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Friendships and family ties in Vergil

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FRIENDSHIPS
" AND
FAMILY TIES IN VERGIL

By
Lillian P. Williams
June 1931

A Thesis
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Introduction

In choosing a subject for a thesis in the Vergilian Bimillennium, it was only natural and fitting that the choice should fall in the field of Vergil. The difficulty lay in selecting a particular locality of the field that had not been especially explored by the many Vergil admirers.

Friendships and Family Ties seemed to have been treated by no writer under such a title nor to have been discussed at length in any book or article. Here was presented an opportunity to renew my acquaintance with Vergil through a more intimate and thoughtful study of his poems and to search out from the numerous books on the general subject of Vergil what conclusions other writers had reached and to follow the line of thought of the contemporary Latin scholars, who were contributing to the current literature of the Vergilian year.

I was perhaps fortunate in finding that no one had treated the subject at any great length, for it required more serious thought on my part; my interest grew with the task; it was fascinating to piece together the little bits and make a unified whole.

I am especially indebted to the authors quoted in the footnotes. I lay no claim to originality of ideas expressed in the main part of the discussion. The arrangement and method of treatment is my own and the summary and conclusions drawn are original.

Chapter I

Friendships in Vergil's Life

"Human affection is the source both of the only joys worth counting joys, and of the only sorrows worth counting sorrows."¹ In this way Dr. Conway characterizes the great force which plays such an important part in the lives of Vergil's characters. It is the delicate treatment of this force that has made the name of Vergil stand for friendship. Nothing seemed to him of greater significance than the affection of human beings---true affection, resting on a foundation of perfect understanding and sympathy; on a basis of sincerity and steadfastness.

Cicero puts into the mouth of Laelius these words: "I can only urge you to prefer friendship to all human possessions; for there is nothing so suited to our nature, so well-adapted to prosperity or adversity."² We assume that true friendship exists only among individuals with similar view-points, among individuals who have cultivated a sympathetic understanding, who have developed a spirit service, which, beginning in fair weather, is augmented when storm clouds thicken. Simcox says Vergil hardly

¹ R.S. Conway, Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age, p.111

² Cicero, De Amicitia, V, 8-10. 'Ego vos hortari tantum possum ut amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis anteponatis; nihil est enim tam naturæ aptum, tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel adversas.'

seems to have a life of his own apart from his intelligent and respectful sympathy with the life of others.¹ It is the human relation, based on affection, which has endeared Vergil to millions of readers during the two thousand years since his death.

Vergil was fortunate in having an ambitious man as his father. Though of humble origin himself, he advanced through toil and perseverance to become a man of influence and even of some wealth in the community. His ambition, however, was of the highest type, for though he gave his son the advantage of the best possible education, he taught him first a hearty respect for the homely toil, a love for nature and sympathy for little things---a sympathy which expanded, as his horizon widened, to include all living things.

No doubt the boy Vergil took a keen interest in the daily routine of the farm. He must have accompanied his father on excursions through the forest, where he learned regarding trees and birds facts which he never forgot. The father must have answered patiently and sympathetically the child's questions. Thus a spirit of comradeship grew up between father and son.

When the father and Mantua had given Vergil all they had to give, the boy was sent first to Cremona and then to Rome, where he received an education far superior to

¹ G. A. Simcox, A History of Latin Literature, 254.

what might have been expected of the son of a courier. But the early home training had left a lasting imprint. He never lost his interest in little things nor his respect for honest toil. His love for his father increased with time. If the father was disappointed when his son gave up the bar after one unsuccessful effort, if he was disappointed when his son at the age of twenty-seven had not made a great success of writing poetry, we have no indication of the fact. There seems to have been the same kind of sympathy between them that later existed between the two Miltons.

When Vergil was twenty-seven, his presence was needed at Mantua, whither he returned from Rome. The elder Vergil was becoming blind and the loyal son gave up his plans to be near him. A few years later the Vergils were dispossessed of their lands, and took refuge in the villa of Siro, Vergil's earlier teacher of philosophy. The poet's own words show with what loving solicitude this duty of providing refuge for his father was performed.

O little Villa, which once was Siro's, and thou poor little farm, but to that owner even thou wert wealth, I commit myself to thee, and with myself, those whom I have always loved, if perchance I should hear any gloomy news of my country. Above all shalt thou shelter my father; to him¹ thou shalt be what Mantua and Cremona once were.

¹Vergil, Catelepton, VII. 'Villula, quae Sironis eras, et pauper agelle, verum illi domino tu quoque divitiae, me tibi et hos una mecum, quos semper amavi, si quid de patria tristius audiero, commendo, in primisque patrem. tu nunc eris illi Mantua quod fuerat quodque Cremona prius.'

The helplessness of the father and the devotion of the son, taking his father, afflicted with old age and loss of sight, to a place of safety, recall the helplessness of Anchises and the act of the "pius" Aeneas in carrying his father from burning Troy.

After this temporary retreat Vergil went to Rome and through the intervention of three friends, Pollio, Alfenus Varus and Gallus, the estates were returned. Pollio had been governor of the Mantuan district of Cisalpine Gaul and Vergil had become acquainted with him in a business way while managing his farm. He was a man of literary as well as political ambitions and Vergil became a member of his circle of friends. When he went to Rome to further his political ambitions he did not forget his friends of Mantua. Pollio was succeeded as governor by Varus, likewise a man of literary tastes, and another friendship was established. The third of the trio, who came to the assistance of Vergil in his adversity, was Cornelius Gallus. He and Vergil had become intimate friends during years of study at Naples. He was a brilliant and sparkling poet, and seemed to make a confidant of Vergil. In the tenth Eclogue Vergil grieves with him for the loss of a faithless love and expresses his own regard for him in these words: "Gallus, for whom my love grows hour by hour."¹ Though his poetical brilliance

¹Vergil, Eclogue X, 73. 'Gallo, cuius amor tantum mihi crescit in horas.'

faded with his political advancement, and the two drifted apart, the friendship remained and his tragic death made a lasting impression on the already melancholy Vergil.

To these three friends, to whom he owed the restoration of his estates, Vergil, out of sheer gratitude, dedicated the poems he was composing. Thus we have the Pollio group of Eclogues, the Varus group, and the Gallus group. The spontaneity and joy reflected in this means of showing appreciation for service rendered bars them from seeming to be of the "Bread and Butter" type.

After the adjustment at Mantua a new circle of friends of kindred interests grew up around Vergil, for all poets of this time found in his friendship a neutral ground on which they could meet. To this group belonged two friends from Cremona and his school days--Quintilius Varus and Varius --and Tucca made the third. Probus says:¹

He lived for many years in free ease, following the sect of Epicurus and enjoying remarkable harmony and intimacy of Quintilius, Tucca and Varius.

These three and Vergil we might call the charter members of the new Vergilian circle. In the companionship of these men, Vergil spent many happy days, for they read and criticised each other's works.

Varius was an epic poet. Perhaps it was under his

¹Probus, Vitae Vergilianae, 10-11. 'Vixit pluribus annis liberali in otio, secutus Epicuri sectam, insigni concordia et familiaritate usus Quintili, Tuccae et Vari.'

influence that Vergil made an early attempt at epic poetry ---a poem on the Alban kings. He seems to have lived with Varius at some time---perhaps while they were studying philosophy. In the ninth Eclogue he refers to Varius as his superior:¹

For as yet I seem to sing nothing worthy of
a Varius or a Cinna, but I seem to cackle as
a goose among the swans.

Varius was well known as a critic as well as a poet. Very little is known of Tucca, except that he was a life member of the circle and together with Varius was made a residuary Legatee and literary executor at Vergil's death. Tenney Frank calls Varius, Tucca, Varius and Horace the real friends of Vergil's fireside.

Pollio, who had risen in political favor, introduced Vergil to Maecenas, the prime adviser of Augustus and a patron of literature. Vergil and his new circle of friends became his proteges. The success of the Eclogues had attracted the interest of Maecenas, who now suggested that Vergil write a poem to glorify agriculture. On no other subject was Vergil better qualified to write, for he had had the experience necessary to make the content of such a subject valuable, and he still possessed the sympathy to make it interesting. Doubtless he felt real pleasure in

¹Vergil, Eclogues, IX, 35-36.

'Nam neque adhuc Variorum videor nec dicere Cinna
digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.'

pleasing his patron. Thus the Georgics were undertaken at the request of Maecenas.

Before this time Vergil and Horace had become acquainted ---rather deliberately on Horace's part, if reports can be relied upon. For it is said that the latter, when he found his property confiscated after the battle of Phillipi, recognized that his only hope was to attract the attention of some generous literary man. According to the story, he chose Vergil, still unknown to fame, read the "Culex", made it the basis of a poem,¹ and sent a copy to Vergil, whom he expected to see the allusion to his own poem. He did and in the second book of the Georgics² Vergil returns the compliment. It contains a "generous tribute to the poet who above all others inspired him throughout life;....a delicate token of grâatitude to Horace, who had been quick to recognize his early effort."³ It was the fashion for one poet to use the verses of another whom he loved. Several instances show that they must have worked and thought together. Though writers of different kinds of poetry, their styles are often akin. Thus an intimate friendship sprang up and the relation developed to one of the most memorable of literary friendships.

¹Horace, Epodes, II

²Vergil, Georgics, II, 458-542.

³Tenny Frank, "Vergil's Apprenticeship," Classical Philology, 1920, 32.

Horace himself in the first satire tells us how Vergil and Varus introduced him to Maecenas. Again, when Vergil was about to sail to Athens, he invokes the stars and favorable winds to guide the ship to which Vergil is entrusted and prays that they may land him safe on the Athenian shore, and preserve the "half of my life"¹. They are such good friends that on one occasion Horace invites Vergil to come to a gay party and bring part of the cheer, telling him to mix a little gaiety with the serious studies. Though we can hardly picture Vergil accepting such an invitation, or enjoying such a party if he did accept, it does show their friendly relations and the freedom with which he could be approached by his friends--his "facilitas."

On the death of Varus, their mutual friend, Horace addresses an ode² to Vergil in which he says Varus is more lamented by none than by Vergil and tries to comfort him by saying that what is out of our power to mend, becomes more supportable by patience. It is a mark of appreciation that Horace dwells more on the depth of Vergil's sorrow than on his own.

"Vergilius optimus" of the fifth Satire of Book One is another proof of the affection and appreciation Horace felt for Vergil. He also calls him a most transparent and

¹ Horace, Odes, I, 3 'dimidium meae animae'

² Ibid., I 24.

lovable soul. Horace in company with Maecenas was once travelling to Brundisium. He speaks of a certain day as the most agreeable of all, for Tucca, Varius and Vergil met them---"souls candidiores than which the world never produced, nor is there a person in the world more bound to them than myself. What embraces, what transports were there! While I am in my senses, nothing can I prefer to a pleasant friend."¹ Later on in the same journey Varius departs, dejected, from his weeping friends. True friends indeed they were!

One more friend had great influence upon Vergil---the man who ushered in the Golden Age of Literature and Peace and made it possible for such friendships as has been described to exist. We do not know definitely when Vergil first met Augustus, but we do know it must have been early and even then the handsome boy incited the admiration of the awkward youth. J. Stanley Jones² says there was a strange affinity between this boy of the North Country and the brilliant young aristocrat in whose service Vergil afterward died. The Culex is dedicated to Augustus, a puer; sanctus and venerandus, according to Conway are epithets

¹ Horace, Satires, Bk. I, V, 41-44.

'Anima, quales neque candidiores
terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter.
O, qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.'

² J. S. Jones, "Vergil and His Contemporaries," Vergil Papers, 48, 49.

suggested by the tender age and innocence of a boy.

Fowler and Conway¹ like to picture the first meeting--when Vergil was twenty and the future emperor seven years younger. At this time Julius Caesar was in the Cisalpine region and doubtless summoned from Rome his nephew and heir. Such a prominent landowner and citizen as Vergil's father would have been presented to Caesar, for the clever general would have tried to draw such an influential man to his side. Without doubt the elder Vergil took pleasure in presenting his shy, awkward son to the great patron. Then we can follow the picture, as the big country boy shows the little city boy the wonders of the farm.

Octavius was a junior student at the Epicurean school of philosophy under Siro, where Vergil was also a student. Perhaps the acquaintance was renewed here. No one can doubt Vergil's admiration for Octavius. He shares with Pollio, Varus and Gallus Vergil's appreciation for restoring his farm, for in the same group of poems in which he honors Pollio, Varus and Gallus, he refers to Octavius as a "god"².

With the respect and admiration is also a feeling of freedom. When Vergil was a veterinary at the royal stables and cured a favorite animal of the emperor, he was rewarded by an increase in his bread rations. Repeated cures brought

¹R. S. Conway, The Youth of Vergil, 22, 23.

W. W. Fowler, "Note on Culex", Classical Review, 1914, 120-121

²Vergil, Eclogues V, 14 'Deus, , deus ille.'

like rewards. Later when the emperor, thinking his veterinary's knowledge might extend beyond the realm of dumb animals, asked him about his own, Augustus', parentage, he replied: "You are the son of a baker, for one who gave such rewards for great services could be only a baker or the son of a baker." Augustus enjoyed the retort and promised to reward him thereafter as a generous emperor---and he kept his word. It is said that Vergil never asked anything of Augustus that he did not receive. We know that he received various gifts of land, but his good fortune did not make him careless of the feelings of others. Once he refused to accept an exile's confiscated lands; he never forgot his own early losses. He could refuse such an offer and not be misunderstood, so perfect was their friendship.

Only once did Vergil find it difficult to maintain his loyalty to his friends. Gallus, whom he loved deeply, had attracted Augustus with his brilliancy. Augustus gave him a position at the head of the reconstruction work in Egypt. Young Gallus drifted away from his former friends; his head was turned by too much power; he assumed too much to himself; he was suspected of disloyalty to Augustus, was recalled in disgrace and committed suicide. His death made a deep impression on Vergil. His Georgics were ready for publication; he had ended the last book with a fitting tribute to Gallus. What must he do? He wished to be loyal to his dead friend; he wished to be loyal to his living friend, whom Gallus had

offended. Some writers believe that Augustus requested Vergil to change the conclusion; there seems to be no actual proof that he did, and we prefer to think that Vergil, out of respect for the living, suppressed the original conclusion and inserted one of his most beautiful passages---the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, a tale of devoted affection.

The Romans always had great personal feeling of admiration for their great men, so when Augustus suggested the writing of a great epic to glorify Rome he probably gave Vergil an opportunity to express what was in his mind. 'Sine dubio' he desired to honor his patron; he desired to herald the peace, which Augustus had established. He took up his task with great earnestness. When Augustus became impatient and urged him to send the first draft, he paid a great compliment to his emperor: "As to my Aeneas, if I really had him in a state worthy of your ears, I would gladly send him; but the subject I have taken in hand is so vast, that I feel it was madness to attack so big a work."¹

Glover tells us that Augustus, because of his position, was a somewhat dangerous and even uncomfortable friend to have. He did not make friends easily, but he kept them when once made; yet Vergil, shy, quiet, countryfied, awkward, kept his friendship without the loss of dignity or

¹ Macrobius, Satires, I, 24. 'De Aenea quidem meo, si mehercule jam dignum auribus haberem tuis, libenter mitterem, sed tanta incohata res est ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus videar.'

independence. Each was interested in the other's work. Augustus listened while Vergil, relieved by Maecenas, read the Georgics to him; he also listened to the reading of parts of the Aeneid; Vergil had perfect confidence in the power of Augustus to maintain peace in Italy.

Fate willed that this friend of poets and statesmen should pass his last hours in company with his most intimate friends. Vergil had decided to spend three years in Greece and Asia Minor while perfecting his Aeneid. While he was in Athens, Augustus, who was returning from the East, met him and they decided it would be better for Vergil to return to Italy. Before sailing they made an excursion to Megara on a hot day. Vergil did not recover on the voyage and died a few days after reaching Brundisium. Before leaving Italy he had made his lifelong friends, Varius and Tucca, his residuary legatees and literary executors, directing them to publish only what had been already been edited by him, and he asked that the unfinished Aeneid should be burned in case of his death. In his last hours he begged these two friends, who had welcomed him at Brundisium, to bring him his manuscript that he might burn it with his own hands.

Cicero quotes Scipio as saying nothing is more difficult than that friendship should continue to the end of life. Vergil did not make many friendships, but those he made he prized and retained. DeWitt vividly presents the tribute paid to him by Augustus in these words: "The

first and greatest of Roman emperors was beside him in the last honors, stood beside the blazing pyre and with naked feet shared in the melancholy privilege of collecting the pitiful remains. From Brundisium the imperial cortege pursued its tedious way along the ancient road that led to Campania, and in the modest tomb erected for his beloved parents... they left another urn, while a soul took flight to Elysian fields."¹

In Vergil's own life and that of his friends we see the qualities that he is to represent in his characters--- pleasure in serving, readiness in acknowledging and appreciating the service, and delight in expressing gratitude. We may say with Cicero that it is, "not only a mark of his native ability and literary talent, but also of his nature and manliness"² that the friends of his mature years were the friends of his early manhood.

¹ N. W. DeWitt, Biographia Literaria, 171.

² Cicero, Pro Archia, III, 84. 'Non solum ingeni et literarum, sed etiam naturae ac virtutis.'

CHAPTER II

Relations Between Vergil's Men and Women

Vergil, with his heart full of affection for his friend Gallus, who had taken his own life rather than face disgrace, and for his friend Augustus, of whose trust Gallus had been unworthy, turned to the reconstruction of his conclusion of the Fourth Georgic. Nothing less than a tale of deep and hopeless affection could find favor with him. We do not know the merits of the tribute to Gallus, with which the poem originally closed, but in its place we have the story of Orpheus and Eurydice.

While fleeing from an unwelcome suitor, Eurydice did not see a huge serpent, hugging the river bank in the deep grass. The bite was fatal and after her death the sorrowing husband tried to console himself by singing of his departed wife. He sang in the early morning, and the close of day found him still singing, but solace did not come. All living and even lifeless things on earth had been moved by the wondrous sweetness of his tones. So he resolved to brave the dangers of Hades and try to move the gods of the Underworld to restore Eurydice. Grim Charon gave him passage; shades came from all sides to listen to his music; even Cerberus held agape his three mouths; Ixion's wheel was stayed; the Furies were held spell-bound; the hearts of the rulers, that had never before been warmed to human entreaty, were moved to pity. The request was granted. Eurydice might return with Orpheus, but must not look back upon his wife until he reached the upper world. His endurance lasted until he was on the very verge

of light, "luce sub ipsa"; here his affection overcame his reason; he yielded to his great love and immediately his wife, stretching out her hands in vain and bemoaning his human weakness, vanished in thin air. The breaking of his promise in a moment of weakness resulted in the loss of his wife forever.

One can scarcely imagine deeper affection than that of Orpheus, for he braved the horrors of Hades for his love, but ~~lacked the will power to do the right thing at the critical~~ moment and he must pay the penalty forever. Even at this time Vergil realized that regard for duty must come before affection, if a choice was to be made.

This is emphasized in the relation between the men and women in the Aeneid. Early in the poem we see the devoted affection of Priam and Hecuba, the aged monarchs of Troy. On that fatal night, although Priam realized that defense is useless and that he has long been too old to fight, yet he girds on his armor ready to rush into the fray. But he comes upon Hecuba, huddled with her daughters and daughters-in-law near the altar. Gently and with wifely devotion, she draws her husband to her and shows him how useless his defense would be. Not once does she bemoan her own fate or display womanly weakness. Apparently she has no thought for herself as Troy is falling. She, with other of Vergil's women characters, lives entirely for others. She has collected about **her** the women-folk of her house and tries to restrain her husband from entering a useless struggle, saying they will all meet their fate together.

But her affection is put to a great test. She sees her son slain by Pyrrhus, and as Priam rushes upon the slayer, she no longer tries to restrain him, for she realizes he must do his duty as the leader of a great race. Here we see the innocent suffering, for Priam and Hecuba have done no wrong. Vergil had experienced hard lessons himself, had learned that the innocent suffer along with the guilty, especially as the result of war. This is his reaction to the horrors of war.

Among the daughters-in-law of Hecuba was Andromache, the wife of Hector. Their relation must have been as beautiful as that of Priam and Hecuba. In the course of his wanderings Aeneas meets Andromache, whose lot has been strange and sad. By the irony of fate she had fallen to the lot of Pyrrhus, who had slain her brother-in-law and father-in-law before her very eyes. Another son of Priam had been taken by Pyrrhus as a slave. When Pyrrhus grew tired of Andromache, he gave her to Helenus and when Aeneas meets her she is again the wife of a son of Priam.

But her thoughts are still with Hector, for she is sacrificing at Hector's tomb---an empty tomb that she has erected to his memory. When she recognizes Aeneas, she thinks he must be a spirit from the Underworld and she at once asks where her Hector is. As her thoughts turn to Ascanius, she asks if his uncle Hector does not inspire him with a desire to uphold the valor of his ancestors. Andromache represents the type of loyalty that remains true even after death.

Creusa, the Trojan wife of Aeneas, follows the example of her mother, Hecuba, in living solely for the happiness of others. As Aeneas witnesses the death of Priam, he is suddenly faced with the fact that he has a family dependent upon him. The deserted Creusa comes to his mind and he determines to hasten to her. As he is departing, he sees Helen--Helen who has caused this danger to his loved ones.

His first impulse is to slay her, but his mother intervenes, reminding him that his wife, his father, his son are in imminent danger.

He reaches his home and urges his father to flee with him. Creusa adds her entreaties to those of Aeneas. When Anchises refuses and Aeneas is determined to rush out into battle again, Creusa throws herself at his feet and holds out the little Iulus to him, asking him to consider what will become of them if he deserts them now. The despair of her "once-called your wife"¹ is very pathetic.

When Anchises is prevailed upon to go, the procession sets out. As a dutiful wife, she "brings up the rear".² Aeneas feels fully responsible for his aged father and small son, but feels his wife capable of finding her own way to the meeting place outside the city. Not until they reach their destination and they begin to check up, does Aeneas

¹ Vergil, *Aeneid*, II, 678 'Cui pater et conjunx quondam tua dicta relinquitur?'

² *Ibid*, II, 725, 'Pone subit conjunx'.

think of Creusa. She is not to be found. In his despair he blames himself for his carelessness, he blames everyone, even the gods. To go on without his wife is out of the question. He goes back; carefully he scrutinizes the path that he has traversed, looking to the right and left to see if she has lost her way or has stopped to rest.

He reaches the city without finding a trace of her; he returns to his home and finds it in flames; he sees women and children, captives of the enemy, but he looks in vain for Creusa among them. He rashly calls her name aloud, but no answering cry comes to his ears. Then from nowhere appears the ghost of Creusa--he knows it is a spirit, for it is a "form larger than the well-known form".¹ As she spoke she dispelled all his cares; for she tells him it is the will of Heaven, that Jupiter does not permit Creusa to go with him on his long journey to found a new city. She who has been so wrapped up in her husband and son, bends to the will of fate. Dutifully she accepts her lot and tells Aeneas that he will be happy with another wife. She consoles him with the knowledge that she is not to be a captive to the victorious Greeks, but in some mysterious way she is to remain in the land of her fathers and be a priestess of Cybele and, in vanishing, she urges him to preserve the love of their common son. She is unselfish to the end, thinking only of her husband and son and their

¹ Vergil, Aeneid, II, 725, 'Nota maior imago'.

best interests.

Aeneas must have loved his wife dearly. When he sees the hopelessness of Troy, he thinks of the possible fate of his wife with horror. He trusts her to find her way; he is mad with grief and self-reproach when he loses her. He does everything in his power to rectify his mistake; he shows no indications of giving up the search until she appears to him in spirit form. When the meaning of her words dawns upon him and he recognizes in her loss the hand of the gods, he accepts his fate and submissively returns to his duty. Having seen his duty, he does it and without complaint. The past is past and he looks to the future.

In the story of Dido, we find Vergil's greatest creation. While she is present on the scene, Dido fills the entire stage, and the hero, Aeneas, fades into the background. Glover says,

The poet transforms his hero and heroine into representatives, each embodying and expressing the genius of a race. The Punic wars are now no longer the result of hatred and envy accidentally produced, but are the inevitable outcome of the clash of two national tempers.¹

We see two great types in conflict.

Yet when Dido and Aeneas meet, the unity of temper and history and the similarity of experience strikes us forcibly. Aeneas has been driven from his native land,

¹ T. R. Glover, Vergil, 175.

has become weary of wandering, is unconsciously longing for quiet and rest and love. Dido has been forced to flee from her country, she is weary of turning away suitors, and unconsciously longs for protection, peace and love. Aeneas has lost a wife in a mysterious manner; he has been shaken by grief; his search has been unsuccessful; her spirit has told him to abandon the search and has pointed out his destiny--namely, to found a new race in a distant land.

Dido's beloved husband has been killed mysteriously; she has grieved and refused to be comforted; the spirit of her husband has appeared and has acquainted her with the manner of his death and has advised her to flee to a new land.

Dangers have beset Aeneas in Troy and at every place where he has tried to settle in the last seven years. Dido, fleeing from dangers in Tyre, is surrounded by hostile tribes in Africa, and is disturbed by rumors of danger from her brother in Tyre.

When Dido sees this stranger, she feels a deep interest in his tale of misfortunes; she pities him, and we know that pity leads to love; she adores the child, Ascanius; she sees in the father a means of protection and security for herself and her people. She pictures her city completed and beautified by the two races--a city powerful enough to withstand the attacks of the neighboring tribes and her brother. She sincerely welcomes Aeneas and generously, if impulsively, offers him

all she has. "I, not ignorant of misfortunes, learn to aid the unfortunate."¹ Sage says that the "all-comprehending pity, which Dido comes to need in greater measure than she has ever given it"² is suggested by "Sunt rerum lacrimae"³, there are tears for human woes.

Aeneas has been shipwrecked and driven to an unknown shore; he fears it is inhabited by unfriendly people; he is in desperate need; he must have time and opportunity to rebuild his fleet; he has recently buried his father; his love is centered in his child. Here he finds all he needs and more--a cordial reception, an opportunity to stay as long as he wishes, and material with which to rebuild his fleet; a beautiful woman, who offers him a city well under way, hospitality and companionship for himself and love for his motherless child. In the offer he sees an end of all his trials and a haven for his weary people. In relating the story of his wanderings at Dido's banquet, doubtless his self-pity grew as she gazed at him sympathetically and caressed Ascanius.

The gods have been urging him on for seven years; he has learned to accept what they provided; doubtless they have provided this also. If he stopped to reason

¹ Vergil, Aeneid I, 630. 'Non ignari mali miseris succerre disco'.

² E. T. Sage, A Series of Eight Radio Talks, 41.

³ Vergil, Aeneid, I, 462.

at all, he might have reasoned thus. At any rate he accepted the offer and drifted into the relationship that has been so widely criticized. Edna Wiegland says: "Aeneas, the much-heralded hero, charming gentleman and brave soldier, devoted to son, father, countrymen, would have been irresistible at any time. With Venus and Cupid plotting against her, Dido's doom is sealed."¹

When Book Four of the "Aeneid" opens we find Dido unhappy, distressed, seeking comfort from Anna. Everything foretells an unhappy ending--unacceptable sacrifices, lack of confidence in the rectitude of her conduct, her mental distress, her neglected duty. Dido's struggle is between her sense of duty and her love; the latter wins. Later Aeneas' struggle is between his love and his divinely appointed duty; as in former crises in his life, the latter wins.

When Dido recognizes the traces of her former love, she struggles against it, for she has vowed a solemn vow that she will remain true to the memory of Sychaeus. She sacrifices to Ceres, Apollo, Lyaeus, gods who preside over the founding of cities, when she is forgetting her city and its building; she sacrifices to Juno, the goddess of marriage, when she is breaking her vow to her husband. But what good could be expected to come from sacrifices,

¹Edna, Wiegland, "Impressions of the Aeneid", Classical Weekly, April 14, 1930, p. 171.

when one is resolved to do wrong? She yields to her passion and forgets her sacred promise. The surrender of one ideal weakens her general sense of duty; she neglects Carthage; she sees no wrong in her union with Aeneas. He passively allows himself to be drawn into the tide of her passion. In their love for each other, they forget their solemn duty. The city, which was to have been completed jointly, no longer makes progress, for the leaders are no longer an inspiration. The Trojans, weary of wanderings, who welcomed an opportunity to make a settlement, grow restless. The two races are not congenial.

Dangers threaten from Dido's rejected suitors, but the lovers remain oblivious of all, until one day Aeneas meets Mercury, sent down by Jove to rouse a sense of duty in the son of Venus. Suddenly Aeneas sees himself as he is; he recognizes the meaning of his oft-recurring dreams, in which Anchises always appeared to him, but departed in sadness. He is as eager to depart as he was to remain a year ago. He does not allow himself to think of how he shall break the news to Dido, but hastily supervises the plans for departure. His duty is now clear and he never wavers an instant.

"But who can deceive a lover?"¹ writes Vergil, and such a lover as Dido was. She notices her lover's divided

¹Vergil, Aeneid, IV, 396. 'Quis fallere possit amantem?'

attention and accuses him of planning to leave her. He has too many excuses to impress Dido with the sincerity of his answer. He knows he has been at fault; he acknowledges her claim upon him, tries to convince her that his duty comes first. Nowhere is the impassible gulf between their temperaments shown more clearly than in this meeting. Dido knows she has committed a wrong, but she will not acknowledge it; she refuses to give up her passion without a struggle. Aeneas, on the other hand, is perfectly clam, and, though he must have been deeply attached to Dido and must have blamed himself for the predicament in which he found himself, yet his experience has taught him self-control. He can subordinate his feelings to his duty.

Vergil shows the pathos of Dido's abandonment when he has her address Aeneas as "hospes". It is said that when Vergil was reading the poem to the emperor and his court, the poet's voice faltered when he pronounced that pathetic word. But the moods of woman are subject to change¹ and Dido soon gives her frenzy loose rein. Of what does she not accuse him in her madness? She hopes he may perish in mid-sea, and call upon her in vain; from Hades she will hear him and rejoice. Then she repents and, in a softer mood, sends her sister to intercede for her. When all has

¹Ibid, IV, 569-7. 'Varium et mutabile semper Femina.'

been said and done and she realizes that nothing can turn Aeneas from his set purpose, with the cunning of a mad woman she plans her death. The poet considerably has Aeneas set sail earlier than he expected, that he may not witness her death. When Dido discovers that he has sailed without a word of farewell, her frenzy knows no bounds. She calls down upon Aeneas and his descendants an awful curse and prays that there may be everlasting war between her people and the progeny of the faithless Aeneas.¹ She dies as she lived, a victim of her passion and her will, blind to duty. Her last words are a prayer that Aeneas may see the flames from her funeral pyre and in his way know of her death. He sees the flames and, although he suspects the cause, he cannot allow himself to grieve, and not until he meets her in Hades do we realize the full depth of his suffering. He recognizes Dido among the spirits of those who have met death because of unrequited love. All his love and sense of guilt return; he wishes a last kind word from her; he assures her that he has only yielded to the will of fate. But not even this wish is granted to him. She looks at him with fierce eyes and is moved as little by his words as he had been moved by her entreaties in Carthage. The irony of fate leaves Aeneas watching her rejoin the shade of Sychaeus, who matches her love with his own.

¹ Ibid, IV, 629. 'Pugnent ipsique nepotesque'.

Slaughter says:

From the modern point of view, insincere gallantry toward Dido would have been more readily forgiven by the modern reader than brutality, though brutality was born of the necessity of the situation. Readiness of obedience implies to the modern mind very regrettable lack of feeling and failure to appreciate the mood of Dido.¹

To the Roman mind the brutality was overlooked because it was born of duty. Dido sought to block the advance of fate; she resisted and met her doom. The desertion of Dido was a duty; Aeneas faced his duty and was saved. Both had committed a wrong. Dido did not admit her fault and brought about her own death; Aeneas faced his fault squarely; he lived and suffered for his wrong.

The poet becomes so human in his treatment of the story that the "unfortunate Dido" receives our sympathy and we are almost inclined to think the poet censures Aeneas with the modern mind, but we are reassured in the sixth book, when he shows him still remembering after a period of suffering. Thus the friendship, that began so auspiciously, ends disastrously because it was not destined to be. Aeneas hoped to bring peace and rest to his people, but the two races, despite good intentions could not mix. They remained different and with different traditions. Quoting from John Erskine, "As a private individual, he (Aeneas) owes something to Dido; but the private individual acknowledges a

¹M.S. Slaughter, "Vergil, an Interpretation", Classical Journal XII, 369.

human relation. As a leader of people, driven by their destiny, he deserts Dido. When he meets her in Hades, we feel that he as well as Dido, is a victim of fate."¹ Who will say that Dido did not take the easier route?

Then a third woman comes into the life of Aeneas. After losing the wife of his youth, whom he loved, the mother of his child, and deserting the woman who loved him and with whom he was happy enough to forget duty for a time, he again yields to duty and carries out the will of fate by marrying a woman, who does not love him and whom he does not love. The episode of Lavinia contrasts strongly with the Dido affair.

Lavinia is quiet and submissive and makes no objection, when her father offers her to the Trojan stranger. She recognizes the will of the oracle; Aeneas perhaps remembers the words of Creusa, who told him that a native bride awaited him in the new land. Surely this is the land of the prophecy and the bride is offered without any delay. He therefore accepts without questioning or investigating. He is merely a tool of fate. Lavinia, too, is an unresisting tool. She gives up her lover without a murmur. Aeneas must have felt a sense of relief in her quiet submission which contrasted strangely with the turbulence of Dido. Perhaps he felt that his future would be safe with her.

¹ J. Erskine, "Vergil The Modern Poet", Harpers Magazine, August 1930, 285.

Having accepted the heiress of the country-side, Aeneas assumes the responsibility which devolves upon him. This means a war. Her outraged lover must be dealt with, but it is a divine war that he wages, for did the oracle not say that Lavinia must be given as bride to a foreigner? Of course he wins, for he is on the winning side, and we hope they spent the rest of their lives in happiness in the city Lavinium, which Aeneas named for his bride.

We have every reason to believe that Lavinia was in love with Turnus, not wildly, passionately in love, for that was not her nature, but she blushes deeply at mention of his name and seems to return his love. As unlike characters are often attracted, perhaps she felt drawn to Turnus because of his violent nature. Although she yields to the request of her father without objection, not so Turnus. He considers Lavinia already his own; he loves her as passionately as Dido loved Aeneas; he will not give her up without a heroic struggle. But throughout the struggle we feel that he is fighting because he resents the outrage to himself as much as on account of wounded feelings because he has lost his love.

Lavinia is completely overshadowed by her stormy lover. Everything, to him, seems to favor his cause; people from all Italy respond to his call to battle---those who admire the youth for his manly beauty, those who respect his honored ancestors, those who are moved by his brave deeds.

All with Turnus swarm around the palace and insist upon war in face of opposing omens. He refuses to heed King Latinus' warning that his defiance of the gods will bring his ruin. War is declared. Reverses only embitter him. During a council, when it is suggested that he, the cause of the war, fight single-handed with Aeneas, he heeds not, still confident of victory.

~~Old Drances seems to understand Turnus. First he~~
 implores him to yield to the wishes of the king, who has a perfect right to bestow the hand of his daughter upon whom he chooses; "but," he adds, "if the dowry of a palace be to thee so dear", not, "if your love for Lavinia be so great", then he urges him to seek out his rival and fight a duel for the girl and thus save innocent people from slaughter. In his frenzy Turnus breaks the truce that the Latins had sued for and leads the men in a renewed charge against the Trojans. When the Latins are again rebuffed, he agrees to fight with Aeneas to blot out the shame of defeat and if he loses, Aeneas is to rule over the conquered and have Lavinia as his bride. Having made up his mind, he cannot be turned from his resolution although Latinus urges him to yield and depart in peace to his father's kingdom, but he boastfully says he is willing to barter death for fame.¹

Only once do we see Turnus in the presence of Lavinia.

¹Vergil, Aeneid, XII, 49 'Letumque sinas pro laude pacisci'

Amata is trying to dissuade Turnus from meeting Aeneas and shows her loyalty to him by declaring that if he meets death she will not live to see Aeneas as her son-in-law. Lavinia's cheeks are bathed in tears, while a deep blush spreads over her glowing face. As Turnus looks upon the maiden, distressed thus for his safety or at the thought of a foreign husband, he is burned with a still stronger desire to possess her, and the only way he sees to do it, is by removing his rival, so he reiterates his purpose. "Let us settle the war with our own blood; on that field let Lavinia be sought as wife."¹

When his nymph-sister removes him from battle temporarily and Amata thinks he is slain, she carries out her vow. When Turnus hears of her death, a sense of shame and guilt fills him, and he reenters the conflict, this time to meet Aeneas. When he receives the fatal blow he admits that he has earned his death and asks not for mercy for himself. But knowing Aeneas' devotion to his own father, he begs that he be spared for his father's sake, or at least that his body be sent to the aged Daunus. He abides by the terms of the agreement, relinquishes his claim upon Lavinia and with his last breath offers her in return for his life.²

Perhaps in admitting his defeat, he shows a certain sense of honor; certainly his thought of his father shows

¹Ibid, XII, 80 'Nostro dirimanus sanguine bellum
Illo quaeratur conjunx Lavinia campo'

²Ibid, XXII, 937-8 'Tua est Lavinia conjunx
Ulterius ne tende odiis'.

a softer side of his nature than we have seen before; but his willingness to give up Lavinia, for whom he was fighting, in return for his life and his apparent indifference at the thought of doing it, surely indicate that he was not worthy of her, and his constant refusal to heed and yield to the divine will prevent us from giving much sympathy to him.

"Temperantia", self-control, was an unknown quantity to him.

His passion was only increased by opposition of Latinus and the oracles. Warde Fowler says he was "one of those untamable men who enjoy lashing themselves into fury"¹ while Sellar expresses the same idea in this way: "Turnus brings doom upon himself by intemperate vehemence and self-confidence with which he asserts his personal claims."²

Latinus, the aged king of the Latins, is torn between his determination to obey the oracle, and his love for Amata, his queen. When Aeneas arrives in Italy, Latinus is worried because an oracle has told him that he must give his daughter in marriage to a foreigner. The girl has been betrothed to Turnus. Amata favors Turnus, despite the omens. While Latinus is weak and passive, Amata is strong and resourceful. When she learns that her husband has offered their daughter to the stranger, her frenzy is unbounded. She hastily thinks of a plan of action; she goes to her husband and first appeals to his pity, picturing

¹W.W. Fowler, The Death of Turnus, 41.

²W.Y. Sellar: The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age; Vergil, 402

them bereft, after the Trojan has sailed away with his stolen bride, even as Paris sailed from Greece with Helen; when this has no effect on his resolution, she tries to assure him, if he must yield to the omens, by saying that Turnus could be regarded as of foreign descent, for a remote ancestor of his had come from Greece.

When the aged king cannot be moved from his purpose, she stirs up the women who love their daughters to join her in a revolt. They unite with Turnus and surround the palace, urging the king to declare war. Here we see Latinus with some of the power of his early years. He sees his duty and not even his wife can turn him from it, "even as a cliff that stands firm midst the howling waves, when a great crash comes. In vain the crags and foaming rocks roar about and the sea-weed, dashed upon its side is whirled back."¹ His firmness is of no avail. Egged on by Amata, the mob still demands war. Without a word of reproach, he foretells their fate, shuts himself up in the palace and firmly refuses to open the gates of war, but Amata wins her point, for Juno herself comes down and unlocks the gates and brings doom to the enemies of the Trojans.

The war rages. Latinus, through a council, hopes to

¹ Vergil, Aeneid, VII, 586-590.

'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.'

put an end to the struggle; but the queen thwarts all his purposes; with a throng of mothers she worships the war goddess and prays for victory. Disregarding the will of the gods as revealed by the omens, she hopes to offset her opposition to fate by worshipping at the altar of Pallas. Latinus and Amata never seem to work in harmony. Latinus has ruled the affairs of state and probably has left the management of the family to his wife. When Latinus interferes in her realm as match-maker, she resents it, and the common love of their child is not strong enough to bring them together.

Latinus shows no resentment toward Turnus, although he has brought great disaster upon his people; he even looks upon himself as the cause of the war, in as much as he allowed it go on, moved by love for Turnus and the tears of his sorrowing wife. So when Turnus resolves to fight Aeneas single-handed, Latinus implores him not to bring dishonor upon him by betraying a kinsman to death while he was a suitor for the hand of his daughter, and begs him to pity his aged father and not deprive him of a son.

The queen loves her nephew as a son and implores him not to fight with Aeneas; she regards him as the only hope of their house and declares she will not live to see Aeneas wed to her daughter. True to her word, when she thinks Turnus slain, she hangs herself, but Turnus lives to realize that he has been the cause of her death. Selfish of

nature, resentful and rebellious against her husband, disregarding the will of the gods, she takes the cowardly way out and Aeneas is left free to carry out the will of fate with the cooperation of Latinus. What a mother-in-law he escaped!

CHAPTER III

Relations Between Brother and Sister or

Sister and Sister

In the relations between Dido and Anna we have an example of unselfish sisterly devotion on the part of Anna, and of selfishness and inconsideration on the part of Dido. Anna, the younger, has probably always considered her capable heiress sister her superior. She loves her with a sane, common-sense love and is content to be her sister's confidante when the sister is ready to confide. If she had been a little more self-assertive, she might have served as a balance wheel. But she is devoid of imagination, and has no power to see the result of her advice. Glover says that Anna had probably summed up the situation long before Dido began, "Anna, fatebor enim".¹ Her sister wants something within her grasp, so why should she not reach out and take it? She has found no one before who attracted her; why should she not yield to her love and have a husband and children? Has she not grieved for her husband long enough? This union would protect them from hostile neighbors and her threatening brother. Anna is rather clever in this argument. She becomes almost eloquent and very convincing

¹T.R. Glover, Vergil, 187.

for she is advising what her "sister dearer than life"¹ really wants to do.

At the suggestion of Anna, they go to propitiate the gods who preside over the foundation of cities, which Dido is neglecting, and the goddess of marriage, although Dido has called down upon herself the curse of Heaven if she should break the vow which she has made to be true to Sychaeus.

The love affair progresses, perhaps with Anna as a go-between, carrying to Dido messages of Aeneas' love. When Aeneas has refused to give up his plans for departure at Dido's earnest entreaty, the latter sends for her sister and asks her to intercede with Aeneas. She knows where and when to find him and he has always listened to her.² Anna does as her sister wishes. And when Dido adds that she will repay his favor with full interest by her death, the unimaginative Anna suspects nothing.

After Anna returns from her fruitless mission Dido forms an ingenious plan to end it all. Thinking only of herself and never of her trusting sister, she summons Anna and bids her prepare a funeral pyre. Again the matter-of-fact Anna suspects nothing. She remembers how Dido raved

¹Vergil, Aeneid, IV, 31. 'O luce magis dilecta sorori.'

²Ibid. 421-22. 'Solam nam perfidus ille
te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;
sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras'.

at the death of Sychaeus and it never occurred to her that her sister would take the departure of her lover any more seriously than the death of her husband. When Anna realizes that she has been made the instrument of her sister's death, her only reproach is that Dido had not confided in her so that she might have shared the same fate. Then forgetful of herself to the last, she turns from her own grief and sorrow, bathes her sister's wounds and performs the last rites.

Edna Wiegland characterizes Anna as "pathetically unselfish in her love for her sister and capable of any sacrifice that may add to Dido's happiness"¹. She further adds, "Dido uses her as a means for carrying out her plans, first to gratify her passion for Aeneas, then to accomplish her own death. We feel that Anna has been cheated, but she herself seems content, if only she may serve Dido."

Juturna is as keenly attached to her brother, Turnus, as Anna to Dido, but hers is not a passive, submissive devotion. She does the planning and acting. The first time we see her, she is warning Turnus to go to the aid of his friend, Lausus, when his life is endangered by Pallas. Next we see her bathed in tears and beating her breast when Juno reveals to her that Turnus is to meet Aeneas. But she does not remain inactive long. Assuming the form of a

¹Edna Wiegland, "Impressions of the Aeneid", Classical Weekly, XXIII, No. 22, Apr. 14, 1930, 170.

Rutulian noble, she stirs the hearts of Rutulians, already moved to pity by the apparent fate of Turnus. She calls for a sign and when the bird of Jove appears, scattering the water fowl, and snatches a swan, the Rutulians think the prayer is answered. The water fowl give flight and the eagle is forced to drop his booty as he flies upward. Encouraged by the omen, the Rutulians break the compact and renew battle. A stray arrow wounds Aeneas and while he is momentarily removed from the conflict, Turnus slays on all sides. As the trembling earth reveals the return of Aeneas, Juturna recognizes the sound and flees, but when Aeneas demands Turnus, she flings forth Turnus' charioteer and takes his place in the car. Skillfully she guides the chariot, now this way, now that, displaying her triumphant brother, but not suffering him to fight with Aeneas. Whenever the Trojans approach, she wheels the car out of danger. When Aeneas grows tired of the slaughter and sees that he is not to meet Turnus, he makes a sudden attack on the city itself. Then Turnus, on the outmost edge of the conflict hears the clamor and wishes to go to the aid of the city. But his sister charioteer urges him to let others guard their homes. Then Turnus admits that he recognized his sister even when she entered the conflict and caused the Rutulians to break the solemn pact. As he realizes that even she cannot help him, and that the end is near, he wishes to die worthy of his sires; he is concerned for his reputation and does not wish to be considered disloyal. When he learns of Amata's

death, which he might have prevented, he resolves to meet Aeneas and, leaping from his chariot, leaves his sorrowing sister, telling her that she shall no longer see him shamed.

But once more Juturna tries to aid him. When Turnus is in desperate straits without his sword, and no one dares restore it to him, she assumes the form of Metiscus, the charioteer, and restores it. Not until she hears the whirring wings of the bird of ill-omen, which Jove sends down from Heaven, does she acknowledge the fruitlessness of her task. Beating her breast with her hands and marring her face with her nails, she bemoans her immortality, which prevents her from meeting death with her brother and passing with him to the realm of the shades.¹ This is as one-sided a tale of affection as that of Dido and Anna, for Juturna would sacrifice all, even her immortality for her brother, while he accepts all her aid merely as a matter of course.

¹Vergil, Aeneid XII., 882-3. 'Quicquam mihi dulce meorum te sine, frater, erit?'

CHAPTER IV

Relations Between Father and Child

Of all Vergil's characters no pair has attracted more attention than Aeneas and Anchises. There is no more beautiful relation in literature than that of Aeneas and his old father. Doubtless the poet had in mind the dependency of his own father, to whom he was so deeply attached. He may not have realized that he was picturing himself so clearly in recounting the deeds of the "pius" Aeneas--- Aeneas with a heart overflowing with filial devotion. Vergil's father was a common laborer, who came to be respected and loved by the daughter of his employer; Aeneas' father was sought and loved by the goddess of Love herself. We know very little about Vergil's early relations with his father; Aeneas is a man, has a family of his own, and has been fighting ten years when he is introduced in the story.

When Aeneas witnesses the death of Priam, the possible fate of his own father strikes him forcibly. He hastens to his father's home with the intention of taking Anchises to a place of safety, even as Vergil took his father to the villa of Siro. But Anchises is old, easily discouraged, and has no desire to survive the fall of Troy. He refuses to budge; he is too old to start life anew; flight is for the young. Tears and pleadings of the son are of no avail. Aeneas refuses to abandon his father to save himself and is about to rush forth into battle, when a divine light

appears around the head of Ascanius, and Anchises, recognizing the sign of the gods, wavers; he calls for a further omen, and when a crash of thunder is heard, he is eager to follow his son. How tenderly Aeneas lifts him to his shoulders and carries him to a place of safety! How nervous Aeneas is, when ever he hears a sound, fearing alike for his companion and his burden! And when his father, from his vantage point on the son's shoulders, peers into the darkness and distinguishes glittering armor, how anxious he is for his son to hasten out of danger! When they reach the place of rendezvous, Creusa, whom Aeneas had trusted to find her way alone is found to be missing. He leaves his father in the care of his companions and goes back to find her. When he returns after a fruitless search, he takes up his aged burden again and seeks a new home as the morning star arises.

Anchises, as the oldest, is the nominal head of the expedition. It is he who tells them when to set sail. His experience and wisdom are invaluable. After Aeneas hears the voice of Polydorus bidding him flee from the accursed land of Thrace, he reports the affair to Anchises for interpretation. Never once does Aeneas doubt the wisdom of his father's advice. It is Anchises who interprets the prophecy of Delos, "Seek your ancient mother."¹

¹ Ibid. III, 96. 'Antiquam exquirite matrem.'

When Crete proves to be a land of pestilence and the Penates tell them to go to Hesperia, Anchises remembers the prophesies of Cassandra and another story of the origin of the Trojans. Again, it is Anchises who bids them make preparations to sail from the land of Helenus and Andromache, and later to row vigorously to avoid Scylla and Charybdis. It is Anchises who offers the hospitality of his race to Achaemenides. They reach the western coast of Sicily where Anchises dies and Vergil expresses the sorrow of Aeneas in these words:

"Here, I, alas, who have been driven by so many ocean storms, lose my father, solace of every care and misfortune; here, best of fathers, rescued alas from such dangers in vain, you desert me in my weariness. This is my last trial, this the goal of my long journey."¹

What pathos in the words, "solace of every care and misfortune"! What a tribute in "best of fathers"! What what lack of inspiration must he, "weary" continue the journey! What little pleasure will he experience in founding a city in which his father will have no part!

The influence of a great love is felt even after death. So Anchises continues to look out for his son and his race. He appears in dreams to arouse Aeneas from his lethargy in

¹ Vergil, *Ibid*, III. 708-711, and 714.

'Hic pelagi tot tempestatibus actus
 heu! genitorem, omnis curae casusque levamen,
 amitto Anchisen; hic me, pater optime, fessum
 deseris, heu tantis nequiquam erepte periculis!...
 Hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum.'

Carthage. With his mind full of his father, Aeneas stops at Crete and holds funeral games on the first anniversary of his father's death. When the women fire the ships and Aeneas is in doubt as to his procedure, the spirit of Anchises appears and soothes his troubled mind, saying that the end of his wanderings is near and inviting him to pay him a visit in Hades. Here a change takes place in Aeneas. He becomes the head of his family and his people, and discharges his duties with cheerfulness and seriousness, as his father had done before him. His "pietas" takes definite and practical form and he never again wavers.

With what joy they meet in the lower world! The speech of Anchises reveals with what tenderness and care he has watched over his son since his death and how he feared for him while he was delaying in Carthage, forgetful of his duty. How proudly Anchises points out to his son the spirits who are destined to be his descendants!

When drawn into war and forced to kill, Aeneas often thinks of his father, especially when he is about to deprive a lad's father of his son. When he slays Lausus, he thinks what Anchises would have suffered if he had been slain. Pity for Evander is uppermost in his mind when Pallas is in danger.

This same tender relation is seen between Aeneas and Ascanius. Almost simultaneous with Aeneas' fear for his father, after he has seen Priam slain, is the fear for his child. As they are setting out Iulus slips his hand

confidingly in his father's and keeps pace as best he can with his short legs.¹ With what care Aeneas must have cherished his son after the death of his father! When Dido invites him to the banquet, he sends for Ascanius for "all the love of the father is centered in Ascanius".² How proud he must have been when the boy captivated the heart of Dido! He seems to resign the boy to her keeping and allows himself to drift along. It is the sense of wrong done to the child that finally forces him to desert Dido and leave Carthage. He might forget his own destiny, but he must not deny his son the great future intended for him.

A year later Ascanius is leader of one of the squadrons in the Ludus Trojae and how happy Aeneas seems to be as his son approaches on a white charger. Ascanius is a happy and undemonstrative child, probably proud of his father, but feeling that there is no occasion to show it until they arrive in Italy. When Nisus and Euryalus are about to set out on their perilous undertaking, Ascanius shows his faith in his father's power to save them. He feels that all danger will be dispelled if his father be brought back. He generously offers all he possesses if

¹ Ibid, II, 724. 'Sequitur patrem non passibus aequis'.

² Ibid, I, 646. 'Omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis'.

they can only bring him back to safety. He expresses absolute confidence when he says, "There can be no gloom if he has been brought back".¹ As Nisus and Euryalus depart, Ascanius with a man's mind and a spirit beyond his years, gives many messages for his father.

Aeneas always has his son uppermost in his thoughts. At the death of Pallas, the thought occurs to him that Ascanius has lost a valiant defender. When he is wounded and retires from battle, Ascanius goes with him. When the bleeding is staunched and Aeneas puts on his armor to return to battle, he tenderly embraces Ascanius and leaves him with these words of warning;

Learn from me, my child, valour and true toil;
from others, fortune. My right hand will now
keep you safe in war and lead you to great re-
wards. Remember, when you have grown to man-
hood; and when you look among your ancestors
for patterns, let Aeneas, your father, and
Hector, your uncle, stir your soul."²

What an inspiration these words would have been, if Aeneas had not returned from the conflict!

¹ Ibid, IX. 262. 'Nihil illo triste recepto!

² Ibid, XII. 435-440.

'Disce, puer virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
fortunam ex aliis. Nunc te mea dextera bello
defensum dabit et magna inter praemia ducet;
tu facito, mox cum matura adoleverit aetas,
sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector.'

This tender filial relation is again strongly noticeable in Evander and Pallas. Evander's days of service are past and he is looking to his death with resignation; his interest and affection are centered in his beautiful son, destined to die so young. Pallas has assumed a place in the management of the affairs of state, for when he is introduced, he is conducting sacrifices. Evander has given him his treasures as keepsakes--the golden bits that Anchises had given to him when he was young.

Although there must have been much difference in their ages, Pallas is the constant companion of his father. There seems to be a spirit of comradeship in spite of his difference. As the Arcadians return from the sacrifice, Pallas is at the side of the aged king as they escort Aeneas to their humble dwelling. Early the next morning Pallas and the Evander make their way to the lodging of their guest. During the conference Evander invites Aeneas to lead the forces of the Arcadians against the Latins. He would gladly offer his son for such a cause, but a soothsayer has forbidden victory unless the allied troops be led by a foreigner. But he promises his only son, "his hope and comfort"¹ to accompany him on the expedition. He wishes his son to

¹ Ibid. VIII. 514. 'Spes et solacia nostri'.

learn warfare from Aeneas and feels that Pallas will be inspired to great deeds under such a leader.

When the troops are about to set forth, Evander bids a tender farewell to his son, a farewell that seems to have a presentiment of approaching ill. If the years of his youth could only return to him, then he would not have to be torn from the sweet embrace of his son! He prays to the gods, Jupiter especially, to lend a willing ear to a father's prayer and pity him in his old age. If it be the will of Jupiter to return Pallas safe, then he feels that he will be able to endure any trial or misfortune. But if Fate has in store for him some dreadful misfortune, he begs that she may cut the thread of life, while he is in doubt about the outcome and while he is still holding his son in his arms. "May no heavier things wound my ears."¹ As he utters these words, he faints and his servants carry him within the palace.

With the example of such a father before him, Pallas goes to war. On one occasion when he sees the Arcadians about to flee, he restrains them by reminding them that they are fighting for their king and his father. When he meets Turnus, he recognizes that he will have need of greater strength than his own. He recalls how Evander had welcomed

¹ Ibid. VIII. 582-3. 'Gravior neu nuntius auris vulneret.'

Hercules and prays to him to give victory to his host's son. But alas! the fates cannot be turned. Pallas dies as his father would have had him die, if die he must. Even Aeneas, in his lament, knows that Evander will be comforted to know how his son met death.

Evander's grief is deep, pathetic and very human. When the body is returned to Arcadia on its shield, he casts himself on the bier, weeping and moaning. When his first grief is spent and he is able to speak, he complains that Pallas did not keep his promise to exercise care. But he does not blame him, for he knows his **carelessness was a** natural result of excitement attending his first victory. He thinks how useless his prayers were; then how fortunate is his deceased wife, who is spared this grief, which he must bear alone. He wishes that he had taken arms and fallen instead of Pallas. But his great love and his deep sorrow do not make him unreasonable and unfair. He does not blame the Trojans; he does not reproach Aeneas, but deems it an honor that his son died leading the Trojans into Latium and after he had slain so many of the enemy. He consoles himself with the thought that Pallas would have been victorious if he had only had the years and experience of Turnus. Then, as it so well befits his noble character, he puts his own sorrow aside, just as Anna did, and thinks of the Trojans and the work that must be done. He must not detain these men who have come to pay funeral honors to his

son; Aeneas must continue and avenge the death of Pallas. Evander looks forward to living until this time that he may bear these tidings to his son when he meets him in Hades.

The death of Pallas is one of the non-understandable things of life. It just had to be. But the beautiful relation between father and son cannot be marred even in death. Pallas was sacrificed, although he did his duty and offered no offense to the gods. Evander exhibits all degrees of human suffering, but in the end is superior to his grief. "Even amid the deepest movement of feeling and passion", says Sellar, "there is an element of self-command."¹

Not only Trojans felt this beautiful filial devotion, as exemplified in Aeneas and Anchises, and Aeneas and Ascanius, and the Arcadians, as exemplified by Evander and Pallas, but among the native tribes of Italy we see the same affection. Even Mezentius, the barbarian, who violated all rules of right, the despiser of gods, who had so little respect for divine laws that he committed such atrocities that he was forced to flee from his own land, shows deep affection for his son Lausus. In each of the three pairs we have mentioned showing marked devotion the two men were of similar characters---both noble and recognizing the laws of

¹W.Y. Sellar, Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Vergil, 384.

righteousness. But in the case of Mezentius and Lausus, we are struck with the contrast in their natures. Lausus is bright and sunny and unmatched in beauty--an ideal nature to contrast with his gloomy father. The poet depicts Lausus as equal to Pallas in manliness and bravery--and both destined to die so young.

After Mezentius, with brutal strength and boldness, had dealt death to many, he is wounded by a spear of Aeneas, who sees his chance, draws his sword and rushes upon his foe. Lausus, seeing his father in danger, groans deeply and tears spring to his eyes. He rushes forth and wards off the blow Aeneas is about to deal and makes it possible for his father to retreat, protected by his shield. Lausus rushes madly on, meting out death on all sides. He heeds not the warning of Aeneas, who tells him that his love is betraying him to rashness. Aeneas' sword pierces the lad, and as the victor looks upon the dying youth, he is moved by the filial love that prompted him to save his father and resulted in his own death.

Meanwhile Mezentius, leaning against a tree-trunk to rest, is worried about Lausus. He sends messengers to recall him from battle. When he hears from a distance the wail of the mourners, who are returning with the dead body, he divines the truth. He defiles his white hairs with dust, he clasps the lifeless body in his arms. He reproaches

himself that he allowed Lausus to take his place in battle. He sees his past life laid bare; he recognizes his guilt and refuses to live at the expense of his son's life. He rushes into battle on his faithful charger to meet Aeneas, to whom he cries, "Why seek to frighten me, fierce foe, now that my son is taken? This was the one way by which you could destroy me. We shrink not from death, nor do we heed any one of the gods."¹ When he has received the fatal blow, he asks with his last breath that he may not be separated from his son in death, but that they may be buried in the same tomb.

Mezentius' affection for his son seems to be the only vulnerable spot in his otherwise hard nature. To the very end he defies the gods; he dies as he has lived. Lausus returns his father's affection by sacrificing his own life. The impious Mezentius is overcome by the pious Aeneas. The love of Mezentius embraces only his son; that of Aeneas, the gods as well. Mezentius' love is that of a wild animal; Aeneas' love is that of a civilized human being. We pity Mezentius when he is overcome by grief and when he reproaches himself for the havoc he has wrought. But his self-condemnation does not go deep enough, and he yields

¹Vergil, Aeneid, X 878-9.

'Quid me erepto, saevissime, nato,
terres? Haec via sola, qua peredere posses.
Nec mortem horremus nec divum parcimus ulli.'

daughter's welfare, that he incurs the displeasure of his wife. Lavinia is the dutiful-daughter type. She gives up the man of her choice and accedes to her father's plan for a foreign husband without a murmur.

Camilla's father shows an almost womanly tenderness toward his infant daughter. When Metabus is driven from his kingdom, he carries Camilla on his breast through the woods. He comes to a mountain stream, swollen by rains, and wishes to swim it, but, as Aeneas feared for his burden when escaping from Troy, so Metabus fears for his precious burden.¹ He thinks quickly and resolves upon a daring plan. He binds the child to his spear with cork bark, vows her to Diana, goddess of the woodland, draws back his arm and hurls the spear with force. Next he springs into the water and swims to the opposite bank, where he recovers the spear and his daughter, unharmed by her aerial flight.

A wild mare gives nourishment to the motherless child, and as soon as she is able to walk, Metabus makes her a little bow and quiver and gives her a lance that she can wield with her baby hands. She becomes a skilled marks-woman through the careful training of a devoted father. She is such a dutiful daughter that many women desire her

¹ Ibid. XI. 550. 'Caroque oneri timet.'

for a daughter-in-law. She espouses the wrong cause and cannot be saved, but we know that Diana is to bear the hapless maiden to her devoted father and her native land.

CHAPTER V

Relations Between Mother and Child

Mothers, as well as fathers, are devoted to their children and inspire them with a deep love in return. Creusa's first thought, when Aeneas is about to leave his family and rush back into battle, is for her son. When she appears as a spirit to Aeneas, her last words are, "Preserve the common love of our son."¹ Although Ascanius must have been very young at this time, he had tender memories of his mother. When Euryalus entrusts his mother to Ascanius, before he starts on his hazardous undertaking, Ascanius assures him that she will be well cared for, saying "only the name 'Creusa' will be lacking."²

In Latium we find a mother of a different type, for she is not unselfish in her love. Amata loves Lavinia because she is her daughter; she does not love her for her own sake. When she thinks she is about to lose her child, her first thought is how much she, herself, will suffer, not of what Lavinia will suffer if she is taken to a foreign land, or deserted by a faithless husband. She seems

¹ Ibid., II. 789. 'Jamque vale et nati serva communis amorem'.

² Ibid. IX. 297-8. 'Nomenque Creusae solum defuerit.'

to think more of being thwarted in her plans than of losing her daughter. Lavinia is her father's child; she seems rather indifferent to her mother. The poet does not introduce her after her mother's suicide. A selfish love, such as Amata's could not inspire a deep affection.

In decided contrast we have the beautiful devotion of Euryalus and his mother. The latter, guided by love, left Troy to share all hardships with her son. When a new city was founded in Sicily for those who were weary of wandering and wished to remain, this mother continued with her son to Italy. Euryalus shows his appreciation of her loyalty when he is about to set forth on his dangerous task. He hides his purpose from her, for he says he could not bear to bid her good-bye. But he implores Ascanius to provide for her, in case he does not return, and is happy and relieved at Ascanius' acquiescence. The mother all unsuspecting, is spinning when the fateful message of Euryalus' death reaches her. "Then at once warmth left her hapless frame; the shuttle is dashed from her hands, and the thread unwound."¹ She wails aloud that she has lost the solace of her age. Her grief is pathetic when she says he did not even bid her farewell. She has been working, making him a new toga, and now she laments that she cannot have even

¹ Ibid. IX. 475-6.

'At subitus miserae calor ossa reliquit,
excussi manibus radii revolutaque pensa.'

the dead body to enwrap in this robe. She wishes the enemy could hurl weapons upon her; then she prays to Jove to strike her dead. But it never occurs to her to take her fate in her own hands, as Amata did, and end it all, though such an act would have been far more excusable on her part. She had lost her son; Amata was merely to give her daughter to a son-in-law not of her own choosing. Edna Wiegland classes her with Anna, Creusa and Hecuba as a woman who lives solely for another's happiness.¹

The goddess Venus watches Aeneas with all the love of a mortal mother. It is she who restrains him from killing Helen, when he comes upon her in Priam's palace that fatal night in Troy. Aeneas has just made himself believe that it would be a worthy, if not an honorable, act to slay Helen, who has caused so much woe, when Venus appears and withdraws his attention from Helen by reminding him of his own family who would now be in danger, were it not for the fostering care of Venus. She assures him that she, although invisible, will guide him safely to his father's home.

Next we see her coming to his aid in Africa, where he has landed on an unknown shore. Fearing that Jove has forgotten the destiny of her race, she reminds him of the hardships Aeneas has endured and is still enduring. Having

¹Edna Wiegland, "Impressions of the Aeneid", Classical Weekly, XXIII, No. 22, Apr. 14, 1930, 170.

been assured that the fates are unmovable, she takes the form of a huntress and appears to Aeneas in the woods. He does not recognize his mother, although he suspects the divinity of the maiden. But when she tells him of the safe arrival of the ships he thought lost, she reveals herself as his goddess mother, and vanishes instantly, as Aeneas reproaches her for not making her identity known at first.

She wraps him in a mist and guides him to Dido's palace.

Venus makes her way back to Olympus, after seeing Aeneas safely on his way, and quickly makes another plan to ensure his safety in Carthage. She summons her son, Cupid, and unfolds the plot. Cupid speeds to Earth, impersonates Ascanius, and returns Dido's caresses with the fire of love. With Dido in love, there is no doubt that she will invite him to remain.

Juno sees through the plot of Venus and makes a counter plan. Now that Dido is in love with Aeneas, she, the goddess of marriage will solemnize their union and Aeneas will be detained indefinitely. Venus concurs, for she knows the fates cannot be turned and that ultimately he must reach Italy. She is willing for him to enjoy himself in the meantime and take all the gods offer. In her great love for him she has no thought of poor Dido, and thoughtlessly or ruthlessly plans her destruction.

After Aeneas has reached Italy and the native tribes

are arming themselves against him, Venus again feels that she can be of assistance to him. She uses her arts on Vulcan, who responds by making a marvellous set of armor. When it is finished, she presents herself to her son in her true form and shows him her gift. He embraces her as a dutiful son, but is more interested in the armor. Later when Aeneas is wounded, Venus is "smitten by her son's cruel pain"¹ and, plucking a dittany stalk from Cretan Ida, and veiling herself in a mist, she dips the herb, which has healing powers, in the water of the river, with which Iapyx is bathing Aeneas' wound.

Once more when Turnus, guided by his sister, is avoiding Aeneas, it is Venus who inspires her son with the idea of making a sudden attack on the city with the hope of drawing Turnus into combat. The plan succeeds, Turnus is vanquished, and Venus is responsible for the victory. Although we do not see Venus and Aeneas together often, her devotion is seen in the many ways in which she helped him. Aeneas treats her as a mortal mother, even to the extent of reproaching her when she deceives him.

¹ Vergil, Aeneid, XII. 411. 'Indigno nati concussa dolore'.

CHAPTER VI

Relations Between Friends

Vergil, whose own life was enriched by beautiful friendships, has given us a hero who inspired the sincere admiration of his followers and the deep and lasting affection of his friends. A "fidus Achates" to every one is a faithful, devoted companion. The term "faithful" fits him perfectly. He is the kind of a companion, who always seems to be in the proper place at the proper time, and knows what to do and when to do it. He never gives his advice unasked, but he is in the confidence of his friend.

When the Trojans are cast on the African shore, he seeks out flint and steel to make a fire to warm his cold and wet comrades. Then he goes hunting with Aeneas, carrying his bow and arrows. Next they start out on a tour of exploration in the new land. He shares the invisibility in which Venus enfolds Aeneas, and enters the city with him. He shares his surprise at the appearance of Dido, and his joy and fear¹ at the appearance of Ilioneus and the other Trojans, whom they believed lost in

¹Ibid, I. 513-14.

'Obstipuit simul ipse, simul percussus Achates
laetitiaque metuque'.

the storm. While still wrapped in the mist, he comforts Aeneas, by recalling the prophecy of Venus in regard to the safe return of the ships. When the mist disappears and they are received by Dido, Achates is entrusted with the duty of bringing Ascanius to the palace. Upon landing in Italy, Achates goes out and finds the Sibyl, brings her to Aeneas and is present while she tells him how he may reach Hades. He accompanies Aeneas in his search for the golden bough. At the death of Misenus, Achates shares his master's grief. When Achates goes to meet Evander, Achates goes too. He is the companion of Aeneas during the conflict and supplies him with fresh weapons. When Aeneas is wounded, it is Achates who leads him back to camp.

The name "Achates" occurs twenty-one times, and seven of those times it is qualified by the adjective "fidus", faithful. He deserves the epithet, for he shares all his master's thoughts and plans, although he is nearly always silent. He speaks only twice, once when he and Aeneas are wrapped in the mist, and the other when the Trojans first sight the Italian coast and he shouts "Italy".

Palinurus was Aeneas' pilot and the comradeship between them is representative of other friendships between Aeneas and his men. When Palinurus feels the storm rising off the coast of Sicily and realizes that he cannot reach Italy in such a sea, he confides in Aeneas, who has already sensed how powerless the ship is. Later, when the god of sleep

comes down and tries to entice him to rest while he, Sleep, takes the helm, Palinurus indignantly refuses to entrust Aeneas to the treacherous breezes.¹ This sense of respect, loyalty and love is shared by all his men. But the god of Sleep waves a bough, steeped in Lethean waters, above the pilot's head and Palinurus relaxes in sleep. Then the god flings him headlong into the waters. Soon Aeneas, feeling that the boat is drifting aimlessly, discovers the loss of his pilot.

Aeneas is stunned by this new calamity, groans deeply but, although he thinks Palinurus went to sleep and fell overboard, he never thinks of blaming him. This is just another misfortune he has to endure. When he meets Palinurus later in Hades among the unburied, he eagerly listens to his story. Palinurus swears that his only fear, when he fell from the boat and tore away the helm with him, was that Aeneas might be shipwrecked. Even when going to his death, he unselfishly thought of his master's safety.

Aeneas' hardships during his seven years of wanderings are lightened by two pleasant meetings. At Buthrotum

¹ Ibid, V, 849-851.

'Mene huic confidere monstro?
Aenean credam quid enim fallacibus auris,
et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?'

he renews acquaintance with Helenus, a prince of Troy, by whom he is hospitably received. Probably they had fought side by side in Troy, so now the meeting is a source of joy to both. Helenus cannot do enough for him. After entertaining him and telling his fortune, for he is a soothsayer, he loads him with gifts and bids him godspeed on his way.

Again, in Sicily Aeneas finds a king of Trojan lineage. Acestes proves a friend in need, for Aeneas' larder is in need of replenishing and Acestes is a generous host. After the sojourn in Africa, and when the Trojans are sailing to Italy, a storm drives them to Drepanum for safety. Acestes receives them joyfully, and when Aeneas on the next day announces funeral games for Anchises, Acestes adds to the prizes and acts as sponsor. At the conclusion of the games, the Trojan women, who wish to remain in Sicily, set fire to the ships. Aeneas and Acestes take council and decide that those who wish to remain, may do so. Acestes gives land and they lay out the new city. Again they part, Aeneas commending his countrymen to his gracious host.

Even after reaching Italy, Aeneas is fortunate in finding another friend in time of need. When the Latin tribes are mustering against him, and he knows not which way to turn, the god of the Tiber appears to him in a dream and tells him to ally himself with the Arcadians, who are already at war with the Latins. He sails up the

Tiber and finds these people in the middle of a grove holding a religious festival. Upon seeing the ships, Pallas, the prince, advances to find out who these bold strangers are. Upon learning their nationality and mission, he extends his hand in sincere welcome and invites them to an audience with the king.

Three things serve to cement the friendship: descent from a common ancestor, Mercury; a common enemy, the Latins; and Evander's recollection of meeting Anchises. Anchises had given the admiring youth a bow and arrow, a scarf, interwoven with threads of gold, and a pair of gold bits, that Pallas, his son, now proudly possesses. Thus Evander receives him as an old friend, and invites the Trojans to join in the solemn festival. Food and drink are served the hungry men. When the rites are completed at sunset, they walk back to the palace, Aeneas with Pallas and Evander, who points out his possessions. They reach the palace and Evander himself leads his guest beneath the roof of his humble dwelling and places him on a couch of leaves, covered with a lion's skin.

Early the next morning they come together for a conference, the king accompanied by his son, and Aeneas, by the faithful Achates. Evander has a strange tale of the depredations of a cruel neighbor, who has just been banished by his own people and has taken refuge with the Latins.

These people are looking for a new leader and an oracle has told them that he must be of foreign birth. Evander says that he himself is too old, and that his son, whom he would gladly offer, is disqualified, for he was born of a Sabine mother. A peal of thunder is heard, and arms are seen in a flashing sky. Aeneas recognizes the sign from his mother and declares he has been called to lead the allied forces.

Preparations are hastily made and Evander entrusts his son to Aeneas, that he may learn from him the art of war. Tenderly and solemnly the farewells are said and the army departs. Pallas proves an apt pupil and shows himself everywhere as a menace to the enemy. But he meets Turnus, the bravest and strongest of the foe, and his youthful inexperience is no match for the skill of Turnus. Pallas prays to Hercules for strength; Hercules hears, but groans, as he knows how fruitless is the task, for Jupiter says: "Each has his day appointed; short and irretrievable is the span of life to all; but to lengthen deeds that is valour's task."¹

The struggle is brief; the exulting Turnus appropriates the belt of Pallas, but allows the body to be returned to Arcadia. Aeneas is maddened with grief and anger, when he thinks how he is repaying the hospitality

¹ Ibid. X, 467-9.

'Stat sua cuique dies, breve et inreparabile tempus omnibus est vitae; sed famam extendere factis,----- hoc virtutis opus.'

of Evander. We scarcely recognize the gentle Aeneas. We are shocked by his order that four prisoners of war shall be sacrificed over Pallas' funeral pyre. This is his one lapse into barbarism and it is due to his great love for Pallas and Evander. His lamentation over the body as it is about to be sent back to Evander is pathetic. He recalls the promises he made Evander when setting out, he pictures the aged king offering vain sacrifices, and his sorrow, when he learns the sad truth. Yet he is comforted by the fact that Pallas died fighting heroically, just as Evander would wish.

He brings forth a purple and gold robe, which he brought from Carthage, and with his own hands he sadly drapes it around the lifeless body. He sends with the funeral train the spoils which Pallas had taken from the enemy. Over the body of his youthful friend he pronounces these last words: "Hail, thou, forevermore, noblest Pallas, and forevermore farewell."¹

Later when Turnus is overcome by Aeneas and begs for his life, Aeneas catches sight of Pallas' belt, which Turnus is wearing--"that memorial of cruel grief"² and

¹ Ibid, XI. 97-98. 'Salve aeternum mihi, maxime Pallas aeternumque vale.'

² Ibid, XII. 94-95. 'Saevi monumenta doloris'.

his natural gentleness is turned to brutal hatred and remembering Pallas, he slays his enemy and avenges the death of his friend, as he says: "Art thou, then clad in my loved one's spoils, to be snatched hence from my hands? 'Tis Pallas, Pallas, who with this stroke sacrifices thee, and takes atonement of thy guilty blood."¹

Fowler says that in killing Turnus Aeneas is moved partly by revenge for a cruel and ungenerous deed, partly by indignation at the breach of an ancient rule of honorable warfare, but above all by the memory of the sacred relation in which he had stood to Pallas and Evander, the beautiful relation of hospitium, love for Pallas, entrusted to his care, and his own feeling as son and father. Thus all that was best in the pure and wholesome tradition of family life and social relationship is placed at the end in contrast with the wantonness of individual triumph. "To spare Turnus would have been the betrayal of the mission of Aeneas in Italy."²

The host and guest relation is stronger than any other except that of father and son. We see it in the meeting of Helenus and Aeneas, and Aeneas and Acestes, but most strongly in the friendship of Aeneas and Evander and Pallas.

¹ Ibid. XII, 947-49. 'Tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum, eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'

² W. W. Fowler, Death of Turnus, 156.

What made the death of Pallas so painful to Aeneas was not only the fact that Evander would lose a son and that he could not return the trust with which Evander had charged him, but also the fact that the bond of hospitality had been broken, for Evander and Pallas had been the first of all Italy to welcome him in their home.

Slaughter says:

The farewell of Aeneas to Pallas is hardly paralleled in ancient literature for the deep tone of human sympathy in its expression of pity for the fallen youth and sorrow for the aged and bereaved father, who even while his boy lies dead is offering prayers for his safety and loading altars with gifts, deceived by an empty hope.¹

There seems to have been real friendship between Amata and Turnus. She admires and respects him, she wishes him for a son-in-law. Boissier quotes from Voltaire when he says she loves him "comme son fils".² In her blindness she even tries to make Latinus believe that Turnus could qualify as a foreigner and fulfill the requirements of the oracle. She rushes Turnus into war and when he decides to meet Aeneas in a single handed combat, she clings to him and tearfully begs him not to risk his life, for he is the only hope of her house and

¹ M.S. Slaughter, Roman Portraits, 56.

² Gaston Boissier, La Religion Romaine D'Auguste Aux Antonines. 238.

the comfort of her old age. She declares she will not live if he is slain. He pities her grief and addresses her as mother, but confidence in his own strength makes him disregard her prayers. She keeps her word and when she thinks he has been slain, she kills herself. Turnus is overcome with remorse when he learns of her death, for he thinks he might have prevented it.

Camilla, the warriorress, has a host of friends among her followers, but Acca, a maiden of her own age, is the most beloved. When Camilla is breathing her last, she addresses Acca as a sister and bids her carry her last message to Turnus.

The most beautiful of the friendships of minor characters is that of Nisus and Euryalus. During the funeral games that Aeneas holds in Sicily, Nisus and Euryalus are contestants in the foot race. Euryalus, "famed for beauty and blooming youth, and Nisus, famed for his love for Euryalus".¹ Nisus takes the lead; he is followed by Salius at some distance, while Euryalus is third. The unlucky Nisus slips in the sacrificial blood on the track and falls. He sees Salius pressing close to him; if he cannot win himself,

¹ Vergil, Aeneid, V, 295-6.

'Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa,
Nisus amore pio pueri.'

Euryalus shall, fair or foul; he trips Salius and Euryalus, darts ahead and wins the race, We cannot admire the trick, but we recognize the love that prompted the action. Prescott says that Nisus, "in affectionate zeal, forgets how dubious his maneuver is from the sportsman's standpoint".¹

The two appear in the role of heroes after the arrival in Italy. Aeneas is absent and he should be summoned. The enemy surround the town. One night while Nisus and Euryalus are on guard, Nisus unfolds a daring plan. The enemy are asleep, overcome by wine; everything is quiet. He will make his way through the lines of the enemy and carry a message to Aeneas. Euryalus, the younger is thrilled with the plan and wishes to share the danger with his friend. Nisus has thought of him as a companion, but he reminds him that they may not return, and it is best for Euryalus to live and perform the last rites for him, and especially he bids him think of his mother, who has braved so much for him. But Euryalus is carried away by the spirit of adventure and his love for his mother is overshadowed by his desire to share with Nisus the dangers of the enterprise.

They present their plan to the leaders and it meets with favor. They set forth. Nisus clears the way by killing sleeping guards; Euryalus also does his share of

¹H.W. Prescott, The Development of Vergil's Art. 217.

killing; he is intoxicated by his success; he delays to put on the helmet of a slain leader, in spite of the warning of Nisus to hasten. Now they have reached the edge of the camp, and as they are turning into a by-path reinforcements arrive for the enemy, and the leader is guided to the youths by the light flashing from the stolen helmet, that Euryalus is wearing. They pursue; the pair flee through the forest. Nisus reaches a clearing and looks in vain for his friend; he retraces his steps and at last sees Euryalus in the hands of the enemy. He aims his spear and, praying to the moon to guide his weapon, he lets it fly. It reaches its mark; he hurls a second; Volcens, the leader, cannot see who is hurling the weapons, so he rushes upon Euryalus with his sword and says he shall pay for both with his life. This Nisus cannot endure, he rushes from cover, and implored Volcens to turn his sword against him, for he alone is guilty. Volcens heeds not. When Nisus sees his friend, whose only fault was loving him too well¹, roll over in death, he madly rushes against the slayer and is rewarded by seeing him fall. He deals destruction on all sides and at last, pierced with many wounds, falls on the body of his friend and the two are unseparated in death, as in life. "Happy pair!" says the

¹Vergil, Aeneid, IX, 430. 'Tantum infelicem nimium dilexit amicum.'

poet,

If aught my verse shall avail, no day shall
ever blot you from the memory of time, so
long as the house of Aeneas shall dwell on
the Capitol's unshaken rock and the father
of Rome shall hold sovereign sway.¹

Prescott says it was ambition that caused all the
disaster; it was the ambition of Nisus that suggested the
venture; the ambition of Euryalus that overcame Nisus'
gentle consideration of him; it was the ambition of Eurya-
lus that led him to take the enemy's helmet, which betrayed
him to the enemy. Obvious duty was neglected for other
considerations, but noble motives underlie all actions.²

De Witt is more charitable. He says:

Nisus is an ill-starred friend, whose unself-
fish affection brought three to ruin. He
was over-indulgent; against his better judg-
ment he admitted him to his nocturnal enter-
prise; imprudently permitted him to don the
gleaming helmet of Messapus; carelessly he
allowed him to fall behind in the retreat.
It was of no avail that he gave up his life;

1

Ibid. IX, 446-9.

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

2

H. W. Prescott, The Development of Vergil's Art, 206.

nothing was gained by a hero's death. To his aged mother his errors brought irreparable grief. This is a sad philosophy of life, though true, that virtues in excess may bring ruin to the innocent.¹

¹De Witt, "Vergil in the Tragic Drama", Classical Journal, XXVI, Oct. 1930, 25.

CHAPTER VII

Summary

Thirty relationships have been discussed, some at length, some briefly. Only six of these friendships have a happy ending; twenty-two have a tragic ending; while in two the friendship is terminated because of removal of one of the characters. I refer in the last instance to the friendship of Aeneas with Helenus and with Acestes. The course of events simply terminated their association, so the friendship ceased to be, but was not brought to an end by the death of one of the actors.

In the associations with a happy termination I place the following: Aeneas and Lavinia; Aeneas and Ascanius; Latinus and Lavinia; Venus and Aeneas; Aeneas and Achates; and Aeneas and Evander. Aeneas and Lavinia were called by the gods to wed; both did their duty as it was pointed out to them and we know of nothing to mar their happiness. Aeneas and Ascanius have never failed in loyalty to gods or their fellow men; their devotion, we believe will continue. Latinus and Lavinia have suffered cruelly in finding a way to obey the gods; they have seen their country devastated by war; they have seen their own people slain, but they have never been tempted to yield to those who oppose the gods; they deserve peace. Venus may never meet Aeneas again, but we feel that she will always

watch over him lovingly and rejoice in his success from her home among the gods and will be ready to come to his assistance if need be. We simply cannot separate the faithful Achates from Aeneas in the years of prosperity that are due to the Trojans. Certainly the just Aeneas will reward his faithful friend by some position of honor and trust. Aeneas and Evander have in common the love of the slain Pallas. Aeneas could not forget the aid given him at such a critical time by Evander and doubtless the old man's advice was sought when affairs of state were under discussion. All the characters in these six relationships were devoted to each other, faithful to their friends, showed respect and reverence for the gods, and never failed in doing their duty.

Of the twenty-two friendships with tragic endings, nine seem to result in tragedy because some one failed in his duty; four, because a character had to be disposed of to carry out destiny, and nine for no understandable reason.

Orpheus lost his wife because he failed to obey the divine injunction not to look back until he had reached a certain point. Dido's death was the result of breaking her sacred vow not to wed again. She called down upon herself the curse of heaven; she shut her ears to the will of the gods, which summoned Aeneas away. Turnus and Lavinia could not be happy together, because the oracle

opposed their union; but Turnus refused to heed the divine will. The union of Amata and Latinus ended in tragedy because Amata was blind to her duty to the gods. This blindness separated her not only from her husband, but also from her daughter, and the youth she regarded as her son.

Failure to recognize and do one's duty extends even to the innocent, for in Dido's death her innocent sister suffers. Mezentius, the despiser of the gods, lives to hear of his son's death, which he has unwittingly caused and then is himself slain. Even with his last breath, he boasts that he yields to no god. Turnus, in disregarding the gods, brings on his own death and causes woe to his father.

In the termination of four relationships the hand of destiny can be seen. Creusa had to be disposed of, that Aeneas might marry a native princess and be the founder of a new race, sprung from Trojans and Latins. So Ascanius is deprived of a mother and Aeneas of a wife. Turnus had to be disposed of, that Aeneas might be free to carry out the will of fate and found the Latin race. Anchises, although old, was still the head of the family and leader of the Trojan expedition. Aeneas must arrive in Italy as the head of his family and the leader of the race that is to conquer the Latins, so Anchises dies peacefully and Aeneas assumes his place.

The other nine associations with unhappy endings seem unexplainable, as so many things in life today, that we cannot understand any better than Vergil could. They just had to be and in the working of fate, the innocent must suffer as well as the guilty. Priam and Hecuba, who had seen so much suffering in their long reign, in our judgment surely deserved a happier fate. Likewise, Hector and Andromache had observed the laws of man and gods, but he is taken and she lives to suffer worse than death. The fate of Pallas seems too cruel to us; he had everything to live for, but Jupiter himself says his time has come. And why should Camilla be taken from her friends in the prime of her youth? And why should the devoted mother of Eurypylus be left without a son in her old age? Even the gulletless Palinurus is taken from Aeneas when he needs a pilot. Not one of this group had failed in any way to do his duty to his fellow-man or to the gods.

CHAPTER VIII

Vergil's Philosophy of Friendship as Depicted in His Writings

Vergil in his own life is never extravagant with affection. He appreciates his friends, he works for his friends, he sympathizes with their sorrows, he shares in their joys, he suffers at the loss of a friend, but he is never effervescent in his pleasure or his suffering. The golden mean seems to be his motto. He carefully avoids extremes. When fortune, in the person of Augustus, smiles upon him, and he is raised to high honor, his good fortune does not turn his head; he always remembers the suffering of others. He has no difficulty in "keeping the limit."¹

Since his emotions are so thoroughly under his control, we need not wonder that the actions of his hero are guided, by temperance and moderation. Aeneas is so dominated by these qualities that the modern world is inclined to think him weak and spineless. Yet if we study him carefully, we see that he gains in strength by not giving way to his emotions. By observing the laws of temperance and moderation, he has become to us before the end of the story, so

¹ Vergil, Aeneid, X, 502. 'servare modum'.

truly an embodiment of these qualities, that we are amazed when he, whom we once thought weak, can order human sacrifice, as he did after the death of Pallas. But Vergil is not creating an ideal that cannot be followed, but a human being, endowed with the highest qualities. Even the strongest and noblest have their moments of weakness.

The superiority of the man with moderation and temperance developed to a high degree is noticeable when we consider those who fall at the hand of Aeneas. Mezentius gives free reign to his brutality and hatred. Turnus cannot bring his individuality under his control. Vergil had accustomed himself to see two sides of every thing. Just as Aeneas had his weak moments, that make him seem very human, so Mezentius has his redeeming quality in his love for his son and his horse, and Turnus' thoughts turn to his father at the end. Vergil surely recognized the fact that there is some evil in the best of us and some good in the worst of us.

With temperance and moderation as the rule of conduct, Vergil's hero becomes unselfish and self-sacrificing. Vergil himself was modest and retiring, devoting his life to others. He had gained success as the result of hard and constant toil, so he knew the meaning of the motto, "Labor conquers everything".¹ His hero endures hardships

¹Old Latin Proverb, "Labor omnia vincit".

and sufferings for seven years, yet during all this time he unselfishly thinks of his family and friends first, even to the point of sacrificing for them. Service consists of constant labor, constant sacrifice.

Vergil wished to glorify his race; he wished to bring before the Roman people the fact that they had risen from the humble beginning and that their greatness had been achieved only through long years of hardships and self-sacrifice. We never lose sight of the statement made early in his Aeneid, "Of such difficulty it was to found the Roman race."¹ Vergil feels the responsibility of Rome to the world and wishes to transmit the feeling to his fellow-Romans. Rome has the keeping of the world in her hands; therefore it is a Roman's duty to submerge his own individuality and serve humanity.

To bring the idea of service home to the people, Vergil deifies Augustus, but Conway says, "Augustus becomes a god that he may do some vital service to the world of men."² Even Vergil rebels in a way against Fate, or what he does not understand, until Anchises reveals to him in Hades the mission of the Roman race and then he realizes his own great service to mankind. De Witt declares that

¹Vergil, Aeneid, I, 33. 'Tantae molis erat Romanum condere gentem'.

²R.S. Conway, Harvard Studies on the Vergilian Age, 71.

Vergil

had more singleness of mind, more courage, more foresight, and more profounder desire to be of service than his contemporaries.¹

Boissier says:

Vergil worked with ardor at the strengthening of the dynasty of Augustus, and the durability of his reforms, thinking this the best means of serving his country.²

Vergil is deeply impressed with the part his country is to play in the development of the world. But the greatness of Rome is to be achieved through sympathy with human kind. This sympathy with human woes keeps him from becoming too patriotic. His patriotism is not nationalistic but world-wide. His own sufferings had made such a deep impression upon him that he could not but sympathize with others. At times Aeneas is almost carried away by his sympathy to forget his greater duty. His foes are not personal enemies; they are misguided mortals who see things in the wrong light. As such, he can pity them. When he kills, he thinks of the sorrow and grief he will bring upon someone. His sympathy with Turnus and his aged father almost leads him to spare his life. But his sympathy for another father, whose sorrow Turnus has caused, outweighs his pity for his enemy. Those who have suffered

¹ N.W. De Witt, Vergil's Biographia Litteraria, 170.

² Gaston Boissier, The Country of Horace and Vergil, 330.

themselves are the ones who know how to sympathize with deepest feeling. Vergil's pitying sympathy for mortal woes is summed up in these well-known words: "There are tears for human sufferings and mortal woes touch the heart".¹ Through the suffering of the individual comes love and sympathy for all suffering mortals.

Only the one who submits to destiny is worthy of being the founder of a great race. Such a man Vergil presents to us in Aeneas. In the first six books, before he has had the vision of his mission of founding a great race, he often complains about the Fate that he cannot understand. But he never goes so far as to refuse to yield. Fate drives him from one place to another for seven years. In the first book he is an exile, "driven by Fate".² He sometimes wished he had perished in Troy, but he had no thought of taking his own life, as Dido and Amata did when they met opposition. Aeneas, although he complains about what he cannot understand, never lifts a finger to hinder the designs of Fate. Dido and Amata rebel openly; they perish and Aeneas is saved.

In the last six books, Aeneas no longer questions or complains; he yields to the law of necessity; he recognizes the divine force all about him and submits to its

¹ Ibid, I, 462. 'Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.'

² Ibid, I, 2, 'fato profugus'.

power, Mezentius refuses to acknowledge any will higher than his own. His stubbornness brings ruin upon him. Turnus does not rebel against Fate, but he cannot subject himself to her laws. He is a man without a vision; such a man cannot be the founder of a great people. He falls before the more enlightened, far-seeing Aeneas--the man with a vision of the importance of his work.

The Stoic idea of endurance was not unknown to Vergil, and submission to Fate implies endurance and patience. From early childhood he had had before him many examples of Roman fortitude. Donatus writes of him: "He was accustomed to say that no virtue was more becoming a man than patience, and no fortune is so hard that a brave man cannot overcome it by endurance."¹ Vergil himself tells us that every misfortune can be overcome by enduring, whatever happens.²

"The Aeneid is a meditation on human life", says Salughter,

by a rare spirit who had given his days to a high contemplation; living at a time when all the powers of a great civilization were united in seeking a new meaning of life. This spirit, beginning with unfeigned delight in simple

¹ Diehl, *Die Vitae Vergilianae*, 36. 'Solitus erat dicere nullam virtutem commodiorem homini esse patientia, ac nullam asperam adeo fortunam esse quam prudenter patiando vir fortis nom vincat.'

² Vergil, *Aeneid*, V, 710. 'Quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.'

surroundings, but losing some of its optimism.....as the time passed and its outlook was enlarged by life in Rome and contact with the world of men, came in the end to a mellow, though somewhat melancholy, philosophy, a patient and forbearing and tolerant acceptance of the realities of life.¹

Vergil's characters either oppose the workings of Fate and perish in their resistance, or, as they gradually come to understand its purposes, cooperate with and become instruments in carrying out Fate.

The test of character comes not when fortune is smiling and everything is favorable, but in adversity. Aeneas seemingly had found an end to his trials in Carthage. He found a city built for him, a people ready to accept him, a queen for helpmate. But when the call came to break these ties, he stood the test. It was not easy to give up all he had been enjoying and looking upon as his own. With the pathetic, "I seek Italy not of my own accord",² he breaks pleasant associations and dear ties.

Ascanius, although a mere boy, acts with manly decision in a crisis. He has always had before him the fortitude of his father and when called upon to act in the absence of Aeneas, he acquits himself as a hero.

¹M.S. Slaughter, "Vergil, An Interpretation", Classical Journal, XII, 377.

²Vergil, Aeneid, IV, 361. 'Italiam non sponte sequor.'

Aeneas' speech to his son before he enters the final conflict with Turnus expresses the ideal he hopes to inspire in Ascanius. "Learn valor from me, my son, and true toil, fortune from others."¹ He wishes to leave with him the thought that not only valor, but toil is the real test of a man in adversity. At the critical moment Aeneas stands for the right cause, while nothing can save Turnus, who represents the wrong. Aeneas personifies the future of Rome, which passes the test and he overcomes Turnus, who is the personification of individual passion. Even on the battle field the moral element prevails.

All around him Vergil saw sadness and suffering--- the innocent carried away with the guilty. His own youth had been saddened by unjust confiscations; his aged father was a care to him; he lost a dear friend. Sorrow comes to all, yet many emerge from their suffering with character strengthened. Vergil links together sorrow and joy, since they spring from the same source. As the sensation produced by heat is the same as that produced by its opposite, cold, so Vergil believed that joy and sorrow were traceable to one cause---human affection. If there is no affection, there can be no sorrow. If Aeneas had not loved his Troy, there would have been no sorrow in leaving it; if he had

¹ Ibid, XII, 435-6.

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

not revered the gods, there would have been no pleasure in carrying out their will; if he had not loved Dido, there would have been no pain in leaving her; if he had not loved Evander and Pallas, he would not have grieved over the latter's death. If Nisus and Euryalus had not loved each other, the mother would not have been saddened. Sadness comes to all and Fate does not open the book for us to read why. Aeneas, trained in the hard school of misfortune, becomes Vergil's ideal of a Roman father.

Ballard says his "faith is made perfect through suffering."¹ Even in his earlier writings Vergil expresses the idea so strongly emphasized in the Aeneid:

The fairest day is ever the first to fly in this mortal life of ours. Disease and old age and hard labor are the lot of man on earth and harsh and pitiless death snatch us away.²

Anna P. MacVay attributes the unhappiness of many young lives of to-day to the fact that they have not been trained to a strict regard for duty.³ Vergil sensed the same tendency toward disregard for duty two thousand years ago. The Roman needed a clearer conception of duty and a

¹H.H. Ballard, "The Character of Aeneas", Vergilian Papers, 32.

²Vergil, Georgics, III, 66-68.

'Optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi
prima fugit; subeunt morbi tristisque senectus
et labor, et durae rapit inclementia mortis'.

³Anna P. MacVay, Vergil, Prophet of a New World, 11.

deeper sense of responsibility. His hero must be a man who sees his duty clearly and wins success and happiness through the performance of it. Yet he must be a real man subject to all the trials and vicissitudes of life; he must have temptations, he must even doubt the wisdom of Fortune's methods; but when, through long suffering, he sees his duty clearly, he must never waver.

Filial duty prevents Aeneas from abandoning his father in Troy, duty to the gods keeps him travelling for seven weary years, loyalty to his son and countrymen force him to forsake Carthage and all it holds dear; duty to his father summons him to the lower world, duty to his divine mission forces him into war against his will; the same duty drives him to kill; but from it all, Vergil gives his people a national hero whom they can admire and respect and whose noble life they can keep before them as an incentive to better living. The reward of piety is intensified by the fate of those who fail to recognize duty or who refuse to yield to it. Thus he gives a clear picture of one's duty to family, state and gods, which is the foundation of all that is best in character. The epithet "pius" so often ascribed to Aeneas suggests the careful performance of duty in all the varied walks of life.

Vergil's true sympathy for all human suffering has developed in him a kindly and hopeful outlook on the world. He sees the end of simplicity in Roman affairs, he accepts

the luxuries of the budding empire with no bitterness. His contribution to his state is the "Aeneid", in which he links the glorious present with a splendid past and in which he foretells a great future, made possible through humility of spirit and sympathy with humanity. He shows that love and kindness can still live in an age when the gentler and softer traits seem to be vanishing. Vergil wishes his people to think with him as did Chremes in Terence's play, that nothing human was foreign to him.¹ Conway terms "perpetual hope and youth in the sphere of thought"² one phase of Vergil's philosophy of life. Miss MacVay places the "climax of Vergil's power of prevision....in his interpretation of the upward tendency of humanity toward ultimate good,"³ and De Witt says, "The new discovery of the age is faith and hope, and Vergil is chosen of the gods to set down the new creed for men."⁴

"Vergil shared with all thinking men of his day, the belief that there was a great driving force in the world, which was responsible for the rise and growth of Rome---

¹ Terence, Heautontimorumenos, Act I, Sc. 1 l.25. 'Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.'

² R. S. Conway, Harvard Lectures on the Vergilian Age, 97.

³ Anna P. MacVay, Vergil, Prophet of a New World, 12.

⁴ N. W. DeWitt, Vergil's Biographia Litteraria, 182.

a force which had met with strong and bitter opposition from other forces, more especially from the power of Carthage,"¹ comments Fowler. In his *Georgics*, the poems in which Vergil is closest to Nature, we see this divine purpose working for the harmony of the whole. The individual may not understand the purpose, but he must understand the necessity of working in accordance with it.

"Failure to do so, no matter how natural the impulse behind the failure," says Ogle, "results in suffering for the guilty and also, as the story of Orpheus and Eurydice seems to imply, for the innocent."² Ogle further declares that the onward march of world purpose cannot be stayed and conduct is moral or immoral, according as it aids in its advancement or tries to hinder it.

Attempt to hinder its progress is rebellion and rebellion results in war. Vergil knew the horrors of war, he had experienced the results of war. War is justifiable only if it results in a long period of peace. That peace had seemingly come under Augustus. Vergil is an apostle of peace, he wishes to make the advantages of peace so attractive that his country will never war again. So he conceives a poem---a war poem, he calls it---but his purpose

¹ Fowler, The Death of Turnus, 82.

² Ogle, "Vergil and Our Ethical Problems", Vergilian Papers, 18.

is to depict the horrors of wars and their utter futility. So we see, not the brave deeds of a hero in the Trojan war, but the ruthless slaying of an innocent old man; we see helpless women taken captives and made to serve foreign masters. Dido lives in constant fear of war from her hostile neighbors or from her brother in Tyre. Six books of the Aeneid recount the tales of war in Italy, but no one stands out as a hero. Suffering, sorrow, death are on every side. We see the awful results of rebellion and violence, and the wicked insanity of war.

Vergil was by nature submissive; he hated strife, he yearned for peace and reconciliation. The republic had long been dead in all but name, so Vergil turns to the Empire and gives it his hearty support. The new government recognizes the divine purpose in the world; Rome is destined to rule, not for herself, not for her nobles, but for the world. Anchises reveals to Aeneas the part his descendants are to play in the world in such words:

Remember, Roman, to rule the nations with
your sway (these shall be your arts)----
to crown peace with law, to spare the con-
quered, and to tame the proud.¹

Aeneas carries out the injunction of his father and shows that he had the vision of brotherly love which extends to all

¹ Vergil, Aeneid, VI, 851-853.

'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,
parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.'

humanity for he declares if he is victorious over Turnus:

I will not bid the Italians be subject to the Trojans, nor ask the crown for myself. No! let the two great nations one unconquered as the other, join on equal terms in everlasting treaty.¹

We can find many parallels in Vergil and the world of today. The horrors of the late war have made war lose its glamor; we hear advocates of world-wide peace and a lasting peace. Moderation and temperance we need in our daily routine. Service clubs are trying to accomplish what Vergil tried to accomplish two thousand years ago. We are subjecting our nationalism and extending our sympathy to the whole world. We must submit to fate as truly as Aeneas did; we have to meet crises which test our character; we see sadness and suffering and understand the why and wherefore after all these years no better than Vergil did. We still feel a thrill of genuine pleasure in performing our duty. Many look upon the existing evils of the age with an optimistic attitude. Then may we not turn to Vergil, and advocate of brotherly love and apostle of peace and say with Dante, "Thou art my master and

¹ Ibid. XII, 189-91.

'Non ego nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo
nec mihi regna peto, paribus se legibus ambae
invictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant.'

inspiration"¹

¹ Dante, Divina Comedia; Inferno, Canto I, 85. 'Tu se'
Io mio maestro e il mio autore.'

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