Lavinia alone preserved *tantas . . . sedes*, but equal emphasis is placed on the new *sedes* under construction by the Trojans (7.158). These links raise the question of how all these homes will be united as the eventual basis for Rome: the connection between Latinus’ and the Trojans’ *sedes* becomes most apparent when the Trojan representative Ilioneus explains to Latinus that they

37. These prophecies of Helenus also invoke an intertextual sense of recognition, since they list sights familiar because of the fame granted them by the *Odyssey*. Moreover, Helenus’ prophecy strikingly echoes Phineus’ directions in Apollonius (*Arg.* 2.317–407); Phineus is careful to speak out only what is *themis* (*Arg.* 2.311), since he owes his long torment by the Harpies to excessive prophesying.

38. See chapter 3.1 for further discussion of the term *sedes*.

39. 7.52, 158, 175, 193, 201, 229, 255, 431. In the first part of Book 7, *sedes*-vocabulary mostly denotes the Trojans’ or Latinus’ home (or “seat” perhaps in the sense of throne in 7.193), but it also refers to Allecto’s home in the underworld (7.324, 454, 562). Allecto, of course, will continue in a different form the Harpies’ polluting activities and make memories of Celaeno still more vivid. This language marks out the order of things, which locates the Furies in the underworld, but each instance of the term also shows Allecto’s freedom to leave that established place and contaminate the world above.

are requesting just a “scant home (*sedes*) for their ancestral gods” (*dis sedem exiguam patriis*, 7.229).

ii. The successful identification of tables and edible eating surfaces fits into a second category of recognition, closely related to the inverted *mimesis* of prophecy, which also occurs at crucial moments for characters within the *Aeneid*'s fiction. This second category is when puzzles are solved and confusion is corrected. Identities are revealed that were not initially evident. These problems and their solutions unfold in time, when a “this” turns up in a character's experience to match a previously mysterious “that.” So in *Aeneid* 4, Anna finds the unhappy solution to her sister's enigmatic arrangements (4.504–8, 634–40). Dido's suicide explains the meaning of her ritual preparations, and of the pyre that she had built for Aeneas in his absence: *hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas? / hoc rogus iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?* (“Is this what that was, sister? You were deceiving me? / Is this what that pyre, what the flames and altars were getting ready for me?” 4.675–76). Anna had been cozened into seeing only the representational and ritual significance of Dido's preparations. Now she understands that Aeneas' sword is to be used for killing, and the pyre for burning a real human body. This category of recognition works alongside the prophetic recognition that permits the unfolding of the *Aeneid*'s divine story.

On one level, the kind of discovery made by Anna when she sees her sister's suicide naturalizes the flow of divine information in the prophetic recognition discussed above. Divine communications increase their persuasive force because of their resemblance to a normal ebb and flow of information, which works within a purely human framework. But the reverse is also true. The ritual preparations do far more than deceiving Anna. In the *Aeneid*'s narrative, the magic rituals lead towards the powerful language of Dido's curse, and suggest that its force is to be enhanced by her death. We as readers are more alive than Anna to the hints that something other than adherence to a Massylian priestess' advice is happening here.⁴⁰

iii. Both these kinds of recognition, which take place within the story world, are deeply involved with a third kind, which shapes how the poem works

40. 4.500–501: “Yet Anna does not suppose that her sister cloaks her death with her strange rites” (*non tamen Anna nouis praetexere funera sacris / germanam credit.*)

for readers. This third category is one that poems employ to help the story move forward and make sense. It occurs, for instance, when the narrative refers back to an earlier event that readers will remember. New information can be brought in at this point because it will be grounded in a part of the story that is already familiar. Recognition and recollection help us understand a new turn of events, so that we are more likely to regard the new material as plausibly established in the context of the story.

This combination of familiarity and new information helps in Book 12, for instance, at the moment when it is explained how Turnus' sword comes to shatter in his duel with Aeneas: "The *fama* is that in his headlong rush, when he was climbing into his chariot at the start of the battle, he left behind his father's blade, in his pell-mell hurry, and grabbed the charioteer Metiscus' weapon" (12.735–37). The exchange of swords described here is new to the reader, but we know about the moment of turmoil that would plausibly have led to such confusion, when Turnus is ablaze with sudden hope and darts onto his chariot, calling for his weapons and horses (12.324–27). The *fama* that he ended up with the wrong sword merges smoothly with the details that have already been given about this moment in the story.

One reason why it is so jarring for readers when Aeneas cites Anchises' table prophecy in Book 7 is because this category of narrative recognition breaks down here; a recollection is disrupted at exactly the moment that it occurs. We both can and cannot fit this event into the story that we have already been told.

iv. A fourth kind of recognition operative in the "tables" memory works within the social structures that operate both inside and outside the fiction. This is what allows readers to bring to the *Aeneid* their assumptions from outside the text—about the forms of authority wielded by Harpies or Fathers, for example—but it also allows the poem to participate in shaping these assumptions. It is the kind of recognition that helps generate a second level of figuration at the moment when Aeneas matches "this" with "that" hunger. It is not just that the content of the two prophecies differs, but that the two speakers bring with them a layer of signification that derives from assumptions about paternal authority set against feminine speech and defilement.

His son's joke allows Aeneas to match up an event with the prophecy that predicted it (the first category of recognition listed above), when it solves a riddle. This allows the episode to make his own story comprehensible for

Aeneas (the second category), and in doing so reinforces paternal authority (which enters into the fourth category), by confirming that father Jupiter has within his control the train of events on which Aeneas is traveling.

Ancient rhetorical theories (most famously Aristotle's *Rhetoric*) suggest that lucid speech makes listeners less likely to notice how a speaker is contriving to shift our perceptions.⁴¹ Any lack of transparency draws attention back to the speaker. When the solution to the riddle renews his memory of Anchises' words, Aeneas identifies the successful outcome of the Trojans' long search for a home as the successful completion of a protracted mutual obligation between himself, the fates, and the Trojan and Olympian gods: *salve fatis mihi debita tellus / uosque [. . .] o fidi Troiae saluete penates* ("Hail, land owed me by the fates, and you, hail, loyal *penates* of Troy," 7.120–21). Aeneas rounds off his acknowledgment of the omen by ordering libations to Jupiter and an invocation of his father (7.133–34). Subsequent rituals forge ties with the spirits of the place, including the land, Tellus (7.136–38), as well as honoring parents (7.140) and the great parental deities (Idaeon Jupiter and the Phrygian mother, 7.139). The *pater omnipotens* himself (7.141–42) obligingly makes his presence felt, and the thunder and display of light transmits collective knowledge to the Trojans: "right away there spreads among the ranks of the Trojans the rumor that the day has come on which they might lay down the city walls that are owed" (7.144–45).⁴² The conundrum's solution confirms for Aeneas and the Trojans that Jupiter and the fates are the ultimate source of their own story, in one of many moments of recognition that link their immediate experience to divine works of imagination.

So for readers, when Aeneas refers to "that hunger" as spoken by Anchises, the uneasiness provoked by the narrative jolt draws attention to the figurative effects of Aeneas' surprising solution to the prophetic riddle. These figurative effects have relatively little to do with the content of the enigma and the resemblance between tables and edible plates, and much more to

41. See especially *Rhetoric* 1404b: speech must seem natural, not artificial, if it is to be persuasive; otherwise listeners become suspicious, as if someone is scheming against them; Aristotle draws analogies with the suspicions aroused by mixed wines, and with the failure of an actor whose voice is always heard as too perceptibly his own.

42. *diditur hic subito Troiana per agmina rumor / aduenisse diem quo debita moenia condant*. The noise of the talk (*rumor*, not the more abstract *fama*) spreads as if to echo the noise of Jupiter's thunder in the preceding lines. While Aeneas specifies that the land is owed to him by the fates (*fatis mihi debita tellus*, 7.120), the Trojan rumor does not specify in which direction the obligation lies—a tiny ambiguity, given how often pronouns are omitted in Latin, but suggestive of the layering of mutual obligation between gods and men. The land may be owed to Aeneas (and Ascanius, 4.274–76), but the Trojan people will have the work of actually establishing and defending their *moenia*.

do with the many human and divine voices heard in the poem. The table prophecy does at least as much to tabulate divine power as it does to inform the Trojans of their homecoming.

Divine narratives operate with double-layered efficacy, both within the *Aeneid*'s story world and in establishing the force of the epic's rhetoric of fiction. Making sense of the epic's story, for both readers and characters, involves making sense of how cultural patterns and social configurations are freighted with divine authority. That is why the four kinds of recognition summarized above are so thoroughly entangled in the work of the poem. For readers, the interaction of these different kinds of recognition is less than harmonious. The solution of the table riddle bedevils us with still more enigmas as we try to match "this" prophecy (Anchises') with "that" (Celaeno's).

Here is one of those seams of fiction, where Celaeno's contaminating authority mirrors the complexity with which layers of figuration operate on readers. The dirt and disorder associated with Celaeno extend into the instability of the mimetic processes shared by readers inside and outside the story world of the poem. Unlike Eliot's pier-glass parable, the poem does not directly address readers at Aeneas' jarring moment of recognition. But Aeneas' cry calls us to look at the way "this" has become an unexpected "that," and draws attention to the join between different fabrics in the fictive knowledge established by the epic.