ABSTRACT

This thesis, by means of a close examination of the evidence presented by the text, will investigate the dramatic tension between antithetical forces, moral, psychological and social, by way of exploring the relation between man and freedom in the Aeneid.

Chapter I defines the scope and traces the development of the study.

Chapter II examines the effects of Vergil's use of prophecy, stressing the association between the idea of Fate and the Imperium Romanum.

Chapters III and IV show how Vergil adopts Fate as the measure by which he assesses the actions of his characters.

Chapter V, however, finds that the poet's moral evaluation stems from some human value distinct from the concept of Fatum Romanum but applied in addition to it, and attempts to explain this dichotomy in terms of man's recognition of his own humanity on a personal scale at war with his realization of his human potential on a social scale.

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MORAL AMBIGUITY IN VERGIL'S AENEID

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of Classics

McGill University

September 1969

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to express her gratitude to Professor C. D. Gordon for his kind help and advice in directing this study and to acknowledge her debt to the late Professor J. B. Garstang whose interest and example first encouraged her to undertake it.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The question is often raised whether all good poetry is apt to be ambiguous. Personally I would agree with William Empson who says:

> I think it is; ... there is always in great poetry a feeling of generalisation from a case which has been presented definitely; there is always an appeal to a background of human experience which is all the more present when it cannot be named.[1]

Why is it, therefore, that ambiguity is essentially a mark of great poetry? Perhaps Jackson Knight has identified the nature of this association. "Poetry", he says, "might almost be defined as the method by which truth can be reached and expressed even when it involves contradictions."[2] That kind of poetry generally described as literary epic, which may be said to include the Aeneid, has as its aim not merely to involve an audience in the story but to introduce "enormous issues, not immediately relevant to the story, ... to convey almost the whole duty and the whole circumstances of man."[3] An examination of the narrative in the Aeneid reveals underlying patterns of interaction between certain diverse forces which make themselves felt in the behaviour of

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[1] William Empson, Seven Types of Ambiguity (New Directions) preface to 2nd, ed. xv, in reply to a criticism of his work by a certain Mr. James Smith.

[2] Jackson Knight, Roman Vergil, p. 327.

[3] C. M. Bowra, From Vergil to Milton, p. 16.

different characters.[4] The development of the narrative involving conflict within and between these characters traces the course of the assertion of one set of these forces over the other.[5] This would suggest that the author is presenting some important truth the nature of which might be apprehended by a close consideration of these patterns in relation to the narrative. It is the purpose of this thesis, by conducting an examination of the dramatic tension between antithetical forces, moral, psychological and social, to explore, without any claim to define, the nature of this truth. Vergil presents to us in the Aeneid the ambivalent nature of the human animal in his eternal predicament striving to fulfil himself as an individual for psychological survival and at the same time to preserve himself as a social being in an organized society. Jackson Knight has put it aptly:

> Greek thinkers worked hard to rationalize the relation of the individual to society and to justify from the point of view of the individual that limited deference to the group which is sometimes more clearly desirable for the group than for the individual.[6]

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[4]R.D.Williams, in his article "The Opening Scenes of the Aeneid", The Vergilian Society Lectures No. 74, refers to the "interplay of Augustan and Homeric values" in the Aeneid and describes it as "an attempted synthesis of human behaviour, of the dynamic individualism of the Homeric World mingled with and modified by the social and political responsibilities of the Roman way of life". W. Warde Fowler, in The Religious Experience of the Roman People, p. 467, points out that there is a "contrast in the Aeneid between the man who bows to the decrees of fate, destiny, God and the wilful rebel, victim of his own passions."

[5]Arthur Stanley Pease, in his notes to his edition of Aeneid Bk. IV, p.9. "This clash of love and duty, of the 'violentia' of passion of the moment with a far sighted 'pietas' towards gods and race, furnishes the main dramatic conflict of the book." cf. Brooks Otis, Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry, p. 92. "The continuity of the whole narrative is thus an internal, or psychological one which at once reflects a conflict BETWEEN two individuals and a conflict WITHIN each."
Otis, p. 342, also points out that this struggle between the principles of Roman 'pietas' and barbaric 'violentia' ends in "Augustus' victory over the barbarians, all the 'rationis egentes'."

[6]Jackson Knight, op. cit., p. 14.

By following the pattern of interaction between these elements in Aeneas, I hope to arrive at a finer realization of the fundamental relation between man and freedom in the Aeneid. For the success with which Vergil portrays character and enlists our sympathy "derives directly from the freedom of will which he assigns to his characters and the use which they make of that freedom."[7] It is impossible to talk of freedom without reference to some fixed standard with respect to which or in spite of which man realizes positive freedom or abnegates it. It is made very clear in the Aeneid that this fixed standard, in the light of which moral judgments are made by the poet, is Fate. Brooks Otis well describes the interrelation of freedom and fate:

> The Aeneid in fact is the story of the interplay between the cosmic power of fate and human response to it. But this fate is not designed to operate without regard to human attitudes.[8]

Man, he points out, is

> a creature whose free response to fate or counter-fate was the indispensable means through which both had to work. The ensuing correlation of divine and human affairs is thus intricate as well as necessary; freedom is not an alternative to predestination but an essential component of it....

Man may choose to accept or reject fate, and he continues, "fate itself is the predestined product of their interpenetrating acceptances and rejections."[9]

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[7] George E. Duckworth, "Fate and Free Will in Vergil's Aeneid," The Classical Journal Volume 51, No. 8., May 1956, p. 362.

[8] Brooks Otis, op. cit., p. 218.

[9] Ibid., p. 226.

Fate, or 'fatum', associated as it is with the verb 'fari', to speak, primarily conveyed the idea of "the 'spoken word' of divine beings, and in particular of Jupiter, which was the expression of his will and so of the destiny of mankind"[10] and may be foretold.

It is therefore my intention to trace in Chapter II the gradual revelation of the fates to man in the Aeneid in the form of signs, dreams, visions and prophecy. At the destruction of Troy, Anchises experiences a revelation, when flames appear over Julus' head, which conveys to him that his person is essential to the furthering of a design of the gods which eventually will be implemented by Julus in some foreign land. He commits himself to this cause (which, the reader has been informed in Book I, is the establishment of Troy in Italy) by consenting to depart from burning Troy with Aeneas and Julus. The connection between the idea of Troy and civilization in the ancient world was widely accepted. Anchises, therefore, in Vergil's view is committed to the preservation and progress of civilization in the world. Moreover this is not surprising since one of the primary concerns of thinking men of Vergil's time was the collapse of civilization. The person of Anchises, in fact, has vital religious significance in the poem. For he is "le chef spirituel de l'expédition."[11] Speaking of the rôle assigned to him with respect to his son Pierre Boyancé has said:

> On peut bien dire que, vivant d'abord, mort ensuite, Anchise dans les six premiers chants va guider Énée et qu'il ne disparaîtra de la scène qu'après que celui-ci aura réalisé la plénitude de sa personnalité.[12]

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[10] Cyril Bailey, Religion in Virgil, p. 205.

[11] Pierre Boyancé, La Religion de Virgile, p. 89, cf. W. Warde Fowler, Relig. Exp., p. 413.

[12] Ibid., p. 64.

Anchises, therefore, the man of moral insight, has the obligation of seeking knowledge concerning the design entrusted to him and to further it by assuring that Aeneas after him assume the practice of active freedom in determining the direction of the destiny of man, the realization of the future greatness and ascendance of Rome in the face of counter forces. The relation of Book IV to this theme seems to be that Dido is an obstacle to the destiny of Rome and therefore she temporarily prevents the furtherance of this design by detaining Aeneas in Carthage. It will be noted that during Aeneas' stay in Carthage, Anchises or the influence of Anchises as it exerts itself in Books II, III, V and VI, is practically absent from the narrative in the interests of artistic taste. Bowra describes the destiny of Rome as being "the fundamental theme of the Aeneid" which "is presented in the person of Aeneas who not only struggles and suffers for the Rome that is to be but is already a typical Roman"[13]. Moreover this destiny is to be brought about by that Roman "pietas" which Aeneas exemplifies. On this topic it would be profitable to refer to Bailey:

> Especially in the idea of "pietas", the ready obedience to the will of heaven, which was also the bond of common life in the family and the State, there lies a conception which was fundamental to his outlook on the world, an entirely religious feeling, which Vergil recognized as a central motive in human and particularly in Roman life."[14]

The exercise of "pietas" is only possible in a situation which leaves room for moral choice, for which the prerequisite is a partial knowledge of the fates combined with some degree of uncertainty.

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[13] C.M. Bowra, op. cit., p. 36.

[14] Cyril Bailey, op. cit., p. 87.

I will examine in Chapter III, therefore, how Vergil develops the character of Aeneas in the light of this limited and gradual revelation of the fates, treating particularly elements of inner conflict in Books I to VI where human attitudes clash with spiritual commitment to the way of destiny.[15] For though the idea of the death and resurrection of a hero was a familiar one to his readers, Vergil was the first to explore the psychological interest of his hero and see him as "the product of inner struggle and spiritual rebirth."[16] Perhaps it was the scope for individual power and expression afforded by the last two centuries B.C. which had focussed his attention on the importance of personal character.[17] In Bk. VI Anchises in the underworld passes on to Aeneas his commitment to the realization of the future greatness and dominion of Rome, a vision of which he presents to Aeneas in one grand prophetic view of humanity which transcends all mortal confines of time. After this Vergil depicts little conflict in Aeneas indicating that he is committed by choice to the establishment of Troy in Italy --- thus assuring by positive action the continuance of civilization in the world, the reality of the Imperium Romanum. The force of resistance to this divine design then becomes external and is transferred to Turnus (Bks. VII to XII). Latinus is the pivot of tension between the two forces of fate and anti-fate, being unsure of his political direction because of conscience. There ensues a struggle culminating in the ascendance of Troy and the establishment of the "Roman way" for the benefit of mankind. Throughout the narrative those

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[15] Cf. Otis, op. cit., p. 83, where he refers to the clash of freedoms within Aeneas.

[16] Otis, op. cit., p. 218.

[17] Cf. W. Warde Fowler, Relig. Exp., p. 411.

who oppose the Roman destiny, Dido, Amata, Mezentius, Turnus etc., perish in asserting their personal honour. In Chapter IV, therefore, I will attempt to assess Vergil's moral realism. That the poet approves of Aeneas' way of commitment will have been made clear in the first place in Chapter II by his associating it with Fate and by identifying Fate with Jupiter. Here I will try to show how this approval of Aeneas' commitment is implied in that this force ultimately prevails over an opposing force which Vergil explicitly presents as "nefas". It will be desirable here to comment on vocabulary reflecting Vergil's "editorial comments."[18] Thirdly the poet's approval is suggested by the practical bearing such a message of the triumph of "pietas" over rife individualism could have had on the programme of Augustus to bring about a moral regeneration. Speaking of the underlying causes of historical change at the time of the late republic, F. R. Cowell sums up the situation thus:

> Forgetful of their historic past, without having had a schooling in the philosophy of civil polity such as that which Cicero himself so enthusiastically absorbed from Plato, Aristotle and their successors, and not being interested in the forthright Roman form in which he tried so hard to pass it on to them, his fellow citizens had for the most part no other guide in the desperate confusion of their times than the prompting of their own desires and their own short-sighted self-seeking. They were unable to sink their selfish interests in self-effacing service to a greater cause than their own private hopes and ambitions as their ancestors of the heroic age were unreservedly willing to do. Here lay the real change and here is the explanation of the decline and fall of the Roman Republic.[19]

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[18] See Otis, op. cit., p. 49, where in discussing Vergil's 'subjective style' he points out that Vergil's empathy for the emotions of his characters together with his own personal reactions to their emotions cause him to be often 'doubly subjective' in style.

[19] F.R. Cowell, Cicero and the Roman Republic, p. 378. For this same idea see also W. Warde Fowler, Relig. Exp., pp. 358, 405, W. Warde Fowler, Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero, p. 124.

The symbolic significance of the Aeneid, insofar as it portrays the historical change taking place in Vergil's day, is not lost on readers today.[20] Augustus, in his attempts at a regeneration of Roman morals, no doubt, hoped that the Aeneid would suggest to his contemporaries the contrast between the way of the late Republic and the way of the Empire and that they would necessarily feel the disapproval of any good Stoic at the rife self-assertion which had typified the preceding age.[21]

While his approval of commitment to Rome's ultimate universal dominion is apparent, nevertheless Vergil's sympathy with the lot of those who perish in opposition to it is evident both in the emotive power with which he portrays their deaths as tragedies and in a purely quantitative assessment of the attention which he devotes to these characters. The concluding chapter will be taken up largely with these two considerations. For there are times when Balzac's description of Paradise Lost as "nothing but the apology of rebellion" could be equally well applied to Vergil's Aeneid. The poet plainly conveys the impression that his own sympathies lay with Dido.[22] Nevertheless he judged Dido to be an obstacle barring the path of Roman destiny. Jupiter's instructions to Mercury leave no doubt about that when he sends him to remind Aeneas of his mission in Italy:

> vade age, nate, voca Zephyros, et labere pinnis
> Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine qui nunc
> expectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes,
> adloquere, et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.

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[20] See Viktor Pöschl, The Art of Vergil (translated by Gerda Seligson), Introd. (i), cf. Michael C. J. Putnam, The Poetry of the Aeneid, Preface xiii.

[21] Cf. Fowler, Relig. Exp., p. 416.

[22] See W. Warde Fowler, The Death of Turnus, p. 43.

> non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem
> promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;
> sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
> Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri
> proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem. (4.223-231)

And yet "No ... demand of patriotism and Roman destiny makes Vergil forget the blood and tears or accept them with reconciliation."[23] The irrational violence with which Aeneas finally slays Turnus in Bk. XII not only seems to send the balance of sympathy tilting in the direction of Rome's opposition but also might well lead one to hand the final victory to Turnus if it only reflects the final defeat of Aeneas in succumbing to that same "violentia Turni" the antithesis of which he needs must represent,[24] at least ultimately, if any moral facts at all are to emerge from the total situation. It would seem that the contradiction remains unreconciled. Either one concludes that the poet's adopting a position of conflicting opinions convicts him of being immature or superficial,[25] and leaves him open to allegations of neurotic disunion, or one graciously attributes to him some finer complexity of mind and sensibilities which make it inevitable for him to delay value judgment[26] through consciousness of some ambiguous truth of our existence, perhaps what T. R. Glover calls "the abiding riddle of our life".[27] Viktor Pöschl, I think, has most aptly

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[23] Jackson Knight, op. cit., p. 327. cf. Pease, op. cit., p. 6, where he says, presenting the opinion of some authors, that Dido's cause "so gained with him the upper hand as to endanger the purpose and unity of the whole poem". cf. also Fowler, Relig. Exp., p. 416.

[24] Michael C. J. Putnam, op. cit., pp. 157 and 162.

[25] Cf. T. R. Glover, Virgil p. 63.

[26] On the other hand, Fowler, Relig. Exp., says that Vergil had "thought deeply and reached conviction."

[27] op. cit., p. 54.

captured this quality in the Aeneid:

> Morevoer, Vergil expresses a religious feeling which precludes the isolation of any one point of life, any one individual or national destiny, any one life force or sensation. Beside and behind the individual aspect there is always the obverse. Behind joy there is pain, behind love there is death and behind death, love. Every single thing has a place in a divine world where glory and gloom, reason and emotion, demonic and divine are restricted and reinforced through their opposites.[28]

At any rate, this tension between Vergil's approval and his sympathy makes the suggestion inescapable that the fulfilment of a grand mission, that is to say one affecting the destiny of man, involves some sacrifice.[29]

By considering the characteristics of those 'sacrificed' in the Aeneid, I hope to explore what it is, according to Vergil's scheme of things, that must be sacrificed. One of the privileges of the rebel is his freedom from commitment. Therefore he can achieve greater personal expression. The 'pius' or committed man essentially relinquishes this liberty and with it his individuality. If Georgics IV is to be interpreted as allegory, Vergil brings this point out very clearly when he describes the organized society of the bees in the hive. Their utter devotion to corporate interests realizes some group benefit but only, one feels, at the expense of all sense of individuality.[30] As I will show in greater detail in Chapter III, Aeneas' submission to Fate is his victory over

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[28] op. cit., p. 172.

[29] For this idea see Otis, op. cit., pp. 303 and 304., Putnam, op. cit., p. 81, Bowra, op. cit., p. 47.

[30] Otis, op. cit., p. 181, referring to the "insect polity" of the bees speaks of "a sense of something lacking" and goes on to say, "Man, Virgil seems to be saying, is like this but not when he is really human, really aware of himself."

individuality. For Aeneas embodies principles of Stoicism and Stoicism is the rational alignment of the will with Nature.[31] Turnus on the other hand, by retaining the liberty to renew his choice of allegiance in each new circumstance, retains the capacity for realizing his human nature, the integrity of his individual self. His is an emotional response to experience. Perhaps the main reason for the failure of Stoicism as a popular religious philosophy was its refusal to recognize this emotional dimension of man's personal make-up. Modern behavioural sciences have devoted some attention to this particular aspect of man's nature. To quote one, Erich Fromm has pointed out that "generally there is a reverse relation between the satisfaction of man's drives and culture: the more suppression, the more culture."[32] But Turnus, through the refusal to acknowledge destiny, misdirects his self-expression, asserts it against Fate, so that it eventually destroys him.[33] "Furor" unleashed careens towards total destruction and rife individualism finds its ultimate expression in physical death. It is only by her death that Dido retains her dignity as a tragic heroine. Retention of this capacity for the experience of full individual expression and the development of reason to direct it involve constant tension in man and compromise of personality;

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[31] W. Warde Fowler, Relig. Exp., pp. 365-8, lists the two leading thoughts which constituted the "kernel of the Stoic ethical system." 1. The whole universe is a manifestation of Reason or God (see Cicero-De Natura Deorum ii) which is Nature or Fate. 2. Man, being, as Cicero puts it, "generatus a deo" is of the same nature as God since he is is endowed with Reason and should "bring himself to a perfect expression, by identifying himself with the divine principle which he shares with God."

[32] Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom, p. 25.

[33] cf. Michael C. J. Putnam, op. cit., p. 157.

and his free will is exercised in proportion as he strives for overall poise in this area. This is the ironic complexity which is basic to the human condition. Insofar as Aeneas is concerned Pöschl brings out this point very well:

> It is always his moral goal to do what is necessary in spite of his great sensitivity and never to make himself insensitive. It is precisely because of this that he affects us as a tragic hero.[34]

In this respect Latinus might be considered to be the most tragic figure of the epic with his 'quo referor totiens?'. His is the position of non-commitment but involvement, as, alone and not fully enlightened, he bears the burden of decision for his actions:

> ille velut pelagi rupes immota resistit,
> ut pelagi rupes magno veniente fragore,
> quae sese multis circum latrantibus undis
> mole tenet; scopuli nequiquam et spumea circum
> saxa fremunt, laterique inlisa refunditur alga. (7.586-590)

But the burden of his freedom becomes too great when pitted against destiny. He abdicates his responsibilities in the flood-tide of human affairs:

> saepsit se tectis rerumque reliquit habenas, (7.600)

and he must suffer the consequences of his failure to halt the death and destruction that ensue in a war which he knows to be sacriligious.[35]

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[34] Viktor Pöschl, op. cit., p. 54.

[35] See 7.595, where Latinus warns,
'Ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas,
o miseri. ....'

On a social scale, the interaction of these elements is the profile of history.

> Thus Vergil's aesthetic concept .... postulates the harmonious balance of opposites. It is profoundly bound up with the poet's view of the world. He assumes a cosmic and historical continuity in which neither darkness nor light is dominant, but where the contrasts are united in a higher entity. This entity is given as a balance which, though it may be lost, is time and again regained.[36]

The swing between freedom and authority is constant in history and this tension will also be illustrated in the Aeneid as reflecting the conditions of Vergil's age.

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[36] Viktor Pöschl, op. cit., p. 172.

CHAPTER II

In this chapter it is my intention to examine instances in the Aeneid where the fates are revealed to man and the reader in visions, dreams, and prophecies. If in each case these manifestations of divine will make reference to the idea of the reestablishment of Troy in Italy, then it must be concluded that the historical theme of the migration of the Trojans to Hesperia in the Aeneid assumes cosmic significance. Vergil is giving expression to a belief commonly adopted by his contemporaries and predecessors, that Rome's sway was divinely ordained and Troy's fall part of a world plan.[1] Venus apparently understood:

> hoc[2] equidem occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas
> solabar fatis contraria fata rependens. (1.238-239)

Further, since there was some association between the idea of Troy and civilization in the ancient world, I hope to show that, according to Vergil's view, in Rome's dominion rested the entire human destiny, hopes for the preservation and progress of civilization to be realized only in the Pax Romana.

Vergil uses various literary devices in order to convey information concerning the fates to the reader. Sometimes the reader is informed of divine intent and the characters remain unenlightened, as is the case in Bk. I when Jupiter reveals the fata arcana to Venus (1.257-296). In this way Vergil creates situations of dramatic tension and irony. The reader, maybe unconsciously, assesses the actions of the characters according to

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[1] See Glover, op. cit., p. 83 and 219, also Knight, op. cit., p. 320, also Fowler, Relig. Exp., p. 249.

[2] Note that hoc here refers to Jupiter's promise of future Trojan dominion in Italy.

whether they adhere to or transgress the inevitable course of future events assured to Venus personally by Jupiter. Vergil's consummate artistry in this respect may often cause the reader to be unaware of the disparity between his own degree of enlightenment and, for example, that of Aeneas. He may tend to oversimplify the predicament of the hero (e.g.4.331-361). Knowledge of the fates is at other times imparted to the characters and the reader by direct revelation either immediately related by the poet, as, for instance, Anchises' revelations to Aeneas in the underworld, or else in the narration of one of the characters, as is the case when Aeneas relates to Dido and her company the visitations of the spirits of Hector and Creusa. (2.279-297), (2.771-791). Other devices used are signs, portents and omens and, from the way in which the characters act upon them, we are to infer how they have interpreted them e.g.Aeneas' response to Acestes' arrow which trails flame in the sky (5.520-540). As supporting evidence, so to speak, Vergil often leads us to infer, from certain words and actions of characters which affirm their belief in the force of Fate that knowledge of divine design for Troy in Rome has been at some other time given to them e.g.Evander speaking to Aeneas,

... fatis huc te poscentibus adfers, (8.477)

though nowhere are we informed as to the source of his knowledge.

The pattern of distribution of these revelations throughout the narrative will have some bearing on the following chapter which treats the development of the character of Aeneas, since there must essentially be a parallel relation between moral responsibility and the release of knowledge.[3]

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[3] Otis, op. cit., "The corollary of that freedom without which 'pietas' would be an empty name is a limitation of knowledge that leaves the future open to moral choices."

Therefore my survey will follow the chronological order of events starting with the narrative of Aeneas in Bks. II and III.

As the Greek fleet, under cover of the dark of a conniving moon and aided by supernatural powers hostile to the Trojans, sneaks back to the Trojan shores, while Sinon unbars the wooden horse,and frees the hidden Greeks for the first fatal strokes of Troy's last gasp, the ghost of Trojan Hector appears to Aeneas in sleep (2.270-297). It can hardly be by hazard that Vergil interrupts the narrative at such a crucial point in events to describe Aeneas' dream. An insertion of such brute obviousness compels the attention of the reader to this first directive given to Aeneas concerning the destiny of the Trojans. Hector entrusts to him the gods of Troy, telling him to leave Troy and take to the sea and build new walls for them:

> sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penatis;
> hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere
> magna, pererrato statues quae denique ponto. (2.293-295)

Where Aeneas is to sail, he does not say but hints that powers are in control beyond the power of man:

> sat patriae Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra
> defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent. (2.291-292)

Hardly has Aeneas wakened and become aware of the fire and fighting in the city when fleeing Panthus dashes madly to his home bringing a report of the devastation wrought by the Greeks in the city's heart, all at the will of ferus Iuppiter (2.326).

> venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
> Dardaniae. Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens
> gloria Teucrorum; .... (2.324-326)

he prophesies, and if we admit the significance of the fact that Panthus is the priest of Apollo, fuit Ilium rings out with a finality backed by divine sanction.

Aeneas, distressed at having witnessed the cruel death of King Priam and the defeat and desertion of his comrades at the palace, espies guilty Helen in the shadows and would give vent to his bitterness by her murder. Venus, his mother, appears to him (2.588-621) diverting his attention from Helen to his family and flight. Troy fell, she tells him, not because of Helen or Paris but of the hostility of the gods:

> ... divum inclementia, divum,
> has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam. (2.602-603)

Neptune, Juno ferro adcincta and Pallas are actively engaged in the fray, she informs him, and Jupiter himself is opposing the Trojan cause:

> ipse pater Danais animos virisque secundas
> sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitat arma. (2.617-618)

Moreover, Jupiter by means of portents, thunder on the left and a shooting star (2.692-698), answers Anchises' prayer to confirm the omen of the flame upon Julus' head (2.681-684). Perhaps we are to make some association between the case of Julus here and that of Servius Tullius in Livy 1. 39., as the historian Servius suggests, and interpret the flame to be a sign of future kingship. At any rate, Aeneas describes Anchises as laetus upon seeing the flame (2.687). He himself understands the star to be signantem vias (2.697). Whatever knowledge Jupiter conveys to Anchises through these portents convinces the father to leave Troy immediately with his son intent upon the future destiny of his race:

> iam iam nulla mora est; sequor et qua ducitis adsum,
> di partrii; Servate domum, servate nepotem. (2.701-702)

Nor is it long before the regnator Olympi affords more specific information concerning the Trojan destiny. The ghost of Aeneas' lost wife, Creusa, appearing to her husband in the burning city reminds him of the hand of heaven in Troy's fall:

> ... non haec sine numine divum
> eveniunt;... (2.777-778)

Her own fate, she explains, is part of Jupiter's larger scheme of things for Aeneas. A new wife of royal line, a prosperous future await him after he has voyaged across the seas. His new kingdom will be in Hesperia, a land in the west (2.780-784), where a riven named Tiber flows through lands where Etruscans have settled. This was the limit of Aeneas' knowledge of the fates when he left Troy.

Periodically, throughout the voyage across the seas, divine directives are given to Aeneas and the Trojans as to the direction his journey should take. Polydorus from a mound under a myrtle urges him not to settle in the land of the treacherous king of Thrace (3.40-46), revelations which Aeneas refers to as monstra deum (3.59). Thymbraean Apollo's message to the Trojans is that they are to seek out the land of the origin of their race where, he prophesies, the lineage of Aeneas will hold sway through generations:

> Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum
> prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto
> accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem.
> hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris
> et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis. (3.94-98)

Anchises, erroneously interpreting Apollo's directions, brings the Trojans to Crete where they are beset by plague and famine. However, the Trojan household gods appear to Aeneas in his sleep urging a change of settlement, repeating the prophecy of Apollo at Delos as to the future Trojan Empire but designating Italy as the antiquam matrem of the race of Dardanus:

> quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est,
> hic canit et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit.
> nos te Dardania incensa tuaque arma secuti,

nos tumidum sub te permensi classibus aequor,
idem venturos tollemus in astra nepotes
imperiumque urbi dabimus. tu moenia magnis
magna para logumque fugae ne linque laborem.
mutandae sedes. Non haec tibi litora suasit
Delius aut Cretae iussit considere Apollo.
Est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt,
terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae;
Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem:
hae nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus
Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.
surge age et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti
haud dubitanda refer: Corythum terrasque requirat
Ausonias: Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva. (3.154-171)

Italy also the Harpy Celaeno guarantees to the Trojans (3.253-254), and not without authority. For Aeneas describes her to Dido as an infelix vates 3.246. She herself claims to be conveying information given to her by Apollo from Jupiter (3.250-252). A city too will be theirs, but not without the blight of famine (duly inflicted in 7.116-127) in return for killing the cattle of the islands of the Strophades (3.256-257).

Aeneas and the Trojans to their surprise find Priam's son Helenus ruling at Buthrotum. Helenus is a seer and Aeneas asks for his counsel, paying tribute to him as interpres divom, a man endowed with great prophetic ability (3.359-362). Inspired by Phoebus (3.373), Helenus prophesies (3.373-462) eventual settlement of the Trojans in Italy, first cautioning them about hazards, they are to encounter on their journey in a course of events which he emphasizes is being directed by Jupiter (3.375-6). He vouches for the continued protection of Apollo (3.395). They are to know the location for their destined city by a sign, a white sow with a litter of thirty by the river's edge (3.389-394), a prophecy later realized in 8.81-83. The prelude to their final settlement will be war but his final grand exhortation:

vade age et ingentem factis fer ad aethera Troiam. (3.462)

Again to Anchises upon his departure, the seer Helenus affirms:

> Ecce tibi Ausoniae tellus: hanc arripe velis. (3.477)

At the outset of the epic Vergil clearly introduces the theme of Rome's fated dominion. Venus reminds Jupiter of his promise for the Trojans:

> certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis,
> hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucri,
> qui mare, qui terras omnis dicione tenerent,
> pollicitus. ... (1.234-237)

Jupiter in reply assures Venus of a new city, Lavinium,[4] for her Trojans and of the future fame of Aeneas (1.257-260). He discloses the secrets of the fates (1.261-296), that Aeneas will be victorious in war in Italy, will subdue the Rutuli, a prelude to settlement and the institution of Trojan mores and moenia; that Ascanius will inherit the rule and move the settlement from Lavinium to Alba where Trojan rule will last for three hundred years until the birth of Romulus to Rhea Silvia (Ilia) by Mars and the founding of the line of Mars. To these Roman sons of Mars Jupiter assigns world dominion:

> his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
> imperium sine fine dedi. ... (1.278-279)

the future support of Juno for the gentem togatam,[5] and civil war culminating in the Augustan Peace.

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[4] Lavinium was believed by the Romans to have been the ancient home of the Penates of the Roman state. See W. Warde Fowler, Death of Turnus, p. 139. cf. W. Warde Fowler, Aeneas at the Site of Rome, pp. 53-113.

[5] J. B. Garstang in his article "Deos Latio", Vergilius 1962 - No. 8, p. 18, closely examines Juno's hostility to the Trojans. He suggests that the cult of Cybele, associated with the Trojans, "can be set in artistic opposition to the worship of Juno," p. 23. See also p. 20, "the neglect of the worship of Juno in spite of specific warning, I suggest, is the 'crime of Aeneas,' on account of which he deservedly incurs her anger and hostility during the bulk of the narrative." Therefore a subtle yet forcible implication, he points out, p. 25, is being made by the poet that "if Aeneas was instructed to bring his gods from Troy to Latium, as part of the idea of building up the dignity of Rome by its association with hallowed tradition, it must also be made clear that Juno, representing Italic deities, is no less important; just as there will be fusion of races, so also provided harmful elements are omitted, must there be a fusion of worship."

This prophecy from the mouth of Jupiter is the most forceful affirmation in the whole poem of future Roman dominion. Once again, I believe, it is not without significance that a pronouncement so clearly affirming the Roman destiny immediately precedes Aeneas' entering the city of Carthage. Vergil chose to insert this heavenly episode between Aeneas' landing on the shores of Lybia and his first encounter with Dido, who is to be the main obstacle to the implementation of the Roman destiny, who is to come closest to challenging the will of Jupiter. But without her knowing it! For it must be remembered that Jupiter's revelation is made known only to Venus and the reader. Jupiter must send Mercury to inspire the Carthaginians with a spirit of friendliness towards the Trojans lest Dido, being fati nescia (1.299) should drive them from her shores. A situation of dramatic irony thus arises, further intensified by the juxtaposition of these two situations. The reader, being supplied with the secrets of the fates with regard to Rome, is then introduced to the woman who unwittingly will cross the path of Rome's destiny. Jupiter's prophecy thus has a double effect. It sets at the beginning the main theme of the poem and serves to heighten the dramatic content, a technique all the more effective on account of the arrangement of time in the Aeneid. For Jupiter speaks out at the opening of the epic and the "flashback" narrative of Aeneas, comprising Books II and III, is also viewed by the reader in the light of this knowledge of the fates, so that the dramatic irony is directed not only towards Dido but towards all the characters including Aeneas himself who is telling the tale! No revelations, in fact, are made to the characters throughout Bk. I. For when Venus disguised as a huntress appears to her son (1.314-405), she merely imparts to him news of the safety of his fleet and comrades by her interpretation of the omen of

the swans and the eagle. The main purpose of the divine visitation here would appear to be merely a literary device for narrating Dido's history, a build-up in characterization before the appearance of the character. The use of prophecy in the form of Rome's history is particularly effective since it was past and familiar to Vergil's contemporaries and therefore convincing to them. Disbelief suspended, they quite conceivably felt their patriotism take on a religious fervour as they heard Rome's destiny sanctioned by Jupiter. And no doubt when they were stirred like this by patriotic pride in Empire, the Dido introduced to them, significantly enough by Venus, did not fail to be to some extent reminiscent of the oriental queen who had threatened dementes ruinas Capitolio and funus imperio, and whose death not many years before had been occasion for Vergil's great contemporary poet, Horace, to exhort these same Romans to drink, dance and feast out of relief at the removal of this fatale monstrum.[6] Admiration for Dido would have at least been tempered by the residue of uncertainties that these associations would have evoked in Vergil's contemporaries.

During the interlude of the affair between Aeneas and Dido (Bks. I and IV), only one directive comes from the gods, in sharp contrast with the frequent lines of communication in Bk. III. The last word from the gods comes from Helenus (3.373-462). Nor is Anchises present to intrude his

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[6] Horace, Odes I, carmen XXXVII - written on the occasion of the arrival in Rome of news of the death of Cleopatra. Cleopatra's assault on the Empire could be interpreted as a reference to her relationships with Julius Caesar and with Antony. The possibility of some association between the historical figure Cleopatra and the character of Dido cannot, I believe, be entirely discounted, though, of course, it cannot be confirmed. For this idea see C. M. Bowra, op. cit., p. 51-52. See Aeneid 8.626-728, where Vergil describes the shield made by Vulcan. Out of these 102 lines describing important events in Roman history, Vergil devotes 42 lines to Antony and Cleopatra, presented in the context of the triumphs of Augustus.

pious influence. The affair takes place in an interval of respite from journeying and unenlightenment, until Jupiter sends Mercury to direct Aeneas once more to Italy (4.222-237). Jupiter refers to the future Rome, fatis ... datas ... urbes (4.225) and bids Mercury remind Aeneas of the future race in Italy which is to spring from Trojan stock and which will rule over the whole world:

> non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem
> promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;
> sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
> Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri
> proderet ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem. (4.227-231)

Mercury conveys Jupiter's message to Aeneas (4.265-276) and descends to reinforce it later by urging Aeneas to leave without delay (4.556-570). On the occasion of Mercury's second descent, however, there is no reference to destiny. Mercury merely precipitates the departure of Aeneas. Jupiter's message to Aeneas is the only instance throughout the affair with Dido where the will of the gods is communicated to mortals. Moreover, there is no new information given here. Even Jupiter's reference to Roman world dominion (which Mercury fails to convey, at least not to our knowledge) is already known to Aeneas from Thymbraean Apollo (3.97). The main contribution of the passage, therefore, is its dramatic effect. The references to Roman world dominion inspire patriotic feeling in the reader which in turn intensifies his apprehension occurring as it does at this particular juncture in the narrative. For when Mercury descends to deliver Jupiter's message, he finds Aeneas constructing the foundations of the citadel of Carthage, not Rome, and wearing a cloak given to him by Dido. The order of the words here brings out the emphasis unmistakably:

> ... Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
> demissa ex umeris, ... (4.262-263)

Jupiter's message is merely by way of reminder to Aeneas. There is a suggestion, though, of other frequent reminders from Anchises' ghost when Aeneas tells Dido:

> me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris
> nos operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
> admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago; (4.351-353)

What of the appearance of the snake on Anchises' tomb (5.89-93)? Aeneas is amazed, suspects that it might be the attendant spirit of his father and hastily renews the sacrifice he has begun, invoking the soul of Anchises. What knowledge of the fates is conveyed by this omen? Is it merely to demonstrate the presence of Anchises, or is it significant that it follows immediately after Aeneas' reference to the land of his destiny?

> salve, sancte parens, iterum salvete, recepti
> nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae
> non licuit finis Italos fataliaque arva
> nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim. (5.80-83)

Nor is there any clear interpretation of the portent of the arrow which Acestes shoots into the air and which turns into a trail of flame in the sky (5.520-527). The Trojans and Sicilians react with astonishment and pray to the gods (5.529-530). Aeneas understands the portent to be a sign from Jupiter and awards Acestes an engraved bowl which had belonged to Anchises himself. Jupiter more clearly manifests his intent (5.693-696), prevailing over Juno by sending a rainstorm to quench the burning fleet, in answer to Aeneas' prayer.

Definite information, however, is scarce during the Trojans' sunny sojourn in Sicily. Once again Anchises to the rescue! His spirit appears to Aeneas in the night, at the bidding of Jupiter, directing Aeneas once more to Italy and the future, with prophecies of war and promises of information about his destined city and race (5.722-740). Aided by the

sibyl Aeneas must seek out Anchises in the underworld to learn of it.

At Cumae this sibyl, inspired by Apollo, promises the kingdom of Lavinium, but with pain and war and the opposition of Juno, friction over an alien marriage and help from a Greek city:

> o tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis
> (sed terrae graviora manent), in regna Lavini
> Dardanidae venient (mitte hanc de pectore curam),
> sed non et venisse volent. bella, horrida bella,
> et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.
> non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra
> defuerint; alius latio iam partus Achilles,
> natus et ipse dea; nec Teucris addita Iuno
> usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis
> quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!
> causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris
> externique interum thalami.
> tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
> qua tua te fortuna sinet. via prima salutis,
> quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe. (6.83-97)

Prophecies of war, prophecies of pain, preludes to a glimpse of the glory of Trojan progeny, the glory of Rome (6.756-886). "Te tua fata docebo," says Anchises to his son (6.759) as he displays for him in the underworld the future heroes of Rome, souls waiting to be reborn, the Roman race of Aeneas whose art will be rule and government, to impose the way of peace on nations:

> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque inponere morem,
> parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos. (6.851-853)

We, the readers, understand the full implications of this spectacle. We respond to the associations which those names of Trojan progeny evoke eg. Catiline, Cato, mere names to Aeneas. We feel the relief of Vergil's Augustan contemporaries, secure in their knowledge of the outcome of all these Roman toils. These were the men who had spent most of their lives in the midst of civil war who would willingly have been admonished along with Caesar and Pompey:

ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella
neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris; (6.832-833)

The artistic effect of this passage is to intensify the element of dramatic irony in the poem.

The gods cannot be accused of being so one-sided as to have kept Rome's opposition entirely uninformed about the fates. For them, the Latins, it was a matter of divine portents standing in the way (7.58). Vergil is at pains to tell the reader immediately of the swarm of bees which had settled on the sacred laurel tree (7.64-67), an omen which Apollo had interpreted for the Latins as an invasion of foreign conquerors (7.68-70). Lavinia's hair had caught fire at the altar and scattered flames through the palace (7.71-77) interpreted by the prophets as portending great fame for her but war for her people (7.79-80). The oracle of Faunus had told the King not to seek a Latin marriage for Lavinia. He would have a foreign son-in-law and the Latins would find fame and dominion through union (7.96-101). Latinus remembers Faunus' words later when the Trojans arrive,

et veteris Fauni volvit sub pectore sortem:
hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum
portendi generum, paribusque in regna vocari
auspiciis, huic progeniem virtute futuram
egregiam et totum quae viribus occupet orbem, (7.254-258)

and, moreover, acknowledges them:

est mihi nata, viro gentis quam iungere nostrae
non patrio ex adyto sortes, non plurima caelo
monstra sinunt; generos externis adfore ab oris,
hoc Latio restare canunt, qui sanguine nostrum
nomen in astra ferant. hunc illum poscere fata
et reor et, si quid veri mens augurat, opto. (7,268-273)

Though Latimus did not reveal to his people what the oracle had told him, Fama did (7.104-106). At least Amata implies her knowledge of the commands of Faunus (7.367-371).

Meanwhile the Trojans interpret the eating of their wheat-cakes as designating the spot which Anchises had predicted would be the location for their new home (7.116-127), thus fulfilling the prophecy of the Harpy (3.253-257). Jupiter confirms the omen with three peals of thunder and a cloud gleaming with rays of light (7.141-143), manifestations which the Trojans readily receive as a sign of the promised city (7.144-145).

Tiber, appearing to Aeneas in sleep (8.31-65), describes a sign which will designate the exact spot for the Trojan city,

> litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus
> triginta capitum fetus enixa iacebit,
> alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.
> (hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum,) (8.43-46)

an omen duly presented to the Trojans (8.81-83) as Helenus had predicted (3.389-394). He prophesies also the founding of Alba by Ascanius and counsels Aeneas to form an alliance with Evander and the Arcadians.

Evander knows Aeneas' fated mission:

> ... fatis huc te poscentibus adfers, (8.477)

and assumes him to be the foreign leader awaited by the Etruscans, who will lead them against the Rutulians and Mezentius. For an aged soothsayer fata canens has prophesied to the Etruscans:

> ... o Maeoniae delecta iuventus,
> flos veterum virtusque virum, quos iustus in hostem
> fert dolor et merita accendit Mezentius ira,
> nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem:
> externos optate duces. ... (8.499-503)

Arms for Aeneas against the Rutulians are procured by Venus from the god Vulcan. Aeneas recognizes his divine mother's promised sign (8.530-531), lightning and thunder together, a quake, the blare of Etruscan trumpets and, in a cloud in the clear sky, the gleaming, sounding arms (8.523-529) wrought by Vulcan, haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi (8.627).

Vulcan recognized the hand of Jupiter and the fates in the fall of Troy (8.398-399). Now he has engraved on the shield for Aeneas a prophetic description of the design of Jupiter and the fates for the future Trojan race, Roman history in perspective (8.626-728);[7] Romulus and Remus with the she-wolf (8.630-634);[8] the seizure of the Sabine women (8.635-641);[9] Mettus Fufetius being punished for his betrayal of the Romans (8.641-645); Etruscan Porsenna invading Rome, warded off by the hero Horatius Cocles at the Sublician bridge and the hostage Cloelia swimming back to Rome (8.646-651); Manlius beating back the Gauls foiled in their attempt to take the Capitol by the sacred geese (8.652-662);[10] the Salii and the Luperci (8.663-666); the traitor Catiline being punished in the underworld and the good Cato in the Elysian Fields amongst the blessed (8.666-670); Augustus and the Italians at Actium triumphant over Antony and Cleopatra with their Egyptians and Asiatics and no less triumphant in Rome (8.671-728). But, once again a situation of dramatic irony! Aeneas takes up the divine shield with joy and admiration, but, carrying on his shoulders the _famamque et fata nepotum_ he remains _rerum ... ignarus_ (8.730-731). For presented as prophecy, these depictions of Roman glories lose their full significance for Aeneas, mute depictions for one to whom the visaul image conveys no patriotic feeling. As history, on the other hand, they evoke from the reader the full impact of patriotic feelings as he projects upon them his knowledge of their full significance in terms of Roman Empire.

Once the Latin war is unleashed in Bk. IX there are no new prophecies, as men act out their fates on earth and Jupiter testifies to the presence

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[7] See T. R. Glover, _op. cit._, p. 137.

[8] _Cf._ Livy, 1,4.

[9] _Ibid._, 1,9.

[10] _Ibid._, 5,47.

of the eye of heaven by sending omens and messengers from time to time to indicate his divine sanction or disapproval. On earth a clash of arms and in heaven a clash of interests, as Cybele and Venus on the one hand attempt to prevail upon Jupiter in the interests of Aeneas and Juno intercedes on behalf of Turnus.[11] Jupiter has the last word and exerts it, with the aid of Apollo, in the interests of fair compromise!

Cybele prevents Turnus from burning the Trojan ships (9.110-122) by requesting Jupiter to make good a promise he had given her. When Aeneas was building his fleet from the pine groves of Mount Ida, Jupiter had vouched to change those ships which should reach Italy to sea-goddesses (9.94-103). Omens of flashing light, a cloud and the choruses of Ida assure the Trojans of divine protection, and a voice saying,

> ne trepidate meas, Teucri, defendere navis
> neve armate manus; maria ante exurere Turno
> quam sacras dabitur pinus. ... (9.114-116)

and the Tiber flows back from the sea as Jupiter's promise is fulfilled. Though Turnus prefers to interpret these omens to the disadvantage of the Trojans, nevertheless he reveals a hint of his knowledge that Aeneas was destined by the fates to reach the Ausonian lands (9.135-136).

A second time in the war Jupiter declares himself for the Trojans (9.630-631) using thunder to sanction the deadly arrow of Ascanius in battle against Remulus who, with his boasting words, was abusing the myth of Trojan courage (9.598-620). Apollo bestows upon Ascanius congratulations for his courageous deed along with a reminder that all the wars fato ventura

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[11] The cult of Cybele was associated with the area of Mount Ida and the Trojans. See J. B. Garstang, op. cit., p. 22. Also see n.5, for elements of opposition in the poem between the cult of Cybele and the worship of Juno.

will culminate in a final peace under the divine race of Assaracus (9.641-644).[12] To preserve Ascanius for this destiny, Apollo, in the guise of Butes, removes him from the battle (9.653-656). But the Trojan leaders recognize the god (9.659), and this knowledge of divine support causes them to renew their fervour in battle (9.662-663). Moreover, there is to be no aid for Turnus. Jupiter sends Iris with firm commands to Juno that Turnus must retreat from within the Trojan walls (9.803-805).

The fates of Aeneas and the Trojans, main item on the agenda, are debated at the council of the gods at the opening of Bk. X, for the benefit and entertainment of the reader to say nothing of the emotional relief of the contending deities involved! Jupiter declares the Latin war to be out of order (10.8-9). He gives an adamant clarification of the clause in the fates portending war for the Trojans. This pertains, he insists, to Rome's future encounter with Carthage (10.11-14). Referring to Turnus' attack on the Trojan settlement in Latium, Venus moves that Turnus, an enemy a second time threatening the walls nascentis Troiae (10.26-27), be restrained according to the established article of the fates of the Trojans respecting oracles and revelations of the gods:

> si sine pace tua atque invito numine Troes
> Italiam petiere, luant peccata neque illos
> iuveris auxilio; sin tot responsa secuti
> quae superi manesque dabant, cur nunc tua quisquam
> vertere iussa potest aut cur nova condere fata? (10.31-35)

Even dissident Juno admits to the inevitability of Trojan settlement on Italian soil,

> Italiam petiit fatis auctoribus (esto) (10.67)

though she contends that Aeneas is employing more than his own fair share

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[12] Cf. Apollo to the Trojans (3.94-98); the Trojan household gods to Aeneas (3.154-171); Helenus to Aeneas (3.373-462); Jupiter to Venus (1.261-296).

of free will in what she claims to be the unwarranted hostilities which he is inflicting upon the Ausonian natives in order to implement his destiny (10.63-95). The heaven-dwellers register their applause but the final count is conveniently lost in a typical Vergilian simile of winds in forests (10.96-98). This in turn is quelled by the final word of Jupiter who, with the unembarrassed authority of one "who holds first authority over the world" and who is serenely confident that "the Fates will find the way"[13] declares his impartiality and allows one day's democratic rocking of the ship of Fate to Trojans and Rutulians alike!

Aeneas' fleet, which Cybele has turned into sea-nymphs, brings Aeneas news of the attack upon his camp, lending speed to his ship to hasten him to the rescue and fuel to his spirits at the knowledge of Cybele's assistance in the approaching combat (10.220-249). Nor does the goddess fail to make the Rutulian leaders aware of her favour. They witness the sea rolling the Trojan fleet in with prows turned to the shore and Aeneas' helmet and shield blazoned with ominous fire (10.267-271). Turnus, however, ignores the omen, preferring to believe that Fortune favours the brave (10.284) rather than the Trojans. So it seems, for a time, and Hercules must grieve over the inevitable death of his Pallas[14] at the hand of Turnus till Jupiter assures him that Turnus' time too has come (10.467-472). The reader, informed from this exchange in heaven of the impending fate of Turnus immediately witnesses the man as victor exulting over the body of Pallas and gloating over possessing the trophy of the youth's belt (10.490-500)! Vergil creates situations of intense dramatic

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[13] Aeneid, 10, 100 and 113, trans. W.F. Jackson Knight, p. 254.

[14] See Aeneid. 8, 184-305, for the devotion of Evander and the Arcadians to the god Hercules.

irony through a simple yet effective technique of juxtaposition. A scene where information about the destiny of a character is exchanged between the on-stage spectators in heaven and the off-stage spectators of the reading audience, is followed up by a scene where the protagonist on earth stalks the human stage in pathetic unawareness. Moreover, here Vergil steps in chorus-style, a third dimension spectator, as it were, with direct comment on the human mise-en-scène:

> nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae,
> et servare modum rebus sublata secundis!
> Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
> intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque
> oderit. ... (10.501-505).

Turnus is doomed, no question! Nor will the father of the gods allow Juno any greater indulgence than to take him from the fray in flight and delay his fate (10.621-627). As she remonstrates in her desire to alter it,

> ... quod ut o potius formidine falsa
> ludar, et in melius tua, qui potes, orsa reflectas! (10.631-632)

her futile pleas, fade into the finality of Jupiter's preceding words, spes pascis inanis (10.627). Juno yields to Fate and avails herself of small comfort, decoying Turnus from the battle (10.636-688).

In just the same way that we hear of the fates of Turnus from the dialogue between Jupiter and Hercules, so the goddess Diana, speaking to Opis, apprises us of the impending doom of Camilla, the warrior-maiden, who has added her force of fighting Volscians to the bands of Turnus:

> ... graditur bellum ad crudele Camilla,
> o virgo, et nostris nequiquam cingitur armis. (11.535-536)

Diana urges Opis to descend and be prepared to avenge the killing of Camilla,

> verum age, quandoquidem fatis urguetur acerbis,
> labere, nympha, polo finisque invise Latinos,
> tristis ubi infausto committitur omine pugna.
> haec cape et ultricem pharetra deprome sagittam:
> hac, quicumque sacrum violarit vulnere corpus,
> Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas. (11.587-592)

She, Diana, will consign herself with the burial of Camilla;

> post ego nube cava miserandae corpus et arma
> inspoliata feram tumulo, patriaeque reponam. (11.593-594)

We are left with no doubt as to the future of the unsuspecting warrior-maiden. But why does Vergil inform us of the outcome of Camilla's exploits in battle in advance of his detailed description of the exploits themselves? Is he not missing an opportunity to add to the literary effectiveness of the poem by creating suspense? It is, I suggest, this very knowledge of ours of the inevitable course of events, as we see mortals attempt to pit themselves against it, which enhances the tragic intensity in the poem. For Vergil's artistic technique here is identical with that which he uses in Bk X with regard to Turnus' imminent fate. Within approximately fifty lines of our being informed of funeral arrangements for Camilla, we see her exulting in the midst of slaughter (11.648) to the total of seventy-six lines and eleven bold male warriors whom she dispatches to their deaths. Ornytus she runs through with her sword,

> ... et super haec inimico pectore fatur:
> 'silvis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?
> advenit qui vestra dies muliebribus armis
> verba redarguerit. nomen tamen haud leve patrum
> manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillae'. (11.685-689)

The son of Aunus, who challenges her to hand-to-hand combat, she confronts interrita and furens acrique accensa dolore, and when he flees, she pursues him and exacts the penalty with her enemy's blood:

> quam facile accipiter saxo sacer ales ab alto
> consequitur pennis sublimem in nube columbam
> comprensamque tenet pedibusque eviscerat uncis;
> tum cruor et vulsae labuntur ab aethere plumae. (11.721-724)

It takes Jupiter to intervene by rousing Tarchon the Etruscan ally of Aeneas to battle in retaliation (11.725-728), and Apollo, who finally permits Arruns to kill Camilla (11.794-831). And what of Arruns? His fate

too has been early settled by Diana,

> hac, quicumque sacrum violarit vulnere corpus,
> Tros Italusque, mihi pariter det sanguine poenas. (11.591-592)

As he tracks down Camilla in the battle we are reminded that he is fatis debitus (11.759), a debt later exacted by Opis (11.836-867), but not before we have heard him fulgentem armis ac vana tumentem (11.854). Though there are no prophecies in Bk. XI which pertain directly to Trojan empire in Italy, I have included the incident of Camilla since her opposition to the Trojan destiny causes Jupiter and Apollo to intervene to assert the will of Fate.

Turnus' fate has only been delayed. At this point Vergil resumes reminders of his inevitable doom. Latinus admits to Turnus that he has violated the prophecies of gods and men by not giving Lavinia to Aeneas;

> me natam nulli veterum sociare procorum
> fas erat, idque omnes divique hominesque canebant.
> victus amore tui, cognato sanguine victus
> coniugis et maestae lacrimis, vincla omnia rupi: (12.27-30)

We hear Juno admit to Juturna that Fate is against Turnus and that his day is at hand,

> nunc iuvenem inparibus video concurrere fatis,
> Parcarumque dies et vis inimica propinquat, (12.149-150)

while Aeneas on the other hand prepares for battle fata docens (12.111), optimistic about his prospects of victory (12.187-188), and later attacks the walls of Lavinium secure in his knowledge that Jupiter is on his side (12.565). In the meantime Turnus, like Camilla, blazes a trail of triumphant slaughter through the Trojan ranks (12.324-382). But, unlike Camilla, Turnus has some knowledge of the fates. Prophecies of a foreign race destined to come and rule in Italy had been rampant there even before the

Trojans set foot on Italian soil.[15] That Turnus, like Latinus, recognizes the Trojans to be this race, is clear from his own words:

> sat fatis Venerique datum, tetigere quod arva
> fertilis Ausoniae Troes. ... (9.135-136)

Moreover Turnus has witnessed omens indicating Jupiter's favour for the Trojans in battle.[16] Turnus is not so much a victim of dramatic irony as of true tragedy. There are intimations of his own presentiment of his doom,

> ... vos o mihi, Manes,
> este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas, (12.646-647)

and again,

> iam iam fata, soror, superant, absiste morari;
> quo deus et quo dura vocat Fortuna sequamur. (12.676-677)

Juno admits to knowing that Aeneas is destined for heaven by the fates (12.808-809), is induced to yield to Fate,

> desine iam tandem precibusque inflectere nostris, (12.800)

and forbidden by Jupiter to give further aid to Turnus,

> ulterius temptare veto. ... (12.806)

However, Jupiter grants her request for the Italians to retain their speech, customs and name. The Trojans will retain their religion but not without due respect for Juno (12.834-837). Thus Trojans and Latins will be united and exalted;[17]

> hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,
> supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis,
> nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores. (12.838-840)

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[15] See Aeneid 7.64-67 and 7.68-70, also 7.71-77 and 7.79-80, also 7.96-101, also 8.497-503.

[16] See Aeneid 9.110-122, also 9.114-117.

[17] See C. M. Bowra, op. cit., pp. 72-74, where he explains how this compromise is the solution to the conflict between Venus and Juno and "reconciles the warring issues which he found in his own time." See also n. 5, concerning the worship of Juno.

Juno agrees and, contented, reverses her will (12.841). The father of the gods duly sends down one of his two demons in the form of a small bird which flies in the face of Turnus, denoting death for him (12.843-868). By this omen Turnus knows he has Jupiter for an enemy. He is finally pitted against Fate (12.895).

It will be seen that Aeneas is informed about his destiny for the most part during the course of his journey to Italy (excluding the interval of his stay in Carthage). After Bk. VI there is virtually no new information given to him. In the latter half of the epic, references to the fates are made rather in connection with the Latins and other natives of Italy, or are exchanged between the gods. Exceptions to this are Tiber appearing to Aeneas (8.31-65), Apollo to Ascanius (8.653-656) and Cymodoce to Aeneas (10.228-245). These comprise the only verbal communications between gods and mortals in the second part of the poem, and in none of these instances is any new information about the fates revealed. I shall attempt, therefore, to give a summary of what knowledge of their destiny Aeneas and the Trojans had on arriving in Italy, listing all the sources, but omitting information which is merely a repetition of that given in previous revelations.

Aeneas is told to flee from Troy, which has fallen because of the will of Jupiter, and to take the Trojan gods over the seas: Hector (2.298-297); Panthus (2.323-335). Hesperia is specified as the destination, where Aeneas will find good fortune, a kingdom and a royal bride: Creusa (2.771-784). His descendants will rule over all shores: Thymbraean Apollo (3.94-98). Italy must be his destination and his eventual arrival in that land is guaranteed: Trojan household gods (3.148-178); Celaeno (3.254-258). A sign will indicate the location of his promised city. He

will be assured of the support of Apollo and is urged to secure that of Juno through worship. Wars must be fought in Italy: Helenus (3.373-462). He must therefore take with him only the strong and enthusiastic, leaving the rest with Acestes in Sicily. Further information about his race and city will be given to him in the underworld, where, with the aid of the Sibyl of Cumae, he must seek Anchises: spirit of Anchises (5.727-740). The name of his kingdom will be Lavinium. He will be opposed by a "second Achilles" and by Juno but help will be afforded to him by a Greek city: the sibyl (6.83-97).

These revelations without exception as well as those of Venus (2.594-620) and Polydorus (3.40-46) in some way relate to the re-establishment of Troy in Italy. There are no other prophecies which do not. Moreover, with the exception of the prophecies of Hector and Polydorus, all of these revelations contain references to the will of Jupiter,[18] or else are delivered by Apollo (3.94-98), or by those inspired by Apollo.[19] The Romans adopted the god Apollo, son of Zeus, from the Greeks,[20] along with all their notions about him. One of the many rôles of Apollo was that of god of prophecy, a power which he exercised through numerous oracles. In addition, Apollo had the power of communicating his gift of prophecy to others. Amongst other powers ascribed to Apollo was that of fostering the foundation of towns and the establishment of civil institutions. In this capacity he was consulted by the Greeks as their

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[18] Panthus (2.326); Venus (2.617-618); Creusa (2.788-789); Trojan household gods (3.171); Celaeno (3.251-252); Anchises' spirit (5.726).

[19] See Helenus (3.371-373; the sibyl at Cumae (6.77-82); Celaeno (3.251-252).

[20] The Ludi Apollinares were instituted in 212 B.C. in his honour.

spiritual leader, before they founded a town. It is now without significance, therefore, that the seer Helenus gives to Aeneas a sign for the location of his city (3.388-393) immediately followed by a promise of the support of Apollo (3.395). The double rôle of Apollo serves to reinforce the association being made in the poem between the word of Jupiter, 'Fatum', and the establishment of the Roman Empire.

Exploring Vergil's artistic use of the supernatural, Cyril Bailey has shown how Jupiter in the Aeneid can be equated with a Stoic concept of Fate.[21] By showing how national deities (symbolized in the poem by individual gods and goddesses) though conflicting are subordinate to a world destiny or Fate, and by identifying this world destiny with Jupiter in the Aeneid, he associates the figure of Jupiter with its philosophical equivalent, the idea of πρόνοια which gave rise to the Stoic system.[22] Moreover, he goes on to say;

> But by far the most frequent occurrence of the idea (fate) is in reference to the final settlement in Italy of Aeneas and the Trojan fugitives--that is the purpose towards which fate is directing the whole course of events in the story.[23]

Lavinium, commonly believed amongst the Romans to have been the ancient home of the Roman penates, is fated to be the new home for the penates

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[21] Cf. W. Warde Fowler, Relig. Exp., p. 425, also Otis, op. cit., p. 226. ct. J. MacInnes, "The Conception of Fata in the Aeneid," CR pp. 169-174, also L. E. Matthaei, "The Fates, the Gods, and the Freedom of Man's Will in the Aeneid," CQ p. 14 and 19.

[22] See Bailey, op. cit., chap. IX - Fate and the Gods.

[23] Bailey, op. cit., p. 219.

which Anchises, supported by Aeneas, carries with him from fallen Troy, symbols of the civilization of mankind with which he is entrusted.[24] World destiny, therefore, or Fate, is very closely associated with the Imperium Romanum, the crowning of the achievements of Aeneas and the Trojans in the Augustan peace,[25] an association which Viktor Pöschl describes as Romanum Fatum , defining it as "cosmic infinity united with the majesty of IMPERIUM ROMANUM."[26]

In the course of the chapter, I have shown that there exists some discrepancy between the hero's awareness of this Roman Fate and that of the reader, and this difference stems largely from three main re-revelations. For in addition to sharing the information disclosed to Aeneas by the gods, as readers we know what we overhear of the fates from the conversations between the gods e.g. Jupiter's prophecy to Venus (1.257-296) where the information is given only to the reader. We know what Vergil tells us directly (which amounts to very little owing to an artistry so skillfully deployed, and concerns mostly the knowledge of the Latins, a dimension of the plot which I shall treat in greater detail in Chapter IV). Finally, there is what we know as a result of the advantage of our historical perspective of the events which Vergil presents as prophecy e.g. the spectacle shown to Aeneas by Anchises in the underworld (6.756-886), where the full significance touches only the reader; e.g. the prophetic engraving on the shield which Vulcan made for Aeneas (8.626-728), once again not fully comprehensible to Aeneas, especially

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[24] Ibid., p. 94.

[25] Ibid., p. 316.

[26] Pöschl, op. cit., p. 23.

since there is no verbal explanation given here as there is with the revelation in Bk. VI.

The result of this unawareness of Aeneas is, as I have shown, a dramatic irony which pervades the poem with tragic intensity. The more subtle effects of the technique and the variety of ways in which Vergil achieves them have been explored.

My purpose in this chapter has been to examine Vergil's use of prophecy in the poem. It has been found that the prophetic element adds to the literary effectiveness of the poem in two ways. It sets the moral tone of the poem in that, since it takes on cosmic significance, we must judge the acts of the characters as being good or bad in relation to it. By placing the prophecies with consummate skill in relation to the narrative, Vergil creates a profound sense of tragic irony which draws our pity, but often in the opposite direction from our judgement. The effect of Vergil's use of prophecy, therefore, I suggest, is a conflict between our emotions and our sense of moral realism.

Chapter III

What is there to involve an audience in the story, where the action itself is propelled by Fate? A human being can respond to Fate's direction by consciously aligning himself with the cosmic force, or deliberately rebelling against it. Or perhaps he remains in ignorance of it. In proportion as a man's ignorance of Fate is dispelled, the obligation to make a conscious choice either to align or to rebel becomes more urgent. As we saw in Chapter II, knowledge of the fates is by gradual but deliberate progression thrust upon Aeneas, and with increasing clarity. The result is, therefore, that the interest is mainly focussed upon the inner psychological drama of the hero rather than upon the external narrative.

It is my purpose in this chapter to trace the development of the character of Aeneas, showing how Vergil adopts Fate in the Aeneid as the measure by which he assesses the choices and actions of his characters. Since Fate invariably relates to the establishment of the Trojan empire in Italy, as I have shown in the previous chapter, those who further that purpose in the poem are the object of approval, whereas those who hinder it are found to be reprehensible. Knowledge of the fates is the fixed reference through which free will and moral choice are exercised. The order of my examination, therefore, will follow the chronological sequence of revelations of fate, as adopted in Chapter II.

If Aeneas represents a hero insignem pietate, the expansion of the horizon of his pietas was at the cost of some growing pains! For it can hardly be claimed that Aeneas responds to the first directive of Fate given to him by Hector (2.289-297) with devotion or even respectful obedience.

heu fuge, nate dea, teque his ... eripe flammis.
Hostis habet muros; ruit alto a culmine Troia.
sat patriae Priamoque datum: Si Pergama dextra
defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent,

says Hector (2.289-292). But Aeneas is amens. What does he do? We have it in his own words to Dido and her company (2.314-317):

arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
cum sociis ardent animi; ...

The man to whom Troy has consigned her gods and the future of the Trojan race (Hector: 2.293-296), mindless through furor and ira, entertains visions of glorious death in battle

... pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis. (2.317)

Bidden by Hector to make his escape and sail over the seas Aeneas is driven numine divum - (was it Juno?) -

in flammas et in arma ..., quo tristis Erinys
quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor, (2.337-338)

and gathers his companions for a hopeless encounter with the Greeks (2.353-354);

... moriamur et in media arma ruamus.
una salus victis nullam sperare salutem,

even though Panthus, priest of Apollo, has told him (2.326-327),

... ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos
transtulit; incensa Danai dominantur in urbe.

The result is (2.361-369) cladem, funera, and labores, plurima... inertia ... corpora, poenas sanguine and,

... crudelis ubique
luctus, ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago.

He longs to exact vengeance by killing Helen (2.575-576):

exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.

As he is contemplating such deeds furiata mente, Venus intervenes to restrain him (2.588-621) dextraque prehensum, upbraiding him for his indomitas ... iras. Quid furis, she reproaches her son and directs him to the responsibilities of his family's protection. Troy has fallen because of the active intervention of the gods, she reminds him, Jupiter above all. Then Aeneas makes haste to leave (2.632-633) ducente deo, only to go back again to the blazing city in search of his lost Creusa (2.749-751), casus renovare omnis ... caput obiectare periclis. He delegates his guardianship of the gods of Troy, along with his father and son, to comrades (2.747-748). This time it is Creusa's ghost, appearing to him tectis urbis ... ruenti (2.771), that reminds him of his future mission across the sea, pointing out that it is futile insano ... indulgere dolori (2.776). Finally, he departs from Troy in resignation.[1]

Creusa's advice to sail for Hesperia (2.781) he completely ignores and builds his walls in Thrace fatis ingressus iniquis (3.16-17). On this occasion he is saved by the spirit of Polydorus who tells him to flee those shores (3.44).

The mistake of the Trojan settlement in Crete (though more immediately a result of Anchises' misunderstanding of the oracle of Thymbraean Apollo (3.94-117) than of Aeneas' forgetfulness) is remedied by a plague (3.137-142) followed by a visitation of the Trojan household gods (3.147-171). The destined settlement, they remind Aeneas, is Hesperia, named Italy.

After Celaeno's ominous prediction of famine for the Trojans in Italy (3.246-257), it is Anchises who invokes the gods and gives orders

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[1] Jackson Knight's translation of cessi (2.804).

to set sail (3.263-269).

Helenus, however, addresses Anchises as o felix nati pietate (3.480), a dutifulness which Aeneas subsequently demonstrates by promising ties of friendship between Epirus and his fated city in Italy (3.500-505). Thus Vergil gives historical authenticity to Augustus' establishment of the Roman colony at Buthrotum, and artistic validity to Aeneas' pietas for having initiated it. This is the first occasion, and the only one while Anchises is alive, that Aeneas expresses any sense of purpose regarding his future mission.

When Italy is sighted at last, it is pater Anchises who invokes the gods for aid (3.522-530). It is pater Anchises who interprets the omen of the four horses portending war but also hope and peace (3.537-543), and leads the veiled Trojans in sacrifice to Greek Juno (3.546-547) according to the commands of Helenus dederat quae maxima.

On sighting Aetna and the rocks of Charybdis pater Anchises recalls Helenus' warning (3.420-432) with the result that the Trojans escape danger. Anchises, too, gives orders to venerate the gods at the promontory of Plemmyrium (3.697). But at Drepanum, Anchises, the spiritual leader of the expedition, dies (3.707-710)!

It is with numb terror and groaning that our hero faces the wrecking of the Trojan fleet, his first trial without his father, and with a longing to have died gloriously in arms at Troy (1.92-101). Yet necessity drives away despair. After landing at Carthage, he gradually assumes the rôle of leader, getting food for his men (1.184-197), trying to raise their spirits (1.198-207), concealing his own grief and feigning confidence, in his care for the crew's morale (1.209). For the first time he speaks to them of their destination, Latium (1.205-206),

... sedes ubi fata quietas
ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.

For the first time in the poem, too, Vergil bestows upon Aeneas his stock epithet (but one not indiscriminately applied, as we shall see) as pius Aeneas more than all the rest laments the fate of their lost companions (1.220). Later pius Aeneas sets out to explore the land (1.305). Ilioneus describes his leader, Aeneas, as a man,

... quo iustior alter
nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis (1.544-545)

Aeneas himself demonstrates his devotion to his son Ascanius (1.643-646).

However, beneath the façade lies a very human weariness of journeying, a rooted attachment to Troy and his origins and an anxious longing to settle. He envies the Carthaginians already building their city:

'o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!'
Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis. (1.437-438)

He is moved to depths of compassion (1.459-462) by the scenes of the Trojan war depicted on Juno's temple (1.453-493). The surge of joy he feels at seeing his companions safe (1.513-515) is held in check only by his fear, for res animos incognita turbat. His unbounded relief at Dido's sympathy and concern with the Trojan lot prompts his outburst of genuinely heartfelt gratitude (1.597-610):

o sola infandos Troiae miserate labores,
quae nos, reliquias Danaum, terraeque marisque
omnibus exhaustis iam casibus, omnium egenos,
urbe, domo socias, grates persolvere dignas
non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quidquid ubique est
gentis Dardaniae, magnum quae sparsa per orbem. (1.597-602)

The final vague note of his future calling is virtually eclipsed by the extravagance of his praise and gratitude:

> ... quae te tam laeta tulerunt
> saecula? qui tanti talem genuere parentes?
> in freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbrae
> lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascet,
> semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,
> quae me cumque vocant terrae. ... (1.605-610)

"How I feared that the kingdom of Lybia might hurt you!" Anchises later thus confesses to his son (6.694), before showing him the future glories of the kingdom of Italy. But heedless of the eye of Anchises and no less of his future kingdom is Aeneas once he is Dido's lover!

> nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
> regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos. (4.193-194)

These, though, are the words of Fama the dea foeda (4.195) who facta atque infecta canebat (4.190). Vergil makes no judgement. But Jupiter does! In his eyes the lovers are oblitos famae melioris (4.221), Aeneas is philandering in Tyrian Carthage fatisque datas non respicit urbes (4.224-225). Jupiter reaffirms Aeneas' purpose in the shape of future events:

> sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
> Italiam regeret genus alto a sanguine Teucri
> proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem, (4.229-231)

and instead he is wasting his time inimica in gente (4.235),

> nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva. (4.236)

Vergil discreetly keeps his Roman hero offstage during his romantic interlude. But certainly when we do first see Aeneas in the affair, we get the impression that he is not reluctant. For in Carthage Mercury sees

> Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem. (4.260)

He has a jasper-studded sword (iaspis being also a term of endearment) and is wearing a cloak of Tyrian purple interwoven with gold, a gift from Dido (4.261-263). Vergil clearly disapproves of the Carthaginian luxury to which Aeneas has succumbed, and which a contemporary member of the togaed race associated with the oriental way of life. This theme occurs several times

throughout the poem. Remulus, taunting Ascanius (9.598-620), contrasts the simple hardy attitudes of the Italian races,

> at patiens operum parvoque adsueta iuventus (9.607)

with Trojan sophistication:

> vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis,
> desidiae cordi, iuvat indulgere choreis,
> et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae. (9.614-616)

Evander, founder of the Roman citadel - tum res inopes ... habebat (8.100) --- shows Aeneas the historic sites of his humble city, teaching him not to disdain poverty:

> aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
> finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis. (8.364-365)

The men celebrate the banquet in honour of Hercules sitting on the grass (8.176), Aeneas, the guest of honour, seated on a couch with a shaggy lion skin thrown over it (8.177-178). Aeneas is received for the night into the simple home pauperis Evandri (8.360) and invited to lay his head "crimped with curling - tongs and oiled with myrrh"[2] on a bed of strewn leaves and the skin of a Libyan bear (8.366-368). There are more subtle implications of the corrupting influence of wealth. Love of gold-embossed booty is the undoing of Euryalus (9.359-366, 384), and Camilla's pre-occupation with the gold and purple of Chloreus furnishes the moment for Arruns' fatal arrow (11.768-784).

In addition to implying criticism of Aeneas' luxurious living, Vergil conveys the impression that the Trojans harbour some disapproval of their leader. They are eager to obey his orders to make preparations for departure from Carthage:

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[2] Turnus' scathing description of Aeneas (12.99-100), trans. Jackson Knight, p. 312. Iarbas also mentions Aeneas' crinem madentem (4.216).

... ocius omnes
imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt. (4.294-295)

They proceed with their preparations fugae studio (4.400) like ants storing grain for the winter when opere omnis semita fervet (4.402-407).

So far there has been little evidence to support the view that Aeneas "goes about --- doing what he ought to do and saying what he ought to say from first to last".[3] But Aeneas is stricken with the fear of Jupiter (4.279-282) after Mercury's descent. With a classic restraint, it must be admitted hardly characteristic of his previous behaviour, he is obdurate to Dido's reproaches and to her pleas to abandon his idea of departure:

... immota tenebat
lumina, et obnixus curam sub corde premebat. (4.331-332)

Iussa tamen divum exsequitur (4.396), a gesture sufficiently fate - abiding to warrant the reappearance of "that painful adjective"[4] pius (4.393), a title conspicuously absent in the chronological order of events since the time of Aeneas' meeting with Dido.

> How the man who wrote the lines placed in Dido's mouth could immediately afterwards speak of 'the good Aeneas etc.' is one of the puzzles of literature, and even the fact that the Aeneid was never finished does not explain so glaring an inconsistency,

remonstrates T.E. Page.[5] Vergil, however, has to this point been perfectly consistent in condemning Aeneas' remiss behaviour. He has presented Aeneas (with vocabulary similar to that later associated with the rebel Turnus)

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[3] T.E. Page, Aeneidos Liber XI, introd. xx.

[4] T.E. Page, introd. xx, says "and all through he goes about with that painful adjective ostentatiously tied round his neck."

[5] Ibid., xxi.

as an individual for whom the expression of his own passionate emotions precludes any receptivity to a more universal religious purpose. Without being able to claim ignorance, Aeneas has shown himself disrespectful to, or at least forgetful of, repeated revelations of the gods concerning the Fatum Romanum. He has begun to develop some qualities of leadership (then Vergil described him as pius), only to abandon his growing sense of purpose and the future for the more immediate sweet comfort and security of an alliance with a beautiful, sympathetic oriental queen. His decision to abandon her denies his humanity and if he is pius it is because he did it Iovis monitis (4.331). Nor, it must be remembered, was his humanity so violated in the eyes of Vergil's contemporaries, who were more sensible to Cleopatra's recent assaults on the Imperium Romanum and more or less sensible, from the records of Roman history, to the very real threat that Carthage had constituted to Rome and their forefathers in the Punic Wars.

Obedience to Fate, however, conflicts with the compassionate nature Aeneas has already shown. His initial response to Mercury's command is fear and dread (4.279-282). A fuller realization of his dilemma causes confusion (4.285-286), followed by resolution (4.287), action (4.288), and bitter regret as he recalls optima Dido and tantos ... amores (4.291-292). He has to steel himself against Dido's passionate anger (4.332):

... obnixus curam sub corde premebat.

It is the fates, he emphasizes, that determine his departure (4.345-346):

sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortis;

and again (4.361):

Italiam non sponte sequor.

He weeps to see her shade in the underworld (6.455), weeps at her glaring anger (6.468).

Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi,

he swears (6.460), weeping once more at her bitter lot and pitying her (6.475-476). Determination meets Anna's pleas (4.438-440), yet his anguish is conveyed by a simile of an oak-tree being battered by Alpine blasts (4.441-448), and especially by line 448, magno persentit pectore curas.

But mens immota manet (4.449), words reminiscent to an alert reader of Jupiter's promise to Venus (1.227), manent immota tuorum fata tibi. Even then Aeneas needs a second warning from Mercury to leave.

Dido's despair and death are the consequences of the new resolution of "a hero who had, one would think, lost his character forever".[6] And so he would, but Vergil with diplomatic artistry gradually reconstructs the violated image throughout Bk. V.

Helmsman Palinurus consults with Aeneas about the direction of their course. Pius Aeneas (5.26) respects the soundness of Palinurus' advice, superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur (5.22), and gives orders to sail with the wind to Sicily. Upon disembarking, Aeneas addresses his men and institutes games in honour of his father Anchises, with all the prestige of one who is clearly in charge (5.42-71).

ille e concilio multis cum milibus ibat
ad tumulum magna medius comitante caterva. (5.75-76)

The emphasis on numbers here reinforces the idea of the authority of Aeneas, as he proceeds to conduct formal sacrifices at the tomb (5.77-79). When the snake consumes the offering, he is still more assiduous in his priestly task:

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[6] Page, op. cit. introd. xxi.

hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,
incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis
esse putet; caedit binas de more bidentis
totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuvencos,
vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat
Anchisae magni manisque Acheronte remissos: (5.94-99)

For the boat race Aeneas ... pater (5.129-130)- (the first time he is given the title)-erects the turning-post and after the fierce contest it is satus Anchisa (5.244) who declares the winner and awards the prizes and later produces equal boxing gloves for Dares and Entellus (5.424). Pius Aeneas organizes the footrace in the valley,

... quo se multis cum milibus heros
consessu medium tulit extructoque resedit, (5.289-290)

and when Salius disputes the result, pater Aeneas settles the difference, awarding the unfortunate loser an African lion's skin for a consolation prize. Nisus claims equal recognition, showing his muddy face and limbs, the cost of Euryalus' victory, whereupon:

... risit pater optimus olli
et clipeum efferi iussit, ... (5.358-359)

Magnanimusque Anchisiades examines the boxing-leathers of Eryx (5.407-408) and as pater (5.461) stops the fight and the wrath of Entellus mulcens dictis (5.461-464). He awards the prize of honour in the archery contest to Acestes (5.530-538). Here Vergil calls him maximus ... Aeneas (5.530-531). Later, pater Aeneas orders the equestrian display (5.545), a show perpetuated through the history of Alba and Rome under the name of Troia.

By such titles, Vergil enhances the prestige of the benign father - figure. Moreover, he is in charge of men of such brute vigour and spirited passions as Gyas, who threw his helmsman overboard for being too cautious, Dares vastis cum viribus and Entellus, who smashed in the skull and beat out the brains of the bullock, his prize. These men, however, respectfully defer to Aeneas e.g.Entellus (5.418).

We see him also assuming spiritual leadership. He conducts the sacrificial ceremonies in honour of the anniversary of his father's death. He interprets the omen of Acestes' blazing arrow as a sign from Jupiter, awarding Acestes a bowl which had belonged to Anchises (5.530-538). Pius Aeneas prays to the gods after the firing of the Trojan fleet, (5.685-692), adopting the priest - rôle of his father, whose presence permeates the whole book.

The disaster of the burnt fleet totally demoralizes him! This time pater Aeneas is casu concussus acerbo (5.700), tempted to settle in Sicily oblitus fatorum (5.703). Nautues is needed to console him and remind him to go quo fata trahunt (5.709), to encourage him superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est (5.710). He advises Aeneas to leave the weak and unwilling behind in Sicily. But Aeneas is only further discouraged and confused at this prospect of separation (5.719-720). Anchises himself must appear to reaffirm Aeneas' resolution (5.721-740). Immediately Aeneas sacrifices to Vesta, (5.743-745) and promptly marks off a site for the new city in Sicily (5.746-761) - an artistically adept attempt on Vergil's part to justify Roman annexation of Sicily later.

Yet for all his confirmed resolution, bonus Aeneas weeps on parting as he consoles those left behind (5.770-771). We see him grief-stricken on discovering the loss of Palinurus (5.867-871),

multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici:

Later, more than anyone he mourns Misenus (6.176), he has to be warned by the Sibyl not to spend all his time in the underworld flendo with Deiphobus (6.537-539). Abundant, too, are the tears he sheds at the sight of Dido's angry shade (6.455-476).

Monsters at the entrance to Orcus strike panic into him so that he seizes his sword to attack their empty shades (6.290-291). He halts exterritus (6.559) at the sounds of lashings at the entrance to Tartarus. He is miratus and motus (6.317) at the unburied spirits stretching out their hands for the other shore. Being informed of the nature of their lot makes him reflective,

... sortemque animi miseratus iniquam. (6.332)

He wonders how souls can want to return to life. (6.719-721).

Book VI is largely concerned with spiritual experience and human response to it. As we see, Aeneas' response is very human. Vergil describes him reacting with fear, wonder, weeping, compassion and reflection.

Though initially he has to be chided by the priestess to pray (6.37-39, 51-53), he is increasingly attentive to the ritual of religious obligations; Propere exsequitur pracepta Sibyllae, offering four black bullocks as he assists the priestess in sacrifices to Hecate (6.236-243). He himself sacrifices a lamb to Night, a cow to Proserpine, dedicating the altars to Pluto,

et solida inponit taurorum viscera flammis,
pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis. (6.253-254)

At the Fields of the Blessed, though prompted, it is true, by the prophetess (6.629-632),

occupat Aeneas aditum corpusque recenti
spargit aqua ramumque adverso in limine figit. (6.635-636)

Throughout the book, however, Vergil continues to enhance the image of his hero maintaining the title technique used in Bk. V.

Pius Aeneas seeks the citadel of Apollo immediately on landing on the Hesperian shore at Cumae, obedient to the commands of Helenus (3.441-460)

and of Anchises' spirit (5.731-737). The priestess distinguishes him with the title of regi (6.36) and Aeneas rex replies (6.55). Twice - pius Aeneas mourns Misenus (6.176) and erects a tomb for him (6.232). Palinurus' shade addresses him as dux Anchisiade (6.348).

That Aeneas is chosen for his piety, we gather from the discriminating remark of the prophetess as she grants him access to the underworld (6.258-260)

> ... "procul o, procul este, profani"
> conclamat vates, "totoque absistite luco;
> tuque invade viam.... "

He has lived up to the expectations of his father:

> venisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti
> vicit iter durum pietas? ... (6.687-688)

We are to assume, therefore, that Aeneas' actions since his father's death -- his breaking off his involvement with Dido, his return to Trojan Sicily and celebration of games, his journey to Italy in spite of setbacks and his descent to the underworld (Bks. I, IV, V and VI) -- have warranted the approval of Anchises.

Aeneas' journey through the underworld is, as it were, a confrontation with his own emotions, an exploration of the insights of his own spirit. He emerges from the experience confirmed in his sense of his own destiny.

> His 'pietas' is now confirmed and enlarged, it has become a sense of duty to the will of the gods as well as to his father, son, and his people, and this sense of duty never leaves him, either in his general course of action or in the detail of sacrifice and propitiation.[7]

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[7] W. Warde Fowler, Relig. Exp., p. 422.

The first words we hear pater Aeneas say after his review of Anchises' prophetic parade of the future Trojan race are:

> ... Salve fatis mihi debita tellus
> Vosque ... o fidi Troiae salvete Penates:
> Hic domus, haec patria est.... (7.120-122)

The occasion is when Aeneas "in awe at the divine meaning in the remark"[8] of Ascanius about the "eating of their tables," interprets the incident as the promised sign for the site of his city. Quickly he prays. He orders bowls of wine to be poured to Jupiter, wreathes his forehead and invokes the deities of the place:

> ... et geniumque loci primamque deorum
> Tellurem Nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur
> flumina, tum Noctem Noctisque orientia signa
> Idaeumque Ioven Phrygiamque ex ordine matrem
> invocat, et duplicis caeloque Ereboque parentis. (7.136-140)

Aeneas has clearly assumed the priest-rôle. His reward is a triple thunder from Jupiter and a cloud gleaming with rays of light (7.141-143), which the Trojans interpret as a sign of their promised city.

His spiritual leadership is translated into action. Satus Anchisa, with a tactician's speed, orders envoys to go to the Latin town to ask for peace (7.152-155), looking to his basic strategy by fortifying the temporary camp with battlements and a rampart (7.157-159). Peace parleys fail. When next we see Aeneas, he is tristi turbatus pectora bello (8.29). Tiber appears with words of encouragement and a final reminder for Aeneas:

> Iunoni fer rite preces, iramque minasque
> supplicibus supera votis.... (8.60-61)

One thing Aeneas has neglected -- the warning of Helenus (3.433-439)!

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[8] trans. Jackson Knight, p. 178

praeterea si qua est Heleno prudentia vati,
si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo,
unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum
praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo
Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora,
Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem
supplicibus supera donis; ...

This time Aeneas' new resolution and action are matched by a prompt (as well as prompted!) religious obedience. Having caught sight of the predicted sow by the river's edge, (Helenus: 3.388-393, Tiber: 8.42-46) pius Aeneas "brought the implements, and stationed both sow and litter at an altar. And he sacrificed all to Juno, to Juno only, to Juno herself, the Supreme"[9] (8.84-85). Nor does pius Aeneas later repeat his negligence at the sacrifice before the final combat with Turnus, when he prays:

esto nunc Sol testis et haec mihi Terra vocanti,
quam propter tantos potui perferre labores,
et Pater omnipotens et tu Saturnia coniunx,
iam melior, iam, diva, precor; ... (12.176-179)

No more despair! A new and confident tone of purpose is evident in his speech to Evander:

sed mea me virtus et sancta oracula divum
cognatique patres, tua terris dicta fama,
coniunxere tibi et fatis egere volentem, (8.131-133)

a far different cry from his Italiam non sponte sequor (4.361).

The authority of the hero's new resolve is reinforced by the esteem and respect bestowed upon him by Evander:

... ut te, fortissime Teucrum,
accipio agnoscoque libens! ... (8.154-155)

and again:

maxime Teucrorum ductor, quo sospite numquam
res equidem Troiae victas aut regna fatebor,
nobis ad belli auxilium pro nomine tanto
exiguae vires; ... (8.470-473)

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[9] trans. Jackson Knight p. 203.

and later:

> ... tu, cuius et annis
> et generi fata indulgent, quem numina poscunt,
> ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime ductor. (8.511-513)

Evander entrusts his son to Aeneas, a worthy model for Pallas:

> ... sub te tolerare magistro
> militiam et grave Martis opus, tua cernere facta
> adsuescat, primis et te miretur ab annis. (8.515-517)

The Arcadians provide horses for the Trojan band (8.551), distinguishing Aeneas:

> ducunt exsortem Aeneae, quem fulva leonis
> pellis obit totum, praefulgens unguibus aureis (8.552-553)

Respect for Aeneas is not restricted to the Arcadians. The obedience of his own followers in his absence, when he left orders for them to defend the camp against the Latins (9.40-43) testifies to his esteemed leadership. Though inflamed to fight through shame and anger, nevertheless praecepta facessunt (9.44-46).

Hot-headed Euryalus refers to magnanimum Aenean (9.204), Aletes calls him pius (9.255), Mnestheus shames the Trojans into rallying against Turnus by recalling thoughts magni Aeneae (9.787). Even impious Mezentius dauntlessly awaits his encounter with hostem magnanimum (10.770). Latin Drances, though his motives are open to suspicion being infensus iuveni Turno (11.123), opens his speech to Aeneas with extravagant compliments:

> ... o fama ingens, ingentior armis,
> vir Troiane, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem?
> iustitiaene prius mirer, belline laborum? (11.124-126)

But maybe the highest tribute is bestowed upon Aeneas by Diomede (reported by the Latin ambassador Venulus). He praises Aeneas' prowess in battle (11.283-284, 288-290), along with that of Hector:

> si duo praeterea tales Idaea tulisset
> terra viros, ultro Inachias venisset ad urbes
> Dardanus, et versis lugeret Graecia fatis (11.285-287)

but, he emphasizes:

> ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis,
> hic pietate prior ... (11.291-292)

-- fair words from an Argive!

What friend and foe alike say of Aeneas' courage and devotion, serves to support Vergil's "epithet presentation" of his character and is eventually not belied by the hero's words and deeds. However, further development of the character of Aeneas after Bk. VIII is limited. He finally recognizes and accepts his destined rôle with respect to the Fatum Romanum and responds with action to implement it. Conflict becomes externalized. The forces opposing Fatum Romanum are no longer the forces of passion and compassion within Aeneas, but the people who stand in the way of his destiny. Aeneas' new resolve involves war and the fury, vengeance and killing that war entails (e.g. 10.333-335). Savage massacre ensues (10.336-361). No intervention of gods here! Jupiter has declared himself impartial. Humans, left to their human resources, exhibit and elicit human responses! A surge of vengeful slaughter follows the death of Pallas (10.513-604)

> proxima quaeque metit gladio latumque per agmen
> ardens limitem agit ferro, te, Turne, superbum
> caede nova quaerens. Pallas, Evander, in ipsis
> omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas advena primas
> tunc adiit, dextraeque datae. ... (10.513-517)

No amount of bribes or supplications can gain his mercy for Magus,

> ... galeam laeva tenet atque reflexa
> cervice orantis capulo tenus adplicet ensem. (10.535-536)

Anxur fares no more happily (10.545-549), as Dardanides contra furit (10.545). Enraged, Aeneas pins Tarquitus down and as he helplessly pleads, dashes his head on the ground, kicks the warm corpse over and refuses burial inimico pectore (10.550-560). Everywhere he inflicts rampant carnage:

> sic toto Aeneas desaevit in aequore victor
> ut semel intepuit mucro, ... (10.569-570)

and later,

> talia per campos edebat funera ductor
> Dardanius torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri
> more furens. (10.602-604)

There is killing. Yet at times there is grief at killing. In deadly wrath (10.814) the Trojan leader kills young Lausus for his defiance, but regrets the deed:

> At vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,
> ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,
> Ingemuit miserans graviter ... (10.821-823)

He weeps on seeing the lifeless body of Pallas (11.29, 39-41)

> ... quem non virtutis egentem
> abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo. (11.27-28)

He delivers a compassionate speech of lament (11.41-58). As he sees the piteous lot of his fallen comrades turbataque funere mens est (11.3).

His passion and compassion, inherent in his sensible nature, remain, but never again to blind his insight or threaten his purpose. Once preparations for Pallas' funeral procession are completed,

> substitit Aeneas gemituque haec addidit alto:
> 'nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli
> fata vocant: salve, aeternum mihi, maxime Palla,
> aeternumque vale.' nec plura effatus ad altos
> tendebat muros gressumque in castra ferebat. (11.95-99)

And when it comes in the end to Turnus,

> et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
> coeperat, ... (12.940-941)

but Aeneas sees the belt of Pallas, and deals the final blow furiis accensus et ira terribilis (12.946-947) as much in the name of vengeance as of Fatum Romanum.

But to assume that Vergil intended to represent in the final slaying of Turnus the triumph of furor in Aeneas[10] is, I think, to miss the point. For it must be remembered that when the Trojans brought back to him the body of Pallas, Evander gave them a message for Aeneas (11.177-179):

> "Your valour now owes the death of Turnus as a debt to both father and son. For that alone I prolong a life rendered hateful to me by the loss of Pallas; ..."[11]

Furthermore, when one carefully traces Vergil's editorial comments throughout Aeneas' death-dealing rampage, one finds that the poet has made his position quite clear. He has prepared for the final decisive gesture. Lucagus rolls dead at the hand of Troius heros (10.580-590). It is pius Aeneas once more who speaks to the pleading brother Liger dictis ... amaris (10.591),

> tum, latebras animae pectus mucrone recludit, (10.601)

in spite of his entreaties! Pius Aeneas casts the spear which pierces the shield and lodges in the groin of Mezentius (10.783-786), and is viso Tyrrheni sanguine laetus (10.787). It is the Troius heros (10.886) by whose strategy Mezentius' horse is felled and its rider thrown for Aeneas to kill. His remorse at the killing of Lausus does not, in any way, diminish his pietas in his own eyes:

> quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum? (10.826)

How can a man insignem pietate abandon Dido to her death, overturn a kingdom, kill Lausus and Turnus and slaughter in war? Clearly

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10 See Putnam, op. cit., p. 162.

11 Trans. Jackson Knight, p. 284.

pietas, bound in with the idea of Fatum Romanum, does not preclude killing but demands it in the case of an enemy, and throughout the epic Aeneas' pietas is consistently relative to his recognition of Fatum Romanum. This Roman moral concept of pietas was later to be extended beyond the limitations of its nationalistic exclusiveness and given a more universal ethical application through Christianity, and to be yet further adapted to the cult of Reason in the XVIIIth century Enlightenment.

In the Aeneid, there is no finally perfected human nature. To the end Aeneas is human in his inhumanity, the creation of a poet with a subtle yet fearless grasp of the human and the real.[12]

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[12] Otis, op. cit., p. 391, speaking of Vergil's clear-cut moralism refers to the "final dichotomy" of "his feeling for what is humanly admirable in the bad characters and for what is humanly blameworthy in the good!"

CHAPTER IV

Just as Aeneas' pietas is consistently relative to his recognition of Fatum Romanum, as I have shown in the previous chapter, so those characters in the poem who refuse to recognize Fatum Romanum are found to incur Vergil's disapproval. For the rebels represent the antithesis of pietas. Contrasting this Roman sense of duty with what he calls 'a Greek sense of existence', Pöschl says:

> for whatever the Homeric heroes do, they do in fulfilment of their nature rather than their duty.[1]

And Vergil's rebel characters do exhibit a spirit of Homeric individualism. In the later Republic, an age that increasingly afforded scope for personal expression and ambition, individualism had superseded pietas as a way of life. Panaetius had defined this unstoic spirit:

> Sed ea animi elatio quae cernitur in periculis et laboribus, si iustitia vacat, pugnatque non pro saluti communi sed pro suis commodis, in vitio est; non modo enim id virtutis non est, sed est potius IMMANITATIS OMNEM HUMANITATEM REPELLENTIS.[2]

Bowra explains how Vergil "replaces a personal by a social ideal" since "the old heroic outlook was too anarchic and anti-social" for his age.[3]

At the conclusion of Georgics I, Vergil appeals to the Roman deities to help Augustus "to save the sinking age", the anarchic pre-Augustan society;

> O! let the blood, already spilt, atone
> For the past crimes of cursed Laomedon!
> Heaven wants thee there; and long the gods, we know,
> Have grudged thee, Caesar, to the world below,

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[1] Pöschl, op. cit., p. 39.

[2] Cicero, De Officiis, 1, 23.

[3] Bowra, op. cit., p. 13.

Where fraud and rapine right and wrong confound,
Where impious arms from every part resound,
And monstrous crimes in every shape are crowned.
The peaceful peasant to the wars is pressed;
The fields lie fallow in inglorious rest;
The plain no pasture to the flock affords;
The crooked scythes are straightened into swords;
And there Euphrates her soft offspring arms,
And here the Rhine rebellows with alarms;
The neighbouring cities range on several sides;
Perfidious Mars long-plighted leagues divides,
And o're the wasted world in triumph rides.
So four fierce coursers, starting to the race,
Scour through the plain, and lengthen every pace;
Nor reins, nor curbs, nor threatening cries, they fear,
But force along the trembling charioteer.[4]

It is my intention in this chapter to examine the various ways in which Vergil makes clear his condemnation of the rebel characters. But first, if knowledge of the fates is the condition through which free choice operates, what knowledge of the fates had those who chose to oppose them?

Dido is well acquainted with the past glory of Troy:

quis genus Aeneadum, quis Troiae nesciat urbem,
virtutesque virosque aut tanta incendia belli?
Non obtunsa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni,
nec tam aversus equos Tyria Sol iungit ab urbe. (1.565-568)

Tyrians had in the past been hosts to Trojans seeking a new kingdom (1.619-622). She recalls her father's praise of the Trojans (1.625),

seque ortum antiqua Teucrorum ab stirpe volebat. (1.626)

The Trojan war pictures in Juno's temple at Carthage (1.453-493) testify that Dido knows of the misfortunes of that heroic race in war. So also she is informed of Aeneas' future commitments even before she meets him. Ilioneus tells her that the destination of the Trojans had been Italy (1.530-534), when the storm overtook them. He asks permission to beach the shattered Trojan fleet for repairs, until such time as Aeneas and his men might join them to set sail once more for Latium (1.551-554). Aeneas

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[4] Vergil, Georgics 1,501-514, trans. John Dryden.

himself, in spite of his gratitude to Dido, does not disguise his future plans:

> semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt,
> quae me cumque vocant terrae. ... (1.609-610)

His adventures since his departure from Troy and the divine signs and portents given to him (Bks. II and III) are narrated to Dido by Aeneas himself. At the start of Bk. IV, therefore, Dido is as well informed of the nature of Aeneas' destiny as he is himself.

From omens and oracles, even before the arrival of the Trojans on Latin soil, the Latins were warned that a foreign conqueror would come to their land. Latinus was to have a foreign son-in-law from whose union with Lavinia would arise a Latin race which would enjoy fame and world dominion (7.64-70, 71-80, 96-101). Fama makes this popular knowledge (7.104-106). Amata speaks of gener externa ... de gente (7.367-368) predicted by the oracle of Faunus. Drances refers to the fatalis murorum ... moles (11.130-131) of the Trojans in Italy. Nor was the knowledge of the Trojan destiny confined to the Latin tribes. Arcadian Evander says:

> ... fatis tu huc te poscentibus adfers (8.477).

According to Evander, the Etruscans are waiting, their ships lining the shore, for the predicted foreign leader to lead them against their king Mezentius whom they have overthrown (8.497-504). Evander recognizes Aeneas as the prophesied foreigner:

> ... tu, cuius et annis
> et generi fata indulgent, quem numina poscunt, (8.511-512)

Etruscan Tarchon finally joins forces with Aeneas,

> ... tum libera fati
> classem conscendit iussis gens Lydia divum (10.154-155)

Rutulian Turnus reluctantly admits the Trojan landing in Ausonia as a stroke of Fate (9.135-136). To confirm these prophecies, the Rutulians witness omens indicating that the Trojans have divine protection in battle (9.110-122, 630-631), (10.267-271).

In addition, the figure of Latinus is, as it were, the collective rebel conscience, reinforcing and dramatizing these prophecies and portents of the Fatum Romanum. Born of Faunus, whose genealogy is traced through the prophetic god Picus back to Saturn (7.45-49), Latinus is receptive to the fates. Omens (7.64-67, 71-77) interpreted by Apollo (7.68-70) and prophets (7.79-80) have revealed to him a future invasion of foreign conquerors. Latinus, sollicitus monstris (7.81) consults the oracle of Faunus fatidici genitoris (7.82). His prophet ancestor tells him that he is to have a foreign son-in-law and that through the union, the Latin race will have fame and dominion (7.96-101). He recognizes the Trojans as the race fated to come and Aeneas to be this chosen man (7.251-258). He entertains the Trojan delegates in the temple of prophetic Picus. Vergil draws attention to this fact by a lengthy description (7.168-193). He is not swayed by his wife's arguments in support of Turnus' claim (7.359-372). He knows that the marriage of Lavinia with Turnus is against the fates. Amata can see Latinum contra stare (7.373-374). He stands firm also against the demands of his people for war against the Trojans:

> ille velut pelagi rupes immota resistit,
> ut pelagi rupes magno veniente fragore,
> quae sese, multis circum latrantibus undis
> mole tenet; scopuli nequiquam et spumea circum
> saxa fremunt laterique inlisa refunditur alga. (7.586-590)

But realizing that he is hopelessly pitted against caecum ... consilium (7.591-592) utters futile prophecies of disaster:

"frangimur heu fatis," inquit, "ferimurque procella!
ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas,
o miseri. ... (7.594-596)

"As for you, Turnus, you'll not get away without paying a high price for the terrible thing you're doing. It will be too late when you come crawling on your knees to the gods with gifts." (7.595-597).

He shuts himself in his palace and abandons the responsibilities of his rule (7.600), refusing to have any part in opening the tristis ... portas (7.617) of Mars, a custom amongst the Alban cities to signify the inception of lacrimabile bellum (7.604), aversusque refugit foeda ministeria (7.618-619). Juno herself performs the task (7.620-621) and Ausonia is ablaze with war:

extemplo turbati animi, simul omne tumultu
coniurat trepido Latium saevitque iuventus
effera. ... (8.4-6)

The twelve-day truce for burial rites brings him back into evidence, presiding haud laeta fronte (11.238) at a council he has called in a renewed attempt to influence matters. For he perceives

fatalem Aenean manifesto numine ferri
admonet ira deum tumulique ante ora recentes. (11.232-233)

To add weight to Latinus' argument, ambassadors report Diomede's reply to the Latin appeal for aid against the Trojans. What induced the Latins to disturb the peace of the land, ignota lacessere bella (11.254)?

... coeant in foedera dextrae,
qua datur; ast armis concurrant arma cavete. (11.292-293)

Latinus, praefatus divos (11.301), points out to the Latins that they are waging bellum importunum ... cum gente deorum (11.305). He proposes terms for a peaceful settlement. Even then the dubiae sententia menti (11.314) might have prevailed upon his people had not Trojan and Etruscan troops inopportunely arrived to frustrate his noble bid (11.449-450).

> extemplo turbati animi concussaque vulgi
> pectora et arrectae stimulis haud mollibus irae.
> arma manu trepidi poscunt, fremit arma iuventus,
> flent maesti mussantque patres. ... (11.451-454)

Latinus is tristi turbatus tempore (11.470),

> multaque se incusat qui non acceperit ultro
> Dardanium Aenean, generumque asciverit urbi, (11.471-472)

and as he berates himself, bello dat signum rauca cruentum bucina (11.474-475).

Ineffective in preventing the war, sedato ... corde (12.18) he makes a vain appeal to Turnus to abandon his claim to Lavinia, and not to submit himself to single combat:

> me natam nulli veterum sociare procorum
> fas erat, idque omnes divique hominesque canebant. (12.27-28)

He realizes and admits his fault:

> victus amore tui, cognato sanguine victus
> coniugis et maestae lacrimis, vincla omnia rupi:
> promissam eripui genero, arma impia sumpsi. (12.29-31)

He judges himself to have acted against the fates. Love for Turnus, kinship and Amata's tears have conflicted with his better judgement, his conflict unresolved. Quae mentem insania mutat (12.37)?

We see him again fleeing when the treaty has been broken pulsatos referens infecto foedere divos (12.286). The full extent of his grief is only realized when the gloomy news is brought that his queen has hanged herself:

> ... it scissa veste Latinus
> coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina,
> canitiem immundo perfusam pulvere turpans, (12.609-611)

and the full extent of his blame reechoes in his brain:

multaque se incusat, qui non acceperit ante
Dardanium Aenean generumque asciverit ultro. (12.612-613)[5]

At the outbreak of hostilities, neighbourhood herdsmen come to the city carrying the corpses of the brave youth, Almo, and the old Italian landowner, Galaesus, a rich and righteous man. But neither ~~his~~ Galaesus' wealth nor his righteousness nor courage to intercede availed to save the peace, or his life (7.535-539). They come to appeal to Latinus. Turnus does not miss his moment. He makes his popular presence felt, alarming them still more, "Go ahead, let the Trojans take over --- you want oriental halfbreeds for grandchildren? Besides, I know what it is to be beaten back from my own doorstep!" (7.577-579). The artist plays. The instrument sounds the tune, the tune of Mars, as Rutulians, backed by their womenfolk, crowd round the palace clamoring for war against the Trojans (7.583-585).

Even before Juno opens the gates of Mars to signify the outbreak of war, Vergil by direct statement makes his disapproval quite clear. The war is infandum, contra omina and contra fata deum, and the Rutulians demand it perverso numine (7.583-584). By implication he condemns the war through his use of the allegorical figure of the Fury Allecto.[6] For the war has been instigated amongst the countryfolk by the pestis ... aspera (7.505), hireling of Juno. Ira has furnished the weapons for men (7.508). The saeva ... dea, tempus ... nacta nocendi (7.511), sounded the signal for battle buccina ... dira (7.519-521). Then the Fury,

... ubi sanguine bellum
imbuit et primae commisit funera pugnae, (7.541-542)

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[5] Note the similarity between these lines and (11.471-472):
multaque se incusat qui non acceperit ultro
Dardanium Aenean, generumque asciverit urbi.

[6] Otis, op. cit., p. 325: "Allecto symbolizes the fury within the human heart that is ever ready, given the proper motivations, to burst into flame and overwhelm the more rational part of the soul. But there is no madness in the strict sense and no diminution of moral responsibility."

reported her success to Juno voce superba (7.544):

en, perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi. (7.545)

She offered to kindle the minds of the people in the nearby cities insani Martis amore (7.550). Her services spurned, the invisum numen hid herself in Acheron, terras caelumque levabat (7.571).

A series of reminders voiced by characters reasserts the rebel nature of the war repeatedly in the eyes of the reader right up until the critical point when the matter is brought before the council of the gods, and Jupiter insists:

abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris. (10.8)

Aeneas, for instance, at the outbreak of war is tristi turbatus pectora bello (8.29). (Tristis would seem to have sinister connotations, associated as it is with the Fury Allecto, the tristis dea (7.408), cui tristia bella iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi (7.325-326).) He tells Pallas that the Latins attacked the Trojans bello ... superbo (8.118). Venus, appearing to Aeneas to present him with Vulcan's arms, says,

... ne mox aut Laurentis, nate, superbos
aut acrem dubites in proelia poscere Turnum. (8.613-614)

Aeneas' ships, turned into sea-nymphs, have come to warn him as the perfidus ... Rutulus is attacking his camp (10.231-234). Even Jupiter's declaration is reasserted, at least in the mind of the reader, when Diana tells Opis to fly down to the land of the Latins,

tristis ubi infausto committitur omine pugna. (11.589)

As for the rebels themselves, we find that they exemplify a common personal spirit, of which the war itself is the expression on a social scale. The quality of this common spirit I shall attempt to capture by

collating vocabulary common to Vergil's treatment of all of them. That the poet disapproves of it, will be seen from his "editorial comments" inserted, often in couplets, right into the narrative, and at the crucial points (e.g. 9.757-759) as we shall see.

When we meet Turnus, he is amens, clamoring for arms (7.460), victim of amor ferri and scelerata insania belli, and above all of ira (7.461-462) --- like a boiling cauldron where the water seethes within (7.462-466). "To arms, Rutulians, march on Latinus, he has violated the peace, rid this land of Italy of the enemy (7.467-468)! Trojans and Latins together are not too much for me (7.469-470)!" A fine young figure of a hero, Turnus! Ancestors of royal line --- has done his bit in battle too, for that matter (7.473-474).

Furiously Turnus paces the walls of the Trojan settlement, like a wolf in ambush that asper et improbus ira saevit in absentis (9.62-63). So his consuming wrath flares and burns him deep down with resentment (9.66). All the Rutulians are amazed when Jupiter changes Aeneas' fleet to sea-goddesses. Even Messapus, fierce Messapus, tamer of horses, is frightened. Tiber flows back (9.123-125). At non audaci Turno fiducia cessit (9.126). Let the words of the Great Mother of Ida ring out in the heavens:

> ne trepidate meas, Teucri, defendere navis
> neve armate manus; maria ante exurere Turno
> quam sacras dabitur pinus. ... (9.114-116)

Turnus is not a man to be scared by oracles:

> ... nil me fatalia terrent,
> ... responsa deorum: (9.133-134)

Boldly he attacks the Trojan camp, firing the tower till it topples to the ground (9.530-544), carrying with it Trojan Lycus whom Turnus seizes

and taunts with the supreme confidence of a triumphant hero:

> ... nostrasne evadere, demens,
> sperasti te posse manus? ... (9.560-561)

He dashes to the open gates immani concitus ira (9.694). The giant brothers Pandarus and Bitias in no way dismay him. Fiery-tempered Bitias he fells with a javelin fulminis acta modo (9.706). Closed within the Trojan gates Turnus is immanem veluti pecora inter inertia tigrim (9.730). The Trojans are panic-stricken:

> agnoscunt faciem invisam atque immania membra
> turbati subito Aeneadae. ... (9.734-735)

Challenged by Pandarus who is mortis fraternae fervidus ira (9.736), with an unruffled sneer Turnus taunts, "Come, then, show us what courage you've got, You'll find you have a second Achilles on your hands to tell Priam about" (9.741-742).

Turnus could at this point, Vergil reminds us, have let in his companions through the gates and gained the victory (9.757-759), had he thought, that is, to open up the gates. But furor ... caedisque insana cupido drive him after the fleeing foe. In his blazing passion, he misses his chance (9.760-761) and eventually must swim for his life.

No, Turnus is not the sort of man to be daunted by oracles and portents! Upon the arrival of Aeneas' fleet,

> Haud tamen audaci Turno fiducia cessit
> litora praecipere et venientis pellere terra, (10.276-277)

even though the sterns are facing shorewards and the sea is rolling in and Aeneas' helmet all ablaze (10.267-275).

Young Pallas is amazed at Turnus' iussa superba (10.445). Little does he know the hero's haughty foot is soon to stamp upon his own young lifeless corpse (10.491-500). Restraint would please Vergil better:

nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae
et servare modum rebus sublata secundis! (10.501-502)

and Fate and Aeneas come seeking you, Turnus, superbum caede (10.514-515). Minds that are turbidi are deluded often by empty hope (10.648).

Some people say that, since Turnus is the one who has royal ambitions, Turnus should be the one to fight for them, not their menfolk. They curse the war (11.215-219). Others, however, do not agree, arguing in favour of his claim, won over by his heroic image and his place in the queen's favour (11.222-224).

Drances says Turnus is a coward --- irrational, and arrogant to the gods (11.349-351). But then, Drances, idem infensus, is jealous of Turnus (11.336-337), a mentality seditione potens (11.340). Vergil never says Turnus is a coward. Latinus even says he is praestans animi (12.19), and Drances is a man always to the breach --- with words (11.378-379). Drances accuses Turnus of being the root of all Rutulian evils (11.361), says he is putting his personal fame and interests before the welfare of his people (11.371-373, 359), advises him to admit himself beaten and step down (11.366). As a prospective son-in-law for Latinus, Aeneas is egregio ... dignisque hymenaeis (11.355). If it is his own glory or even the dowry he has his heart set on, Turnus should take his heart and bare it to his foe like a man (11.369-370). (Maybe Drances has been too swept along by his long-winded words ever to have noticed Lavinia when she blushes, as Turnus does (12.65-70).)

Hurt pride and passion put Drances in his place, as Turnus flashes back his vindication:

... meque timoris
argue tu, Drance, quando tot stragis acervos
Teucrorum tua dextra dedit, passimque tropaeis
insignis agros. ... (11.383-386)

The only blast of Mars in him (Drances) is ventosa in lingua pedibusque fugacibus istis (11.390)! Allegations of cowardice, Turnus hotly denies. (11.392-409). Peace policies he attributes to fear:

> "nulla salus bello." capiti cane talia, demens,
> Dardanio rebusque tuis. proinde omnia magno
> ne cessa turbare metu, atque extollere viris
> gentis bis victae, contra premere arma Latini. (11.399-402)

Nevertheless, he rises to the personal challenge:

> quod si me solum Teucri in certamina poscunt
> idque placet
> .....
> ibo animis contra, ... (11.434-438)

and

> ... "solum Aeneas vocat." et vocet oro; (11.442)

But his final attack on his political rival betrays a hint of his knowledge that he is against the gods:

> nec Drances potius, sive est haec ira deorum,
> morte luat, sive est virtus et gloria, tollat. (11.443-444)

He is, if not a reluctant hero, yet a hero prepared for either contingency. When a messenger rushes in to say that the Trojans are drawn up in battle and the Etruscans descending from the river, Turnus is able to say, "I told you so!" And he does (11.459-461). But for once anyway he does restrain himself, nec plura locutus (11.461) leaves the council for action (11.463-467).

> cingitur ipse furens certatim in proelia Turnus. (11.486)

It is always fired with this unfettered fury that we see him in battle, either furens (11.90) or furiis agitatus (12.101, 668) or fervidus (12.325) or turbidus (12.10, 671). Ardens, reiterated, emphasizes his characteristic fiery spirit (12.55, 101, 670). Rage and arrogance combine:

> ... implacabilis ardet
> attolitque animos. ... (12.3-4)

Because of his love, ardet in arma magis (12.71). Subita spe ... ardet, when he sees Aeneas injured (12.325). Violentia is his mark. At Drances' insinuations of cowardice, exarsit ... violentia Turni (11.376). Like a wounded African lion, accenso gliscit violentia Turno (12.9). He is unswayed by Latinus' advice:

> ... haudquaquam dictis violentia Turni
> flectitur; exsuperat magis aegrescitque medendo. (12.45-46)

He is superbus (12.326). Exsultat ... animis (11.491) with a conscia virtus (12.668). He scoffs at Aeneas with the inept raving of a loser. Aeneas is desertorem Asiae (12.15), protected by his mother nube ... feminea (12.52), a dandy with curled and perfumed hair (12.99-100).

However, he knows that Fate is on the side of his opponent:

> ... vos o mihi, Manes,
> este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas. (12.646-647)

and later:

> iam, iam fata, soror, superant, absiste morari;
> quo deus et quo dura vocat fortuna sequamur. (12.676-677)

Fear ultimately is the expression of his acknowledgement. He flees territus when Aeneas pursues him (12.752). Jupiter's bird of fury scares him stiff:

> illi membra novus solvit formidine torpor,
> arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit. (12.867-868)

Finally we see him amens, as we met him (7.460), but this time it is not clamoring for arms but formidine (12.776).

He has lost his princess to an effeminate foreigner, been betrayed by a prospective father-in-law, accused of dishonour publicly by a political opponent and duped by the goddess Juno into chasing an empty shade. He has seen his side beaten in a war he has advocated against Latinus' advice, against the gods. His kind of heroism? Letum ... pro laude pacisci (12.49).

> Him I count as beyond all other men happy in his success and of peerless temper, who, rather than see such shame, has fallen and once and for all bit the dust in death.[7]

Amongst the allies of Turnus is Mezentius. Mezentius is not pius, but a contemptor ... deum, an asper ... contemptor divum (8.7), (7.648);

> "I have no horror of death, and set no value on any god."[8]

Evander says of Mezentius that he is a rex ... superbo imperio et saevis ... armis (8.481-482). Evander speaks of infandas caedes and facta tyranni effera (8.483-484) and wants retribution from Mezentius (8.484). According to Evander, all Etruria, weary of Mezentius infanda furentem (8.489),rose up against him furiis ... iustis (8.494). Ardens into battle (10.689), no less ardent the iustae ... irae of those who have good reason to hate him (10.714). Orodes' death is food for gloating as he scoffs and rages (10.732-742). Turbidus when Aeneas encounters him (10.763), manet imperterritus ille hostem magnanimum opperiens (10.770-771). Yet it is love for his son, goaded on by his fury (10.872) that brings him to his death. He knows his weaknesses (10.853). He knows his courage too (10.872). He is acer, Mezentius, with an effera vis animi (10.897-898).

Allecto finds Amata already ardentem, quam ... femineae ... curaeque iraeque coquebant (7.344-345). Her business with the queen? To drive her insane (furibunda), that she might spread havoc through the royal house (7.348). The Fury's insidious viper spreads its venom through her fallitque furentem (7.350). First she resorts to tears and appeals to Latinus (7.360-372),

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[7] Words spoken by Turnus (11.415-418) trans. Jackson Knight, p. 292.

[8] Trans. Jackson Knight, p. 278.

> "Lavinia to be given in marriage to a Trojan
> refugee --- no feeling for your own daughter? Think
> of yourself, and me, her mother, left behind when
> he sails off with the girl at the first fair wind
> that blows, treacherous pirate that he is! Isn't
> that how Paris came to Sparta and carried off Leda's
> daughter, Helen, to Troy? Besides, you gave your
> word to Turnus..."

Overcome by the dementing venom of the serpent, excita ... sine more furit lymphata (7.376-377) like a whipping top spinning in circles (7.378-384). Worse even, she flees to the woods in a Bacchic frenzy (7.385)

> maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem, (7.386)

hiding her daughter in wooded hills,

> quo thalamum eripiat Teucris taedasque moretur. (7.388)

Her hysteria (ardor) infects the other mothers furiis ... accensas pectore (7.392). They join forces with her, abandoning their homes. The queen, fervida (7.397), carries a blazing pine torch in their midst, chanting the wedding song of Turnus and Lavinia, sanguineam torquens aciem (7.399) and stimulis ... Bacchi (7.405). All the work of the tristis dea (7.408)!

Loyal to Rome's opposition to the end, Amata's last words are:

> qui te cumque manent isto certamine casus
> et me, Turne, manent; simul haec invisa relinquam
> lumina nec generum Aenean captiva videbo. (12.61-63)

An individual against Fate, the most forcible individual gesture she can make (and the only honorable one) is to die an ugly death. Mentem turbata (12.599), and plagued by self recrimination, she hangs herself per maestum demens ... furorem (12.601).

> ... Vellem haud correpta fuisset
> militia tali conata lacessere Teucros; (Diana: 11.584-585)

Camilla first appears upon the scene (she is listed amongst Turnus' allies at the end of Bk. VII) doing just that --- challenging the Trojans (11.502-504),

"If I may make so bold as to know my own worth
and trust in it, Turnus, alone I wager to meet the
Etruscan cavalry and match the Trojan lines"

Turnus, fixing his eyes horrenda in virgine (11.507), pays tribute to her valour,

... est omnia quando
iste animus supra, ... (11.509-510)

and enlists her aid,

... ducis et tu concipe curam. (11.519)

Camilla is a maiden. Camilla is a warrior, acie comitante (11.498), an effective leader (11.500-501). Savage in battle,

... medias inter caedes exsultat. ... (11.648)

Is it only by chance that Vergil, breaking into the narrative after his fashion with his own direct comment, describes her as aspera as he does the Fury Allecto (7.505)?

Quem telo primum, quem postremum, aspera virgo,
deicis? aut quot humi morientia corpora fundis? (11.664-665)

Daughter of a father banished from his throne ob invidiam ... virisque superbas (11.539), neque ipse manus feritate dedisset (11.568), she had been nurtured in the mountains on the milk of wild animals, a javelin and sharp bow and arrows for her toys (11.570-575).

She shows the son of Aunus her proud and haughty spirit when he taunts;

"What's so special about a woman in battle if
she's got a good horse to save her? (11.705-706)

and challenges her to hand-to-hand combat on foot (11.706-707);

"You'll soon find yourself bounced by your
vain-glorious boasting! (11.708)

At illa furens acrique accensa dolore (11.709) meets his challenge

interrita (11.711), Tarchon reproaches the Etruscans for being routed by a mere woman (11.732-734).

Yet is is a womanly love of gold (11.782) that brings her to her doom. For Chloreus (significantly forte sacer Cybelo ... olimque sacerdos (11.768)) fulgebat in armis (11.769). His horse-cloth of bronze scales is auro conserta (11.771). Aureus ... erat arcus et aurea ... cassida (11.774-775). The clasp of his saffron cloak is fulvo ... auro (11.776). Camilla, sive ut se ferret in auro (11.779), singles him out, caeca and incauta (11.781):

> femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore. (11.782)

Opis laments her death:

> heu nimium, virgo, nimium crudele luisti
> supplicium Teucros conata lacessere bello! (11.841-842)

Teucros conata lacessere bello![9] This was her sin. The gold was incidental.[10]

Dido is pesti devota futurae (1.712), not, though, by the dart of the pestis ... aspera Allecto, like Turnus (7.456-457). Ardescit ... tuendo --- and the object of Dido's gaze is Cupid (1.713). For her too the lists --- of love! Smitten gravi ... cura (4.1),

> vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni. (4.2)

Restless (4.5), and male sana (4.8), she confides in her sister Anna. If she had not made an oath on the death of Sychaeus, never to remarry, perhaps she might well have given in huic uni ... culpae (4.15-19). For she feels the assault of love and fortifies her fearful helplessness by the imposition of a renewed vow:

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[9] Cf. Diana; 11.585.

[10] Duckworth, op. cit., p. 358, shows how human action is not explained entirely by the working of Fate in the Aeneid, but that divine intervention and psychological motivation combine - a procedure he describes as "double causation".

> sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat
> vel pater omnipotens abigat me fulmine ad umbras,
> pallentis umbras Erebi noctemque profundam,
> ante, pudor, quam te violo, aut tua iura resolvo. (4.24-27)

To break her oath and violate her honour --- this she fears. But Anna by her words impenso animum flammavit amore ... solvitque pudorem (4.54-55). Her advice to Dido? To think of the protection a Trojan marriage would bring her, to secure the favour of the gods by sacrifice, and above all,

> indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi. (4.51)

The gods, of course, give no signs of approval to her offerings and prayers. Vergil, moreover, hurls in one of his castigating couplets!

> heu, vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,
> quid delubra iuvant? ... (4.65-66)

To delay Fate (Juno: 7.315) is the prerogative of gods, not mortal Dido, and besides, delay was but a prelude to more permanent intent. And what was really Dido's crime? Absolve her of her violated oath! Would that prevent her death?[11]

> ... est mollis flamma medullas
> interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
> uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
> urbe furens, ... (4.66-69)

seeing Aeneas when he is not there, thinking she hears him, trying to disguise a love that is infandum (4.83-85). Her passion distracts her from her task of building the city (4.86-89). Juno perceives that the queen tali ... peste teneri (4.90), nec famam obstare furori (4.91), whereupon the cara Iovis coniunx (4.91) suggests a conjugal relationship for Dido and Aeneas, pointing out to Venus with unprecedented concern,

> ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem. (4.101)

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[11] See Duckworth, n. 10, on "double causation" in the Aeneid.

The pronouncement of Vergil's attitude to the marriage in the cave is the postscript to his description of the ceremony:

> ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
> causa fuit; neque enim specie famave movetur
> nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem:
> coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam. (4.169-172)

The criticism of the people is given immediately afterwards by the allegory of Fama joyfully spreading the gossip:

> venisse Aenean Trojano sanguine cretum,
> cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido;
> nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
> regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos, (4.191-194)

and immediately after that the note of warning that the lovers are oblitos famae melioris (4.221).

Upon hearing of the preparations for the departure of the Trojan fleet,

> saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem
> bacchatur, ... (4.300-301)

She reproaches Aeneas for the loss of her pudor and fama prior (4.322-323).

Her irreverence for the gods prompts outbursts of wrathful scorn:

> scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos
> sollicitat, ... (4.379-380)

and sarcasm:

> i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.
> spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
> supplicia hausurum scopulis, ... (4.381-383)

She is furenti (4.298), furentem by her own admission (4.548) --- even Aeneas describes her as furentem (4.283) --- accensa (4.364), furiis incensa (4.376). She begs Anna to intercede:

> tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori. (4.433)

Finally, concepit furias evicta dolore (4.474), resolve for death in Fury's wake, decrevitque mori (4.475). She dies subito ... accensa furore. (4.697).

Anna finds it hard to believe tantos mente furores (4.501).

The resolve to die is accompanied by fear:

> Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
> mortem orat. ... (4.450-451)

She climbs the pyre trepida et coeptis immanibus effera (4.642). She feels shame and admits her guilt:

> ... nunc te facta impia tangunt?
> tum decuit, cum sceptra dabas, ... (4.596-597)

and, for a tragic heroine, the only answer to it:

> quin morere ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem. (4.547)

It is clear that a vocabulary which stresses particular personal qualities is common to Vergil's treatment of all his rebel characters. It is clear also from inserted comments indicating the poet's own judgement that the behaviour which is the expression of those personal qualities is the object of his disapproval. An examination of the words employed might help towards defining the nature of those characteristics of which he disapproves.

These words can be said to comprise two categories. First, words denoting passion and destructiveness. Second, words denoting boldness, pride and haughty or aggressive spirit. In the former category are included words connected with furor (furens, furibundus, furit, furiis etc.), with ardet, saevit, accensus, fervidus, turbidus, turbatus, excitus, ira, efferus, ignis, amor, flamma, cura, dolor, and violentia, caedes, amor ferri, pestis, tristis. Included in this category are words of unreason like demens, amens, inops animi, insania, caecus, incautus. The latter category includes words connected with superbus, fiducia, acer, animi, audax, impius, contemptor, lacessere, exsultat, imperterritus, interritus, asper and conscia virtus.

Besides the direct comments indicating Vergil's disapproval of the rebels and the censuring insinuations of the vocabulary he employs in his treatment of them further condemnation is added by implication. The connection between the character of Dido and the historical figure of Cleopatra, and the condemnation this evoked from Vergil's contemporaries, I have discussed in Chapter I.[12] If the description of the shield represents the opposition of pietas to the forces of violence in Roman history, Cleopatra is depicted as the most threatening force that Augustus had to contend with. Her rôle at Actium (8.688-713) and her association with Antony, regarded by Vergil as nefas! (8.688), assume major significance on the shield.

J. B. Garstang has pointed out that the same technique is applicable with respect to Turnus. He shows how analogies with characters in Roman history familiar to a Roman reader, "by implication, brand Turnus as a traitor, an underhand foe, and a barbarian."[13]

Moreover, Tartarus, according to the Prophetess of Apollo, houses largely the rebels of myth and history, who made attempts to thwart divine

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[12] See Pease, op. cit., pp. 24-8, for the allegory of Dido and Cleopatra.

[13] J. B. Garstang, "The Tragedy of Turnus", The Phoenix, Vol. 4 (Summer) 1950, pp. 54-55. "The average Roman, for instance, when reading how Turnus performed deeds of valour after having thrust his way inside the Trojan camp (IX. 722-818), would think of the memorable incident of Roman history when Coriolanus, while still serving in the ranks, forced his way through the open gates of Corioli, and "spread slaughter through the nearest part of the city" (Livy II. 33. 7). When he read of the stratagem of Turnus to ambush Aeneas (XI. 515-31), he would recall the ambush laid by the Samnites at the Caudine Forks (Livy IX. 2). When he read of the bird of ill omen which appeared to Turnus at the end (XII. 865-6), he would be reminded of the raven which flew in the face of the doomed Gaul during his single combat with Messala Corvinus (Livy VII. 26. 1-5)."

authority;[14] the two sons of Aloeus who tried to unseat Jupiter himself (6.582-584); Salmoneus, who *divum ... sibi poscebat honorem, demens* (6.585-594); others whom Tartarus houses to the capacity of 8 lines (6.608-612, 621-623) compared with 33 lines reserved for rebels; *quique arma secuti impia* (6.612-613), an association which rounds off the tragedy of Latinus in the reader's imagination, if he recalls it later when the king regrets, "*arma impia sumpsi*" (12.31); *Phlegyasque miserrimus* with his warning:

> discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos. (6.620)

Another thing Vergil's rebels have in common, an attitude of irreverence towards the gods (Turnus; 9.133-134, 10.276-277), (Dido: 4.379-380, 382), (Mezentius: 7.648, 8.7, 10.742, 773, 880), and possibly (Amata: 7.367-370), in contrast with the respect for divinities shown by *pius* Aeneas.

Their behaviour culminates in disaster. All oppose the *Fatum Romanum*. All of them die.

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[14] *Cf.* Pöschl, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

CHAPTER V

It is hardly with clear-cut notions of censure and approval that we leave a Vergilian world of rebels and avengers. And if it were, what would Vergil have achieved more than to refine or exercise our discrimination? If Pallas' spoils had not been there to catch the wrath of Aeneas, what then? If Ascanius had not killed Silvia's stag, Latinus been resolute against the war, Turnus found another Latin princess he could love, and Dido kept inviolate her pudor and her fama prior -- what then? Then there would have been no human stage, no strife, no death, no life, no reason to be interested at all. A world all reconciled in peace, harmony for discord, conformity for honour -- a blissful dream in fact, a comforting escape. An artist's empty page! For Vergil's rebels -- that is to say those who oppose the Roman destiny -- provide the human interest in the poem.[1]

Why do we disapprove and yet feel sorry? Perhaps we too rebel against the Roman Fate, and sympathy stems from our rejection. A fugue,[2] stifling soulful sounds of solitary voice, absorbing sky and air and life and liberty! Perhaps! But even so, who makes us weep with

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[1] Glover, op. cit., p. 141; "The Roman Empire was made up of men of little individual physiognomy. Hence Aeneas' men - quiet, patient, reliable, Roman as they are - are hardly so interesting as his enemies. Vergil, in Aeneas and his men, shows us what he holds to be the ideal Roman temper."

[2] W. Warde Fowler, Relig. Exp., p. 409, says of the Aeneid; "We may think of it as a great fugue, of which the leading subject is the mission of Rome in the world. Providence, Divine Will, the Reason of the Stoics, or, in the poetical setting of the poem, Jupiter, the great protecting Roman deity, with the Fates behind him somewhat vaguely conceived, had guided the State to greatness and empire from its infancy onwards, and the citizens of that state must be worthy of that destiny if they were to carry out the great work. This mighty theme pervades the whole poem..."

Aeneas over dead young Lausus? What possible redeeming features could there be for one who has committed such atrocities as Mezentius? Who closes his fugue with strains of rebel Turnus ringing on? Whose heroine's individual lot raised sharp remonstrance through the ages? For Vergil makes deliberate attempts to elicit sympathy for his rebel characters. Furthermore, Fate's minions are not immune from censure. Obviously, then, though Vergil adopts the concept of Fatum Romanum as his measure of morality, there is some value involved independent of the Roman Fate.

It is my purpose in this chapter, therefore, to examine some of the various ways in which Vergil deliberately seeks sympathy for his rebel characters. The poet exploits the human drama in tragic episodes, depicting the impact of an individual's calamity on those connected to him by bonds of love - a mother, father, brother, friend, etc. Further, a sustained dramatic irony permeates the narrative of these tragedies. For, besides the prophecies, Vergil gives frequent and escalating hints of disaster. These artistic foreshadowings of fate, repeated from time to time at appropriate points in the narrative, are effective in building up a sense of doom in the same way as the prophecies (a technique treated in Ch. II). The tragic irony thus created causes the reader to respond with feelings of pity, as he constantly anticipates the inevitable disaster of the rebel who vainly strives to assert his individual claim against Fate. Secondly, I will show how some characters aligned with the Trojan cause are subjected to "rebel treatment" by Vergil. By comparing the behaviour and circumstances of these characters with that of the rebel characters, we shall see that it is not simply because of the Fatum Romanum that characters in the poem die, but because of innate characteristics. We are to conclude, therefore, that the poet's moral evaluation stems from some

human value distinct from the concept of Fatum Romanum but applied in addition to it.

The first mention of Dido immediately rouses our romantic interest, as Venus tells to Aeneas and Achates the queen's past history, "a long and intricate tale of wrong" (1.343-368): her ardent young love for her husband Sychaeus; her brother, Pygmalion scelere ante alios immanior omnis, "blind with lust for gold"; his furtive stabbing of Sychaeus at the altar; "the whole wicked secret of the palace" revealed by the dead king's ghost; "long-buried and forgotten treasure of gold and silver in great weight"; a hasty flight from Tyre over the ocean, dux femina facti![3]

Ironically, the first entrance of the beautiful queen (1.496-497) is to the sounds of the "fugue" of the Fatum Romanum as Aeneas looks at the pictures of blighted Troy on Juno's temple, a Troy that we readers know, from Jupiter's recent prophecy to Venus (1.257-296), will rise again in Italy to rule the world. Happily she enters, amidst a youthful retinue instans operi regnisque futuris (1.504). With regal pomp she takes her seat in the centre of the temple on a raised throne saepta armis (1.505-506), intent on the fair administration of the state -- of Carthage (1.505-508)! The dignity of her regal image, enhanced repeatedly by the resplendent luxury and character of the palace (1.637-642, 699-708, 723-727), is surpassed only by her sympathetic, hospitable reception of the shipwrecked Trojans (1.561-578). Aeneas gratefully appreciates her warm generosity (1.594-610), a deep compassion stemming from personal experience:

> me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores
> iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra.
> non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco. (1.628-630)

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[3] Translations by Jackson Knight, p. 38.

However, her apology to the Trojans for the hostile reception they initially experienced:

> res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
> moliri et late finis custode tueri, (1.563-564)

reminds us of Aeneas' introduction to Carthage by Venus:

> Punica regna vides, Tyrios et Agenoris urbem;
> sed fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello. (1.338-339)

and Dido's vulnerable position.

Furthermore, the romantic setting and circumstances naturally invite a romantic interlude[4] -- for Vergil matches his delineation of the personable queen with an equally striking description of the handsome and renowned hero of Troy (1.588-593), at the significant point where he emerges from his cloud into Dido's view. Nevertheless the intervention of Cupid at Venus' instigation makes Dido a victim of the gods. Cupid is instructed by Venus:

> ... ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido
> pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furentem
> incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem, (1.658-660)

and the gifts he bears for Dido, Iliacis erepta ruinis (1.647) include a robe decorated with gold and a mantle,

> ornatus Argivae Helenae, quos illa Mycenis,
> Pergama cum peteret inconcessosque hymenaeos,
> extulerat, ... (1.650-652)

Venus plans cingere flamma reginam (1.673-674), and instructs Cupid:

> occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno (1.688)

When Cupid arrives, in the guise of Ascanius,

> ... aulaeis iam se regina superbis
> aurea composuit sponda mediamque locavit. (1.697-698)

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[4] See Henry W. Prescott, The Development of Virgil's Art, pp. 261-273, where he traces in detail "the inner motivation which the poet has exquisitely devised, preparing both hero and heroine by a natural sequence of events dramatically arranged to increase gradually the interest of each in the other, and leading to an inevitable issue."

A sumptuous banquet, conducted with regal ritual, with brimful bowls of wine, and music and merrymaking is shared by Phoenicians and Trojans. But throughout it, the formidable truth, shared by Vergil and the reader, is sustained:

> Praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,
> expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo
> Phoenissa, ... (1.712-714)

and as Cupid carries out his task, inscia Dido insidat quantus miserae deus (1.718-719). As, from gold-jewelled wine bowl, she toasts the Trojans in the name of "Jupiter, creator of the laws of hospitality" (1.731) - a bitter touch! - and challenges hearty Bitias to drink his fill, while long-haired Iopas plays his golden lyre and sings, and Phoenicians and Trojans cheer together in merry celebration,

> infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem. (1.749)

In short, Dido is a victim of her own unconditionally generous and emotionally responsive disposition, which makes it natural for her in the first place to welcome the Trojans and subsequently to concede to her passion for Aeneas; of her condition as a woman, a fugitive in a foreign land at the mercy of surrounding semi-barbarous and bellicose tribes, and under the constant threat of pursuit by her antagonized and criminal brother; and finally, of Cupid, Venus, Jupiter -- of Fate, in fact.

The scene is set for her destruction even before Bk. IV begins. All that remains is to see when and how these potentially victimizing circumstances will combine to cause her downfall. After the interval of Bks. II and III, these three themes are brought to mind again. At the opening of Bk. IV, Dido is tormented by the wound of Love. Anna appeals to Dido's emotions:

> solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa
> nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?
> id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?
> esto: aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,
> non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas
> ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis
> dives alit: placitone etiam pugnabis amori? (4.32-38)

by adopting the practical argument of political exigency:

> nec venit in mentem quorum consederis arvis?
> hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
> et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis;
> hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes
> Barcaei. quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam
> germanique minas? (4.39-44)

The result is:

> uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
> urbe furens, ... (4.68-69)

like a doe wounded by a hunter's arrow (4.69-73).

The distraction of the tragic heroine is evident from her neglect of the administrative duties to which she has been formerly so attentive, and her degradation progresses with her disregard for her reputation (4.90-91). But the blame is mitigated in our eyes by the scheming exchange between Venus and Juno (4.90-128), which reminds us that the queen is the pawn of the gods in this affair.

> tuque puerque tuus (magnum et memorabile numen),
> una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est, (4.94-95)

taunts Juno. She suggests that they should bring about a union between <u>miserrima Dido</u> (4.117) and Aeneas in order to share the kingdom. In gold and purple Dido makes her entrance for the divine dupe! (4.136-139)! No sooner is the marriage accomplished, than its disastrous outcome is announced,

> ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
> causa fuit; neque enim specie famave movetur
> nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem:
> coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam, (4.169-172)

and Dido becomes the victim of the dea foeda (4.195), Fama. Fama rouses the jealous revenge of Iarbas, the threat of which serves as a fearful reminder of Dido's defencelessness, and also naturally leads in to the sounds of the Fatum Romanum (4.227-231) -- a still more formidable threat -- pronounced by Jupiter in response to Iarbas' prayer.

News of preparations for the departure is brought to the queen only after she herself has guessed Aeneas' intent (4.296-299). Indications of her suicidal purpose follow:

> nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido? (4.308)

and:

> ... dabis, improbe, poenas.
> audiam et haec manis veniet mihi fama sub imos. (4.386-387)

With tears and entreaties she lowers her pride for love:

> ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat (4.415)

Preparations for the departure continue. Vergil sees them from Dido's point of view:

> quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,
> quosve dabas gemitus, cum litora fervere late
> prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres
> misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor! (4.408-411)

A stirring personal reflection by Vergil,

> improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis! (4.412)

which recalls the very active part being played by Cupid in Dido's suffering, accentuates the bitter irony of Dido's recent irreverent sarcasm about the involvement of deities in the affairs of men:

> nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso
> interpres divum fert horrida iussa per auras.
> scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos
> sollicitat. ... (4.377-380)

References to Dido's imminent death now follow in frequent succession throughout the rest of the book (4.450-452, 474-476, 506-507, 508, 519-520, 547, 564, 604, 621, 644, 653-654, 659-660). She becomes crazed (4.450-473) and the agonies of Pentheus and Orestes are evoked to convey her torment (4.469-473).

To trace the technical development of the episode as a tragedy, is beyond the scope of this chapter. I shall restrict myself to commenting on certain ways in which Vergil elicits sympathy which are common to other tragic episodes in the poem.

As in the cases of Lausus, Pallas, Euryalus etc., the human drama is intensified by the tie between the sisters. In her distress, Dido confides in unanimam ... sororem (4.8) and to Anna, Dido is o luce magis dilecta sorori (4.31). Anna becomes involved in the tragedy as Dido's confidante. Miserrima Anna (4.437) conveys messages between Dido and Aeneas, buffeted between her sister's tears and Aeneas' stern resolution. Anna is the object of the bitterest irony imaginable! For in ignorance of her sister's real intent, she furnishes the funeral pyre for Dido to die upon:

> non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris
> germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores
> concipit ... (4.500-502)

Dido pretends to be freeing herself from the pain of love by magic powers, by burning all the objects associated with her lover. Anna is a victim of Dido's insane deceit, a victim also of her reproach:

> tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem
> his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti. (4.548-549)

Dido sends unsuspecting Barce to bring Anna, telling her in words charged with ironic innuendo for us:

sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,
perficere est animus finemque imponere curis. (4.638-639)

Anna, summoned to participate in the magic rites to cure her sister of the wound of love, finds her dying of the self-inflicted wound of Aeneas' sword, non hos quaesitum munus in usus (4.647).

hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?
hoc rogus iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?
...
his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi
voce deos, sic te ut posita, crudelis, abessem? (4.675-681)

Griefstricken, she would have chosen to die with her sister:

... comitemne sororem
sprevisti moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses: (4.677-678)

Anna's grief at Dido's death extends and intensifies the human drama. Anna's grief is our grief!

Nec fato merita nec morte, did Dido die, sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore (4.696-697). The tragedy ends on a note of tenderness, as Iris releases Dido from her gruelling throes (4.693-705). Aeneas finds her in the Fields of Mourning along with those quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit (6.442).

Similar techniques to rouse sympathy are evident in Vergil's treatment of his tragic hero. J. B. Garstang has shown how Bks. VII - XII of the epic incorporate intensely dramatic material and how the Turnus episode manifests all the essential elements of tragedy in spite of the epic structure of its presentation.[5]

Handsome, personable and courageous (7.473-474, 783-794), the Rutulian prince is a victim of Allecto no less than Dido is a victim of Cupid. For his complacent scorn of Allecto as Calybe incurs the goddess'

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[5] See J. B. Garstang, "The Tragedy of Turnus," The Phoenix, Vol. 4, (Summer) 1950.

wrath, causing her, through wounded pride, to reveal her identity with an impressive bella manu letumque gero (7.455) and a firebrand in his breast to inspire him with her spirit! Here too, the human drama is extended and intensified through a tie of devotion which leads to death -- in this case the devotion of the queen, Amata. Here,too, there are frequent forecasts of doom throughout the episode.

Before we meet Turnus, we are reminded by Latinus and the oracles that he is against the fates. The issue is to be the hand of Lavinia whom the fates decree shall be given to Aeneas. As a result poignant irony pervades many of the scenes. Turnus flagrantly disregards the proclamation of the Great Mother (9.114-116):

> ... nil me fatalia terrent,
> si qua Phryges prae se iactant, responsa deorum: (9.133-134)

The dramatic force of this incident depends upon the fact that it is preceded by the story of Jupiter's promise to Berecyntia to preserve the Trojan fleet, built from pines of Ida, a tale told by the Muses to the reader (9.77-106). We are aware, therefore, that it is no less a god than Jupiter that Turnus is defying and sunt et mea contra fata mihi (9.136-137) takes on a sombre significance.

Juno obtains from Jupiter a reprieve of life for Turnus, but only by luring him away from the fighting, to a proud hero an ignominious ruse. An extension of life on those terms can bring him no joy, only the added pain of disgrace, the keenest he could suffer. Unwitting Turnus taunts what we know to be a mere phantom shade of Aeneas created by Juno to decoy Turnus to safety,

> quo fugis, Aenea? thalamos ne desere pactos;
> hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas, (10.649-650)

as he brandishes his sword, nec ferre videt sua gaudia ventos (10.651-652)!

On discovering the trick, Turnus has little gratitude for his safety (10.660):

> omnipotens genitor, tanton me crimine dignum
> duxisti et talis voluisti expendere poenas?
> quo feror? unde abii? quae me fuga quemve reducit?
> Laurentisne iterum muros aut castra videbo?
> quid manus illa virum, qui me meaque arma secuti?
> quosne (nefas) omnis infanda in morte reliqui
> et nunc palantis video, gemitumque cadentum
> accipio? quid ago? aut quae iam satis ima dehiscat
> terra mihi? vos o potius miserescite, venti;
> in rupes, in saxa (volens vos Turnus adoro)
> ferte ratem saevisque vadis immittite syrtis,
> quo neque me Rutuli nec conscia fama sequatur. (10.668-679)

He is ob tantum dedecus amens (10.681), hovering between thoughts of stabbing himself or of attempting to swim back to face the Trojans (10.681-684).

The tragic situation escalates as the people begin to hint at the Turnus' cowardice (11.215-221), and Drances publicly makes the charge,

> det libertatem fandi flatusque remittat,
> cuius ob auspicium infaustum moresque sinistros
> (dicam equidem, licet arma mihi mortemque minetur)
> lumina tot cecidisse ducum totamque videmus
> consedisse urbem luctu, dum Troia temptat
> castra fugae fidens et caelum territat armis, (11.346-351)

demanding that Turnus abandon his claim to Lavinia or, for the common good, answer the challenge of Aeneas for single combat:

> cedat, ius proprium regi patriaeque remittat. (11.359)

Little can a warrior hero, roused, appreciate Drances' pleas for peace,

> nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes,
> Turne, simul pacis solum inviolabile pignus, (11.362-363)

and less can he endure the bitter shame of alleged cowardice. The only way he can refute Drances' accusations and absolve himself from shame is by soliciting the circumstances which will bring about his death:

> ... vobis animam hanc soceroque Latino
> Turnus ego, haud ulli veterum virtute secundus,
> devovi. "solum Aeneas vocat." et vocet oro;
> nec Drances potius, sive est haec ira deorum,
> morte luat, sive est virtus et gloria, tollat. (11.440-444)

No sooner has he publicly pledged himself to the fatal duel than the surprise attack by the Trojans precludes the opportunity to redeem his honour.

His subsequent strategy to ambush Aeneas and his men in the woods, is brought to an untimely end by the cruel news of Camilla's death and of the success of the enemy (11.896-900). For as he abandons the wooded pass, we are told:

> vix e conspectu exierat campumque tenebat,
> cum pater Aeneas saltus ingressus apertos
> exsuperatque iugum silvaque evadit opaca, (11.903-905)

and once again circumstances prevent encounter as night falls (11.912-914).

The opening of the final book of the poem finds Turnus still under the cloud of his tarnished image:

> Turnus ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos
> defecisse videt, sua nunc promissa reposci,
> se signari oculis, ultro implacabilis ardet
> attollitque animos. ... (12.1-4)

At this stage, Latinus' appeal to him (12.18-45) to lay aside his claim to Lavinia, and to accept the Trojans as allies Turno ... incolumi (12.38-39), is impossible for Turnus. Now his honour demands his death:

> quam pro me curam geris, hanc precor, optime, pro me
> deponas letumque sinas pro laude pacisci. (12.48-49)

With the scene all set for Turnus' fall, Vergil reintroduces the character through whose personal grief the tragic emotions will be expressed. To Amata the safety of Turnus is the first concern. She attempts to dissuade him from combat by the prospects of her own death:

> ... desiste manum committere Teucris.
> qui te cumque manent isto certamine casus
> et me, Turne, manent; simul haec invisa relinquam
> lumina nec generum Aenean captiva videbo. (12.60-63)

But the queen moritura (12.55) and in addition the sight of beautiful Lavinia flushed with weeping, only increase Turnus' zeal to repair his damaged fame.

Doom references now become more frequent. Aeneas' complacency (12.110-112) is a reminder of the predetermined fate of Turnus, and the unfairness of the match is stressed by Juno to Juturna:

> nunc iuvenem imparibus video concurrere fatis,
> Parcarumque dies et vis inimica propinquat. (12.149-150)

The "fugue" of the Fatum Romanum accompanies the muster for the sacrifice before battle:

> hinc pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo,
> sidereo flagrans clipeo et caelestibus armis
> et iuxta Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae. (12.166-168)

The treaty is ratified, the consecrated victims ritually slain.

> At vero Rutulis impar ea pugna videri
> iamdudum et vario misceri pectora motu,
> tum magis ut propius cernunt (non viribus aequis). (12.216-218)

Turnus comes to the altar incessu tacito and demisso lumine (12.219-220)

> tabentesque genae et iuvenali in corpore pallor. (12.221)

This time it is Turnus' goddess-sister Juturna who thwarts his opportunity to meet Aeneas in single combat. In hopes of delaying the evil day of Turnus' fate, she encourages the Rutuli to break the truce, thus preventing the duel (12.222-282).

The build-up of dramatic irony leading to Turnus' death, I have already examined in Ch. II in my description of the artistic effects of prophecy in the poem. With similar effect, hints of disaster continue. As Aeneas with his army returns to the battle on the plains after his injury,

> ... prima ante omnis Iuturna Latinos
> audiit agnovitque sonum et tremefacta refugit. (12.448-449)

As Aeneas seeks out Turnus for conflict,

> hoc concussa metu mentem Iuturna virago (12.468)

takes the place of Metiscus, Turnus' charioteer, and once again avoids the

encounter (12.469-498). Aeneas is enraged,

> scilicet exspectem libeat dum proelia Turno
> nostra pati rursusque velit concurrere victus? (12.570-571)

and is prompted to attack Latinus' city. One disaster breeds another:

> regina ut tectis venientem prospicit hostem,
> incessi muros, ignis ad tecta volare,
> nusquam acies contra Rutulas, nulla agmina Turni,
> infelix pugnae iuvenem in certamine credit
> exstinctum. ... (12.595-599)

Her suicide follows. Sounds of grief from the city make Turnus aware of his isolation and the work of Iuturna, and once again of his dishonour,

> exscindine domos (id rebus defuit unum)
> perpetiar, dextra nec Drancis dicta refellam? (12.643-644)

even as Saces brings him the ominous news of the queen's death and of the devastation in the city (12.650-664) along with a personal reproach:

> ... tu currum deserto in gramine versas. (12.664)

He resolves to face his fate:

> quo deus et quo dura vocat Fortuna sequamur.
> stat conferre manum Aeneae, stat, quidquid acerbi est,
> morte pati, neque me indecorem, germana, videbis
> amplius. ... (12.677-680)

The emotive appeal of the episode of Lausus and Mezentius (like that of Pallas and of Euryalus), derives largely from the parent-son theme. At the first introduction of Mezentius in the listing of Turnus' allies, primus init bellum ... Mezentius (7.647-648),

> filius huic iuxta Lausus, quo pulchrior alter
> non fuit excepto Laurentis corpore Turni. (7.649-650)

In addition to the physical attractiveness of the young hero, Vergil mentions his physical prowess. Lausus is equum domitor debellatorque ferarum (7.651). Moreover, a following of a thousand men emphasizes the youth's valour. But no sooner is this simple outline of a heroic personality established, than we are given our first hint of his doom:

ducit Agyllina nequiquam ex urbe secutos
mille viros, ... (7.652-653)

As far as Mezentius is concerned, Vergil makes no attempt initially to elicit sympathy. On the contrary! The poet contributes a personal introductory comment which could hardly render Mezentius less appealing as a parent. For Lausus, he tells us, is:

... dignus patriis qui laetior esset
imperiis et cui pater haud Mezentius esset. (7.653-654)

Venerable Evander has nothing to say to recommend Mezentius. He describes him to Aeneas as a cruel, blood-lusting tyrant (8.481-484, 569-570). From the old man's imprecation, we have a hint of doom for Mezentius:

... di capiti ipsius generique reservent! (8.484)

The Etruscans are rightly infuriated with Mezentius, says Evander, and are demanding his execution (8.494-495). The haruspex prophesies to the Etruscans, quos ... merita accendit Mezentius ira (8.500-501).

It would appear, therefore, that Vergil is anxious to damn the character of Mezentius, a conclusion rather mystifying when one encounters later (in Bk. X) his death-scene, more consciously moving, perhaps, than any in the poem. Perhaps we can explain this paradox in literary terms as characterization paying service to plot. For the morbid atrocities perpetrated by Mezentius (e.g. 8.485-488) give moral justification and artistic validity to an Arcadian-Etruscan-Trojan alliance against the Latins and the Rutuli, for Turnus has given harbour and protection to the rebel king (8.492-493). Vergil, once again, is giving a second causation to the workings of destiny and the Roman Fate,[6] attributing them to the human,

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[6] Prescott, op. cit., p. 261, explains how Vergil "dignifies important action by divine intervention, but never abandons the explanation of outer action as due to causes entirely within the soul of the human agent." cf. Duckworth, Ch. IV, n. 10.

psychological motivations of the personalities involved in the internal politics of the Italian scene as Aeneas found it. Or perhaps it is an artistic endeavour to give credence to the possibility of an Etruscan-Roman alliance under Roman leadership -- an attempt to mitigate the disgrace in history of Etruscan domination of the Romans.

However, in Bk. X a breath of natural sympathy for the "underdog" comes Mezentius' way, since he is depicted as one against many:

> concurrunt Tyrrhenae acies atque omnibus uni,
> uni odiisque viro telisque frequentibus instant. (10.691-692)

But his courage is impressive:

> ille (velut rupes vastum quae prodit in aequor,
> obvia ventorum furiis, expostaque ponto,
> vim cunctam atque minas perfert caelique marisque
> ipsa immota manens) ... (10.693-696)

and later:

> ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis
> actus aper, multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos
> defendit multosque palus Laurentia, silva
> pastus harundinea, postquam inter retia ventum est,
> substitit, infremuitque ferox, et inhorruit armos. (10.707-711)

However, at the high pitch of his heroic deeds in battle, Mezentius kills Palmus (10.699-700) and gives his arms to Lausus habere umeris, et vertice figere cristas (10.700-701), a meaningful indication of impending disaster, if one remembers the ominous precedent of Coroebus (2.389-412) and of Nisus (9.307) and Euryalus (9.357-362, 373-374, 384-385).

The genuine courage of the man earns our admiration. Battle brings out in him a sense of honour and fair play not obvious in the civil arena:

> atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Oroden
> sternere nec iacta caecum dare cuspide volnus;
> obvius adversoque occurrit seque viro vir
> contulit, haud furto melior, sed fortibus armis. (10.732-735)

But even as we begin to feel some sort of nascent attachment, Fate snatches it away by the words of dying Orodes:

> ... non me, quicumque es, inulto,
> victor, nec longum laetabere; te quoque fata
> prospectant paria atque eadem mox arva tenebis, (10.739-741)

a warning further dramatised by the irony of Mezentius' contemptuous reply:

> ... ast de me divum pater atque hominum rex
> viderit. ... (10.743-744)

Meanwhile:

> di Iovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem
> amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores, (10.758-759)

Immediately the scene returns to mortal Mezentius, as ingentem quatiens ... hastam turbidus ingreditur campo (10.762-763) and Aeneas, catching sight of him, moves towards him (10.769-770). Not to the audience of super-intending deities, though, does irreverent Mezentius pray. With supreme self-confidence:

> dextra mihi deus et telum, quod missile libro,
> nunc adsint! ... (10.773-774)

The scene is set for the downfall of the proud and valiant contemptor divum and at this appropriate point, Vergil reintroduces the image of the son Lausus:

> ... voveo praedonis corpore raptis
> indutum spoliis ipsum te, Lause, tropaeum
> Aeneae. ... (10.774-776)

When pius Aeneas casts his spear we know that Mezentius' doom is sealed.

But when his father is injured by Aeneas' weapon,

> ingemuit cari graviter genitoris amore,
> ut vidit, Lausus; lacrimaeque per ora volutae. (10.789-790)

At this vital point, Vergil suspends the drama to pay personal tribute to the youth's valour, but also with a reminder of the boy's imminent doom:

> Hic mortis durae casum tuaque optima facta,
> si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas,
> non equidem nec te, iuvenis memorande, silebo. (10.791-793)

And it is with this knowledge in mind, when the action is resumed, that we witness the brave deeds of the youth in saving his father (10.796-799) and thereby exposing himself to Aeneas. Further reiteration of the fate-theme and the parent-theme follow. Aeneas chides Lausus,

> quo moriture ruis maioraque viribus audes?
> fallit te incautum pietas tua, ... (10.811-812)

angers at the boy's persistence, extremaque Lauso parcae fila legunt (10.814-815). Even as Lausus dies, Vergil adds a double touch of pathos with a passing reference to the youth's spirited temper and a mention of his mother:

> transiit et parmam mucro, levia arma minacis,
> et tunicam molli mater quam neverat auro,
> implevitque sinum sanguis, ... (10.817-819)

Nowhere is Vergil more compassionate towards the rebels than in the case of Lausus. At the sight of the dying boy, Aeneas is filled with remorse:

> ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit,
> et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago. (10.823-824)

Immediately the scene changes to the father in question, who, uninformed as yet of the calamity,

> multa super Lauso rogitat, multumque remittit
> qui revocent maestique ferant mandata parentis, (10.839-840)

even as Lausus' lamenting companions carry back the lifeless body (10.841-842). Mezentius' expression of grief, when he eventually learns of the death of his son, brings respite from the intense irony of the drama. He is mortified at the thought that his own life has been purchased at the cost of his son's. The tragedy involves him in a soul-searching examination of his past, seen for the first time in relation to the filial tie (10.849-854).

Here the doom references for Mezentius begin:

> nunc vivo neque adhuc homines lucemque relinquo.
> sed linquam. ... (10.855-856)

Diu, res si diu mortalibus ulla est, viximus, he says to his horse, aperit si nulla viam vis, occumbes pariter (10.861-862, 864-865). Aeneas recognizes Mezentius' challenge, laetusque precatur (10.874). To Jupiter he prays and to Apollo (10.875-876), et infesta subit obvius hasta (10.877), a distinct doom-signal for Mezentius. For in addition to the two rôles of Apollo in the poem, that of god of prophecy and god of the establishment of civil institutions, he is also the god who punishes, in which capacity he is represented with a bow and arrow, and often guides men's arrows in battle (cf. Arruns, 11.785-804). With this in mind, we hear unwitting Mezentius:

> nec mortem horremus nec divum parcimus ulli (10.880)

as he hurls three ineffectual weapons at the Troius heros (10.882-887).

The horse Mezentius loves is the means of his own death, as the wounded creature pins his master to the ground (10.890-894). The father's final request:

> et me consortem nati concede sepulcro. (10.906)

He dies by his own hand, Mezentius (10.907).

> ... Haec sunt spolia et de rege superbo
> primitiae manibusque meis Mezentius hic est, (11.15-16)

says Aeneas, to encourage his men with an example of a great success won and with expectations of more to come. There, for the Trojans to see, he hangs on an oak tree, in honour of Mars, the spoils of defeated Mezentius:

> ... aptat rorantis sanguine cristas
> telaque trunca viri, et bis sex thoraca petitum
> perfossumque locis, clipeumque ex aere sinistrae
> subligat atque ensem collo suspendit eburnum. (11.8-11)

Sometimes Trojans have similar traits to the rebels and incur disapproval and even death. The procedure adopted in the previous chapter, showing how Vergil disapproves of the rebel characters, will produce similar results when applied to certain Trojans. These can be said to include Nisus and Euryalus, Pandarus and Bitias, Pallas (Arcadians being allied with the Trojans) Coroebus and to some extent Ascanius.

Nisus, acerrimus armis (9.176) is conscious of the passion for battle (ardorem) stirring within him (9.184) and is restless for some great and glorious feat (9.186-187), facti fama (9.194-195) the reward. Euryalus, no less than Nisus magno laudum percussus amore (9.197), is eager to share the exploit with his ardentem ... amicum (9.198). Talis animos iuvenum! (Aletes: 9.249). Their daring wins applause before the council:

> quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro laudibus istis
> praemia posse rear solvi? ... (9.252-253)

In the enemy camp, they inflict great slaughter (9.324-355), Nisus like a ravenous lion in a sheep-pen roaring with its bloodstained jaws. Nec minor Euryali caedes; incensus et ipse perfurit (9.342-343). Hic ... fervidus instat (9.350), living up to his promises and expectations:

> mox hic cum spoliis ingenti caede peracta
> adfore cernetis. ... (9.242-243)

Only the approach of dawn puts an end to their bout of slaying, and Nisus realizes nimia caede atque cupidine ferri (9.354),

> poenarum exhaustum satis est, via facta per hostis. (9.356)

Nisus is exterritus, amens (9.424) when Euryalus is about to be killed, nec ... tantum potuit perferre dolorem (9.425-426). He seeks a heroic solution to the emergency:

> ... an sese medios moriturus in ensis
> inferat et pulchram properet per vulnera mortem? (9.400-401)

Having failed to save his friend, vengeance is his largest realization, his life the coin to be paid to redeem his honour, et moriens animam abstulit hosti (9.443). Euryalus would have done the same:

> est hic, est animus lucis contemptor et istum
> qui vita bene credat emi, quo tendis, honorem. (9.205-206)

Pandarus and Bitias are depicted in terms very similar to those used by Vergil with reference to Turnus. Vergil refers to them as fratres ... superbos (9.695). Turnus kills Bitias ardentem oculis animisque frementem (9.703). When Pandarus comes to his senses, he slams the gates shut, leaving many of his fellow-men outside and Turnus within, an act rash enough to earn the poet's personal chastisement:

> demens, qui Rutulum in medio non agmine regem
> viderit inrumpentem ultroque incluserit urbi. (9.728-729)

Pandarus, mortis fraternae fervidus ira (9.736), taunts Turnus:

> ... non haec dotalis regia Amatae,
> nec muris cohibet patriis media Ardea Turnum.
> castra inimica vides, nulla hinc exire potestas. (9.737-739)

Nor has Pandarus the power to ward off Turnus' fatal weapon when it comes.

Young Pallas is audax (8.110). Like Nisus and Euryalus, he is ambitious for renown. He exhorts the Arcadians:

> per ducis Euandri nomen, devictaque bella
> spemque meam, patriae quae nunc subit aemula laudi. (10.370-371)

As their young leader battles boldly with the enemy, the Arcadians rally, praeclara tuentis facta viri (10.397-398). Like Nisus and Euryalus, he inflicts awful carnage (10.379-435). Daring to presume in his own courage, viribus imparibus (10.459), he too will risk his life for glory:

> aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis
> aut leto insigni. ... (10.449-450)

Had it not been for divine intervention, a similar fate to that of Pallas would no doubt have met Ascanius. Too proud to endure Numanus' taunts (9.598-620), he prays:

Iuppiter omnipotens, audacibus adnue coeptis. (9.625)

Thunder sounds on the left, sonat una fatifer arcus (9.631) for Numanus. But Ascanius attributes his victory to his own prowess:

... i, verbis virtutem inlude superbis! (9.634)

Elated (ardentem) by his first success in battle, by the applause of his fellow-Trojans (9.636-637) and by the words of Apollo from the heavens congratulating victorem ... Iulum (9.638-644), he is, in keeping with the customary lot for Vergil's vaunting youthful heroes, ripe for disaster. Apollo, however, descends in the guise of Butes to restrain the boy (9.644-658).

Young Coroebus comes to Troy insano Cassandrae incensus amore (2.343),

infelix qui non sponsae praecepta furentis
audierit! (2.345-346)

The Trojans have luck in their counter-attack against the Greeks (2.385),

atque hic successu exsultans animisque Coroebus (2.386)

suggests an exchange of armour with the Greeks (2.389),

... dolos an virtus, quis in hoste requirat? (2.390)

and puts on Androgeos' plumed helmet and shield laterique Argivum accommodat ensem (2.393). The rest of the young men are happy to follow his example (2.394-395) and victoriously conquer the Greeks. But when Cassandra is dragged from the shrine of Minerva's temple (2.403-406),

non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Coroebus
et sese medium iniecit periturus in agmen. (2.407-408)

He rushes to the rescue and as a result, the Trojans are attacked by their own side (2.410-411),

... oriturque miserrima caedes
armorum facie et Graiarum errore iubarum. (2.411-412)

The Greeks, rallying at the rescue of the girl, outnumber the Trojans and Coroebus is the first to fall (2.424-426).

It is clear from Vergil's character presentation and treatment that these young Trojans must be associated with the rebels, artistically at least. They exhibit "rebel" behaviour, described by Vergil in "rebel" terms. In the case of Pandarus and Bitias, Vergil immediately makes a strong statement of his disapproval of their disobedience:

> portam, quae ducis imperio commissa, recludunt
> freti armis, ultroque invitant moenibus hostem. (9.675-676)

In the case of Nisus and Euryalus, his criticism is implicit. For they, too, are disobedient in leaving the camp against Aeneas' departing orders, and for love of personal fame. Like Camilla, Euryalus is lured by booty. He takes Rhamnes' arms (9.357-362) which ditissimus ... Caedicus had given to his grandfather, and Messapus' plumed helmet (9.365-366). These are the immediate cause of Euryalus' downfall, impeding his escape (9.384-385), and betraying his presence to the foe (9.373-374):

> et galea Euryalum sublustri noctis in umbra
> prodidit immemorem radiisque adversa refulsit. (9.373-374)

Furthermore, for their personal honour, all these brave and eager youths pay, no less than the rebels, with their lives.

As in the case of the rebel characters, however, Vergil here too is at pains to draw upon our pity. What poet less impartial than the one who wrote the "epitaph" for Nisus and Euryalus:

> Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
> nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo,
> dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
> accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit. (9.446-449)

A delicately moving description of the death of Euryalus (9.431-437) and that of Nisus (9.438-445) more forcibly dramatic are followed by the still more moving lament of Euryalus' mother (9.473-502). Vergil has led up to

this tense, dramatic moment. He introduces the parent-figure at the opening of the episode. Nisus is initially hesitant to have Euryalus as a partner to his venture:

> neu matri miserae tanti sim causa doloris,
> quae te sola, puer, multis e matribus ausa
> persequitur, magni nec moenia curat Acestae. (9.216-218)

The poet emphasizes the bonds of devotion between the mother and the youthful hero. Then, by hints to the reader which create a sense of impending doom, and by reviving the noble parent image, he heightens the tragic intensity and so enlists our pity. Nisus sows the first seeds of uneasiness:

> sed si quis (quae multa vides discrimine tali)
> si quis in adversum rapiat casusve deusve,
> te superesse velim, tua vita dignior aetas.
> sit qui me raptum pugna pretiove redemptum
> mandet humo, solita aut si qua id Fortuna vetabit,
> absenti ferat inferias decoretque sepulcro, (9.210-215)

and Euryalus later at the council:

> ... me nulla dies tam fortibus ausis
> dissimilem arguerit; tantum fortuna secunda
> haud adversa cadat. ... (9.281-283)

The reminder of Euryalus' mother immediately follows:

> ... sed te super omnia dona
> unum oro: genetrix Priami de gente vetusta
> est mihi, quam miseram tenuit non Ilia tellus
> mecum excedentem, non moenia regis Acestae.
> hanc ego nunc ignaram huius quodcumque pericli est
> inque salutatam linquo (nox et tua testis
> dextera), quod nequeam lacrimas perferre parentis.
> at tu, oro, solare inopem et succurre relictae.
> hanc sine me spem ferre tui, audentior ibo
> in casus omnis. ... (9.283-292)

an appeal which moves the Trojans to tears (9.292-294), especially Julus, who thinks of the ties between himself and his father. He pledges to care for Euryalus' mother, casus factum quicumque sequentur (9.299).

Further intimations of disaster are added when Aletes exchanges helmets with Nisus (9.307), exchange of armour being an ominous deed

(cf. Coroebus, 2.389-412). This is immediately followed by a subtle hint of doom as Julus,

> multa patri mandata dabat portanda; sed aurae
> omnia discerpunt et nubibus inrita donant. (9.312-313)

Nisus virtually prophesies death for his young friend with the fatal adjective:

> Euryale infelix, qua te regione reliqui? (9.390)

and later for himself:

> - tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum. (9.430)

Well apprised, therefore, of the inevitable doom of the young heroes, we shift our concern to the mother who is uninformed and left without her son's farewell. When the severed heads of Nisus and Euryalus are paraded outside the walls, the reader, with feelings of dread, anticipates the grief of the bereft mother, even before Vergil depicts it. And in no way does he seek to diminish (alleviate) the pain of it! The mother's lament, rather than the deaths of the young men, is the sequel to the tragic episode.

In the same way our sympathy for Pallas is increased by the image of his father Evander. Aeneas arrives at Pallanteum to find the Arcadian king celebrating annual rites to Hercules, Pallas huic filius una (8.104). He recounts to Aeneas his former acquaintance with Anchises and the latter's parting gifts to him meus quae nunc habet ... Pallas (8.168). Aeneas and Evander meet to discuss plans,

> filius huic Pallas, illi comes ibat Achates. (8.466)

Evander himself speaks of his attachment to his son, whom he will entrust to Aeneas' charge in the war:

> hunc tibi praeterea, spes et solacia nostri,
> Pallanta adiungam. ... (8.514-515)

Immediately the Trojans' anxiety gives the first indications of disaster:

> Vix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant
> Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates,
> multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant. (8.520-522)

A moving farewell:

> tum pater Euandrus dextram complexus euntis
> haeret inexpletus lacrimans ... (8.558-559)

is tinged with forebodings of sorrow:

> sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris,
> nunc, nunc o liceat crudelem abrumpere vitam,
> dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri,
> dum te, care puer, mea sola et sera voluptas,
> complexu teneo, gravior neu nuntius auris
> vulneret. ... (8.578-583)

A description of the cavalry procession leaving for the war designates the victim, pathetic in his vulnerable beauty:

> ... ipse agmine Pallas
> in medio chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis,
> qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
> quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis,
> extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit. (8.587-591)

We are reminded of Pallas again early in Bk. X as Aeneas sails back to the Trojan camp, Pallasque sinistro adfixus lateri (10.160-161), before we finally see him in the full stream of battle rallying his men per ducis Euandri nomen (10.370). His escapade of glorious combat follows, culminating in a note of impending threat:

> ... sed quis[7] Fortuna negarat
> in patriam reditus. Ipsos concurrere passus
> haud tamen inter se magni regnator Olympi;
> mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste. (10.435-438)

At this point a reminder of Evander comes from Turnus as he claims Pallas in combat, gloating:

> solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas
> debetur; cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset. (10.442-443)

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[7] quis refers to Pallas and Lausus.

Pallas retorts:

> ... sorti pater aequus utrique est. (10.450)

Pallas prays to Hercules:

> per patris hospitium et mensas, quas advena adisti, (10.460)

but Hercules, however much revered by Evander, can only sigh and weep ineffectual tears (10.465) as Jupiter reaffirms the fates:

> stat sua cuique dies, breve et inreparabile tempus
> omnibus est vitae, ... (10.467-468)

Turnus measures his victory over Pallas in terms of vengeance upon Evander:

> "Take back this message to king Evander for me; I return to him such a Pallas as he deserves. ... The welcome which he gave to Aeneas shall be of no small consequence to Evander."[8]

Pallas' comrades bear him away on his shield multo gemitu lacrimisque (10.505) and Vergil himself lends force to their grief:

> o dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti. (10.507)

Pallas is rarely mentioned but that the idea of Evander is evoked. Aeneas' own apprehension of Evander's grief intensifies our pity through fearful anticipation of the tragic moment when Evander will learn of Pallas' death. When Aeneas first hears of the disaster,

> ... Pallas, Euander, in ipsis
> omnia sunt oculis, ... (10.515-516)

The moving sight of the youth's body brings tears to Aeneas as he anticipates the father's sorrow:

> ipse caput nivei fultum Pallantis et ora
> ut vidit levique patens in pectore vulnus
> cuspidis Ausoniae, ... (11.39-41)

He reproaches himself:

> non haec Euandro de te promissa parenti
> discedens dederam, ... (11.45-46)

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[8] Trans. Jackson Knight, p. 266.

almost embittered by the irony of the old man's pious trust:

> et nunc ille quidem spe multum captus inani
> fors et vota facit cumulatque altaria donis,
> nos iuvenem exanimum et nil iam caelestibus ullis
> debentem vano maesti comitamur honore.
> infelix, nati funus crudele videbis! (11.49-53)

He sends a thousand men to attend the last rites for the boy,

> intersintque patris lacrimis, solacia luctus
> exigua ingentis, misero sed debita patri. (11.62-63)

The procession to Pallanteum is launched with a pathetic description of the dead youth's corpse:

> qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
> seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,
> cui neque fulgor adhuc **nec dum** sua forma recessit,
> non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat, (11.68-71)

as Aeneas wraps the body in a gold-embroidered cloak woven by Dido, arsurasque comas obnubit amictu (11.77). Consequently, the parent's eventual storm of grief (11.148-181), when the funeral procession reaches his city, is virtually a release of the tense knot of apprehension by which Vergil has drawn out our tragic response to this point. Evander is quick to recognize the hand of Fate in the tragic event:

> ... sors ista senectae
> debita erat nostrae, ... (11.165-166)

but, as in the cases of Dido, Camilla, Nisus and Euryalus, etc., the immediate human motivation involved is emphasized, when the old man tenderly recalls what it is to be a young man in first combat, and the first taste of glory:

> non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti.
> cautius ut saevo velles te credere Marti!
> haud ignarus eram quantum nova gloria in armis
> et praedulce decus primo certamine posset. (11.152-155)

The idea of Evander is the backdrop, so to speak, for the drama of Pallas. The fate of the son is measured in terms of the pain of the father.

Following the pattern of the story of Euryalus, the tragedy of Pallas culminates in the lament of the father.

In the case of all of these heroes, Vergil appeals to our sympathy by emphasizing their youth. There is Pandarus with his impubis ... malas (9.751), Euryalus ora puer prima signans intonsa iuventa (9.181), Pallas, much the same age as Lausus (10.434) and Ascanius, puer (9.656) on this occasion, though previously regem (9.223), iuvenisque Coroebus (2.341). In addition, the fury of Turnus and the horrendous manner in which he kills Pandarus (9.749-755) accentuate the tragic element in these episodes.

We find a romantic characterization of these personalities which contrasts sharply with the more restrained "straight" character-presentation of Aeneas. The human interest in the poem is generated by the rebels, a fact further explained by a purely quantitative assessment of the attention paid by Vergil to them,[9] an indication of his own interest and apparent partiality.

We saw, however, in Ch. II, that Fate (imparted to humans through prophecy) is closely associated in the poem with the destiny of Rome. In Ch. III and IV we saw how Vergil adopts the concept of Fate as the measure by which he assesses the choices and actions of his characters, Aeneas' pietas being consistently relative to his recognition of the Fatum Romanum, whereas censure is meted out when there is failure to recognize, or refusal to acknowledge, Jupiter's will. However, though Vergil supports the Fatum Romanum, he transcends the limitations of a purely nationalistic approach in his more universal concern for the wider truths pertaining to the common

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[9] Dido, for example, is on-stage for approximately 427 of the 705 lines of Bk. IV, whereas Aeneas commands sole attention for only 96 lines. The story of Nisus and Euryalus occupies as much as 326 of the 818 lines of Bk. IX. Almost that quantity is devoted to Mezentius and Lausus throughout Bks. VII, VIII, X and XI. In the final encounter between Turnus and Aeneas, more lines are devoted to Turnus.

lot of man. From these dynamic individuals, the rebels, emanates the spirit of a vital life force, made to appear all the more precious by the tragic impact of its sudden end. Vergil seems to say that the nobility and dignity, the vitality of man spring from this sense of individuality. But the full expression of it involves the finality of life, and mentem mortalia tangunt.[10] Man's mortality (which distinguishes him from the gods) is insurmountable. The highest dignity he can achieve is in a heroic acceptance of it. But man's highest achievement is civilization - in the poem, Fatum Romanum - (which distinguishes him from the beasts).[11] The "mortal" condition, therefore, is the source at one and the same time of man's deepest human realization and of his most grievous pain.

> In Jupiter's palace the gods pitied the pointless fury of both sides, sad that men, doomed in any case to die, should suffer ordeals so terrible.[12]

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[10] Aeneas says this (1.462) as he gazes at the deaths of heroes at Troy pictured in Juno's temple at Carthage.

[11] For this idea of a classical concept of humanity relative to the gods and to the beasts, I am indebted to Prof. A. D'Andrea in his lecture on The Renaissance Concept of Humanitas: Petrarch, University Lecture Series - Humanity in Perspective, McGill University, Feb. 3, 1969.

[12] Aeneid 10, 758-759, trans. Jackson Knight, p. 274.

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