3. Perfectum

The present chapter discusses the semantic value of the perfect tense in the Latin tense system and its occurrences in the discourse modes of the *Aeneid*. The basic assumption of this study is that the semantic value of a perfect tense form always is the same, whereas the interpretation of a perfect tense form may vary subtly according to the discourse mode used. The perfect tense occurs in all discourse modes discussed in chapter 2, and in the narrative mode.

In the first section of this chapter I will discuss the function of the perfect tense within the tense system, arguing that the traditional distinction between present perfect and narrative perfect should be replaced by a distinction between different discourse modes. The so-called narrative perfect is found in the narrative mode (§3.2), while the so-called present perfect is part of the report mode (§3.3).

Perfect tense forms may take a base in reference time, which means that they, like present tense forms, occur in the transposed discourse modes: the directing mode, transposed report, transposed narrative and transposed description. The occurrence of the perfect tense in these modes will be discussed in the sections 3.4 – 3.6. A conclusion is given in section 3.7, after which a separate section (§3.8) explains why the perfect tense is frequently used after direct speech and in cases in which a god is the subject of the verb form (cf. Von Albrecht 1970, Pinkster 1999).

The total number of indicative perfect tense forms in the *Aeneid* is 1822, 484 of which occur in direct speech. The remaining 1338 perfect tense forms are the subject of this chapter.

### 3.1 Semantic Value of the Perfect Tense

The perfect tense is used within the Latin tense system for states of affairs that are anterior to the communicative situation or, rather, the base (Pinkster 1983:295, 1990:229). The first speech by Aeneas contains the perfect tense form *contigit* which refers to a state of affairs that is anterior to Aeneas’ current situation.

Example (1), 1.92 – 96

Extemplo Aeneae soluentur frigore membra: ingemit, et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas tali uoce refert: ‘O terque quaterque beati, quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis *contigit* oppetere! ...

Straightway Aeneas’ limbs weaken with chilling dread; he groans and, stretching his two upturned hands to heaven, thus cries aloud: ‘O thrice and four times blest, whose lot it was to meet death before their fathers’ eyes beneath the lofty walls of Troy!

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86 Only 70 perfect tense forms are subjunctives of which 41 occur in direct speech and 11 in indirect speech. Almost all of the remaining perfect subjunctives are indirect questions of the narrator to the Muses (14 instances, e.g. Aen. 1.11). There are four instances which do not occur in an indirect question. The first two are subordinate clauses in which an event is narrated of which either the narrator (Aen. 12.322) or the characters (Aen. 5.4) are uncertain. The third is a rare example of a causal and evaluative relative clause (Aen. 9.729). The fourth is the only instance of a subjunctive perfect in a main clause. It occurs in 10.186, where the narrator structures his catalogue by referring to the process of composition (*non ego te ... transierim*).

87 This example functions as an illustration of the use of the perfect tense in ‘normal’ communication, i.e. direct speech. As such this example falls outside my actual corpus in which perfect tense forms in direct speech are not included.

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<tr>
<th>Discourse Mode</th>
<th>Time of narration</th>
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<td>Transposed Report</td>
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<td>Registering</td>
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<td>Description</td>
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Aeneas here cries out in the middle of a storm and envies the fate of the Trojans who died in the vicinity of their family. The state of affairs contigit is, of course, anterior to this communicative situation or, in my terminology, the base.

Anteriority to the base is the only semantic value of the perfect tense (Pinkster 1983, 1990), from which all interpretations of the perfect tense can be derived. This view is in contrast to, for instance, the opinion of Kühner-Stegmann who state that the perfect tense has a double meaning: “Das Perfekt hat im Lateinischen (entsprechend seiner Entstehung) eine doppelte Bedeutung als eigentliches und als aoristisches Perfekt” (1912: II.1, 124). The ‘present perfect’ (eigentliches Perfekt) refers to actions that are finished with respect to the moment of speaking: the ‘historic perfect’ (aoristisches Perfekt) refers to a completed action of the past (Kühner-Stegmann 1912: II.1, 124-126).

In my approach (following Pinkster 1983, 1990), the perfect tense does not have two meanings. The single semantic value of the perfect tense leaves room for several interpretations, each connected to a specific discourse mode. This may be explained by means of two examples, one of the report mode and one of the narrative mode. The report mode is used at the very start of the Aeneid, where the perfect tense form uenit denotes a state of affairs that is anterior to the present tense form cano.

Example (2), 1.1 – 4
Arma uirumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam, fato profugus, Lauiniaque uenit
litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
ui superum saeuae memorem lunonis ob iram;

Arms and the man I sing, who first from the coasts of Troy, exiled by fate, came to Italy and Lavine shores;
much buffeted on sea and land by violence from above, through cruel Juno’s unforgiving wrath,

In terms of Kühner-Stegmann uenit would be a present perfect since the state of affairs uenire is connected to the moment of speech, expressed by cano. I would say that these lines are all presented with respect to the moment of speech: the report mode is used and the tense forms should be interpreted accordingly.

Likewise, in the example below it is the narrative context which brings about the narrative interpretation of the perfect tense forms.

Example (3), 4.648 – 650
hic, postquam Iliacas uestis notumque cubile
conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata
incubuitque toro dixitque nouissima uerba:

Then, as she saw the Trojan garb and the familiar bed,
pausing awhile in tearful thought, she threw herself on the couch and spoke her last words:

The states of affairs involved are presented in a temporal relation to one another, which evokes the idea of a narrative. These states of affairs are also anterior to the base: the sequence as a whole took place before the time of narration (the ‘moment of speech’). Rather than consider the perfect tense forms incubuit and dixit as ‘narrative perfects’, we should consider the sequence as a whole and recognize it as an example of the narrative mode.

88 This traditional view has recently been defended by Oldsjö (2001). Oldsjö explicitly connects his own view to the traditional view and argues in favor of a separation of a ‘present’ and a ‘past’ function of the perfect tense (2001:392). Hereby, he explicitly argues against Pinkster’s view (1983, 1990) in which the different interpretations of the perfect tense are connected to different discourse types. Oldsjö does realize that the context or discourse type determines the exact function of the tense used, but calls this a ‘trivial observation’ (2001:393ff). Nevertheless, he connects the present perfect to authorial comment, which is roughly the same as the report mode in my terminology, and claims that the present perfect is used exclusively to supply authorial comment (in Caesar) (2001:397), and that “all the authorial comments are characterized by the fact that they are intrinsically connected with the present moment of the narration and not with the past time of the narrative. The combination of the temporally unmarked Latin perfect and the inherent presentness of authorial comment creates a clear present perfect meaning.” (Oldsjö 2001:398).
In sum, the perfect tense is used to denote that a state of affairs is anterior to the base, regardless whether, for instance, the narrative mode or the report mode is used. The next two sections discuss the occurrence of the perfect tense in these two modes and explain how both modes may be distinguished in a text, starting with the narrative mode.

### 3.2 Narrative Mode

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<tr>
<th>Discourse Mode</th>
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<tr>
<td>Report</td>
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<tr>
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The narrative mode is the mode one would consider typical for story telling (see §1.1.1). When using the narrative mode, a narrator recounts what happened in the past. The narrator tells what took place in the consequent reference times of his story (Smith 2003), and these reference times are in the past of his base. The distance between the base and reference time is articulated in the use of past tenses, and the perfect tense is one of these past tenses.

Perfect tense forms that are part of the narrative mode are always presented in relation to the other states of affairs in the sequence, usually in chronological order. This may be made explicit by means of adverbs like *tum* or *post*, which link the states of affairs to each other, and evoke the idea of temporal progression, as is illustrated in the example below. Queen Dido asked for a specific cup, she filled it and *then (tum)* everyone was silent. After her short speech she was the first to drink, (*prima*), followed by Bitias (*tum*), and lastly (*post*) the others.

*Example (4), 1.728 – 740*

Hic regina grauem gemmis auroque poposcit  
*impleuit*que mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes  
a Belo soliti; *tum facta* silentia tectis: 730  
'Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur,  
hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis  
esse uelis, nostrosque huius meminisse minores.  
Adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator, et bona Iuno;  
et uos, O, coetum, Tyrii, celebrate fauientes. '  
*Dixit*, et in mensam laticum *libauit* honorem,  
primaque, libato, summo tenus *attigit* ore,  
tum Bitiae *dedit* increpitans; ille impiger  
hauabit spumantem pateram et pleno se  
*proluit* auro post alii proceres.

Then the queen called for a cup, heavy with jewels and gold, and filled it with wine – one that Belus and all of Belus’ line had been wont to use. Then through the hall fell silence: ‘Jupiter – for they say that you appoint laws for host and guest – grant that this be a day for joy for Tyrians and the voyagers from Troy, and that our children may remember it! May Bacchus, giver of joy, be near, and bounteous Juno; and do you, Tyrians, grace the gathering with friendly spirit!’ She spoke, and on the board offered a libation of wine, and, after the libation, was first to touch the goblet with her lips; then with a challenge gave it to Bitias. He briskly drained the foaming cup, and drank deep in the brimming gold; then other lords drank.

The perfect tense forms *poposcit, impleuit, dixit, libauit, attigit, dedit, hausit* and *proluit* are all presented in connection to each other and together constitute a time line. In this passage each perfect tense form represents an event on the time line of the story, and this is, in fact, the case in all instances of the perfect tense in the narrative mode.

The fact that a perfect tense form presents a state of affairs as an event on the time-line is connected to the semantic value of the perfect tense. The semantic value of the perfect tense is to denote a state of affairs that is anterior to the base, and, therefore, finished with respect to this base. This means that the perfect tense denotes a state of affairs as a whole, from begin to end: a state of affairs expressed by a perfect tense form is, in other words, bounded. Therefore, the perfect tense is the tense that denotes the events within the narrative mode (Pinkster 1983:295).

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89 There are two exceptions in which perfect tense forms describe situations in a narrative passage. This situational interpretation is in both cases evoked by the use of a negation (7.498, *nec afuit* and 2.94, *nec tacuit*).
As I explained in chapter 1, the narrative mode consists of events, situations and starting situations, and events usually advance reference time (see also table 5 in chapter 2). This indeed holds for the vast majority of events in the perfect tense, as was illustrated in example (4) in which every perfect tense form marks a new step on the time line. The table below gives an overview of the use of the perfect tense in the narrative mode and the advancement of reference time. The frames in the perfect tense are almost all found in subordinate clauses containing postquam, and provide a temporal setting for the main clause.90

Table 1: The perfect tense and the advancement of reference time in the narrative mode

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<td>Stationary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>462</td>
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The connection between the perfect tense and the advancement of the narrative (or “foreground”, see §1.1.1.1) has often been observed (e.g. Pinkster 1983, 1990), especially, of course, in relation to the use of the imperfect tense. I will come back to this in §4.10.5.

The time line of a narrative sequence lies in the past of the base, resulting in the use of past tenses.91 As I explained in §1.2.2, the base usually is the time of narration, but some narrative sequences might also be interpreted as taking a base in reference time. Example (5) illustrates this.92 The perfect tense forms in this example are used in the same way as in the example above, but the base (to which the perfect tense forms are anterior) is worth further discussion. I think this example is more interesting if we interpret the passage as transposed narrative; that is, a short story which is told with reference time as its base.

Example (5), 11.783 - 806
telum ex insidiis cum tandem tempore capto
c oncitat et superos Arruns sic uoce preocatur:
 [speech of Arruns]
Audit et uoti Phoebus succedere partem
mente dedit, partem uolucris dispersit in auras:
sterneret ut subita turbatam morte Camillam
admit orant; reducem ut patria alta utheret
non dedit inque Notos uocem uertere procellae.
ergo ut missa manu sonitum dedit hasta per auras,
conuertere animos acris oculosque
tulere
cunci ad regimam Volsci, nihil ipsa nec aurae
 nec sonitus memor aut uenientis ab aethere teli,
hasta sub exsertam donec perlata papillam
 haesit uirgineumque alte
bibit acta cruorem.
concurreunt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem
susciunt

..., when at length, seizing the chance, Arruns from ambush rouses his lance, and thus prays aloud to heaven:
[speech of Arruns]
Phoebus heard, and in his heart vouchsafed that half the prayer should prosper; half he scattered to the flying breezes. He favored the prayer that he might overthrow and strike down Camilla in sudden death; that his noble country should see his return he did not grant, and the blasts bore the prayer to the southern gates. Therefore, as the spear, sped from his hand, whistled through the air, all the Volscians turned their eager eyes and minds to the queen. She herself noticed neither air nor sound nor weapon coming from the sky till the spear, borne home, found lodging beneath the bare breast and, driven deep, drank her maiden blood. In alarm, her comrades hurry around her, and catch their falling queen.

90 For frames, see §1.1.1.1 and §2.4.1.3. Examples of the perfect tense representing a frame are found at 6.226 (postquam) and 2.531 (ut).
91 Within the narrative mode, twelve instances of ait and inquit occur, of which no perfect tense form exists.
92 As said in §1.2.2, it is hard to find unambiguous examples of transposed narrative. This is why I have decided not to include transposed narrative in the quantitative overviews of this study.
93 The reaction of Apollo is presented in the report mode, see example (35) of this chapter.
The perfect tense forms dedit, conuertere, and tulere represent the events during the flight of the spear of Arruns, and haesit and bibit mark the end of this flight. We may analyze this instance of the narrative mode as an example of the narrator filling his readers in on what happened before the current reference time. In line 783 Arruns throws his spear and starts delivering his speech. During this speech the spear flies. After the speech the narrator presents Apollo’s reaction to this speech by means of the report mode (cf. §3.8.2, example (35)). The narrator then returns to the time line of the story with ergo, and the reference time is the moment after the speech, when the arrow has already reached its goal.

My suggestion would be that the account of the reaction of the bystanders to the spear is a narrative that takes its base in the reference time of concurrunt. The state of affairs concurrunt immediately follows the reference time in which Arruns throws his spear (in line 785). So, the sequence of dedit, conuertere, tulere, haesit and bibit may, as a whole, be read as anterior to the reference time of the present tense form concurrunt. This sequence could be seen as one of the few instances of the transposed narrative mode in the Aeneid.94

Nevertheless, we cannot be completely certain about the base of sequences such as example (5). This ambiguity of base is, however, a theoretical problem, since what is really important in this and in other instances is that the discourse mode is recognizable as narrative, and that, apparently, the narrator wanted to vary his mode of presentation for some reason or other. The narrator uses the narrative mode in (5) to fill in what happened while Arruns was delivering his speech: he suggests that time ‘has ticked’ and that he can only fill us in about the actions of other characters. Either way, we could say that the narrator emphasizes the hectic character of this battle scene by using a mode other than his usual directing mode.

More important than the difference between ‘transposed’ and ‘normal’ narrative is the difference between the narrative mode and the report mode. How does a reader know that a perfect tense form denotes an event on the time line and is not part of a reported sequence? A short answer would be that the distinction between perfect tense forms in the narrative mode and perfect tense forms in the report mode may be made on the basis of the context: in the narrative mode, perfect tense forms are presented in relation to other perfect and imperfect tense forms, and in the report mode, they are presented in relation to the time of narration.

### 3.3 Report Mode

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Base</th>
<th>Time of narration</th>
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This section discusses the use of the perfect tense in the report mode.95 First, perfect tense forms that ‘fall out’ of the story proper will be discussed. These perfect tense forms give information on states of affairs other than the states of affairs that are part of the actual story.

Secondly, I will discuss perfect tense forms which present a particular part of the story in the report mode. A separate section discusses the perfect tense in similes.

The key characteristic of the report mode is the importance of the time of narration. Each state of affairs in the report mode is presented in relation to the time of narration: relations to other states of affairs in the text are left out of consideration. The emphasis on the time of narration as a base is probably why Gransden (1976) states that the narrator speaks in ‘propría persona’ in the relative clause of example (6):

94 See §1.2.2 n31 for other possible instances in of transposed narrative.
95 The material contains three ambiguous verb forms in the report mode (present or perfect): 1.472.3 (avertit); 5.374.5 (extendit); 5.448 (concidit). Probably, we should assume perfects, but present tense forms are defendable, because these examples resemble redit in 2.275 (example (9) in §2.2).
The fiery sun had scaled the mid arch of heaven, when at a distance they see the walls and a citadel, and scattered rooftops which today Roman might has exalted to heaven, but then Euander ruled, a scant domain.

The narrator uses the perfect tense form *aequavit* to compare the simple gathering of houses of Euander to the grandeur that Rome had acquired in his own time. In the time of narration this acquisition of grandeur had already taken place, hence the perfect tense form *aequavit*. This short shift from the directing mode (see the present tense form *uident*) to the report mode by means of *nunc* and the perfect tense creates a sharp contrast between these two phases of the same city. After the reported statement the narrator explicitly returns to the story world by means of *tum*.

Another example of the perfect tense in the report mode is found in the first lines of book 7, where the report mode is used to mark the start of the second, Italic, part of the *Aeneid*.

You, too, Caieta, nurse of Aeneas, have by your death given eternal fame to our shores; and still your honour guards your resting place, and in great Hesperia, if that be glory your name marks your dust!

*Nunc seruat, gloria est* and *signat* are present tense forms denoting states of affairs that are contemporaneous with the time of narration, whereas *dedisti* refers to the time of death of *Caieta* in the past of the narrator. The perfect tense form *dedisti* presents the state of affairs in relation to the time of narration (*nunc*). Another means to report parts of the story is the perfect tense. Since the perfect tense is also used in narrative, the question presents itself how we can distinguish between perfect tense forms that *narrate* the story and those which *report* the story.

The difference between a perfect tense form in the narrative mode and a perfect tense form in the report mode lies in the importance of the relation between the state of affairs and the time of narration. In the narrative mode, emphasis is put on the relation to other states of affairs, and not so much on the relation to the time of narration. In the report mode, on the other hand, the relation to the time of narration is all that matters, as may be illustrated by means of the two perfect tense forms *uidi* in the excerpt below.

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96 For the use of the imperfect tense form *habebat*, see §4.2.1.
97 As a matter of fact, the narrator usually marks the end of a reported statement by returning to the presentation of the story world by means of *tum* or the deictic adverb *hic* (cf. Austin 1971 on 1.12). Such returns draw the reader’s attention to a change in mode.
98 The fact that these lines contain an apostrophe only plays a minor role in the recognition of the report mode, since apostrophes may also occur in the directing mode (see §2.4.2).
uidi Hecubam centumque nurus Priamumque per aras sanguine foedantem quos ipse sacrauerat ignis.

and her hundred daughters, and amid the altars Priam, polluting with his blood the fires he himself had hallowed.

The two instances of *uidi* do not represent a temporal sequence of two successive events of seeing. That is, *uidi* and *uidi* are each presented in their relation to the time of narration and not in relation to each other. As a matter of fact, the following lines (515-553) show that the chronological order is different: Aeneas first saw Hecuba, then Priam and after that Neoptolemus (Pyrrhus) appeared and killed Priam. Thus, the two instances of *uidi* represent several events of the story and present them with respect to the time of narration, emphasizing the reliability of Aeneas by the argument of autopsy: he has seen it himself (*uidi ipse*) (see §8.2.2).

Example (8) illustrates that perfect tense forms must be interpreted as part of the report mode whenever they represent states of affairs without respect to the sequence in which they occurred in the story world. This also applies to perfect tense forms that summarize the contents of the next scene (example (9)) or give a *prolepsis* (example (10)). In the lines preceding example (9), Mnestheus and his men have been striving to win the boat race, leaving Sergestus’ ship behind.

Example (9), 5.201 - 206

*attulit ipse uiris optatum casus honorem: namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo, infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit. concussae cautes et acuto in murice remi obnixi crepueru inilisaque prora pependit.*

Mere chance brought them the glory they craved. For while Sergestus, mad at heart, drives his prow inward towards the rocks and enters on the perilous course, he stuck on a jutting reef. The cliffs were jarred, on the sharp flint the oars struck and snapped; the bow hung where it crashed.

Line 201 announces that fortune was on the side of these men, and by means of *namque* the narrator marks the actual start of the scene in which Sergestus’ boat gets stuck and Mnestheus is able to overtake him. The state of affairs *attulit* is not presented as a state of affairs in relation to the other states of affairs on the time line of the story. Rather, the line containing the perfect tense form *attulit* is presented in relation to the time of narration and functions as an announcement of the scene to come.99 This may also be concluded from the use of *nam*, which appears to be a common device to start a narrative after a reported introduction (cf. Kroon 1998). The report mode may thus be used to summarize the immediately following scene.

The report mode is also used to anticipate on a larger scale: reported clauses may contain a *prolepsis* (see §2.4.2). This is the case, for instance, in the episode of the rendezvous of Dido and Aeneas. In lines 169 – 170, the narrator states that Dido makes a fatal mistake because she regards her relation with Aeneas as an official marriage. In order to announce the fatal outcome, he briefly adopts the report mode. The rest of this example is presented in the directing mode.100

Example (10), 4.165 – 172

*speluncam Dido dux et Trojanus eandem deueniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether conubiis summque ulularunt ertice Nymphae. ille dies primus leti primque malorum*  

To the same cave come Dido and the Trojan chief. Primal Earth and nuptial Juno give the sign; fires flashed in Heaven, the witness to their bridal, and on the mountaintop screamed the Nymphs. That day the first of death, the first of calamity was cause. For no

99 Other instances of such scene summaries in the perfect tense are found at 2.499; 2.559; 4.287; 5.604; 12.554; 12.593. Cf. Labov (1972) and Fleischman (1990) for this device (so-called abstracts).
100 The perfect tense forms *fulsere* and *ulularunt* are part of the directing mode. See §3.4 for this use of the perfect tense.
causa fuit; neque enim specie famae mouetur
nec iam furtium Dido meditatam amorem:
coniugium uocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.
more is Dido swayed by fair show or fair fame, no
more does she dream of a secret love: she calls it
marriage and with that name veils her sin.

The perfect tense is used here to express that the state of affairs is anterior to the time of
narration: the day of Dido’s and Aeneas’ rendez-vous (ille dies) is anterior to the time of
narration, hence the perfect tense form fuit. It is disregarded in this sentence that in reference
time this day has not yet ended. That is, the use of the perfect tense does not take into account
that this state of affairs – if regarded with respect to reference time (movetur, meditatur) – is
unbounded. The relation between the state of affairs and reference time is of no importance in
this example, it is the relation between the state of affairs and the time of narration that
counts.

By its reference to the outcomes of the story, prolepsis is an explicit indication of the
hindsight knowledge of the narrator. The use of the report mode in case of a prolepsis may,
therefore, be easily explained: in the report mode states of affairs are regarded from the
perspective of the time of narration, and this perspective is in line with the hindsight
knowledge displayed in a prolepsis.\footnote{The report mode may be a natural mode for prolepseis, but this does not mean that prolepseis occur only in
the report mode. Prolepseis are also found in transposed report or in the directing mode (see chapter 2).}

\subsection{The Perfect Tense in Similes}
The perfect tense also occurs in similes, although not very often.\footnote{In the \textit{Aeneid}, 468 verb forms are part of a simile, only 53 of which are perfect tense forms.} Similes are part of the
report mode, since the use of the present tense in similes reflects a base in the time of
narration (§2.2). In a simile some sort of universally valid situation is evoked with present
tense forms, and whatever happened just before we ‘enter’ this situation may be indicated by
means of the perfect tense. This use of the perfect tense is mentioned by Pinkster (1983:297)
with respect to the simile below. Mezentius is compared to a boar; his enemies are compared
to its attackers. The states of affairs \textit{uentum est, substitit, infremuit} and \textit{inhorruit} are anterior
to the moment of comparison, which is the moment in which the boar is being threatened by
the spears of his attackers.

Example (11), \textit{10.707} – \textit{718}
\begin{verbatim}
ac uelut ille canum morsu de montibus altis
actus aper, multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos
defendit multosque palus Laurentia silua
pascit harundinea, postquam inter retia \textit{uentum est},
\textit{substitit}, \textit{infremuit} et \textit{inhorruit} armos,
 nec cuquam irasci propiusue accedere uirtus,
 sed iaculis tatisque procul clamoribus instant;
ille autem impauidus partis cunctatur in omnis [717]
dentibus infrendens et ergo decutit hastas:
\end{verbatim}

And just as a boar, driven by sharp-toothed hounds
from mountain heights, one which pine-crowned
Vesulus has sheltered for many years, or one which for
many years the Laurentine marsh pastures on thick-
growing reeds, when it reaches the nets, halts, snorts
savagely, and raises its hackles, and no one is brave
enough to rage or come near it, but all at safe distance
assail it with darts and shouts, but undaunted it halts,
turning in all directions with gnashing teeth, and
shakes the javelins of his back.

This view is in line with Conington’s (1963) interpretation of the perfect tense forms, who
mentions that these verb forms represent the present tense forms \textit{μένει} (the Latin \textit{substitit}) and
\textit{φρίσσει} (the Latin \textit{inhorruit}) in Homer’s lines (III.13.472).\footnote{Cf. also Thome (1979:60ff) and Harrison (1991).} In accordance with the
semantic value of the perfect tense, the perfect tense forms in this example represent states of affairs that are anterior to base.\(^{104}\)

### 3.4 Directing Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Mode</th>
<th>Base Time of narration</th>
<th>Reference time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>Transposed Report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering</td>
<td>Directing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Transposed Narrative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Transposed Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The directing mode is characterized by a simultaneous advancement of reference time, base and narrator. Present tense forms indicate what events and situations are going on in reference time. This does not mean, however, that the directing mode consists of only present tense forms. The present tense forms of the directing mode may, for instance, be alternated with perfect tense forms. This section aims to show that such perfect tense forms represent states of affairs that are anterior to reference time.\(^{105}\)

Examples (12) – (15) will show that this interpretation of the perfect tense is indeed evoked in the directing mode, after which I will discuss the role of the perfect tense with respect to the advancement of reference time (§3.4.1). The insights will be used in §3.4.2, in which I elaborate on the role of the perfect tense regarding the tempo of the story. Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 also contain a discussion of the so-called resultative use of the Latin perfect (§3.4.1) and of the so-called ‘perfect of instantaneous action’ (§3.4.2).

In the directing mode, the perfect tense indicates that a state of affairs is anterior to reference time. This interpretation of the perfect tense is due to the combination of the semantic value of the perfect tense and the fact that reference time is the base in the directing mode. The semantic value of the perfect tense is that a state of affairs is anterior to the base, and in case of the directing mode the base is reference time. Together this yields the interpretation of the perfect tense in the directing mode.

Clear-cut examples of this interpretation of the perfect tense are found in subordinate clauses starting with *postquam, ut or ubi.* In such subordinate clauses, a perfect tense form must, of course, be interpreted as anterior to a present tense form in the main clause. The *postquam*-clause in the example below refers to two states of affairs (*exempta* and *remotae*) that are anterior to the reference time indicated in the main clause by *requirunt:* it is not until after the meal that the Trojans start their conversations.

Example (12), 1.214 – 219

Tum uictu reuocant uires, fusique per herbam impleuntur ueteris Bacchi punguisque ferinae.

Postquam *exempta* fames epulis mensaeque *remotae,* amissos longo socios sermonem requirunt, spemque metumque inter dubii, seu uiuere credant, siue extrema pati nec iam exaudire uocatos

Then with food they revive their strength, and stretched along the grass take their fill of old wine and fat venison. When hunger was banished by the feast and the board was cleared, in long discourse they yearn for their lost comrades, between hope and fear uncertain whether to deem them still alive, or bearing the final doom and hearing no more when called.

The *postquam*-clause marks an advancement of reference time from the time in which the Trojans are eating (*impleuntur*) to the time in which their hunger was banished.\(^{106}\) At the same

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\(^{104}\) The combination of the ambiguous verb form *defendit* with the present tense form *pascit* leads me to interpret *defendit* as a present tense form. At the moment of comparison the boar is defending his territory, and has done so for many years.

\(^{105}\) This use of the perfect tense is also mentioned in other studies and even in studies dedicated to the *Aeneid,* but none of these studies has considered it systematically, or discussed this use of the perfect tense in longer sequences of perfect tense forms, as I will do below. For this use of the perfect tense in general see Fleischman (1991:30), for this use of the Latin perfect tense see Kühner-Stegmann, (1912:II.1,116). The perfect tense in the *Aeneid* is discussed by Von Albrecht (1970), Mack (1978), Pinkster (1999).
time the *postquam*-clause provides a temporal setting for the main clause, which means that *exempta* and *remotae* are framing states of affairs.\(^{107}\)

The perfect tense evidently indicates anteriority to reference time when it is used to conclude direct speech (§2.3, Adema 2005). The perfect tense form *dixit* in the example below emphasizes that Aeneas indeed has spoken as soon as he says *feras* and is now silent.\(^{108}\)

Example (13), 4.571 - 583

Tum uero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat praecipitis: “uigilate, uiri, … sidera caelo dextra feras.” *dixit* uaginaque *eripit* ensem fulmineum strictoque *ferit* retinacula ferro.

Then indeed Aeneas, scared by the sudden vision, tears himself from sleep and bestirs his comrades. “Make haste, my men, … in the sky vouchsafe kindly stars!” He spoke, and from its sheath snatches his flashing sword and strikes the hawser with the drawn blade.

The perfect tense form *dixit* is coordinated with the present tense form *eripit* by means of *que*, from which we conclude that the base is positioned in reference time, and that the perfect tense denotes a state of affairs that is anterior to reference time. As I explained in §2.3, the narrator of the *Aeneid* prefers the perfect tense to the present tense in speech conclusions. This amounts to saying that the perfect tense is the tense used for states of affairs that are typically finished in, and, thus, anterior to reference time.

A similar use of the perfect tense is found in case of a listening character: a perfect tense form is used in the *Aeneid* when a listener has finished listening in reference time. Proof of this claim is found when we compare the perfect tense forms of the verb *audire* with the present tense forms of the same word within the directing mode. Example (14) illustrates the use of the perfect tense of *audire* and example (15) the use of its present tense.

The perfect tense of the verb *audire* occurs fourteen times, six of which occur after direct speech, indicating that someone has *been listening* while another character was speaking. As soon as the quotation in the text ends, there is nothing to listen to anymore and this is expressed by means of the perfect tense (e.g. 10.425). In example (14), we find the perfect tense of *audire* when a sound has been heard. First the narrator tells how the wails and screams evoked by Dido’s death spread throughout the city, and then he switches to Anna.

Example (14), 4.665 - 679

... *it clamor ad alta atria: concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem. lamentis gemitique et femineo ululatu tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether, non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes culmina perque hominum uoluantur perque deorum. audiiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu ungubus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis per medios *ruit*, ac morientem nomine *clamat*:*

A scream rises to the lofty roof; Rumour riots through the stricken city. The palace rings with lamentation, with sobbing and women’s shrieks, and heaven echoes with loud wails – as though all Carthage or ancient Tyre were falling before the inrushing foe, and fierce flames were rolling on over the roofs of men, over the roofs of gods.

Swooning, her sister heard, and in dismay rushed through the throng, tearing her face with her nails, and beating her breast with her fists, as she called on the dying woman by name.

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\(^{106}\) The *postquam*-clause in example (12) is anterior to a reference time that is further defined in the next clause, and, therefore, the chronological order of the events is iconic. The total amount of perfect tense forms in subordinate clauses in present tense sentences is 120; 104 of these subordinate clauses precede the main clause, 16 follow the main clause (e.g. 1.486).

\(^{107}\) As I explained in §1.1.1.1, framing states of affairs advance reference time in order to give a temporal setting for the next state of affairs.

\(^{108}\) As I explained in chapter 2, the present tense may not be used in this way: 333 speeches occur in the *Aeneid*, only nine of which are concluded by means of a historical present. See §3.8.1 for a discussion of other uses of the perfect tense at the end of direct speech.
The perfect tense form *audiit* and the present tense forms *ruit (que)* and *clamat (ac)* occur in the same sentence and describe the same reference time: Anna has at this point in time already heard the sounds and is rushing to Dido’s bedroom. As a matter of fact, all perfect tense forms of *audire* are found in contexts in which the sound or speech has already been mentioned or implied in the text.

This is a very interesting difference with present tense forms of the verb *audire*. Present tense forms of *audire* occur when the sound has not yet been mentioned, as is illustrated in example (15). Nisus is wandering in a forest and hears sounds that have not yet been mentioned (in contrast to the *clamor* of example (14)).

Example (15), 9.391 – 394

|rursus perplexum iter omne reuoluens| At the same time he scans and retraces his footsteps,
|fallacis siluae simul et uestigia retro| and wanders in the silent thickets. He hears the horses,
|obseruata legit dumisque silentibus errat.| hears the shouts and signals of pursuit.
|audit equos, audit strepitus et signa sequentum;| We might say that present tense forms of *audire* govern objects that introduce a sound into the story, whereas in case of perfect tense forms the sound has been mentioned earlier. This difference between the perfect and the present tense of the verb *audire* shows that the perfect tense is used to denote anteriority to reference time.

Not only perfect tense forms of the verbs *audire* and *dicere* indicate that a state of affairs is anterior to reference time in the directing mode. All perfect tense forms that are part of a directed sequence should be interpreted as anterior to reference time. This particular interpretation of the perfect tense lies at the basis of various narrative techniques in the *Aeneid*, which all have to do with the tempo of the story. In the next section, I will discuss the role of the perfect tense with respect to the advancement of reference time in order to discuss these ‘time-management’ techniques in §3.4.2.

### 3.4.1 The Perfect Tense and the Advancement of Reference Time in the Directing Mode

The directing mode is characterized by the simultaneous advancement of reference time, base and narrator. As I explained in §1.2.1, ‘time ticks’ in the directing mode due to advancing states of affairs. Apart from these advancing states of affairs, the directing mode contains stationary states of affairs which take the reference time of the previous state of affairs and framing states of affairs that introduce a new reference time, thereby providing a frame for the next state of affairs.

The present tense is used for advancing, stationary and framing states of affairs, as I showed in §2.4.1, but we also find the perfect tense in each of these three types. Most perfect tense forms in the directing mode indicate an advancement of reference time, few are frames (see also example (12) of this chapter) and even less are stationary situations, as becomes clear from table 2.

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109 The observation of Kühner-Stegman (cf. also Mack 1978:48) that a perfect tense form often indicates the cause for a following state of affairs in the present tense holds, of course, for this example as well: it is because Anna hears the screams that she runs towards the castle. This relation of cause and effect is a specific interpretation of the relation of anteriority.

110 The other examples of the perfect tense of *audire* in the directing mode are found at 7.516, 10.424, 10.464, 11.911, 12.449.

111 The other examples of the present tense of *audire* in the directing mode are found at 2.706, 3.40, 3.556, 8.312, 9.394.

112 Some verb forms cannot be recognized as either a present tense form or a perfect tense form in Latin (e.g. *descendit* or *ostendit*). In the *Aeneid*, 27 of such cases occur in the directing mode. In these cases, the verb form may be interpreted either as taking place in reference time (a present tense form) or as anterior to reference time (a perfect tense). An example is *exuit* in 7.415: *Allecto toruam faciem et Furialiæ membra/ exuit, in uultus sese*
Table 2: The perfect tense and the advancement of reference time in the directing mode (indicative)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advancing</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stationary</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>553</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples explain how a perfect tense form may indicate an advancement of reference time (example (16)), how it may form a frame for the next state of affairs (example (17)) and how it may denote a stationary state of affairs (example (18)).

The perfect tense form *derexere* in example (16) indicates an advancement of reference time in the following way: the narrator moves from the time in which the troops are leaving the camp (*effundit*) to the reference time in which the ranks are already set up and ready to fight (*derexere*), and, finally, to the reference time in which the troops are fighting (*agitur*).

Example (16), 7.521 – 525

…, nec non et Troia pubes Ascanio auxilium castris *effundit* apertis. *derexere* acies. non iam certamine agresti stipitibus duris *agitur* sudibusue praeustis, sed ferro ancipiti *decernunt* …

…, no less do the Trojan youth pour through the camp’s open gates to help Ascanius. The lines are ranged: now they do not contend in rustic quarrel with heavy clubs or seared stakes, but with two-edged steel they try the issue;

The perfect tense form *derexere* denotes the advancement from the time in which the troops are leaving the camp to the time in which the ranks are already set up. A perfect tense form advances reference time when it, like *derexere*, denotes an event that is anterior to a new reference time. Therefore, advancement of reference time by means of a perfect tense form can be seen as a detour: there is no state of affairs that takes place in a new reference time, but this new reference time is introduced by means of a state of affairs that took place *before* this new reference time.

This, of course, not all that can be said about *derexere*. The perfect tense form *derexere* does not only represent an event before reference time (setting up of the ranks), but also a situation in reference time resulting from this event (the ranks being set up). I would like to make a remark here about the ‘resultative’ use of the perfect tense and emphasize that this effect of a result is not due to the perfect tense alone. The combination of the perfect tense and the semantics of the verb *derigo* imply a visible result of ranks being set up and this is what evokes a ‘resultative’ interpretation. In general, such a ‘resultative’ interpretation of a perfect tense form is only evoked when the meaning of a verb implies a result (Pinkster 1983:288). Therefore, the Latin perfect cannot be seen as a tense form expressing ‘results’ or ‘resultativity’ on its own account (Haverling 2002). This being said, the perfect tense form *derexere* introduces a new reference time regardless of whether we see it as a situation in reference time or as an event before reference time, and is, therefore, an advancing state of affairs. As such, it illustrates how a perfect tense form may indicate an advancement of reference time in the directing mode.\(^\text{113}\)

\(^{113}\) The perfect tense form *derexere* does not denote a frame since the situation resulting from this state of affairs does not continue during the next state of affairs, i.e. the ranks do not stay in their set up position during the fighting.

\(^{113}\) The perfect tense form *derexere* does not denote a frame since the situation resulting from this state of affairs does not continue during the next state of affairs, i.e. the ranks do not stay in their set up position during the fighting.
The perfect tense forms may also denote a frame which locates another state of affairs in time or place (chapter 1). *Postquam*-clauses may, for instance, function as frames in that they give a temporal setting for the main clause (cf. example (12)). Perfect tense forms in main clauses may also provide frames for the next clause, when they represent a situation that results from an earlier event. An example of this is the formula *oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit*: the narrator starts a new scene by means of a temporal setting (it is early in the morning).\textsuperscript{114}

\textit{Example (17), 4.129 – 132}

\textit{Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.}\textsuperscript{115} Meanwhile Dawn rose and left the ocean. When sunlight has burst forth, there issues from the gates a chosen band of youth; with meshed nets, toils, broad-pointed hunting spears, there stream forth Massylian horsemen and their strong, keen-scented hounds.

\textit{Example (18), 2.796 – 800}

\textit{Atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse novorum inuenio admirans numerum, matresque virosque, collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile uulgus, undique conuenere animis opibusque parati in quascumque uelim pelago deducere terras.} And here, astonished, I find that a vast number of new comrades has streamed in, mothers and men, a band gathered for exile, a piteous throng. From all sides they have come, with heart and fortune ready for me to lead them over the sea to whatever lands I will.

The adverb \textit{interea} evokes the interpretation that the event \textit{reliquit} happened before we enter the scene, thereby creating a (temporal) frame for the rest of this scene. The verb \textit{relinquere} denotes a change and this value of momentaneous change creates the interpretation that in reference time Aurora has left the ocean. This situation continues to exist in the rest of the scene, which means that it functions as the frame for the scene as a whole.

In examples (16) and (17), the perfect tense denotes anteriority to a new reference time. A perfect tense form in the directing mode may, however, also be anterior to an already given reference time. This use of the perfect tense may be illustrated by means of the example below, in which the perfect tense form \textit{conuenere} refers to an event that took place before the already given reference time of \textit{inuenio}, resulting in a situation in this reference time. After his search for Creusa, Aeneas returned to his father, son and troops. There he found (\textit{inuenio}) many people, who had come (\textit{adfluxisse} and \textit{conuenere}) from everywhere.

The base in this example is reference time, as becomes clear from the present tense form \textit{inuenio} in the first sentence and the present subjunctive \textit{uelim} in the subordinate clause (see §2.3).\textsuperscript{116} The interpretation of \textit{conuenere} as representing a state of affairs which is anterior to reference time imposes itself as a natural interpretation in case of someone finding (\textit{inuenio}) a group of people who must have gathered before this moment of finding. The perfect tense form \textit{conuenere} does not advance reference time, nor is it a frame for another state of affairs, and, thus, it is a stationary state of affairs.

\textsuperscript{114}This formula does not necessarily mean that the sun came up during the preceding conversation between Juno and Venus. As Rheinmuth shows, the adverb \textit{interea} does not necessarily mean that the events took place during the previously narrated events (Rheinmuth 1933, cf. also Austin on e.g. 1.180). In stead, \textit{interea} seems to denote that an event or the start of a situation took place before the reference time at which the narrator starts the passage. This adverb is thus similar to a specific narrative technique with \textit{iam}, called ‘\textit{iam d’ouverture et de preparation}’ by Chaussérie-Laprée (1969) (cf. Kroon & Risselada 2004).

\textsuperscript{115}This verse also occurs as the first verse of book 11.

\textsuperscript{116}Other instances of a perfect tense governing a subordinated present tense form (\textit{dum}-clauses excepted): 1.305; 1.418; 2.533; 2.533; 3.192; 3.192; 5.008; 5.008; 6.197; 6.472; 6.472; 8.081; 8.086; 8.086; 9.539; 9.803; 10.260; 11.690. Cf. also 4.452.
Chapter 3

This section discussed how a perfect tense form in the directing mode may indicate the advancement of reference time, a framing state of affairs, or a stationary state of affairs. These three uses of the perfect tense in the directing mode have in common that they are tools for the narrator to manage the advancement of reference time, thereby avoiding the tediousness of an uninterrupted enumeration of events in the present tense. The next section discusses different types of ‘time management’ by means of the perfect tense in the directing mode.

3.4.2 The Perfect Tense and the Directing Mode: Time Management

The perfect tense in the directing mode often indicates an acceleration of the tempo of the story. A perfect tense form may, for instance, evoke the idea of a ‘time gap’, as can be illustrated by means of example (16) from above, here quoted as example (19). The actual setting up of the ranks is skipped and the narrator moves directly to the moment in which the ranks are already set up by means of the perfect tense form *derexere*.

Example (19), 7.521 – 525

... nec non et Troia pubes
Ascanio auxilium castris *effundit apertis.*
*derexere* acies. non iam certamine agresti
stipitibus duris agitur sudibusue praestusis,
sed ferro ancipiti decernunt ...

... no less do the Trojan youth pour through the camp’s open gates to help Ascanius. The lines are ranged: now they do not contend in rustic quarrel with heavy clubs or seared stakes, but with two-edged steel they try the issue;

The perfect tense suggests that the state of affairs is anterior to reference time: it has already happened. As such, the perfect tense speeds up the presentation of the story.

Interesting in this respect is the combination of the perfect tense with the conjunction *donec* in directed sequences. The conjunction *donec* makes it explicit that the narrator moves to a new reference time, and the perfect tense indicates that in this reference time something has already happened.117 An example is found in book 12, when Iuturna sends a sign to the Italians in order to make them help Turnus in his fight against Aeneas. The sign is an eagle that attacks one swan. Other swans then ‘drive their foe through the air, till the bird gave way.’

Example (20), 12.251 – 258

*arrexere animos Itali, cunctaeque uolucres*
conuenunt clamore fugam (mirabile uisu),
aetheraque obscurant pennis hostemque per auras
facta nube *premunt*, *donec* ui uictus et ipso
pondere *defecit* praedamque ex unguibus ales
*Tum uero augurium Rutuli clamore salutant*
*proiecit* fluuo, penitusque in nubila *fugit*.
*Tum uero augurium Rutuli clamore salutant*
expedientque manus, ..

The Italians become alert and, wondrous to behold, all the birds clamorously wheel their flight and, darkening the sky with wings, in serried cloud drive their foe through the air till, overcome by the onset and the sheer weight, the bird gave way, dropped the booty from his talons into the stream, and sped deep into the clouds.

Then in truth the Rutulians hail the omen with a cheer and spread out their hands, ...

In this particular example, the use of *donec* creates the idea that the birds were routing the eagle for quite some time, but the use of the perfect tense makes clear that the danger is now gone and that the eagle has fled.118 The combination of *donec* and the perfect tense suggests that the narrator summarizes the lengthy states of affairs. Again, the perfect tense is used to summarize a time consuming state of affairs, thereby increasing the tempo of the presentation of the story.

117 Also the present tense occurs in combination with *donec*, in which case we move to a reference time in which the state of affairs in the present tense is taking place (e.g. 10.267).

118 An alternative interpretation would be that there is an alteration in the discourse mode, the narrator switching from directing to narrative. Either way, the sequence starting with *donec* functions to indicate the end of the birds routing, before the story may continue with the reaction of the Rutulians to this omen (in the directing mode).
The perfect tense can, however, also function as a tool to suggest that the state of affairs itself was relatively brief, if not instantaneous, as is shown in the example below. The winds have been freed by their king, Aeolus, and are blazing over land and sea:

Example (21), 1.82 – 87
… ac uenti, uelut agmine facto, qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant. Incubuere mari, totumque a sedibus imis una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis Africus, et uastos uoluant ad litora fluctus. Insequitur clamorque uirum stridorque rudentum. When lo! The winds, as if in armed array rush forth where passage is given, and blow in storm blasts across the world. They have swooped down upon the sea, and from its lowest depths upheave it all – East and South winds together, and the Southwester, thick with tempest – and shoreward roll vast billows. Then come the cries of men and creaking of cables.

The perfect tense forms data and incubuere occur in alternation with present tense forms, and may be translated by means of English present perfects: “the winds, as if in armed array, rush forth where passage is given, and blow in storm blasts across countries. They have swooped down upon the sea, and from its lowest depths upheave it all” (adaptation of Fairclough/Goold 1999).119

The event incubuere is instantaneous, and this seems to be the reason why several commentators of the Aeneid (e.g. Austin, Conington, Williams) refer to the perfect tense form incubuere and similar instances of the perfect tense as “the perfect of instantaneous action”. This term, although it is not as inaccurate as its shorter variant ‘instantaneous perfect’ (Williams 1972 on incubuere), is unnecessary to describe this interpretation of the perfect tense, as this perfect tense form has the same semantic value that a perfect tense form always has: it denotes that the state of affairs incubuere is anterior to base. The base is positioned in reference time, as is shown by the present tense forms ruunt, perflant and the second ruunt, with which incubuere is coordinated. A base in reference time means that the state of affairs incubuere is anterior to the reference time in which the winds are blazing over land and sea. The result is that the state of affairs incubuere is interpreted as an instantaneous event: it is suggested that this state of affairs happens so fast that the narrator cannot but present it when it is already over and done with. However, the instantaneousness of the state of affairs is an interpretation of the perfect tense in combination with a base in reference time, and not a meaning of the perfect tense in itself.

Another example is found in the excerpt below, in which the adverb iam is an extra indication of the quick pace of events.120 First, the narrator tells in detail how one ship was overwhelmed by the sea (unam), and then continues with the fates of the other ships.121

Example (22), 1.118 – 123
Unam, quae Lycios fidumque uhebat Oronten, ipsius ante oculos ingens a uertice pontus in puppim ferit: excutitur pronusque magister uoluitur in caput; ast illam ter fluctus ibidem torquet agens circum, et rapidus uorat aequore uertex. Apparent rari nantes in gurgite uasto, arma uirum, tabulaeque, et Troia gaza per undas.

One, which bore the Lycians and loyal Orontes, before the eyes of Aeneas a mighty toppling wave strikes astern. The helmsman is dashed out and hurled head foremost, but the ship is thrice on the same spot whirled round and round by the wave and engulfed in the sea’s devouring eddy. Here and there are seen swimmers in the vast abyss, with weapons of men,

119 Quinn (1968:90) analyzes this and similar examples correctly when he states that the Latin perfect is occasionally used in the Aeneid where in the English language a present perfect would also be appropriate. He compares this use of the perfect tense with the use of the Greek aorist in similar contexts, i.e. when the aorist marks “an unexpected turn of events, something that was over and done with in a moment.” (Quinn 1968:91).

120 See Austin (1971 ad locum) for the repetition of iam. The total amount of iam occurring in combination with a perfect tense form is 21, 17 of which occur within the direct mode (1.122; 1.698; 1.698; 2.218; 2.310; 2.481; 2.482; 2.634; 3.356; 5.762; 6.81; 6.385; 11.182; 12.238; 12.341; 12.424; 12.705).

121 See §4.6.2 for the use of the imperfect tense form uehebat.
IAM UALIDAM ILIONEI NAUEM, IAM FORTIS ACHATI, ET QUO UECTUS ABAS, ET QUO GRANDAEUS ALETES, UICIT HIENS; LAXIS LATERUM COMPAGIBUS OMNES ACCIPIUNT INIMICUM IMBREM, RIMISQUE FATISCUNT.

The storm takes these four ships one after another, and the narrator advances along the four reference times in which each ship has already given way to the storm. The elliptic presentation, the repetition of *iam* and the enumeration of the ships accentuate the quickly paced order in which the ships one after another have given way to the storm. Also the perfect tense stresses the suddenness and velocity of these four events: the narrator suggests that the events follow each other so quickly that he cannot keep up with the pace. At this time, all that can be seen are the remains of ships already overwhelmed by a storm.

I would interpret the perfect tense forms *reluxit* and *dedit* in the example below in the same way. These verb forms represent the immediate result of the preceding present tense form *occupat*. What is described by means of the clauses containing *occupat, reluxit* and *dedit* is a jet of flames coming out of Ebysus’ beard as it catches fire (comparable to, for instance, a magnesium flare). The use of the perfect tense is decisive for this reading: three present tense forms would not have had this effect.

Example (23), 12.297 – 304

concurrunt Itali spoliantque calentia membra. obiuus ambustum torrem Corynaeus ab ara corripit et uemienti Ebyso plagamque ferenti occupat os flammis: olli ingens barba reluxit nidoreoque ambusta dedit. super ipse secutus caesariem laeua turbati corripit hostis impressoque genu nitens terrae applicat ipsum; sic rigidó latus ense ferit.

The state of affairs *occupat* is instantaneous in that it only takes a very short moment to set fire to the face (i.e. beard) of Ebysus: this reference time is finished as soon as *occupat* has taken place. The blazing up of the beard and the emergence of the smell happen in the reference time of *occupant*. However, the narrator does not use two present tense forms (denoting stationary events) to fill in the current reference time, but he suggests that reference time has advanced (‘time has ticked’) by using the perfect tense. These perfect tense forms catch up with the events that have happened ‘just now’. This example shows that the perfect tense may be used to emphasize the velocity of one or more events as a result of its semantic value: the perfect tense indicates that the state of affairs is anterior to a new reference time (its base). It also shows that the perfect tense may be used to reconsider the previous reference time from a different angle. The present tense form *occupat* denotes this event from the angle of Corynaeus, who sets Ebysus’ face on fire. Then a perspective change is indicated by *ollī*, and the perfect tense forms *reluxit* and *dedit* consider this reference time from the angle of Ebysus (*ollī*), at the same time indicating that ‘time has ticked’.

The technique in example (23) is used quite often to present the reactions of one character to the previously described actions of another character, as may be illustrated by the example below. Aeneas, Antheus and Mnestheus have left their camp and rush over the plain.
As soon as they came out of the gates, they were seen by their enemies (the perfect tense forms *uidere, cucurrit, audit, agnouit* and *refugit*).

Example (24), 12.441 – 449

Haec ubi dicta *dedit*, portis sese *exit* ingens telum immame manu quatiens; simul agmine denso Antheusque Mnestheusque *ruunt*, omnisque relictis turba *fluat* castris. tum caeco puluere campus *miscetur* pulsuque pedum *tremitt* excita tellus.

*uidit* ab aduaero uenients aggere Turnus,

*uidere* Ausonii, gelidusque per ima *cucurrit*

ossa tremor; prima ante omnis Luturna Latinos

*audit* agnouitque sonum et tremeacta *refugit*.

When he had spoken these words, he rushed out through the gates in all his might, brandishing a massive spear in his hand: with him rush Antheus and Mnestheus in serried column, and all the throng streams out of the forsaken camp. Then the plain is a turmoil of blinding dust, and the startled earth trembles under the tramp of feet. From the facing rampart Turnus saw them coming; the Ausonians saw, and a cold shudder ran through the marrow of their bones; first before all the Latins Juturna heard and knew the sounds, and in terror fled away.

The narrator first tells how Aeneas, Mnestheus and Antheus appear on the plain and then he fills his audience in about the states of affairs that happened simultaneous to the outburst of the Trojans and which are ‘now’ anterior to reference time. Like the audience, Turnus, the Ausonians and Juturna have seen the Trojans coming. Present tense forms would have suggested that Turnus saw his enemies in a new reference time, a reference time in which Aeneas c.s. was already well on his way. As in all examples in this section, the perfect tense indicates that the state of affairs are anterior to reference time, and, as such, the tense is a tool to manage the tempo: it indicates that we review the now finished reference time from another angle, and that Turnus already saw Aeneas at the very moment of his rushing out of the gates.

To summarize, the perfect tense is a tool for different types of time management in the directing mode. It may be used to suggest that a lengthy state of affairs is summarized or that a state of affairs happened so fast that it could only be described after its completion. The last examples of this section illustrated that the perfect tense can also be used to reconsider a reference time from another angle, while suggesting that this reference time is ‘now’ finished.

3.4.3 Conclusion on the Perfect Tense in the Directing Mode

The perfect tense in the directing mode denotes that a state of affairs is anterior to reference time. This reference time may have already been introduced (few instances), in which case the perfect tense denotes a stationary state of affairs. More frequently, the perfect tense form denotes a state of affairs that is anterior to a new reference time, thereby advancing reference time or creating a frame for the next state of affairs.

### 3.5 Transposed Report Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Mode</th>
<th>Base Time of narration</th>
<th>Reference time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>Transposed Report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering</td>
<td>Directing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>Transposed Narrative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Transposed Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This section discusses the use of the perfect tense in transposed report. Transposed report and the directing mode have in common that the base is reference time. The perfect tense in transposed report indicates, as it does in the directing mode, anteriority to reference time. Whereas the directing mode is concerned with states of affairs which happen on stage and, therefore, contains perfect tense forms that happened right before reference time, transposed report is concerned with states of affairs that are not perceived on stage, but that are connected to reference time in a more general way. In case of the perfect tense this means that the state of affairs took place long before reference time, as was illustrated in §1.2.2 by means of the example repeated below. The city of Nursia sent warriors at a certain moment before reference time, hence the perfect tense form *misit.*
With him came Amitemnum’s vast cohort, and the ancient Quirites, the whole band of Eretum and olive-bearing Mutusca; those who dwell in Nomentum’s city and the Rosean country by Velinus, on Tetrica’s rugged crags and Mount Severus, in Xasperia and Foruli, and by Himella’s stream; those who drink of Tiber and Fabaris, those whom cold Nursia sent, the Ortine squadrons, the Latin peoples, …

The perfect tense form *misit* differs from the perfect tense forms in the directing mode in that it does not refer to an event that was happening in the preceding reference time, but to a state of affairs that took place in a more distant past of reference time. In narratological terms, the transposed report mode is used for an *analepsis*.

We know that the analepsis in (25) is presented in transposed report, and not in report from a base in the time of narration, because the present tense forms *colunt* and *bibunt* reflect a base in reference time. The example below, however, illustrates that we cannot know the base of all perfect tense analepses.

In the analepsis about the origin of Acestes, the state of affairs *genuit* is anterior to reference time, but also, of course, to the time of narration. We cannot be certain of the base of *genuit*, and this analepsis may either be part of the report mode or of the transposed report mode.

A total number of 47 perfect tense forms which might be transposed report occurs in the *Aeneid*, but only seven perfect tense forms are unambiguously part of transposed report. I would like to emphasize that this ambiguity only exists when you try to categorize perfect tense forms: in (26) the reader interprets this information as a simple fact about Acestes and does not need to bother whether this perfect takes its base in reference time or in the time of narration. What matters is that the state of affairs took place before reference time.

Nevertheless, in cases as (27) below it seems more appealing to assume the use of the transposed report mode, rather than the use of ‘normal’ report. The narrator explains that Mnestheus and Serestus have temporarily taken over Aeneas’ position, since Aeneas is away on his trip to Euander.

On this scene the Trojans look forth from the rampart above, as in arms they hold the summit; in anxious haste they test the gates and build joining gangways and bastions, bring up weapons. Mnestheus and valiant Serestus urge on the work, whom father Aeneas, should adversity ever require, appointed as leaders of the warriors and rulers of the state.

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123 The term analepsis was introduced by Genette (e.g. 1980:48) to refer to states of affairs which took place in the distant past of the states of affairs which constitute the story. Cf. Bal 1985. See also §4.5 and §5.4.

124 These are found at 7.486; 7.715; 7.727; 7.744; 7.750; 10.436; 12.352.

125 The same holds for the pluperfect tense, as I will explain in §5.6.
Strictly speaking, one could argue that the narrator presents the state of affairs *dedit* in the report mode, using his own time as a base. In my opinion, it is in this case more natural to read the perfect tense relative clause with respect to its anteriority to the main clause and thus to reference time: a state of affairs that is anterior to reference time (*dedit*) explains a state of affairs in reference time (*instat*).

### 3.6 Transposed Description Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse Mode</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Time of narration</th>
<th>Reference time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Transposed Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Directing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Transposed Narrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Transposed Description</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The transposed description mode is characterized by sequences of states of affairs that do not advance reference time, but, instead, evoke the idea of spatial progression over the surface of an object or through the scenery. Typical for the transposed description mode are unbounded states of affairs expressed by present tense forms (indicating a base in reference time).

This section discusses those perfect tense forms which are part of the transposed description mode. A perfect tense form in the transposed description mode denotes a state of affairs that took place before reference time and that has resulted in a (visible) situation in reference time. An example is found when Turnus tries to lift and throw a rock at Aeneas, but finds himself unable to move.126

Example (28), 12.901 – 905

*ille manu raptum trepida torquebat in hostem altior insurgens et cursu concitus heros.*

*sed neque currentem se nec cognoscit euntem tollentem manu saxumue immane mouentem; genua labant, gelidus concreuit frigore sanguis.*

But the hero, with hurried grasp, seized and hurled it at his foe, rising to his hight and at swiftest speed. But he does not recognize himself as he runs, nor as he moves, as he raises the mighty stone in his hand or throws it; his knees buckle, his blood is frozen cold.

Reference time does not advance in this description: the states of affairs *torquebat, cognoscit, labant* and *concreuit* all refer to the same reference time. Both *cognoscit* and *labant* take place in this reference time, whereas the state of affairs *concreuit* (*becoming stiff or frozen*) is anterior to it. The situation following from this stiffening is contemporaneous with reference time, however: the blood of Turnus is frozen in reference time. This is because the perfect tense of the verb *concrescere* has a resultative side-effect (see example (16) above). This resultative side-effect is found in all 24 instances of the perfect tense in the transposed description mode.

The perfect tense is used in transposed descriptions that are part of an ekphrasis, although not very often. Examples are found in the ekphrasis of the cloak that is a price in the boat race in book 5.127 This cloak has two purple stripes along the seam, and two pictures are embroidered on it (Williams 1960, Pinkster 1999:708). The first picture is that of a boy hunting, on the second picture an eagle has grabbed the boy (Ganymedes) and carries it off.

Example (29), 5.250 – 257

*ipis praecipuis ductoris addit honores: uictori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum purpura maenandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit, intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida uelocis iaculo cursuque fatigat acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida sublimem pedibus rapuit Iouis armiger uncis;*

*For the captains themselves he adds special honours; to the winner, a cloak wrought with gold, about which ran deep Meliboean purple in double waving line, and, woven in, the royal boy, with javelin and speedy foot, on leavy Ida tries fleet stags, eager and seemingly breathless; him Jove’s swift armour bearer has caught up aloft from Ida in his talons; his aged guardians in*

126 For the imperfect tense form *torquebat* see §4.7.

127 The only other example of the perfect tense in transposed description as part of ekphrasis is found in 8.719 (*strauere*).
longaeui palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt
custodes, saeuitque canum latratus in auras.

vain stretch their hands to the starts and the savage
barking of dogs rises skyward.

This ekphrasis contains two perfect tense forms, *cucurrit* and *rapuit*, which function on
different ‘levels’ (cf. Becker 1995) of the ekphrasis. The perfect tense form *cucurrit* is part of
the description of the cloak itself (bold type), and refers to the making of the cloak, whereas
the perfect tense form *rapuit* is part of the description of what is depicted on the cloak.

The state of affairs *purpura cucurrit* took place long before reference time (defined by
*addit*), during the making of this cloak and may, therefore, be compared to the participle
*intextus*. Both states of affairs denote a result in reference time: the state of affairs of the
embroidering (*intexere*) has resulted in the appearance of an embroidered boy on the cloak.
The ‘running’ of the ‘purple’ (in the form of a woven or sewn border) along the seam of this
cloak has left a double purple trail on this seam: it is the result of the state of affairs *purpura
cucurrit* that is visible on the cloak.

As said, the other perfect tense form (*rapuit*) is part of the description of what is
depicted. In this case as well, it is the resulting situation that matters: it is the result of the
state of affairs *rapuit* that is visible on the cloak as part of the second picture (Williams 1960,
Pinkster 1999:708). This means that the eagle has picked up Ganymedes right before the
second moment that is depicted on this cloak, i.e. the moment of *tendunt* and *saeuit*.

In sum, both perfect tense forms in this ekphrasis function as all perfect tense forms in
transposed description: they have a base in reference time, and refer to a state of affairs that
took place before reference time and has resulted in a situation *in* reference time.

3.7 Conclusion
A perfect tense form in the *Aeneid* may be interpreted in various ways. These interpretations
are connected to and evoked by the discourse mode used. This does not mean that the
meaning of the perfect tense alters whenever another discourse mode is used. On the contrary,
the perfect tense has the same semantic value in all discourse modes: it always expresses that
a state of affairs is anterior to the base.

In the discourse mode report, the perfect tense denotes that the state of affairs is
anterior to the time of narration. In narrative too a state of affairs expressed by a perfect tense
form is anterior to the time of narration. The difference between a perfect tense form in report
and a perfect tense form in narrative is that in narrative a perfect tense form is always
presented in relation to other states of affairs on the time line of the story.

The role of the perfect tense within the narrative mode is to denote events. These
events usually advance reference time. The fact that in the narrative mode the perfect tense
denotes the events is in line with the semantic value of the perfect tense: the perfect tense
denotes states of affairs that are anterior to the time of narration, which means that these states
of affairs have a start and end. Put differently, such states of affairs are *bounded*, i.e. they are
events.

When the base is positioned in reference time, the perfect tense denotes anteriority to
reference time. It is used in the *directing mode* for states of affairs that happened immediately
before reference time and it is used in *transposed report* to refer to states of affairs that took
place in a more distant past of reference time. In *transposed description*, the perfect tense
denotes events that are anterior to the situations expressed by present tense forms. These
states of affairs resulted in a visible situation.

An overview of the interpretations of the perfect tense and the amount of occurrences
in the Aeneid is given below.
Interpretations of the perfect tense

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpretation of perfect tense</th>
<th>Interpretation of perfect tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Report mode</strong></td>
<td><strong>Anterior to TofN (§3.3)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Registering mode</strong></td>
<td><strong>Anterior to RT (§3.4)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Narrative mode</strong></td>
<td><strong>Event in RT (§3.2)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description mode</strong></td>
<td><strong>Anterior to RT, resulting situation in RT (§3.6)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.8 The Perfect Tense: a Tense for Speakers and Gods?

Now that I have explained the possible interpretations of the perfect tense, I would like to pay attention to two environments in which, according to the literature on the *Aeneid*, the perfect tense plays an important role. These environments are the end of speeches and appearances of the gods.

#### 3.8.1 The Perfect after Direct Speech

It has often been observed that the perfect tense occurs regularly after direct speech (Quinn 1968:92; Von Albrecht 1970; Pinkster 1999:710). As a matter of fact, 20 percent of all perfect tense forms in my corpus (the *Aeneid* with the exclusion of direct and indirect speech) occur in a sentence that immediately follows direct speech. In comparison with the present tense this indeed is relatively often: as is shown in the table only 12 percent of all present tense forms occurs in the first sentence after direct speech.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense (indicative)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>In first sentence after direct speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>549 (100%)</td>
<td>3 (&lt;1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present (historic)</td>
<td>3012 (100%)</td>
<td>352 (12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>1338 (100%)</td>
<td>269 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>527 (100%)</td>
<td>79 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
<td>180 (100%)</td>
<td>44 (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present or Perfect</td>
<td>102 (100%)</td>
<td>33 (32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>68 (100%)</td>
<td>7 (38%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the table also shows that, in absolute terms, it is the present that occurs most often in the first sentence after direct speech: the present tense occurs 352 times in sentences that immediately follow direct speech, whereas the perfect tense occurs 269 times. Nevertheless, it is true that the perfect tense occurs relatively often after direct: whereas the perfect tense forms are only 23 % of all narrative tense forms in the *Aeneid* (outside speech), the percentage of perfect tense forms immediately following direct speech is 34.

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128 The largest part of these 102 states of affairs consists of the forms *ait* and *inquit*, of which no perfect form exists.
Table 4: Tenses after direct speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense (indicative)</th>
<th>After direct speech</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present (historic)</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present or Perfect</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future tenses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitive</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These perfect tense forms should not all be analyzed in the same way, however. They may be divided into several groups according to the discourse mode used. After direct speech we find the perfect tense in the directing mode, in the narrative mode and in report:

Table 5: Discourse modes of perfect tense forms after direct speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>After direct speech</th>
<th>All perfect tense forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directing</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transposed report</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transposed description</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perfect tense forms in the directing mode indicate that a state of affairs is anterior to reference time. In the specific environment of the end of a speech this means that the state of affairs described by the perfect tense took place during the speech. A set of perfect tense forms that indicate what happened during a speech is found at the start of book 4, when Anna gives Dido advice on what to do with her feelings for Aeneas. After Anna’s speech the narrator uses the perfect tense to fill his audience in on the effects this speech has had on Dido:

Example (30), 4.54 - 57

His dictis impenso animum flammauit amore spemque dedit dubiae menti soluitque pudorem. principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras exquirunt; With these words she fanned into flame the queen’s love-enkindled heart, put hope in her wavering mind, and loosed the bonds of shame. First they visit the shrines and sue for peace at every altar; …

The states of affairs flammauit, dedit and soluit have all taken place at some point during Anna’s speech. That is, they are anterior to the reference time after the speech (principio adeunt), and hence are stated in the perfect tense. Quinn (1968:92) seems to refer to this technique when he states: “a common pattern is a sentence in perfects after an exciting or dramatic passage in direct speech, expressing a character’s reaction to that speech or an action taken by him at its conclusion. Usually the narrative resumes at once in the historical present.”

The narrative mode with its characteristic perfect tense forms is used in two ways after direct speech: to narrate what happened after the speech and, secondly, to narrate what happened during the speech. An example of the narrative mode used to tell what happened after the speech is found in the scene in which the river god Tiber appears to Aeneas. The
perfect tense forms *dixit*, *condidit* and *reliquit* here represent successive events, as is also indicated by *deinde*.\(^{129}\)

Example (31), 08.066 – 67

*Dixit*, deinde lacu fluuius se *condidit* alto
ima petens; nox Aenean somnusque *reliquit*.

So spoke the River, then plunged into his deep pool, seeking the lowest depths; night and sleep left Aeneas.

These events represent three reference times: Tiberinus is talking, then he leaves and after that Aeneas awakes. After the conclusion of the appearance of the river god, the story continues in the directing mode. These perfect tense forms differ from perfect tense forms in the directing mode in that we cannot interpret them as taking place during the speech: Tiberinus cannot talk and disappear at the same time. Such incompatibility is a reason to assume that the narrator is using the time of narration as a base to narrate from. Another indication for this interpretation is the use of adverbs such as *deinde*, which indicate that a state of affairs happened after the speaking instead of simultaneously.

The narrative mode is also used to narrate what happened *during* the speech. In such cases one might argue that the base is positioned in reference time and that the narrator uses *transposed narrative*.\(^{130}\) Transposed narratives differ from ‘normal’ narratives only in their base. The time line of a normal narrative is in the past of the time of narration; the time line of a transposed narrative would be in the past of reference time. An example could be the scene of Priam’s death, a scene that contains direct speech and perfect tense forms after this direct speech. As I will explain, all these perfect tense forms took place during the speech of Pyrrhus.

Example (32), 2.548 – 553
cui Pyrrhus: *referes ergo haec et nuntius ibis*
Pelidae genitori. illi mea tristia facta
degeneremque Neoptoleum narrare memento.
nunc morere. *hoc dicens* altaria ad ipsa trementem
*traxit* et in multo lapsantem sanguine nati,
*implicuit*que comam laeua, dextraque coruscum
*extulit* ac lateri capulo tenus *abdidit* ensem.

To him Pyrrhus: ‘Then you shall bear this news and go as messenger to my sire, Peleus’ son; be sure to tell him of my sorry deeds and his degenerate Neoptolemus! Now die!’ So saying, to the very altar stones he drew him, trembling and slipping in his son’s streaming blood, and wound his left hand in his hairs, while with the right he raised high the flashing sword and buried it to the hilt in his side.

The perfect tense forms *traxit*, *implicuit*, *extulit* and *abdidit* undoubtedly constitute a narrated sequence: each state of affairs is an event that is temporally connected to the other event. I argue that this sequence took place during Pyrrhus’ speech (cf. Von Albrecht (1970, Pinkster 1983, 1999, Quinn 1963:235ff)) and, therefore, is anterior to the time in which Pyrrhus says: “*nunc morere*”. As the present participle *hoc dicens* (l.550) indicates, the perfect tense forms *traxit*, *implicuit*, *extulit* and *abdidit* represent successive states of affairs that all took place during Pyrrhus’ words and, thus, before reference time. In this interpretation, the state of affairs *abdidit* is simultaneous to the uttering of *nunc morere*: we may picture Pyrrhus enforcing his argument by striking Priam with his sword.

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\(^{129}\) In example (13) the perfect tense form *dixit* is part of the directing mode, here it is part of the narrative mode. It is the rest of the sequence which makes me interpret *dixit* as part of the narrative mode in this case (cf. example (4)).

\(^{130}\) As said in 1.2.2, it is hard to find examples that are unambiguously transposed narrative. Also in this example it is difficult to prove what base is used. This is why I have decided not to include *transposed narrative* in the quantitative overviews of this study. Sequences in the narrative mode are all treated as presented from a base in the time of narration. See §1.2.2n31 for an overview of sequences that might be interpreted as transposed narrative.
3.8.2 The Perfect Tense and Divine subjects

Another environment in which the frequency of the perfect tense has been rightly observed are those scenes with gods, as in example (31) above featuring Tiberinus illustrates (Von Albrecht 1970). This observation is supported by table 7, from which becomes clear that 38 % of the states of affairs with divine subjects is expressed by a perfect tense form. In the Aeneid as a whole the perfect tense is used in 23% of the states of affairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Gods</th>
<th>Total ((in)direct speech excluded)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Praesens</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praesens (‘historic’)</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>3012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfectum</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>1338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfectum</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plusquamperfectum</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Praesens or Perfectum</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future tenses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infinitivus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>5793</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a matter of fact, the perfect tense is used almost equally often as the present tense in case of divine subjects.

The relatively frequent use of the perfect tense is due to the fact that the narrator relatively often chooses the narrative mode to tell about the actions of the gods, as becomes clear when we look at table 8. In the Aeneid as a whole 795 tense forms (indicative) are part of the narrative mode, which is 14 % of all states of affairs. When we only consider states of affairs that have a god as a subject, 108 states of affairs are part of the narrative mode, which is 25 %.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Divine subjects</th>
<th>All states of affairs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directing</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>3579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transposed report</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transposed description</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>5793</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The perfect tense forms are distributed over the modes as follows:

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131 The gods represented in this number are the following: Aeolus, Allecto, Amor, Apollo, Atlas, Bacchus, Berecynthia, Cybebe, Diana, Iris, Juno, Jupiter, Mars, Mercurius, Minerva, Neptunus, Saturnus, Tiberinus, Venus, Vulcanus.
Table 9: Perfect tense forms with divine subjects in discourse modes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Divine subjects</th>
<th>All perfect tense forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directing</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transposed report</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transposed description</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As I will explain in §8.3, scenes featuring the gods represent a specific context in which the narrative mode tends to be used: a display of some sort of dreamlike or indeed dreamt encounter between a mortal and an immortal or dead person (e.g. 2.268).\(^{132}\) This is also the case in example (31) in which Tiberinus appears to Aeneas. A reason for this could be that the narrator wants to add some authority to these fantastic parts of his story by presenting them from a base in the time of narration, thereby emphasizing that he is omniscient.\(^{133}\)

As is shown in the table, perfect tense forms with divine subjects also occur in the directing mode. These perfect tense forms are used to inform the audience on actions of the gods that took place during actions of mortals and that are ‘now’ anterior to reference time. In example (33), we encounter Neptune in the reference time in which he has already sensed the storm, has stuck out his head and sees the Trojans in their uncomfortable position. The perfect tense forms *sensit* and *extulit* function to inform the audience about events that took place before reference time (as *interea* indicates as well), in the case of *extulit* of course resulting in a situation in reference time.

Example (33), 1124 – 130

*Interea magno misceri murmure pontum,*
emissamque hiemem *sensit* Neptunus, et imis
stagna refusa uadis, grauiter commotus; et alto
prospiciens summa placidum caput *extulit* unda.
Disiectam Aeneae toto *uidet* aequore classem,
fluctibus oppressos Troas caelique ruina,
* nec latuere doli fratrem Iunonis et irae.*

Meanwhile Neptune saw the sea in a turmoil of wild uproar, the storm let loose and the still waters seething up from their lowest depths. Greatly troubled was he, and gazing out over the deep he raised a composed countenance above the water’s surface. He sees Aeneas’ fleet scattered all over the sea, the Trojans overwhelmed by the waves and by the falling heavens, nor did Juno’s wiles and wrath escape his eye.

This update ends in the reference time of *uidet*: the narrator has caught up again. As such, this example is comparable to example (34). Iris is sent to earth by Juno to make the Trojan women set fire to their ships.

Example (34), 5605 – 608

dum uariis tumulo *referunt* sollemmia ludis,
Irim de caelo *misit* Saturnia Iuno
Iliacam ad classem uentosque aspirat eunti,
multa mouens necdum antiquum saturata dolorem.

While at the tomb with various games they pay the due rites, Juno, daughter of Saturn, sends Iris down from heaven to the Ilian fleet, and breathes fair winds to waft her on, pondering many a thought and with her ancient grudge still unsated.

\(^{132}\) The dreamlike, or even surreal character of these scenes is often enhanced by the use of *uisus est* (sometimes with an infinitive), combining two meanings of *uiseri*, to wit appearing and seeming, resulting in the interpretation ‘seemed to appear’ (Orlandini 1996), e.g. 2.271, 5.722.

\(^{133}\) However, some encounters between gods and mortals are presented by means of the directing mode. In my opinion, this largely has to do with the perspective of the scene: if the encounter is presented from the point of view of the mortal, the narrative mode is used, and if it is presented from the perspective of the god (i.e. the god has been the subject of the previous lines as well), the encounter will usually be presented in the directing mode (e.g. the encounter between Turnus and Allecto in 7.406ff, which is presented from the point of view of Allecto).
The state of affairs *misit* represents a reaction of Juno and a measure taken by her. This took place during the preceding reference time, in which Trojan boys were performing for their parents. The preceding reference time is made explicit by means of the *dum*-clause.\(^{134}\) The perfect tense form informs the audience on what caused the state of affairs *aspirat* in reference time represented by means of a present tense. As a matter of fact, this is a relatively often used technique to represent the reactions or measures that the gods take.\(^{135}\)

Finally, I discuss one example of perfect tense forms with divine subjects in report.\(^{136}\)

Example (35), 9.717 - 721

Hic Mars armipotens animum uirisque Latinis *addidit* et stimulos acris sub pectore *uertit*, *immisitque* Fugam Teucris atrumque Timorem. undique *conueniunt*, quoniam data copia pugnae, bellatorque animo deus incitit.

At this Mars, the mighty in war, lent fresh strength and valour to the Latins, and in their hearts plied his keen goads, and let slip Flight and dark Terror among the Teucrians. From all sides gather the Latins, since scope for fight is given, and the god of battle seizes on their souls.

The three perfect tense forms *addidit*, *uertit* and *immisit* do not represent three separate reference times on the time line of the story and should, therefore, not be considered as narrative, but as a reported statement. The perfect tense forms in this example serve to give a preliminary summary of the scene to come. That is, they do not indicate successive events on the time line, but summarize the actions that Mars (or 'the spirit of war', Hardie 1993 ad locum) will perform in the next scene. The perfect tense forms *addidit*, *uertit* and *immisit* announce that, in the ensuing scene, Mars adds strength to the Latin soldiers, stimulates them and sends fear to the Trojans, without specifying the order of these states of affairs. The actual scene then starts with the present tense form *conueniunt*, and the present tense form *incidit* indicates the carrying out of what was announced. The report mode in lines 717 – 719 seems to emphasize that from this point in the epic the war between the natives of Italy and the founders of Rome will be of a more serious character.

In sum, perfect tense forms with divine subjects occur in sequences that are mostly presented in the directing mode, the narrative mode and the report mode. The perfect tense forms in the directing mode often represent precautions that a god took at a time before reference time. The narrative mode is used relatively often when the actions of gods are concerned. This might be motivated by the narrator’s wish to emphasize that he does have the authority to tell about the deeds of the gods (see §8.3).

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\(^{134}\) A so-called recapitulating setting (Risselada (1997, cf. Pinkster 1990:246). As a matter of fact, *dum*-clauses often function to give such a summary of the reference time to which the perfect tense form is anterior, both in the directing mode (1.497; 5.605; 9.368 and 12.383) and at the start of a transposed narrative (5.202; 7.355; 9.1; 9.418; 9.539). Most *dum*-clauses are, however, followed by a main clause in the present tense, and summarize the reference time with which the state of affairs in the main clause is simultaneous, i.e. the narrator stays in the same reference time, but moves to a different place or character (e.g. 7.475, see §2.4.1.3).

\(^{135}\) Other instances of this technique to represent the reactions or precautions that the gods take are Neptune in 1.125 – 127 and 7.22 – 24; Venus in 1.411 – 414; Juno in 5.605 – 608; the Tiber in 8.86 – 89, Jupiter in 1.223 – 226; 4.219 – 222; 9.630 - 631 and 9.803 – 805 and Apollo in 77.794 - 806.

\(^{136}\) Other examples are found at 11.794 and 12.554.