The role of female characters in Vergil's Aeneid

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"THE ROLE OF FEMALE CHARACTERS IN VERGIL'S AENEID"

DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

FOR THE DEGREE OF M.A.

BY

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OCTOBER 1965

CONTENTS

Abstract

The purpose of this investigation is to assess the contribution of the main female characters to the spirit and significance of the Aeneid and finally to see whether in the light of the 'narrationes et interpretationes' a general pattern emerges from which we can decide what the poet wants us to understand as their main and collective role.

We have found it necessary not only to discuss some points of grammatical interest which seem to throw some light on the interpretation of some doubtful passages, but also to make some apparent digressions to discuss the attributes of some male characters (i.e. the 'pietas' of Aeneas and Latinus, and the 'violentia' of Turnus) to whom the females react.

Our facts and statistics show that 'furor' and its related words constitute the major flaw and the major role of the main female characters, which contrasts with and spotlights Aeneas' 'pietas'. But there is nothing particularly 'impius' about Camilla who has enough virtue to make her a sympathetic character; this is part of Vergil's tragic art. Moreover the only female deity on the right side is Venus, but within the framework of the furor-motif she does not count any more than Creusa and Lavinia who are κωφὰ πρόσωπα.

In the overall consideration what Vergil seems to be teaching in his treatment of the main female characters is the conflict between the present and the future, i.e. that the inability to see beyond

immediate self-interest is the dramatic flaw which unfits characters to be instruments in carrying out fata deum. It certainly unfits Dido, Amata, Camilla, Turnus and Euryalus.

Vergil is not, however, being unfair to them, for his delineation reflects his understanding of human nature, the influence on him of Hellenistic poetry, and the increasing role of women in contemporary Rome.

CHAPTER

ONE

CHAPTER 1

DIDO

Vergil's first introduction of Dido to us is through the mouth of Venus[1] who speaks of her with compassion and admiration, as playing the role of a man[2] in an exigency that demanded speed and cautious organization; for in her flight from Tyre with the 'faithful' Tyrian malcontents, she ably took affairs into her hands and thus became a 'dux femina facti'.[3] The poet's own introduction of her which comes later in 1^{494ff} further reveals, inter alia, her strong sense of responsibility and keen concern for the welfare of her nation:

"While these wondrous sights are seen by Dardan Aeneas, while in amazement he hangs rapt in one fixed gaze, the queen, Dido, of surpassing beauty, moved towards the temple, with a vast company of youths thronging round her. Even as on Eurotas banks or along the heights of Cynthus Diana guides her dancing bands, in whose train a thousand Oreads troop to right and left, she bears a quiver on her shoulder and as she treads overtops all the goddesses; joys thrill Latona's silent breast - such was Dido, so moved she joyously through

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1 $_1$335-368

2 The idea of masculinity in a female character is one of the notable things in the Aeneid and it will be more lengthily discussed in later chapters.

3 $_1$364

their midst, pressing on the work of her rising kingdom. Then at the door of the goddess beneath the temple's central dome, girt with arms and high enthroned she took her seat."

$_1$494-506

> Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur
> dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno
> regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido[1]
> incessit, magna iuvenum stipante caterva
> qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
> exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
> hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
> fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis;
> Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus:
> talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat
> per medios, instans operi regnisque futuris
> tum foribus divae, media testudine templi,
> saepta armis, solioque alte subnixa resedit.

The whole of this passage gives a vivid picture of Dido's regal dignity and splendour. Besides being a queen she is 'forma pulcherrima' and is compared to a goddess. Moreover line 505 shows her pietas and 506 her 'maiestas' and 'dignitas'. 507-8 exemplify her iustitia. Thus from the beginning the poet shows us Dido's physical and spiritual assets and thus her tragic episode begins with a joyful scene. The effect of this happy beginning is that it makes her tragic end all the more tragic, because of the antithesis involved.[2] It is noteworthy that in the same way Vergil's

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[1] The positions of 'regina' and 'Dido' and the fact that they frame the line shows the emphasis which the poet lays on her royal dignity from which she will soon fall away.

[2] Vergil uses the same technique in his introduction of another female character (Camilla) who is to have a tragic end: cf VII$^{803-17}$ with all its similar suggestions of splendour and dignity - 'fragmen agens'; 'fibula..... auro', 'turba miratur', 'regius ..... honos' etc.

introduction of Camilla in Bk VII$^{803-817}$, the emphasis laid on her splendour, masculine exploits, beauty and chastity, tends to heighten the pathos of her tragic end. The use of antitheses is a notable art in Vergil.

Closely allied to the last point is the tragic irony contained in the contrast between these joyous lines and Aeneas' state of mind which is demonstrated both by his tears and by his utterance of the famous words 'sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt'. When Aeneas first sees Dido in the above passage, there is an emotional and psychological difference between them: Aeneas is still in a doleful state: the unhappy, depressed and homeless stranger sees the 'laeta et pulcherrima regina' in all her splendour. But we realise that very soon the situation will be reversed - the 'laeta regina' will become 'infelix Dido'; Pius Aeneas will desert her, press forward to his destined goal and will eventually be married to Lavinia, a hard-won but well-deserved bride. Eventually too Carthage, which she symbolically represents, will fall and Rome will rise.

(111) Regina ad Templum: While this suggests that she had some elements of pietas it contrasts sharply with her subsequent gesture of attempting to persuade Aeneas of an impious maxim - that the gods are ignorant and unconcerned about what is done here on earth.

Moreover her approach to Juno's temple and her occupation of a seat in it both have a great symbolism in the epic: right from the beginning she is firmly identified with her patron deity whose cause

she will serve and together with whom she must be eventually defeated in their attempt to keep Aeneas from his destined goal.

(IV) Lastly, with the graphic phrase 'instans operi regnisque futuris' which I translate as 'keenly engaged on the task of her rising kingdom' the poet shows her sense of responsibility towards her kingdom and thus binds the fate of Carthage inextricably with the life and destiny of her queen. This emphasises the pathos in Book IV where on account of Dido's passion all useful work was suspended and the construction of her city came to a standstill; and it underlines the truth in Anna's utterance at her sister's death:

> extinxti te meque, soror, populumque patresque
> Sidonios, urbemque tuam.
>
> IV 681-2

> "O sister, thou has destroyed, not thyself alone, but also myself, the Sidonian senate and people and thy city!"[1]

The first book of the Aeneid begins with an account of Juno's reason for hating the Trojans, the steps she took to punish them, the bitter experience of Aeneas and his men at sea, and his goddess-mother's complaint to Jupiter about the cruel lot of her son. This is followed by Jupiter's consolation of Venus by foretelling the triumphs of Aeneas and the glories of Rome, and his positive action in despatching Mercury to influence queen Dido and the Carthaginians in favour of the shipwrecked Trojans, lest Dido, ignorant of Destiny

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[1] My translation.

should bar them from her lands. Vergil's construction here[1] seems to express not merely the direct object for which Mercury was sent but the fear that was in Jupiter's mind, and which motivated him to dispatch Mercury; and from this we could infer that uninfluenced by divine interposition Dido might have forbidden the Trojans to stay in her realm and therefore the concatenation of events that led to her tragic end might not have occurred.

Vergil further shows the effect of Divine influence by adding that, consequent upon the accomplishment of Mercury's task it was at the will of heaven that the Carthaginians lay aside their fierce thoughts:

> "et iam iussa facit, ponuntque[2] ferocia Poeni
> Corda volente deo, in primis regina quietum
> Occipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam
>
> 1 302-304

> "At once he does his bidding and, God willing it, the Phoenicians lay aside their savage thoughts: above all the queen receives a gentle mind and gracious purpose towards the Teucrians."

Of the shipwrecked Trojans Dido first met Ilioneus who, acting as spokesman for his party, made a passionate and suppliant plea for shelter. The queen's reply consisted not only of encouragement but also of assurance of aid: and after expressing her earnest wish that their

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1 Ne .... arceret 1 299-300

2 The collocation of the words 'facit' and 'ponuntque', the natural break after 'facit' and the force of the particle 'que', all these strongly suggest that the effect followed the cause at once (See T. E. PAGE notes on Line 302).

great leader should also be cast upon her shores, she promised to send scouts to look for him. Aeneas eventually appeared, and Dido, her heart already softened by divine will, received him in amity and courtesy. Her own life-story also helped her to appreciate the melancholy situation of Aeneas, for she states in 1^{630}: 'Non ignara mali miseris succurere disco' - 'not ignorant of ills I learn to befriend the unhappy'. In many respects she was an 'alter Aeneas'. She had lost a husband and he a wife, in a native land never to be seen again, and she had also sought a city. Thus she could well understand the predicament of Aeneas and his men. She therefore promised them hospitality, led Aeneas into the palace and proclaimed a public thanksgiving. Supplies for a feast were despatched to his comrades on the shore while for Aeneas a banquet of royal splendour was prepared.

Meanwhile Aeneas sent for his son Ascanius charging him to bring presents for the queen (the most significant of these gifts was a cloak of the Argive Helen which she took with her when she escaped with Paris to Troy inconcessosque hymenaeos. Thus this symbolised another fateful 'marriage'.) At this point of the story Vergil is swift to show how the natural course of events was again influenced by supernatural interposition:

> At Cytherea novas artes, nova pectore versat
> consilia .....
>
> 1^{657}

'But the Cytherean resolves in her breast new wiles, new schemes .....' Dido's warm welcome to the Trojans had rendered Venus very

anxious, the thought kept recurring to her that Juno's hand might be in all this hospitality; and she reckoned that it was dangerous for her son to be at the mercy of Juno. Whereupon she begged Cupid to aid her design of making Dido fall in love with Aeneas, to which end he was to assume the figure of Ascanius and sieze the moment when Dido welcomed him at the banquet to inspire her with passion - and thus cause her to fall deeply in love with Aeneas.

In Vergil's description of the effect of this plan one is tempted to see in Dido a mortal who is a tragic victim of powers beyond her control:

"Above all, the ill-starred Phoenician, doomed to impending ruin, cannot satiate her soul, but takes fire as she gazes, thrilled alike by the boy and by the gifts."

$1^{712-714}$

"Praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae
Expleri mentem requit ardescitque tuendo...."

The use of the epithet 'infelix' in this passage and its recurrent use in the poet's description of Dido's love fate and passion, together with the use in 1^{718} of the word Inscia (which implies the ignorance of Dido about how mighty a deity had sunk into her breast), all these strongly suggest the helplessness of a mortal in circumstances schemed and controlled by the gods and therefore beyond her control. This idea of a helpless mortal battering in vain against the irresistible doors of destiny is a phenomenon which recurs so often in the Aeneid that it requires a separate

discussion.[1]

Vergil's use of 'infelix' in this passage is most significant and double-edged in that it does not only show the poet's sympathy for Dido's present situation;it also points symbolically to her eventual tragedy. Moreover statistics of its occurrence in the Aeneid suggest that the poet must have intended it to have a significant meaning in relation to Dido and her 'furor'.[2]

Dido soon became madly in love with Aeneas, and she shared her thoughts with Anna 'the shares of her heart' (unanimam): that although she loved Aeneas she was immovably resolved not to marry again because she ought to be faithful to her dead husband. She finally set a seal to her resolution in IV[24-29].

> sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
> vel Pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
> Pallentes umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,
> ante, pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo,

and this has an immense pathos as we realise that it is a curse destined to be cruelly fulfilled.

In these circumstances Anna was shrewd enough to discern what answer her sister was hoping for. She knew of the latter's pride in her city and therefore pointed out the political and dynastic

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[1] See the section on 'Double Causation in Vergil's Aeneid.' pp 58 ff.

[2] See the chart at the end of this section, i.e. the chart entitled "Vergil's use of infelix and its special connection with Dido's 'furor'. pp 31 ff

advantages that could come of such a union with Aeneas. Dido should not struggle against a genuine love. What is more, the 'manes' of the dead do not care about the unfaithfulness of the living.

The die was now cast. Dido had received the answer she was hoping for: she had succeeded in making herself believe that somebody else had made this vital decision for her. She then proceeded to offer sacrifices to the gods in order to secure their favour, and her desperation is attested to by her persistence in making her offerings - instaurat diem donis. The two points to be noted in this gesture are: her motive for sacrificing, and the tragic irony of the sacrifice itself. Firstly why did she need to placate the gods if she did not doubt the moral justice of her proposed action? Thus it is part of her tragedy that she sins in full consciousness of her 'culpa'. Secondly the identity of the deities to whom she was sacrificing shows us that her gesture was little more than an irony: "she was sacrificing to Ceres, Apollo and Lyaeus, the gods who usually preside over the foundation of cities and the giving of laws when she was herself forgetting her duty as a queen; and to Juno the goddess of marriage when she was herself forgetting her faith to her husband!!![1]

At this stage the poet employs two words to describe the

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[1] Nettleship: Essay in Latin Literature pp.127.

intensity of her 'furor':

> Uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
> Urbe furens

IV[68]

"Unhappy Dido burns and through the city wanders in frenzy...." Uritur a metaphor of combustion shows that she is consumed with passion. Vagatur suggests instability, rambling, unrest, commotion. Dido is wandering distraught. Pease notes in his commentary that "the verb vagor is in contrast with the dignified or formal incessus admired by the Romans, which should characterize a person of consequence like a queen."[1]

The poet goes on to expatiate on this tragic element of Dido's by using a simile which in his peculiarly artistic way links the interior action with the exterior event whilst the latter becomes more picturesque:

> .....qualis conyecta cerva sagitta
> quam procul incautam nemora inter Cressa fixit
> Pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum
> nescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat
> Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.[2]

IV[70ff]

"Unhappy Dido burns, and through the city wanders in frenzy - even as a hind, smitten by an arrow, which all unwary, amid the Cretan

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[1] A.S. Pease: Vergil Aeneid IV, Harvard Univ. Press 1935 pp.146.

[2] cf. Appollonius IV, 12-13, where Medea is compared to a doe pursued in the woods by dogs; and also Iliad 11, 473-81, where Odysseus is compared to a wounded stag.

woods a shepherd hunting with darts has pierced from afar, leaving in the winged steel, though he knows it not. (BUT) she in flight ranges the Dictaean woods and shades, but fast to the flank clings the deadly shaft"

(i) In this simile the poet gives us the greatest insight into Dido's character just as the oak simile (IV^{441ff}) shows us the composure and unshakeable resolution of Aeneas to obey the gods rather than be uprooted by the 'winds of passion'. The subject matter and the psychological content of this simile is Dido's lack of emotional equilibrium - 'inopia animi' - and, as I shall prove later, in Vergil's delineation and conception of his main tragic characters, this 'furor' is the main common trait shared by the female characters and which inevitably leads them to their tragic ends.

(ii) The simile also throws a light on the idea of guilt in the Aeneas-Dido episode: the deer is unprotected and exposed (incautam). The emphatic positions of 'pastor' and 'nescius' strengthen the impression that Aeneas is also absolved from responsibility for this ill-starred affair. Also the natural break between 'nescius' and 'illa' makes both words emphatic and therefore lends added weight to their significance:- 'He did not know.... but she was dying.....'. It can be seen therefore that although Dido's chief tragic trait is effectively pointed out, the poet nevertheless exonerates either party.

(iii) Moreover the deer's flight suggests Dido's fruitless attempt to flee from the inescapable hands of fate. Thus this simile is one of the passages in Vergil which show both elements of double causation: the divine aspect is that every event is controlled by the divine manipulator of human affairs; while the simple human story is that a shepherd unknowing wounds a deer.

(iv) Lastly the simile hints at a future event, for 'Letalis harundo'[1] is a symbolic prediction of the fatal outcome of Dido's passion.

In the next section IV[90ff] we are shown the manoeuvre of the protecting deities of Aeneas and Dido. Venus and Juno contrive to turn to their own advantage the couple's plan to go hunting. Venus' motive was to insure Dido's hospitality, and Juno's to divert the kingdom of Italy to the Carthaginian shores. The result of this diplomatic conference is that Juno would cause a storm[2] that should drive the couple to take shelter in the same cave. There the nuptials will be celebrated. In all these plans Dido seems a mere puppet in the hands of the goddesses. Notably, none of the deities

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[1] cf. 'haeret letalis harundo' with 'haerent infixi pectore voltus verbaque'[4] The weapon sticks to her side just as the features of Aeneas clung to her breast.

[2] That this storm symbolises the steadfast progression of Juno's callous 'furor' can be seen in the fact that it calls to mind the storm in book 1 which was introduced almost with the same words. Compare

interea magno misceri murmure pontum[1124] interea magno misceri murmure caelum[4160]

Also the gradation of her 'tool' from pontum to caelum is significant.

mentions or considers her well-being and what effect this plan will have on her. But we should realise that the deities are not always to blame; in many cases as in this, they only utilize and consummate the plans made by mortals. On the human level the psychological progress of the Aeneas-Dido affair reached such a stage that they had planned a hunt for the following day (ubi primos crastinus ortus / extulerit Titan, 118-119). The goddesses only find it convenient to make use of the plan.

In the same section the poet in emphasizing the intensity of Dido's impending catastrophe employs the same artistry as he did in $I^{494-506}$ i.e. of placing the character upon a pedestal of splendour and majesty before showing her deep fall from grace to grass. On the day of the hunt ($IV^{129-159}$) we have glittering cavalcades, the impatient horse caparisoned in purple and gold and Dido with all her retinue clad in the embroidered Sidonian cloak. Her quiver is of gold, her hair is confined in gold, and a golden brooch fastens her scarlet cloak. It is significant that gold is here mentioned three times in five lines and 5 times in 14. Such glitter of metal and colour is that which befits and symbolizes her royal dignity. But what subsequently happens is an antithesis in which we see that when it comes to passion the queen is just as bad as any of her subjects. She intentionally misinterpreted the storm-and-cave incident and gave the occasion the comfortable appellation of 'marriage'. The poet comments that this action of Dido was the first cause[1] of woe, for

[1] Ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
causa fuit. IV[169]

by misinterpreting the occasion she was cloaking her wrong-doing:

Coniugium vocat; hoc praetexit nomine culpam

Her 'pudor' had been loosened, her conscience seared, and now the thought of consolidating her (new?) affair eclipsed from her mind the paramount importance of her faithfulness to her husband. The gravity of her 'culpa' - which is a word normally used for unfaithfulness in marriage - can be seen in the emphatic positions of 'coniugium' and 'culpam'.

Our attention is once more switched back to Aeneas, but this time with a difference: in order that we may appreciate his 'culpa' (which lies not in desertion but in dalliance) we are made to view his actions through divine spectacles. Amidst the material comforts of luxurious hospitality he forgets his duty to his nation and to the gods, and helps in the building of Carthage as though that was his original destination. He had to be reminded of his destiny by 'Iuppiter omnipotens' who sent Mercury to rebuke him of his folly and to bid him sail away from Carthage as soon as possible: the pungency[1] of the message is shown in the last line (237):

naviget: haec summa est; hic nostri, nuntius, esto.

Briefly there are some grammatical points which we should consider in order to clear the ambiguity of the second part of this line

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[1] Note the natural break after naviget and est and the moods of naviget (iussive subjunctive) and esto (imperative).

(a) Does nuntius mean message or messenger? We may here observe that out of the 13 instances of nuntius in the Aeneid, 5 seem to mean message:-

6^{456} (Aeneas speaking to Dido in the Underworld)

7^{437} (Turnus deriding the inspiration of the aged Calybe)

8^{582} (Evander parting from his son and praying for his safety ....'gravior neu nuntius auris volneret'= let no bitterer message reach mine ear.

9^{692} (In the heat of the battle when news is brought to Turnus about the onslaught of the enemy).

11^{897} (Terrible news is brought to Turnus about the disaster suffered by his side - Camilla etc.).

Nevertheless the fact that the remaining 8 instances mean 'messenger' is not necessarily a safe guide to the interpretation of this context. My interpretation is that 'hic nuntius' in this context has the same meaning as the 'haec mandata' of IV^{270}, and therefore it means 'message'.[1] Also it is noteworthy that 'nostri' is not equal to 'noster' but is in the objective form.

(b) Is esto in the second or the third person? Apart from the fact that 7 of the 9 occurrences of esto in the Aeneid are in the third person, it follows from my interpretation of (a) that in this

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[1] See also Heyne, Forbiger and Gossrau who say that 'nuntius' in this passage means 'message'.

context esto can only be in the third[1] person. Therefore I take the general meaning of the sentence to be "Be this the news of us" i.e. "Let this be the message you give Aeneas about me,..... he should set sail".

Thus having been forcefully reminded of his duty, Aeneas rapidly made up his mind to depart from Carthage, his immediate difficulty being how to break the news to Dido. But the frenzied queen did not need to be told before she knew; she had already been warned by fame and her own jealous observation. This news intensified her 'inopia animi' and consequently she rushed from place to place like a raving bacchanal. Vergil uses some key-words to describe ber state of mind on this occasion;

> saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem
> bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris
> Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
> Orgia nocturnumque vocant clamore Cithaeron

IV 300-303

"Helpless in mind she rages and all aflame raves through the city like some Thyiad startled by the slaken emblems what time hearing the bacchic cry, the biennial revels fire her and at night Cithaeron summons her with its din."[2]

saevit: gives an idea of savage rage, like that of a wild bull.

Thus a sense is here engendered whereby Dido is reduced to

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[1] It does not refer to Mercury as Mackail suggests.

[2] Loeb Translation! N.B. Except otherwise stated the translations adopted in this thesis have been those of Mr. H. Rushton Fairclough in the Loeb series.

the level of an animal.[1]

inops animi: 'lacking, or helpless in spirit'. The reference is to her psychological state rather than her physical condition. She had lost her mental equilibrium.

bacchatur: suggests the intoxication and religious ecstasy experienced by the worshippers of Bacchus. But the main difference between Bacchus' worshippers in this simile and Dido's action is that in the former the ecstasy is 'commotis sacris' (i.e. it is religiously motivated[2]) whereas in Dido's case her furor was engendered by her own selfish jealousy. This striking contrast, inherently implied in the simile, tends to emphasize further the intensity and tragic tonality of Dido's frenzy.

Thyias: a word normally used for the followers of Bacchus, has its roots from θύειν - 'to rush violently'. Its other usual application is for describing the wind or sea,[3] but its application to Dido's emotional turmoil here also stresses the gravity of her rage.

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[1] The same sense underlies the simile in 4^{68-73} Vide 'The Vergilian Simile as a means of Judgement' by R.A. Hornsby; C.J. May 1965, Vol. 60, no.8, where it is observed that "animal similes in the Aeneid tend always to reduce the person so compared to the level of a beast."

[2] Note that the bacchic rites were religious in origin.

[3] Vide R.G. Austin's commentary on Bk IV, O.U.P., 1955.

The concept running through all these words like an identical thread is furor, and we can safely conclude that the poet has deliberately used words that would suggest bacchanalian orgies. Moreover as I intend to show in my treatment of Amata and Juno this bacchic motif with its coloration of furor is the predominant idea which the poet portrays as the chief motivation and salient characteristic of his female characters: Juno, if she cannot move Heaven will release Hell[1] in her efforts to annihilate the Trojans; and Amata in her attempt to achieve her desire would resort to an orgiastic frenzy and harangue all her women-folk to join her.

In her wild fury Dido lashed out vehemently at Aeneas for his intention to leave Carthage: he was 'perfide' (4^{305}) and 'crudelis' (4^{311}) and it would be unfair of him to leave her alone and unprotected against those whom he had caused to hate her, and with nothing to hope for except to die friendless and without even a child to remember him by. Whereupon Aeneas, in a speech which shows the difference between Dido's uncontrolled emotion and his own calm composure acknowledges his obligations to Dido which he would never forget; but he denied having intended to steal away secretly. He had never claimed to be her lawful husband, nor did he mean to stay in Carthage, and, moreover, the gods and his duty to his father and

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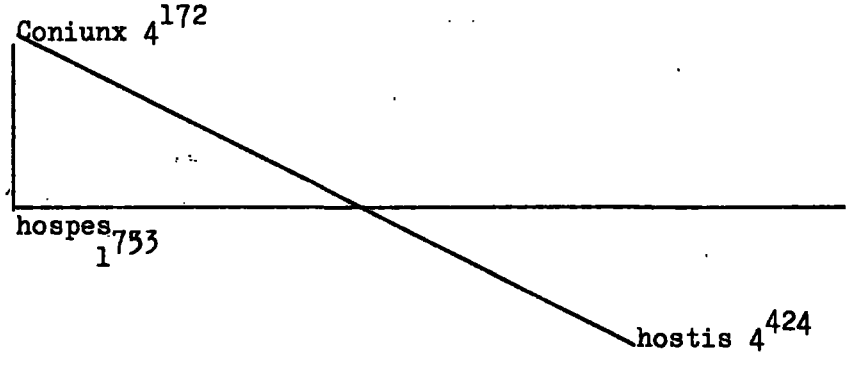
[1] VII^{312}: flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo; also for a more detailed explanation see the concluding chapter.

his son required him to make for Italy. Logic must be put before emotion.

This speech which was 'Iovis monitis'[1] provoked Dido's outburst and roused her from pitiable pathos to fury. Her unrestrained love now turned to unrestrained hatred and to him whom she had originally addressed as 'nate dea' she said 'nec tibi diva parens;[2] he was not even considered a human being; he was a dupe who moreover had not shown any appreciation of her benevolence; she will pursue him even to his grave and he will pay the penalty for his 'wrong-deed'.

It is noteworthy here that Dido's speech and her wild outbreak of fury do not tally with the delicacy and kindliness of her welcome to Aeneas in Bk I. The following graph succintly illustrates her estimation of Aeneas at various stages in the Aeneid:



The rise of the graph (corresponding to the graduation of the relationship) from 'hospes' to 'coniunx' was not a genuine one; it had a false basis[3] and hence the inevitably steep and anti-climactic

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1 IV 327

2 IV 635

3 See IV 172

decline to 'hostis'. This abysmal drop shows not merely her conception of her relationship with Aeneas, but is also one of the elements in her tragedy - the reversal of her fortunes, the contrast between the past and the present.[1]

It was now night, and peace and repose were being enjoyed by the elements and all mortals except Dido (IV^{522ff}). Vergil makes us realise that even in this situation 'furor' continues to be a dominant motivation and persistent element in her actions:

'..... ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens
Saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.'

IV^{531-2}

> "Her pain redoubles, and her love swells to renewed madness, as she tosses on the strong tide of wrath."[2]

For after her unsuccessful attempts - in which Anna's consistent instrumentality as a go-between has been summed up in the words fert refertque[3] - to persuade Aeneas to stay, we see her engaging in a terrific mental wrestling at the dead of night and considering what expedient she should resort to out of all the avenues that lay open to her; and there is pathos in the fact that every single consideration leads to the inevitable solution of death (Quin morere ut merita es.) She is now somewhat aware of her faults, and

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[1] See page 35

[2] 'Vergil's Works' - translation by J. W. Mackail.

[3] IV^{438}

she utters regrets in the following words:

> "non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam
> degere, more ferae, tales nec tangere curas....."

"Ah, that I could not spend my life, apart from wedlock, a blameless life, even as a wild creature knowing not such cares." This translation is from the Loeb series; and although in this thesis I have for the most part adopted its translation, I find it difficult to accept this particular rendering. The key to the understanding of the passage lies in the analysis of the meaning and implications of the words (1) non licuit (2) thalami expertem and (3) more ferae: (1) non licuit: for the above Loeb translation to be acceptable, I think the original passage would require ut non licuit (mihi) thalami experti etc. (Moreover it seems more plausible to supply 'me' to modify 'expertem'). The essential thing is for us to note the difference between the dative with 'licet' and the accusative and infinitive standing as subject. Professor E.C. Woodcock[1] points out that "An accusative and infinitive may stand as subject to licet, with or without the dative of the person for whom the thing is permissible. But licet me ire does not mean quite the same as licet mihi ire. The latter is more particular and it means I am permitted to go; the former means, 'my going is permissible'." Therefore I take the general sense of the passage as: "Why was it not generally permissible (by the Fates) that women should lead the

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[1] 29 § 212: 'A new Latin Syntax' Methuen Series.

life of a wild beast - without blame? Then I should have been chaste and free from such reproaches as are now mine; then also, the circumstances should not have arisen whereby I would either make or break an oath of faithfulness." (2) - (3) 'Sine crimine' and 'more ferae' should be taken together since they are closely connected i.e. 'like a wild beast free from reproach or human passions'.[1] Servius'[2] suggestion - that the wild animal referred to is a lynx which does not take a second mate after it has lost a first one - does not quite explain the context. But I agree with Connington's[3] thesis that Dido was longing for the life of a wild beast in the woods and thus she was idealizing Camilla's virginity which arose out of her wild life. De Witt,[4] arguing on the same lines-that feminine purity is being idealized - rightly places more emphasis on 'feritas' (the concept and the symbol) than on 'fera' (the object), for it was wildness which characterized the ascetic life of Camilla. Thus I take the entire passage as a complaint ('questus')[5] against the general ordering of human life by the Fates.[6] Also the complaints

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1 Thus Vergil makes her regret her furor.

2 Ad loc. 3 Ad loc. See also Mackail.

4 'The Dido episode in the Aeneid of Vergil, 1907; also, cf Bk IV[15ff].

5 The argument of critics who take the above passage as an exclamation or a statement of fact is rendered highly tenuous by Vergil's use of this word in IV[553]

6 cf IV[371-2] where Dido emphasizes their gross injustice (:')

cannot have been against Anna (as some commentators have suggested) since Dido herself admitted that Anna had advised her 'lacrimis evicta meis'.[1]

Finally when Dido in her utter desperation realised that Aeneas was obdurate in his piety and was already on his way out of Carthage she contented herself with imprecating an eternal enmity between his race and hers - fulfilled, as the poet means to bear in mind, in the long and bloody wars between Rome and Carthage.[2]

> litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
> imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque

IV[628-9]

"Let shores clash with shores, waves with billows, arms with arms, May they themselves fight, and their descendants."
Such were the words motivated by the furor of rejected love and by a feeling of love-become-hate. Moreover the definite political tonality of this passage can be better appreciated if it is compared with 1[13-14] where Vergil describes Carthage as 'Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe / ostia' - a passage more symbolic of political opposition than of geographical location.

This curse is followed by a brilliant epitaph which shows her nobility and proves that despite her 'furor' and flaws her magnificence is still a queen's. In the existing circumstances, death - so she thought - was what behoved her as a queen and as a founder of a nation;

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[1] IV[548].

[2] i.e. the Punic Wars (B.C. 265-242, 218-201, 149-146).

it is the only alternative to an unpromising life and a sure way of preserving her ego, her self respect, and her glory. She would nevertheless remember the brave and noble life she had lived and still proudly say:

> Vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi
> et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago
> urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi.

IV^{653ff}

'Vixi' is emphatic by its position i.e. she had lived a useful and purposeful life. We should also note the difference between 'mei.....imago' (in the passage) and 'mea imago'; the former is more dignified and has a touch of egoism[1] (i.e. 'the image of Me'), the latter would have produced a weak effect i.e. 'my image' simpliciter. Thus the general sense and grandeur of this passage is as follows: "I have lived my life (I have not merely existed) I have finished the course that fortune gave me, and now in majesty my very image shall pass beneath the earth. A noble city have I built, my own walls have I seen." Thus once again, Dido "is a queen as in the beginning - and greater and more Roman than ever. If passion obscured her true self, death confirms and maintains it on a higher and purer plane. Through the dignity of death she becomes the "great image", as which she descends into the underworld. 'For

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[1] cf. the touch of egoism in the royal plural 'nostri nuntius' 4^{237}. cf. also the effectiveness of statui, vidi, recepi.

a man walks among the shades in the form in which he leaves the earth'."[1]

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[1] Viktor Poschl 'The Art of Virgil', pp.88.

Vergil's use of 'infelix' and its special connection with Dido's 'furor'

Dido - 8 times:

3 for the inception of her 'furor' (her violent passion for Aeneas).	(1) 1^{712ff} where Vergil adds the explanatory phrase 'pesti devota futurae' and comments on her 'furor' - 'ardescitque tuendo'. (2) 1^{749} Vergil's description of the outcome of Cupid's mission: 'Infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem' 'The ill starred Dido was persistently drinking the draughts of love'. Here 'infelix' repeated from 1^{712} as an omen of the story's end in Bk IV. (3) $IV^{68ff.}$ Dido's consuming passion, followed by the dear simile..... .....haeret lateri letalis harundo..." cf. haerent infixi pectore voltus verbaque. IV^{4}. Also, in IV^{68ff} her 'infelicitas' is positively and inextricably bound up with her furor: uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur urbe furens.....
4 for its results.	(1) IV^{450} After trying in vain to dissuade Aeneas from leaving Carthage

	she now prays for death. Her 'furor' is frustrated. (2) IV$^{529-532}$: During her sleepless night: Her state of mind during this sleepless night could be summed up with the word 'furor'. Note that what immediately follows line 532 is Saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu (note that furo and saevio are related words.) (3) IV^{596} At Aeneas Departure. Dido uses the epithet for herself and immediately speaks of her 'impia facta' (4) V^{3} When Aeneas was sailing away. The poet here sympathises with Dido.
1 for Aeneas' expressed sympathy.	Aeneas addressing Dido in the shades.

Cetera: - Amata and family - 4

The Nisus-Euryalus episode - 4

Ulysses - 2

30 other characters - 30

Conclusions:-

(1) Dido is the character with the greatest single share of the

epithet infelix, just as she has the greatest single share of 'furor' (see the statistics on furor in the appendix). And as I have shown in my comment on the passages quoted above, the poet's use of 'infelix' for Dido is closely connected with his use of 'furor' in describing her actions. And since her 'furor' led her to her tragic end, we can safely conclude that the epithet strongly emphasized the tonality of high tragedy in her episode.

Thus the poet has made 'infelix' (and, of course, 'furor') a special characteristic of Dido and her rôle in the epic, as 'pius' is a salient characteristic of Aeneas.

(2) Apart from the overt expression of the poet's sympathy for his heroine (1^{712}, V^{3}) all the other six passages suggest - though less directly - his tender feelings for her situation. He sympathises with her but he does not approve of her actions.

Thus, the epithet 'infelix' is an index to the mind of Vergil, his humanity and magnanimity; for he was most sensitively responsive to the suffering of human beings.

Vide:- Rebert: T.A.P.A. 59 (1928) 57-71.

Index Verborum Vergilianus

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ARGUMENTATIO

The Dido episode is for the most part devoted to the pathetic and the poet has skilfully exhausted the subject by arousing in us the passions of pity. Although Dido is first introduced to us as the pure bride of a good husband to whom she has both given her love and sworn an oath of eternal faithfulness, our pity is aroused as we realise she was the victim of a cruel wrong and of deception both of which were aggravated by the fact that the guilty person was her own brother. Moreover, although for a moment our sympathy for her misfortune turns to admiration for the energy and courage she displayed in leading away her people and founding a city, the pendulum of our emotions later swings back to the pathetic; we pity her as we see the generous hostess now at the mercy of her guest, and as the 'dux femina' degenerates into 'infelix Dido' and sacrifices her ideal to her inclination. The tabulation given below represents the antithesis between her past and her present - in short, her μετάβασις , which is the main important element in her tragedy:

Past	Present
Joy, dignity and splendour: Vide the simile in 1.499ff: (Qualis.... Diana.....talis erat Dido....)	Sorrow, frustration, loss of self-respect, finally leading to suicide.
Warm and generous welcome to Aeneas and his followers...."optima Dido"	Unrestrained hatred of Aeneas ".....furens Dido....."

Past	Present
Loyalty to Sycchaeus "ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro" 4^{29}	Breach of 'fides' to Sycchaeus. "non servata fides cineri promissa Sycchaes" 4^{552}
Governmental administration and keen concern for the progress of her city: under her able and efficient management her subjects were "qualis apes" 1^{430}, Vergil describes the busy atmosphere as "fervet opus" 1^{436} and her keenness is summed up in the words "instans operi regnisque futuris" 1^{504}	Stagnation due to passion: "non coeptae adsurgunt turres.... .... pendent opera interrupta ....." $4^{88ff.}$
The prosperity of her rising kingdom of which she was justly proud: "urbem quam statuo"[1] 1^{513}	And, finally, with her death[2] the 'death' of her city: "extinxti te meque, soror popolumque patresque /Sidonios urbemque tuam" IV^{685}

[1] Note the emphatic position of "urbem", which suggests pride.

[2] She plans her death without considering what a tremendous loss it will mean to her sister or her city. Her dominant principle at this time was SELF not OTHERS. Vide Wiegand in C.W. 23 (1930) 72.

There is also tragedy in the antithesis between her initial 'pietas'[1] and her subsequent 'impietas' for she began to love Aeneas contrary to the vows made to the manes of her first husband, which to her were a kind of deity. Worse still she began at the same time to suppose that these manes were no longer concerned about her and lay no obligation upon her to keep her vows. Last of all, seeing that Aeneas was about to leave her by the gods' order she would persuade him that they are quite ignorant and unconcerned at what is done here on earth.[2] As I have indicated earlier and as I shall elaborate in the last chapter of this thesis, this idea of achieving their desires by hook or by crook is the dominant characteristic in Vergil's female characters, and it is that which invests them with 'furor' and which leads them to their tragic ends.

Moreover Vergil artistically shows the intensity of her tragedy and flaw by initially making a comparison between her and Aeneas - in experience, dignity and stature. In experience they were both leaders of their people in times of crisis, and both of them had lost a partner in a native land, never to be seen again. For their similarity in dignity and stature we have to compare briefly the

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[1] i.e. "Regina ad Templum.....1496sqq

[2] cf. Lucretius: De rerum Natura. Bk III - Iv.
Moreover, to emphasize the impropriety of Dido's relationship with Aeneas, Vergil uses 'amare' (denoting love, passion and impure thoughts) with reference to this relationship whilst he uses 'diligere' (a word used for husband members of a family) to refer to Dido's love for Sycchaeus. See: De Witt op.cit.

relevant aspects of the simile in $1^{496-503}$ (characterizing Dido) and that in $4^{141-150}$ (illuminating Aeneas):

Dido	Aeneas
regina ad templum forma pulcherrima Dido, Incessit magna iuvenum stipante caterva. qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram fert umero, gradiensque deas supereminet omnes (Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus): talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat.	ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit. qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi: ipse iugis Cynthi graditur, mollique fluentem fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro, tela sonant umeris: haud illo segnior ibat Aeneas; tantum egregio decus enitet ore.

Thus, they are both superlatively good looking; both are majestic and are surrounded, attended and admired by a crowd of people. Aeneas is compared to Apollo leading the chorus Delos, and to Apollo the hunter; Dido overtops her companions and is compared to Diana the huntress. R.A. Hornsby[1] comments on both similes thus: "The appropriateness of similes drawing on the gods who were the twin children of Latona becomes apparent. Indeed, the use of the two similes suggests that there should be a continuing similarity between

[1] 'The Vergilian Simile as means of Judgement' C.J. 60 (1965).

the lives of Aeneas and Dido. But we know there will not be". In fact what follows is a concatenation of events unfolding the dissimilarities of their natures - Aeneas' calm composure and Dido's wild rage; Aeneas' subordination of desire to duty[1] and emotion to Logic, and Dido's sacrifice of her ideal to her inclination.[2] Thus we find that their initial copious similarities only help to emphasize the sharp contrasts which we eventually notice in their natures. A sense is engendered whereby one feels that Vergil makes Dido an 'alter Aeneas' in order to show how much she was 'aliter quam Aeneas' and thereby to show what a θεοειδης Aeneas was. This is part of Dido's role in the Aeneid - to convince us of the superiority of Aeneas.

Closely allied with this is the political symbolism of the Dido-Aeneas affair. Macrobius in his Saturnalia[3] states that Vergil borrowed some materials from the lost Bellum Punicum of Naevius which apart from mentioning the storm of Juno and the interview between Venus and Jove, contained a description of Dido's meeting with Aeneas. If this conjecture is acceptable, then the tale of

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1 Vide: Fowler; Roman Studies and Interpretations (1920) 187-188 for the primacy given to public duty by Aeneas and Augustus.

2 Also, the fact that Aeneas sees 'fore and aft' while Dido is more swayed by what is present.

3 2^{31}.

Aeneas and Dido formed a background to the Punic Wars, although Vergil differs from this literary creditor in that he makes the historical a background to the legendary and dovetails both in a most artistic way. Moreover the Punic War is not an episode in the Aeneid; the poet makes it underlie the entire encounter of the founder of Rome and the foundress of Carthage. He transforms Aeneas and Dido into representatives, - one of Rome and the other of Carthage - and he delineates their characters in such a way as to illustrate and emphasize the clash of two national tempers. Glover[1] comments that "the oriental and the western character meet, and bring with them all that they imply: ideals of state and government, of citizenship, of law and thought."[2] It is in this light that we should understand Aeneas' treatment of Dido, his moral superiority to her, her prophetic imprecations[3] on his descendants, her self-destruction and simultaneously the destruction of Carthage.

Moreover along with the other tragic characters (Turnus, Camilla, Amata and even Juno[4], Dido's patron goddess), Dido represents the demonic element trying to prevent the hero from achieving his goal.

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1 T.R. Glover: 'Virgil'.

2 cf. Nettleship: "Suggestions introductory to the study of the Aeneid" (1875) who says that the purpose of the Aeneid is to show the conflict of great principles.

3 $_4$628-629.

4 I take Juno as a tragic character because of the disgrace she had to face at the end of the Aeneid, because of the antithesis between her initial powerful storms (in Bks I and IV) and her eventual surrender and acquiescence in the plans of fate.

They constitute a large part of the "molis" which the founding of Rome involved.[1] But they also help to enhance Aeneas' character because he conquers them and proves superior to them. Poschl rightly comments that "the divine brilliance of Aeneas' heroic nature shines all the more gloriously against the sombre background of their (Turnus' and Dido's) demoniacal existence. He is, as it were, a being of higher nature"[2]. The moral in their defeat and in Aeneas' eventual triumph is the victory of good over evil, the annihilation of 'furor' by 'pietas'.

Besides being a political and demonic symbol, and besides being a queen of splendour and majesty, Dido is portrayed as a typical female. She is as much an ordinary woman as she is a queen; for although Vergil presents her to us with all the pomp and splendour of royalty, although her name is significantly mentioned - for the first time in the Aeneid - side by side with the proudest word in the Latin language ("imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta.....")[3] we nevertheless realise that she shares the same psychological traits with any other woman: it was most feminine to dote upon little Ascanius, to shed tears when she was resolving to remain faithful to

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1 "Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem" 1^{33}. Also, in this sense Dido's role is analogous to that of Homer's Calypso in that both detained the hero from his goal.

2 Op. cit. page 99.

3 I^{340}

Sycchaeus[1] and never to remarry, and, to swoon away after inveighing vehemently against Aeneas. Moreover it was most like a childless woman to say:

> "Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
> ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus[2] aula
> luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
> non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer"

IV[327-330]

Dido's tragedy in the Aeneid lay not so much in the fact that she was lonely[3] and childless, not so much in her tragic widowhood and her pre-Carthage experience, as in what she does with these misfortunes. In her case, Vergil seems to teach us that experience is not merely what happens to a man: it is what a man does with what happens to him. Dido suffers not because of the situation she is in, but because of the interaction of her character with the situation. Her ἁμαρτία μεγάλη[4] lay in the breach of her vow to her dead husband, and this the poet makes her admit in 4[352]: "non servata fides cineri promissa Sycchaeo". This represents and illustrates the type of flaw which Aristotle recognized as necessary for a tragic hero or heroine.

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1 IV[30] Sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis
R.G. Austin ad loc "..... her tears show that she is unstable and irresolute".

2 R.G. Austin ad loc: "Parvulus" here is a very remarkable word and Vergil's use of it shows Dido not as an epic heroine, but as a real and tender woman".

3 "Sola" 4[82], 4[467]. 5[343].

4 Aristotle: 'poetics' XIII[6].

Nevertheless, despite this great flaw of hers, Vergil is fair and objective enough to grant her a heroic death, - such as befitted a queen's dignity[1]. What is more she is given a little triumph and a restoration of dignity at the end: for in the sixth book, in the underworld, when Aeneas was no longer under compulsion to conceal his feeling, he weeps and pleads with her (455-466) but she remained stonily unresponsive (470-471). Rather, her heart joins itself her beloved Syccheaes - a gesture reminiscent of her determination in IV[28-29]:

> ille meus primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
> abstulit, ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro

Thus, Dido now makes good her mistake, and thus the situation in the sixth book is the reverse of that in the fourth book. In Bk VI it is Aeneas who begs suppliantly and suffers keenly: Dido's heart restores its magnificence.

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[1] See page 29. I am not suggesting that Vergil meant to glorify her suicide, but the motives - to save her ego, her loss of face and her self-respect. Therein lies the 'dignity'.

CHAPTER

TWO

CHAPTER II

The Words 'pius' and 'pietas' in reference to Aeneas and how they affect his relationship with Dido

Almost everywhere in the Aeneid the hero is dignified with the title 'pius' and the poet uses the word pietas in describing some of his actions. Although the frequent repetition of the word may be mistakenly thought to be tautological or perfunctory on the part of the poet, yet the epithet seems to convey with it the design of the whole poem, namely the founding of a new state according to the dictates of heaven. Far from being a nominal one, the epithet is as characteristic of Aeneas as 'contemptor divum' is of Mezentius and 'acer' of Messapus.

The epithet is so pregnant with meaning and implications that it is difficult to translate it adequately. Thus we find that translators are oscillating between the words: 'true', 'good', 'bold', 'pious' and'faithful'. 'Pietas' does not mean piety - for that is only part of its meaning. Nor can the addition of pity to piety amount to the exact connotation of the word. However, a greater light will be thrown on the poet's conception of these words by an examination of some of the chief passages in which they occur:

(1) Rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter
nec pietate fuit nec bello maior et armis

[1]544-545

"Our king was Aeneas, none more righteous than he in goodness, or greater in war and deeds of arms." In this passage Ilioneus

while appealing to Dido to give shelter to the Trojans, gives a succinct description of Aeneas' qualities. Here, Vergil with Iloneus as mouthpiece shows some of the paramount qualities of which he wishes to portray in his hero; and "to speak of a man as 'iustus pietate' implies that he fulfils all the claims which are imposed on him by duty to the gods".[1] Thus Aeneas is stamped from the beginning as a national hero comparable to the man of character whom Vergil admires in the famous simile (1^{148}) who exemplifies the Roman virtues of pietas, gravitas and virtus.

Vergil uses the epithet 'pius' to denote so many aspects of Aeneas' pietas: in 1^{220} when the hero is represented as mourning the fate of his dear comrades whom he believed lost in the storm; 1^{305} as he explores the land of Africa; in V^{26} on their way out of Carthage, when at the inception of a storm Aeneas welcomed Palinuru's suggestion that they should divert their course and make for Sicily - because his father[2] was buried there; in VI^{9-11} when he seeks the temple of Apollo while his companions pitch a camp on the shore and prepare the feast; twice later in the same book, $VI^{176, 232}$ where he is shown carrying out the commands of the Sybil (Apollo) about the rites of the funeral of Misenus; and in VII^{5} after the burial of his

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[1] F. Page:- 1^{544n}

[2] This, - coupled with his rescue of his father from the flames of Troy and the funeral games (Bk V) which were a religious rite performed in his father's memory - constitutes his 'pietas in patrem'.

old nurse Caieta - Vergil comments on the incident and on Aeneas' gesture in the following lines:

> At pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis
> Aggere composito tumuli.....

'So Aeneas the true correctly paid the demands of her funeral and firmly built her a mound". From this passage it can be seen that one of the component parts of pietas is the performance of due religious rites to one's fellowmen. Pius is here used in a religious and sacerdotal context and this may be one of the passages Pichon had in mind (in his edition of Vergil, 1926) that the epithet 'pius' better befits a priest and king than a warrior. It is also noteworthy that the performance of religious rites to one's fellowmen can involve, simultaneously, a ministration to the gods - 'pietas in deos', in Greek θεοσέβεια. Aeneas' actions at the funerals of Misenus and Caieta are good examples of this - he is doing an honour to his dead friends and, at the same time, praying to the gods. An exclusive display of θεοσέβεια, however, is shown when Aeneas offers up a prayer: V[685] when the Trojan ships were on fire; 8[84] where he carries out the orders of the river god Tiber and makes sacrifices to Juno; 12[75] where, before the battle with Turnus, he calls upon Jove in prayer.

Furthermore, the fact that the chief motivation of Aeneas' gestures at the funerals of Misenus and Caieta, and in mourning his his lost comrades, is his love for them suggests that the Roman view

of the paterfamilias may have contributed to the concept of pietas. The increase in Aeneas' responsibility after Anchises' death is most noticeable. Later also he had to lead his people 'per tot casus' and to found a new home for them.

In some other passages the poet uses 'pius' for Aeneas in a controversial sense, particularly in battlescenes: X[591] where he is described as pius when he gibes at Lucagus thrown from his chariot; X[783] when he hurled a spear at Lausus; and in XII[311] when in the heat of the battle he appeals to his men to keep the treaty. But the enigma disappears when we remember that all through the last days of the struggle with the Latins Aeneas had been bitterly obsessed by grief for his friend Pallas and had been fighting severely and mercilessly to avenge his death. Thus, in that situation he had a satisfied feeling in a disaster that befell his opponents. Thus, in a sense, he was being pious, although this was impious piety. The difference between pius Aeneas fighting and his opponents fighting lies in their motives; while they are fighting out of 'furor' and 'violentia', Aeneas "fights without the violence and cupidity that make war an end in itself or an expression of irrational furor indifferent to any peaceful or rational purpose. The obverse of 'debellare superbos' is always for him 'parcere subiectis' because his final aim is 'pacis imponere morem'."[1]

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[1] Brookes Otis: "Vergil: A Study in Civilized Poetry" p. 316.

In 10^{521} Aeneas the son of Anchises is struck by the filial devotion of Lausus who had died for his father (patriae subiit pietatis imago) and is moved with compassion. Pius here may mean "pitying" but it would be much more forceful when taken with the lines:

> "..... teque parentum
> manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto"

where 'pius Aeneas' promises that funeral rites will be carried out. So 'pius' here conveys both the idea of pity and of religious observance. Here, as mentioned above, the hero has avenged his friend by killing his enemy and the opposing emotions of satisfaction and pity "unite in protest, as it were, at the mysterious inevitability of a pain that he has himself inflicted and cannot comprehend - he has done his duty but it has brought him no happiness."[1]

It is in this sense of doing his duty at all costs that we should understand Vergil's application of the epithet 'pius' to him in 4^{393} where he deserts Dido. It cost him his personal pleasure and his natural inclination. This fact is echoed in the words 'Italiam non sponte sequor' IV^{361}. His love to Dido must be disregarded in the face of his loyalty to his nation and to the gods. In this sense he had sinned not by leaving Dido but by having stayed with her:

Vergil seems to sum up the effect of pietas in the Aeneas-Dido

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[1] R.G. Austin op.cit.pp.122.

relationship in lines 393-396 in Bk IV:

> At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
> solando cupit et dictis avertere curas
> multa gemens magnoque animum labefaetus amore
> iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit.

"But good Aeneas, though hoping to soothe and assuage her grief and by his words turn aside her sorrow, with many a sigh, his soul shaken by his mighty love yet fulfils heaven's bidding and returns to the fleet." It is noteworthy from the grammatical point of view that by the introduction of the "quamquam"....."tamen" construction Vergil has shown vividly the contrast between the easy and natural way that lay open to Aeneas and the hard but divine way which he followed.[1]

An aspect of pietas can be seen in the story of the fall of Troy and the rescue of Anchises and the little Iulus:

> dextrae se parvulus Iulus
> Implicuit, sequitur patrem non passibus aequis
> II[723]

'Little Iulus clasps his hand in mind and follows his father with steps that match not his." This instinctive act of the child - of slipping his hand into his father's - can in a way be understood as his own comment on his father's pietas. So that in this context 'pietas' could be 'fatherliness' on protection to one's own kinsmen.

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[1] Vide. "A new Latin Syntax" by Professor E.C. Woodcock, note 245, where quamquam is said to have meant "to whateger degree".

A good illustration of an aspect of pietas can be seen in the familiar utterance of Aeneas when he saw the pictures of the Trojan warriors, including himself, on the walls of Dido's temple -

sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt

1^{462}

"There are tears for misfortune, and mortal sorrows touch the heart." In commenting on this passage, Wordsworth and Sainte-Beuve think that it refers to the appeal of man's lot to man:

"Tears to human sufferings are due
And mortal hopes defeated and overthrown
Are mourned by man" - Laodamia.

The interpretation could then be that Aeneas appreciates that since in Carthage too, human creatures have human hearts, he found consolation in the fact that the inhabitants will be moved to sympathize with the Trojans and to give them shelter. I appreciate, however, that the reference of this passage can be topical i.e. 'there are tears for our misfortune'.

A SYNTHESIS

Usually a hero is made to possess a singular quality or salient characteristic, and Vergil makes pietas Aeneas' main quality in the Aeneid. Apart from the human aspect of his association with Dido, most of his other gestures in the Aeneid can be classed under one main heading - pietas.

I have shown in the preceding section how, in many ways, Aeneas was pius in patrem, in filum, in patriam et in deos.[1]

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[1] Vide 1^{378} where the meaning of pietas in deos is justified by the relative clause.

Thus we can see that "pietas" is a devotion to kinsmen, race, nation, and gods. Its nature should be such that its possessor should recognize various grades in devotion and not (to) allow a lower loyalty to prevail over a higher and more extensive one. And in the context of the Aeneas-Dido relationship his loyalty to Dido may be well regarded as lower and inferior to his loyalty to the gods. Humanly speaking he loved Dido, but he recognized that the execution of divine will is more important than his own personal pleasure. A painful necessity though it might be, his hands were tied and he had to put first things first.

Pietas has such a wide range of meaning that even an irreligious person or a devil could be in some sense, 'pius'. In this narrow and limited sense, even Mezentius[1], 'the notorious' contemptor divum' might be described as 'pius' because of the affection subsisting between him and his son (pius in filium); and even Amata in spite of her casuistical explanation of the oracular injunctions, could be called 'pia' because of her affection for her daughter (pia in filiam). But this ingredient is inferior to some other grades of 'pietas'. The grades in loyalty are well set forth by Cicero in his De Amicitia (19): "Cives potiores quam peregrini, propinqui quam alieni; cum his enim amicitiam natura ipsa peperit; sed ea non satis habet firmitatis."

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[1] The fight between him and pius Aeneas 10^{783} constitutes, symbolically, the struggle between 'pietas' and 'impietas', - like the Aeneas-Turnus confrontation in the last book of the Aeneid.

And in his De Officiis 1[160] he says:

> "In ipsa autem communitate sunt gradus officiorum ex quibus quid cuique praestet intellegi possit, ut prima diis immortalibus, secunda patriae, tertia parentibus, deinceps gradatim reliquis debeantur."

And thirdly,

> "At neque contra nem publicam neque contra iusiurandum ac fidem amici causa vir bonus faciet.

(De officiis 3[43]).

"But a good man will not act either against the state nor contrary to the obligation of his oath and loyalty to the gods, for the sake of a friend."

If, then, Aeneas was to be a 'vir bonus' he could not be portrayed as preferring human loyalties to divine ones; so Vergil's presentation of Aeneas was in accordance with one of the purposes of the Aeneid. One of the morals he meant to teach by the entire story was pious resignation and its rewards. Moreover, since Vergil was writing an epic to glorify the achievements of Rome, and since the Romans felt that they were, in a sense, the chosen race and that their destinies were somehow controlled by higher powers, he could not but introduce a religious motif into his poem. Warde Fowler[1] comments on pietas by describing it as that sense of duty to family, state, and gods which rises in spite of trial and danger, superior to the enticements of individual passion and selfish ease". Thus Aeneas was portrayed as subduing the bad individualism of Dido, Turnus, Mezentius

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[1] "The Religious Experience of the Roman people."

and subordinating his own to the will of the gods and to the service of the state.

From the fore-going it can be seen that Vergil has intentionally - and most significantly - used the epithet 'pius' in describing Aeneas when he determined to depart from Carthage despite Dido's entreaties 4^{393}. In fact the words 'At pius Aeneas' were designed to show Aeneas' role in the Aeneid in relation to and in distinction from Dido's. Apart from switching our attention from Dido to Aeneas, the conjunction "At" implies a suggestion that Dido is other than pius; it negatives and depreciates what precedes it (i.e. Dido's attempt to have her way by hook or by crook).[1] Thus Dido provides Aeneas with a 'folie gestalt' or foil figure and thus Vergil the consummate artist uses Dido's dishonourable passion to enhance his hero's honour. All that Vergil has in Dido's favour is sympathy, not judgement.[2] He thinks she got what she deserved - for sacrificing her ideal to her inclinations, and for being to Aeneas a temptress, an Eve and a Cleopatra. That she broke her faith to her dead husband was obviously a chronic offence to the old and austere traditions of Rome.

Lastly Vergil makes us see the weight of Aeneas' pietas by making

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[1] "Scilicet is superis labor est ea cura quietos sollicitat" cf. Lucretius 2^{646}.

[2] Vide the paper entitled "Vergil and the Underdog" (T.A.P.A. Vol.56, 1925, pp. 185-212 where E. AdelaideHahn proves Vergil's sympathy for his characters grows as their misfortunes increase, whatever the side they represent; but that this does not mean that he approves or excuses the persons whom he pities.

him say to Dido - when he met her in the shades below - in the tenderest manner imaginable:

> Was I the unhappy cause of your death
> Funeris, heu! tibi causa fui!

"I swear by all the powers of heaven and hell, that I left your kingdom with the deepest reluctance and regret. But the very same gods that have commended me to visit (as you see) these dismal infernal regions, laid on me their strict injunctions to forsake Carthage, and drove me out of your kingdom:

> Sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras
> Per loca senta situ cogunt, noctemque profundam
> Imperiis egere suis -

So that Aeneas gives her the most indisputable proof, even oracular demonstration of his perfect obedience to the will of heaven - an essential element in his 'pietas' and the only motive that could have induced him to leave her.

Some critics have condemned Vergil's delineation of Aeneas' character on the grounds that his obedience to the gods and his consequent desertion of Dido (thus, by implication, his pietas) show that he lacked passion and freedom of will. T.R. Glover's comment which is fairly representative of this school of thought, runs thus: "This to the modern reader is one of the weaknesses in the character of Aeneas - there seems to be <u>no passion</u> there. It has been stamped out or so nearly stamped out as to rob him of almost all that play of mood and feeling which is one of the essentially human things. Half his humanity is lost by his self-suppression, for it is so effectively

done that we do not realize any struggle in him ..... He has lost the air of life ..... He has not enough freedom of will."[1]

To use Glover's own words in disproving the authenticity of his view, we may point out that "self-suppression" by its very nature, involves some choice and freedom of will as long as it is a man "suppressing" his own "self" and not an external force crushing his ego and thus making him a mechanical being. So that to describe Aeneas as engaging in self-suppression and at the same time to say that he had not enough freedom of will is a contradiction in terms. Moreover the fact that he was so much in love with Dido that he had to be reminded of his sacred mission is proof positive that like any other human being he was susceptible to the influence of passion. His choice to obey the gods shows his realisation of the fact that he had to be childlike among the gods in order to be god-like among men.

Vergil did not devitalize his hero and make him a passive recipient of divine will. Rather he shows us that despite his celebrated pietas (which involved his submission to fate and the will of the gods) Aeneas sometimes resisted fate[2] - as most human beings would: in Bk II after he had been told that fate decreed the fall of Troy, he nevertheless went ahead in his attempt to annihilate the Greeks; also in his talk to Venus in Bk I[372-385] he complained

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[1] T.R. Glover: Studies in Virgil 1904, pp. 194-5.

[2] Vide Prescott: "The Development of Virgil's art" 1927, page 479.

bitterly of his vicissitudes and of Venus' unmotherly conduct (407-9) and, commenting on this W.B. Anderson rightly points out that "Sum pius Aeneas is not a piece of smug complacency"... but ... "a cry wrung from a tortured heart"[1]. Moreover E.M. Blaicklock aptly describes Aeneas' stay at Carthage as "a brief interlude from destiny".[2] It is these points that help to prove that despite his high ideals Aeneas had human feelings, human tendencies. Professor Grant aptly points out that the belief that Aeneas is a servant of Fate "ignores a very different attitude in Vergil's own day. Aeneas represents the Stoic ideal - much admired by the poet and many of his contemporaries - of the man who presses on regardless of the buffets and obstacles of life. And there is a dramatic development of his character. He does not at once become the Stoic wise man. He has his weaknesses and only finally overcomes them."[3] The veracity of this view can be seen in the oak-simile (IV$^{441-449}$) and its 'annoso validam cum robore' - 'strong with the strength of years'. The oak

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1 Classical Review XLIV 1930 page 4.

2 Professor E.M. Blaicklock: "The hero of the Aeneid", University of Auckland Bulletin (1961). Our argument here is that if Aeneas could have an interlude from destiny, then he had a freedom of will and of choice.

3 'Roman Literature' 1954, pp. 196^{ff}.
See also C.M. Bowra: 'Vergil to Milton' pp. 33ff.
Also Brookes Otis: op.cit. 307ff; who insists against Pöshl ('Image and Symbol in Vergil's Aeneid) that Aeneas is a developing character who undergoes conversion and rebirth in Bk. VI.

has gained its strength and resilience through the years: in the same way Aeneas had toughened his moral and spiritual fibre through years of hardship and experience, years in which his stoic 'constantia' had been tested at every point.

In conclusion, Vergil cannot be justifiably criticized for making Aeneas as tough as we find him. "Tantae molis erat Romanam conderc gentem", says the poet, and it is only reasonable to expect that it will have to be an iron-willed man with great moral values who would achieve this - in short, tantus vir.

Double Causation in Vergil's Aeneid

Although in the Aeneid Vergil seems to present his tragic characters as having an unequal combat[1] with destiny and although he sometimes ascribes a new idea[2] or a strange occurrence to the intervention of the gods, nevertheless he shows that human beings are susceptible of divine influence without the loss of free agency. One should not be misled by his introduction of gods, because everything is psychologically motivated on the human plane as well.

A close study of the Aeneid leads to the conclusion that in spite of the gods, there is an inevitability in human actions. Aristotle is explicit on this point: "In the characters as in the grouping of the incidents, you should always study the laws of nature and moral certainty, so that it should become either necessary or morally certain for the kind of character to say or do the kind of thing, and in the particular order."[3] This is precisely what Vergil does. He works out the action in terms of human motives, human feelings and human effects.

It is noticeable that at the end of the life of a tragic character or at the end of an episode action of the poem, the character

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[1] As I have shown above in my discussion of Dido's character.

[2] e.g. $9^{717, 764}$; $10^{439, 689}$ et.c.

[3] "The Poetics". Chapter 15, Margoliouth's translation . cf. also Horace, Ars Poetica.

reproaches himself and admits that he is responsible for what has gone wrong: 9^{427} Nisus takes upon himself the entire responsibility for the attack on the enemy:

> "me, me adsum qui feci.....
> ..... mea fraus omnis" -
>
> 'on me, on me, here am I who did the deed.....
> mine is all the guilt'

Although Dido's heart was softened by divine will[1] so that she might receive the Trojans in a friendly manner and her union with Aeneas[2] in the cave had been pre-arranged by Juno and Venus, and although in this situation the gods and the elements play the parts normally taken by mortals at a wedding (i.e. flashes of lightning are the nuptial torches, the nymphs give the shout, Tellus and Juno give the signal)[3] we can nevertheless trace in the entire Aeneas-Dido affair an initial human responsibility and a subsequent psychological continuity. Says Tenney Frank, 'The poet simply and naturally leads the hero and the heroine through the experience of admiration, generous sympathy, and gratitude to an inevitable affection, which at the night's banquet, through a soul stirring tale told with dignity and heard with rapture could only ripen into a very human passion.'[4]

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1 $1^{299-300}$

2 4^{164-7}; even here we must appreciate that the gods are only making use of human intentions. This is self evident in Juno's speech to Venus. 4^{187ff} "Venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido / in nemus ire parant...." Thus human intention was already present, before divine action stepped in.

3 R.G. Austin's commentary pp. 68-69.

4 "Virgil" page 178.

At Aeneas' first appearance to Dido the poet shows the great impact of his personality on the queen[1]. Dido is attracted to Aeneas first by his look and bearing; and it is particularly noteworthy that Vergil later describes Dido as 'pulcherrima' 4^{60}, and Aeneas as 'pulcherrimus' 4^{141} - so it is only natural that 'like' should attract 'like'.[2] Subsequently her heart is attracted to him through pity for the sad story of his troubles; little Ascanius by his beguiling way feeds the flame, and when Aeneas gives her the full tale of his misfortune, pity sets her heart on fire. In fact, what woman would not succumb to such an epitome of heroism and handsomeness?

She tells her sister that were her heart not given to Syccheaus she has never seen the man whom she would more gladly embrace. Nor does she stop there; she goes on to pronounce a curse on herself if she violates her oath of faithfulness to her dead husband (4^{24}). This is part of her tragedy for the curse was cruelly fulfilled at the latter part of book 4, after she had broken this sacred oath. Thus the end of the Dido book is seen at its beginning.

Anna talks to her of the stupidity of being bound by old attachments at the cost of losing a lover; moreover she points out to Dido the political and dynastic advantages that could come of a union with Aeneas. Consequently the queen is more and more inflamed with passion, and when on a hunting party she and Aeneas are separated

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1 1^{613} "obstipuit primo aspectu Sidonia Dido".

2 Austin, op.cit. says "Aeneas is worthy of her just as Manlius was worthy of his young bride's beauty in Catullus 61^{189ff}."

from their companions, and at last in a cave during a thunderstorm she yields herself - without a word - to her deadly passion.

This is the purely simple human story devoid of divine interposition. Thus we can see that despite the plots of Venus and Juppiter, the design of Venus and Cupid, and the diplomacy of Venus and Juno, Dido is nevertheless a free moral agent. She is eventually shown to be conscious of having acted wrongly: 4^{172} "coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam" - the act was wrong and evil came of it"ille dies primus leti primusque malorum causa fuit" she herself speaks of "impia facta" (4^{596}). Finally in regret of her unachieved desire and in remorse for her misdeed she committed suicide in defiance of Fate - for although we may point out that the Romans do not seem to have regarded suicide as wrong,[1] it is quite possible as L.E. Matthei suggests, that "Vergil who clearly conceived the passion of Dido as a sin, was impelled to glorify her suicide, simply as an act of rebellion to an intolerable state of things."[2]

Personal human recognition of guilt and self-reproach is also manifested in the case of other characters: Anna blames herself 4^{681ff}; Mezentius confesses in 10^{851}: "dem ego nate tuum maculavi crimine nomen". Latinus admits "vincla omnia rupi / promissam

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[1] I owe this observation to the generosity of my supervisor, Professor Woodcock.

[2] Classical Quarterly, Volume XI (1917). "The Fates, the Gods, and the freedom of Man's will in the Aeneid."

eripui genero, arma impia sumpsi"! In Amata's role we are given a grammatical key to the level of human responsibility:

> Ille (i.e. the snake) volvitur attactu nullo fallitque furentem (Amatam)

Here, the idea expressed in the participial accusative takes place before the action of the main verb. Therefore this proves that Amata was already 'furens' before the snake inspired her with the Juno-sent wildness. So that in this case the divine agent did no more than invest the already existent 'furor' with a greater intensity; here the clock of human actions has been, as it were, divinely wound - but only after it has begun to tick. Furthermore, in 12^{599} we are told of Amata "et subito mentem turbata dolore / se causam clamat criminemque caputque, malorum".

Vergil does not shrink from showing or mentioning the responsibility of his characters - even of a dumb personage like Lavinia. Thus although she utters not a word in the whole book but appears only once - and that when she only blushes - she is significantly described as "causa mali tanti" XI^{480}.

Turnus has his human faults. He is defeated not mrely because the Fates were against him but because of his moral, spiritual and physical inferiority to Aeneas. This is most amply shown in the similes used in describing these two characters: on two occasions (1^{589}, 4^{143}) Aeneas' appearance is likened to a god's; but Turnus is never likened to a god except in 12^{331} when he is compared to

Mars.[1] Moreover Aeneas is depicted as being endowed with a superhuman power capable of effecting a mighty destruction and a retribution: in 8^{622} his corselet is blood-red and gleams afar like a dark-blue cloud; in 10^{270} flame streams from the crest of his helmet and his shield's golden boss spouts floods of fire like comets which glow bloodred at night or like Sirius who brings pestilence and disease to mankind; in battle he rages over the plain like Aegeon 10^{565}; in 12^{451} on his return to the fight after he had been wounded his approach is likened to that of a storm-cloud which is bound to bring destruction and downfall to trees and crops; at the mention of Turnus he rushes forth like a huge mountain 12^{701}; and during their single combat (12^{748ff}) Turnus took to his heels and Aeneas ran after him as a hunter pursues a deer; in the final combat Aeneas flies like a whirlwind and the irresistible nature and destructive force of his spear are described in the simile in 12^{921ff}. All these bring out Aeneas' physical superiority.

In showing Turnus' moral inferiority to Aeneas Vergil describes his destructive fury in such a way as to suggest that it is malicious rash and unjustifiable. "The greater part of valour is discretion", says Shakespeare[1] but Vergil shows that although Turnus had immense

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[1] cf the dignity and serenity in 1^{589}, 4^{143} with the violence and belligerence implicit in 12^{331ff}; so the comparison of Turnus to a god is a somewhat derogatory one and seems to suggest that his spiritual stature is lower than Aeneas'.

[2] Henry IV part I, Act V^{282}.

physical strength, yet he lacked reason and moderation. Thus he compares Turnus to beasts of prey or ferocious animals: he is compared to a marauding wolf baffled by the pens, 9^{59}[1]; an eagle or a wolf seizing its prey 9^{561}; a tiger 9^{730}; a lion 9^{792}, 10^{454}, 12^{4}; and a bull $12^{103ff, 715}$. And these similes are climaxed by the one in 12^{331ff} in which Turnus is compared to a god of war. Thus he is no longer like a beast of prey but is branded as a demon of war. Moreover Turnus is absent from the battle when his people need him most. And, worst of all, unlike Aeneas who is fighting for the common good and who sees war only as a means to peace, Turnus is fighting for his own selfish ends. Eventually, in the typically Vergilian way, he admits that he has done wrong: "equidem merui nec deprecor," inquit" 12^{931}.

As I will show in the next chapter although Camilla's death was foreseen and unprevented by the gods, nevertheless she perished not because of divine foreknowledge but because of a feminine human frailty - love of finery: "femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore".

Thus, in the Aeneid, nothing really happens that could not have happened without the gods. In fact the function of the gods can be summed up in Aristotle's words: "It is therefore evident that the evolution of the story should come about from the characters themselves

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[1] The lambs in the simile correspond to the Trojans.

and not by a "deus ex machina" as in the 'Medea' or in the Departure of the Fleet in the 'Iliad'; the 'deus ex machina' may, however, be employed for events in the background of the drama, either primeval mysteries unknowable by man or futurity which requires revelation and foreknowledge; for the gods are supposed to know everything."[1]

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[1] Aristotle's poetics: Chapter 15, Margoliouth's translation.

OTHER SOURCES

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CHAPTER

THREE

CHAPTER III

CAMILLA Bk VII$^{803-17}$
Bk XI$^{432-33}$
Bk XI$^{498-510}$
Bk XI$^{535-95}$
Bk XI^{648-}

Hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla,
agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas,
bellatrix, non illa colo calathisve Minervae
femineas adsueta manus, sed proelia virgo
dura pati cursuque pedum praetervere ventos.
illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret
gramina nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas,
vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumenti,
ferret iter celeris nec tingueret aequore plantas.
illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa inventus
turba que simirabatur matrum et prospectat euntem,
attonitis inhians animis, ut regius ostro
velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum.

VII$^{802-17}$

"To crown the array comes Camilla, of Volscian race, leading her troop of horse, and squadrons gay with brass, - a warrior-maid, never having trained her woman's hands to Minerva's distaff or basket of wool, but handy to bear the battle-brunt and in speed of foot to outstrip the winds. She might have flown o'er the topmost blades of unmown corn, nor in her course bruised the tender ears; or sped her way o'er the mid sea, poised above the swelling wave, nor dipped her swift feet in the flood. All the youth, streaming from house and field, and thronging matrons marvel, and gaze at her as she goes, agape with wonder how the glory of royal purple drapes her smooth shoulders; how the clasp entwines her hair with gold; how her own

hands bear a Lycian quiver and the pastoral myrtle tipped with steel."

It is in this splendid and artistic way that Vergil introduces Camilla to us. It is most remarkable that this introduction which comes at the end of book VII makes it an epilogue comparable to the one in book VI[860-80]. The latter is a splendid tribute to the memory of young Marcellus and lamentation over his loss (after his death in the autumn of 23 B.C.) and the former similarly forms an epilogue to the Italian catalogue of Book VII. Both add the touch of romantic beauty and human pity to the context in which they occur.

(a) "agmen agens equitum et Florentis aere catervas"

Servius in his commentary explains this metaphor of a flower in the following words:

"Ennius et Lucretius 'Florens' dicunt omne quod nitidum est; hoc est secutus Vergilius". But James Henry holds an opposite view: he thinks florere is equivalent to the Greek word ἀνθεῖν which means 'to bloom, to smell of the flower-garden. I accept Servius' interpretation and reject Henry's because bronze does not smell. The reference of this passage must be to appearance mainly but also to wealth and prosperity - they can afford good accoutrements. My interpretation is supported by Lewis and Short (Latin Dictionary) in which some of the meanings given for florere are: "shining, glistening, flourishing, prosperous, in the prime, in repute, fine excellent.

(b) There is an example of glittering and shining in 8^{593} where Vergil describes the "catervae" of Pallas as 'fulgentes aere'; he might as well have used fulgentes in VII^{804} if he were not trying to convey a deeper sense and meaning. It is also noteworthy that the epithet is applied to no other troop in the Aeneid and that it is repeated in 11^{433} in reference to the troops of Camilla. Perhaps in Vergil's mind, it was an exclusive preserve for Camilla and her troops!

(c) Heyne comments that the sense conveyed does not necessarily mean that "the troops of Camilla were in any respect more "fulgentes" or "splendentes" than any other troops, but that their 'florere,' their bloom, their finery was not the ordinary 'florere', bloom or finery of their sex, but the mainly martial bloom or finery of "aes". In connection with this point it might be pointed out that florere is applicable also to masculine bloom (i.e. Georgics 4^{563} where Vergil was referring to himself).

> illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
> Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti
> Carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa
> Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.

"In those days I, Vergil, was nursed of sweet Parthenope and rejoiced in the art of inglorious ease - I who dallied with the shepherds songs, and, in youth's boldness, sang Tityrus, of thee under thy spreading beech's covert."

In conclusion it could be said that florentes apart from its literal implication, is symbolic of Camilla's martial might and is one

of the contributive factors that make Camilla a masculine heroine. 'Florentes' embraces 'fulgentes' and 'splendentes' and suggests 'viratus' (manly conduct, manliness).

(d) Curiously and interestingly enough there is a close parallel between the above passage (VII 803-17) and Vergil's introduction of Dido in 1^{494ff}: Both Dido and Camilla have great dignity. Dido: incessit magna invenum stipante caterva[1]. Camilla: agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas[2]

Both are compared to the same goddess:

Dido - overtly: Qualis..... Diana..... illa pharetram / fert umero...[3]

Camilla - covertly: .....Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram/et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum.[4]

Both were objects of admiration:

Dido ..... talem se ferebat per medios[5]

Camilla ..... turbem miratur matrum et prospectat luntem.....[6]

Thus we can see that in Camilla's case, as in the case of Dido, Vergil begins a tragic drama with a happy and dignified scene. What Vergil achieves here is that the eventual tragedy becomes all the more tragis because of the antithesis involved.

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1 1^{497}.

2 VII^{804}.

3 $1^{498-501}$.

4 VII^{806}.

5 1^{503}.

6 VII^{813}.

Note, also, the use of gold to suggest splendour (ut fibula crinem auro internectat). cf the Chapter on Dido.

After a repetition of VII^{804} in XI^{433} Camilla's meeting with her chief is described in XI$^{498-519}$:

> obvia cui volscorum acie comitante Camilla
> occurit portisque ab equo regina sub ipsis
> desiluit, quam tota cohors imitata relictis
> ad terram defluxit equis; tum talia fatur:
> "Turne, sui merito si qua est fiducia forti
> audeo et Aeneadum promitto occurrere turmae
> solaque Tyrrhenus equites ire obvia contra
> me sine prima manu temptare pericula belli,
> tu pedes ad muros subsiste et moenia serva."
> Turnus ad haec, oculos horrenda in Virgine fixus
> "O decus Italiae virgo, quas dicere gratis
> quasve referre parem? Sed nunc, est omnia quando
> iste animus supra, mecum partire laborem
> Aeneas, ut fama fidem missique reportant
> exploratores, equitum levia improbus arma
> praemisit, quaterent campos; ipse ardua montis
> per deserta iugo superans adventat ad urbem.
> Furta paro belli convexo in tramite silvae,
> ut bivias armato obsidam milute fauces.
> tu Tyrrhenum equitem conlatis excipe signis;
> tecum acer Messapus erit turmaeque Latinae
> Tiburtique manus; ducis et tu concipe curam."

"To meet him sped o[illegible] Camilla, attended by the Volscian army, and hard by the gates the queen leaped from her horse; at whose example all her troop quitted their steeds and glided to earth. Then she thus speaks: "Turnus if the brave may justly place aught of trust in himself, I dare and promise to face Aeneas' cavalry, and singly ride to meet the Tyrrhene horse. Suffer this hand to essay war's first perils; do thou on foot stay by the walls and guard the town." To this Turnus with eyes fixed upon the dread maid: "O maiden, glory of Italy, what thanks shall I try to utter or repay? But now, since thy spirit soars above all, share thou with me the toil. Aeneas - so rumour tells, and scouts sent forth

report the tidings true - has insolently thrown forward the light-armed horse, to sweep the plains; himself o'er passing the ridge, marches by the mountains' lonely steeps upon the town. Snares of war I lay in an over-arched pathway 'mid the wood, to block with armed troops the gorge's double jaws. Do thou in battle array await the Tyrrhene horse; with thee shall be the valiant Messapus the Latin squadrons and Tiburtus' troop; take thou too a captain's charge."

The above passage contains Camilla's promise to help Turnus and the latter's reply which spoke of admiration and appreciation.

i) Turne, sui merito si qua est fiducia forti XI[502]. Servius in his commentary Vol. II clearly brings out the meaning of this line: "si unusquisque fortis habet aliquam confidentiam ex conscientia fortitudinis suae, et ego audere non dubito". This would be translated as "If every brave person has some confidence derived from the consciousness of his own fortitude, I also venture and do not hesitate....." Thus by interpretation, 'sui' in line 502 is an objective genitive. Servius throws more light on the passage by saying "haec autem vult dicere - non sexum considerandum esse sed robur" - 'this, however, she wished to say: sex should not be considered, but strength.'

ii) 'Horrenda' in line 507, an epithet which qualifies 'virgine' and refers to Camilla is a gerundive and could therefore be more effectively interpreted as "fit to be dreaded". If we adopt this

translation - which obviously describes Camilla's appearance - then it could be appreciated that the epithet befits a man rather than a woman; surely to look dreadful and terrible becomes a man more than a woman. It cannot of course be said that Vergil was here applying the epithet in a derogatory manner; on the contrary, it points to the fact that Vergil was trying to show some masculine traits in his heroine.

iii) The grammatical implications of lines 508-9 are noteworthy: 'dicere' here refers to the expression of gratitude, whilst 'referre' like 'persolvere' (1^{600}, 2^{537}) refers to its exhibition in act. Thus the two words have been used here in the ascending order of magnitude.

iv) The exact meaning of Turnus' words in 509-10 is somewhat ambiguous:

> "..... est omnia quando
> iste animus supra ....."

The gender of omnia (neuter) is the main cause of this ambiguity. 'Supra omnia' easily means: 'above all things'. But what things? Ruagus in his Vergili opera, interprets the passage thus: "quandoquidem animus ille tuus est supra omnua pericula, divide mecum periculum" - Since indeed, that mind of yours is above all dangers, share (this) danger with me." Heyne's interpretation - 'supra pericula, fortunae casus' (above dangers and the vicissitudes of fortune) - agrees with that of Ruaeus' which is quite tenable in view of Camilla's words.....

"sui merito si qua est fiducia forti - audeo....." which really portray her as a brave person, with extraordinary courage and daring, who defies all dangers.

But on the other hand the interpretation of Servius seems to me most applicable in this context: "supra omnis grates ex supra omne praemium" (above all gratitude, and above every reward). Adopting this interpretation, therefore, we find that the entire sense conveyed amounts to this: "it is impossible for me to express my gratitude and to demonstrate my appreciation appropriately" - will be a similar idea to that expressed in 508-9. By inference, therefore, 'iste' (which is emphatic by its position) is obviously used eulogistically here.

v) Line 519^b - ducis et tu concipe curam. In view of the fact that Turnus had just mentioned Messapus in the previous line, there is a danger of interpreting 'et' as meaning: "as well as Messapus" and in that case the interpretation of 515-519 will be: "But my (i.e. Turnus') design is to be in ambush for Aeneas in a defile of the forest. On you (Camilla) I rely to encounter the Tyrrhenians. Messapus will be with you: and so you should share the task of leadership with him ." But this interpretation will not be in consonance with the idea expressed in 510^b where Turnus says to Camilla: "mecum partire laborem". Therefore the 'et' should mean "as well as myself (i.e. Turnus), and the entire interpretation will be: "You also share with me the anxieties and oversight of a leader

(and in this context, 'cura' will almost mean the same thing as curatio).

vi) An interesting point emerges from 510^{b}. As events proved, and as Camilla had promised, she shared the 'toil' with Turnus - without apparently considering the justice or injustice of his cause; this affords a contrast to Dido who, rather than share Aeneas' 'toil' with him tried to divert him from the object of his mission, and thus proved, to him a bane, an Eve and a Cleopatra. This implicit contrast with Dido further magnifies Camilla's already great image.

From XI^{532} to 596, before proceeding to the major issue (Camilla's exploits), Vergil, with Diana as mouthpiece, gives a brief history of Camilla and her father. In an address to Opis, Diana expressed concern about going to war. Camilla is to her "cara ante alias". Metabus, flying into exile from Privernum, carried with him his infant daughter Camilla, since called Camilla. Pursued by the angry Volscians, he came to the banks of the Amasenus then swollen with floods. In a desperate attempt to carry the child across, he wrapped her to a light cradle of bark and tied everything to a strong spear. Then praying to Diana he vowed to dedicate the babe to her, if it reached the opposite bank in safety. Then he hurled the spear with its burden over the stream into which he plunged himself and swam across to find his child. From that time forth he lived the savage life of a mountaineer, and fed the girl with the milk of mares and wild beasts. As she grew up her employment was to shoot beast

and bird with arrow or sling. And, refusing marriage, she lived a votary to Diana. At the end of the story Diana charged Opis, giving her a quiver and an arrow - to avenge Camilla's death (not, it must be noted, to prevent her death for this will be contrary to fate).

An interesting and striking point in this brief biography of Camilla is that she owed her survival to her father's 'pietas'. In my chapter on pietas devotion to family and kin was mentioned as one of its component parts. And so, XI[550], caroque oneri timet (where 'caro' and 'oneri' are datives of advantage) exemplifies the demonstration of parental affection.

vii) Devotion to the gods (which of course could embrace praying to the gods) is another ingredient of 'pietas'.....

quam dextra ingenti librans ita ad aethera fatur'

"Then poising it in his right hand he (Metabus) thus cries to the heavens." In connection with this point it can be recalled that in some passages Aeneas has been depicted as 'pius' when he offers up a prayer: V[685], at the crisis of the burning ships; in sacrifice to Juno; XII[175] at the solemn pact with Latinus.

In conclusion, it was the Metabus' apprehension for Camilla's safety, and consequently a prayer to the gods, that saved her life during the crisis.[1]

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[1] cf. Aeneas'gesture in rescuing Iulus from the ruins of Troy. II[723-5].

Lines 648 to the end contain an account of Camilla's exploits and prowess on the battle-field. She combatted with arrows and hatchet as well as spear and sword. Eunaeus, Lisis, Pagasus and many other foes fell beneath her arm: Ornytus, and the gigantic Trojans, Butes and Orsilochus. After them the crafty Ligurian, son of Aunus, hoping to escape death challenged Camilla to descend from her steed and engage him on foot. The chivalrous maid accepted this offer, but when she had quitted her horse, the Ligurian fled, spurring his steed. But this was in vain because Camilla's speed outstripped the horse, and, clutching the bridle, she slew the fugitive like a hawk pouncing on a dove. This was the climax of her success.

After the Etruscans had renewed the fight, Arruns, now bent on slaying Camilla, dogged her through the field. But, enticed by the splendid Phrygian armour of Chloreus, priest of Cybele, the maiden gave chase to him with heedless ardour. Then Arruns a prayer for the success of his ambushed attack to Apollo of Soracte. He prayed to slay Camilla to return home himself, though without her arms and inglorious. However half his prayer was granted, and half was denied. So hurling his spear, he transfixed the maiden's breast; she fell into the arms of her attendants while Arruns fled back to his troop.

Her address to Acca in her dying moments further characterized her as a dutiful and courageous person:

> "Hactenus, Acca soror, potui; nunc volnus acerbum
> conficit et tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum
> effuge et haec Turno mandata novissima perfer:
> succedat pugnare Troianosque arceat urbe.
> iamque vale."

XI 823-7.

Thus far, sister Acca, has my strength availed; now the bitter wound o'erpowers me and around me grows dim and dark. Haste away and bear to Turnus this my latest charge, to take my place in the battle and ward the Trojans from the town. And now farewell!"

INTERPRETATIO

Camilla the central figure in the fighting of the eleventh book is an embodiment of the Italian's native and patriotic love for Italy. Her role of being stubbornly resistant to the Trojan invaders and her martial exploits both have a dramatic effect on the entire story of the Aeneid; for "as the dramatic effectiveness of a tragedy may often be enhanced by incidents which appear to retard or thwart its orderly development so the Aeneid has been enriched by a succession of painful victories over difficult and perilous obstacles....[1] Camilla was one of these 'perilous obstacles...' and her fall, like Turnus' constitutes the price of progress for Aeneas and his men.

As regards her name Bailey[2] puts forward a hypothesis about Vergil's statement that there was an older form - Casmilla. If this is true, he says "it might, like Casmenae (Camenae) and Carmentis, be derived from the root of Carmen and suggest a prophetic nymph". Moreover, in Macrobius Saturnalia 3^{8} it is stated that Camilli and Camillae were the titles under which the children of noble families assisted at religious rites. It can then be inferred that the two words 'dia' and 'Camilla' unite Greek and Italian representations of sacred character.

Her glittering figure as described in VII$^{807-17}$ represents the

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[1] Arthur Stanley Pease op. cit. introduction pp.3.

[2] (Religion in Virgil. pp 159

entire splendour and strength of Italy. This explains the significance of 'decus Italiae' in XI[508]. She is queen and warrior, a child of nature (by her rustic upbringing) and servant of Diana. Poschl[1] in his chapter on Artistic principles, points out that her nature is symbolized by purple cloak and golden clip, quiver and pastoral myrtle. The catalogue and the book as a simile of the Italian shepherds rising to battle are concluded in the spear-tipped myrtle: "et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum".

Vergil's delineation of Camilla's exploits shows that both her prowess and the sanctity of her inviolate maidenhood add to her figure. The best proof of her prowess is that her enemies could not venture to confront her in an open combat. The Ligurian trusted in deceit, and Arruns reposed his confidence in a stealthy attack; even after Camilla's death:

> laetitia mixtoque metu, nec iam amplius hastae
> credere nec telis occurrere virginis audet.

XI[907-8] "In mingled joy and fear he (Arruns) could neither trust his lance nor meet the maiden." Thus we can infer that she was not a mere female but a masculine heroine.[2] She shares this element of masculinity with Dido and Amata.

Apart from possessing a tremendous self-confidence Camilla had an easily offended pride. Thus she did not hesitate to alight from her

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[1] Op. cit.

[2] cf. chapters on Dido, Amata.

steed to meet the challenge thrown by the crafty Ligurian (XI[702-24]). Again she shares this characteristic with the goddess Juno who, infuriated and almost despondent about her failure to annihilate the Trojans, said in VII[208-12]:

> ast ego magna Iouis coniunx, nil linquere inausum quae potui infelix, quae memet in omnia verti vincur ab Aenea...."

"But I, Jove's consort who have turned to me every shift, I am worsted by Aeneas!"

Camilla's role in the Aeneid involves the extent to which her character significantly compares or contrasts with Turnus' or Aeneas' and the community of traits she shares with other female characters.

As I have shown above her initial splendour and vitality only help to emphasize the pathos of her end. This pathos is intensified by the fact that she is one of the noble youth, who have been sacrificed in Turnus' reckless pursuit of his selfish interests and ambitions, and in this sense her death shows the gravity of Turnus' guilt in the Aeneid.

Furthermore we realise in the narrative that she is a key element in the destiny of Turnus and his cause, for her death marks the turning point in the entire crisis: the news of her death has a psychologically weakening effect on Turnus: not only do her companions and the entire squadron fly, but also the Rutulians fly in disorder - dismayed by her death. Also by her death, Turnus had no choice but to accept to have a single combat with Aeneas:

> Turnus ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos

> defecisse videt, sua nunc promissa reposci,
> Se signari oculis, ultro implacabilis ardet
> attolitque animos

12^{1-4}

"When Turnus sees the Latins crushed and faint of heart through war's reverse, his promise claimed for fulfilment and men's eyes pointed on him, his own spirit rises in unappeasable flame."

If Camilla shows Turnus' baseness, her character nevertheless enhances Aeneas' image. Like Dido, Turnus Nisus and Euryalus, she serves as a foil-figure to Aeneas. Her lust for plunder which causes her distraction and therefore her death, contrasts with Aeneas uni-directional efforts to achieve his goal. Her revel in war (furor) constitutes an antithesis with Aeneas' uneagerness to fight - except when necessary - and his remorse about the horrors of war.

Despite all her bravery the divine aspect of 'double causation' makes it inevitable that she should die for from the outset she had thrown in her lot with the wrong side and she had to share the fate of her captain and all those who impeded the progress of the 'chosen race'; the Trojan cause was a divinely sanctioned and therefore a sacred one.

If her death was destined, it was also deserved: Vergil shows this by making us appreciate that she is brave but yet a <u>female</u> with some concomitant limitations of her sex. Her death is motivated by a weakness common to her sex - love for finery and bright colours.

Vergil rightly typifies this as 'feminae praedae..... amore' XI[782] and it was this reckless rage and blind pursuit of finery that rendered her 'incauta'[1] (heedless of danger). This affords a comparison with Euryalus' death in book 9. He and Nisus had already made much slaughter of the enemy and the latter advised (in 9[335-6]) that it was time they left. But Euryalus with an eye for bright colours, stopped to seize the blazonry of Rhennus, and his goldem belt, and even put on his head the gorgeous, crested helmet of Messapus. "Simultaneously a squadron of 300 Laurentine cavalry commanded by Volcans, bearing answers from the King to Turnus, was approaching the walls, and as the Trojans were turning to the left Euryalus was betrayed by the glittering helmet of Messapus, and this led to his death. This comparison and community of tastes brands Euryalus as a <u>feminine</u> hero. Thus Vergil delineates feminine traits not only in females but also in a male.

We can see, therefore, that in Camilla's case, as in the case of Euryalus, the poet uses the spoils to supply the guilt-motive. Whilst in the case of Coroebus the spoils were required for a ruse,[2] in the case of Camilla and Euryalus the spoils were desired for their own sake. The motive of Coroebus would be the normal masculine attitude - that the intrinsic value of the spoils was secondary to the prestige

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1 cf IV[69ff] where Dido is described as 'incauta' in -/the simile of the dying doe.

2 Bk II[387-390]. dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?

of the person from whom they were taken. But such a consideration did not weigh with Camilla; she is fascinated by the quality of the spoils per se. The spoils, - clothes mostly, glittering and showy are just what are likely to take a woman's eye. Camilla is quite carried away and the battle - which should be her primary consideration - is entirely forgotten, just as the Aeneas-Dido affair became such a "consuming fever" that Dido in her passion forgot her duty to her kingdom.[1]

In Camilla's case, Vergil shows her passion for spoils, and her 'furor' is described in the symbolic words underlined below:

"Caeca sequebatur totumque incauta per agmen
femineo praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore"

XI 781-2

"She continued in blind pursuit and was recklessly raging through all the ranks, (and) burning with a woman's passion for booty."[2]

Caeca does not indicate a physical blindness but a metaphorical and psychological one. It suggests 'blind pursuit, raging passion, dogged determination'- all culminating in a heedlessness of surrounding dangers.

incauta is a word related to 'caeca' but it also stresses recklessness and blind inflexibility of purpose.

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1 Bk IV 86ff; cf. Georgics 501ff.

2 My own translation.

ardebat provides for us, as it were, a thermometer to Camilla's psychological state. She was really burning with passion; it was a blind lust.

femineo pradae.....amore constitutes an index to Vergil's opinion about Camilla's flaw - love for finery is a characteristic in women.

Thus in the motivation of Camilla's catastrophe Vergil lays aside the warrior and describes the woman. Her disaster was inevitable. It is true that Arruns strikes her down, not without divine help; but no help is really needed from the gods for it is not the situation but the interaction of her character with the situation which causes her fall. It is the dogged determination to achieve her desire which made her press on in hot pursuit and therefore renders her heedless and causes her fall.

She has this quality of obstinacy and doggedness in common with the other main female characters:

Dido would win Aeneas' permanent love by all means, even if it involves liberating herself from her vows of faithfulness to her beloved Sycchaeus. One of her methods was to placate the gods by making sacrifices to them, and in this process her doggedness and persistence can be discerned:

instauratque diem donis[1] - 'she renews the day with gifts'

"Dido repeats her offerings throughout the day to ensure that she will gain the 'pax divum'; her dreadful earnestness shows how

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[1] IV 63.

desperate she was..... She keeps making a fresh start and with each fresh start she has fresh hope."[1]

Further she would endeavour to persuade Aeneas by making passionate pleas[2] and by sending frequent[3] messages through her sister and in her desperation to make Aeneas stay with her in Carthage she would persuade him that the gods have nothing to do with human affairs[4]. There is a lot of sarcasm in Dido's words here:

> scilicet is superis labor est; ea cura quietos
> sollicitat

IV 379-380

"Indeed! So the gods above are troubled about this! This worries and disturbs their calm?"

This quality of doggedness in Dido could in turn be compared with Amata's casuistical explanation of the oracle in order to achieve her aim of having Turnus, rather than Aeneas as her son-in-law (VII 366ff), and her feigned passionate orgiastic frenzy (and it

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1 R.G. Austin op.cit. pp. 42 (notes on line 63)

2 IV 314-30.

3 Vergil describes Anna's role in bearing messages with the words "fert refertque....."; both the tense, and the grammar of these two words suggest that there was more than one occasion on which Anna bore messages from Dido to Aeneas. Although only one occasion is given in Vergil, the words 'fert refertque' suggest a continuous process full of persistence on Dido's side. See: Classical Weekly, vols. 43-45 (1949-52). Article on 'Anna Soror'.

4 cf. Lucretius: De rerum Natura VI 76 where the gods are described as ..... 'placida cum pace quieti'.

is noteworthy that Vergil makes the bacchic motif a common element to both the Dido and the Amata episodes. Finally Dido and Amata both opted out of life because of frustration. They had been so desperate and so headstrong that when all hopes of achieving their ends seemed lost, they decided that the only answer lay in dying. As for Amata she found that she could not live and be reconciled to a situation which she had opposed so vehemently.

Even Juno (though a goddess) in her desperate desire to extirpate the Trojan race would move heaven and release hell -

VII[312] Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronte movebo.

"If I cannot change the will of heaven, I shall release Hell."

Thus frenzy and doggedness constitute an identical thread which runs through the characters of Dido, Amata, Camilla[1] and Juno. They all know what they want and they would go to any lengths even against their better judgement - in an attempt to attain their objectives. Once they have a set purpose, there is no looking back; every other thing is - at least for the moment - of secondary importance. This is their major role, and it is this which precipitates their tragedies.

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[1] It must be noted, however, that unlike them she is not 'impius' Her dazzling brilliance, her martial might, her kind and immense help to Turnus: all these constitute enough virtues to make her a sympathetic character. This is part of Vergil's dramatic art, calculated to arouse our emotions, and this element of arousing the spectators' emotion was the underlying principle of Aristotle's poetics.

CHAPTER

FOUR

CHAPTER IV

AMATA and Allecto

"These words uttered, she with awful mien passed to earth, and calls baleful Allecto from the house of the Dread Goddesses and the infernal shades - Allecto, whose heart is set in gloomy wars, passions and baneful crimes. Hateful is the monster even to her sire Pluto, hateful to her Tartarean sisters; so many are the forms she assumes, so savage their aspect, so thick her black upsprouting vipers." VII$^{323-9}$

> Haec ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petruit;
> Iuctificam Allecto dirarum ab sede dearum
> Infernisque ciet tenebris, cui tristia bella
> Iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi
> Odit ed ipse pater pluton, odere sorores
> Tartarae monstrum: tot sese vertit in ora
> Tam saevae facies, tot pollulat atra colubris.

Such is the character of Allecto, the varying aspects of which we shall see, as she manifests them on her victims. Juno in her flight through the sky had discerned the prosperous state and hopes of Aeneas, and in a monologue which spoke of despair and dissatisfaction, she had recounted how she had dogged the steps of the Trojans (VII^{293ff}) and how it had all been to no avail. Succinctly all the strength of sky and sea had been spent against them (Absumptae in Teucros vires caelique marisque). Therefore in her desperation she made this determination:

> Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo
>
> VII^{312}

"If I cannot bend Heaven, I shall <u>at least</u> arouse Hell".[1]

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[1] From my translation, we can see that Vergil, through Juno, shows us the Almightiness of the 'Superi' and the inferiority of Acheron. The same idea is continued in 313-316 where we are shown the limit of the powers of evil.

It was in pursuance of the above policy that she summoned Allecto, 'Daughter of the Dark' and commissioned her to make it impossible for the men of Aeneas to solicit Latinus for intermarriage and to sow in recrimination the seeds of war.

First of all Allecto sought out Amata who was silently brooding over her baffled hopes - for she was in support of her daughter marrying Turnus - not Aeneas. By sending an unseen snake into her bosom Allecto heightened Amata's wrath, and the result was that she (Amata) once more remonstrated with King Latinus: she did not think it advisable that Lavinia should be married to Aeneas - a Trojan exile; Latinus should not forget his promise to Turnus and "If the suitor who is to intermarry with the Latins has to be found in some foreign nation, if this is immutable and if the command of your father Faunus leaves you no choice, then for my part I count as foreign any land which is not our land and not subject to our sceptre, and I believe that such is the meaning of the gods themselves. And besides if the family of Turnus were to be traced right back to its origin, Inachus and Acrisius are his fore-fathers and Mycenae itself is his mother-city."[1]

VII 367-372.

> Si gener externa petitur de gente Latinis
> Idque sedet, Faunique premunt te iussa parentis,
> Omnem equidem sceptris terram quae libera nostris
> Dissidet, externam reor et sic dicere divos.
> Et Turno, si prima domus repetatur origo,
> Inachus Acrisiusque patres mediasque Mycenae.

This was an effort on Amata's part to explain away Faunus'

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[1] Translation by W.F. Jackson Knight.

warning to Latinus in VII$^{96-7}$:

> Ne pete conubiis natam sociare Latinis
> O mea progenies, thalamis neu crede paratis;

"Son of mine, do not seek to join your daughter in any Latin union. Put no trust in any wedding which lies ready to hand."[1]

But in her Allecto-inflicted madness, Amata could hardly appreciate that she had failed to give the injunction a satisfactory interpretation - either technical or even literal: for Turnus was an Italian and he answered the description of 'thalamis paratis' much more than Aeneas:i)whether 'paratis' is translated as 'on the spot' or 'in the vicinity' it would still suit Turnus.

ii) At the material time of the prophecy, Aeneas had not yet arrived in Laurentum nor had he sent envoys to King Latinus. So that the only person 'ready to hand' and 'in the vicinity' must have been Turnus the Rutulian prince.

iii) If Amata was really keen on following the divine command, the futuristic suggestion of the sentence 'externi venient generi' (98^a) - 'strangers shall arrive here' - which was a part of the premonition should have suggested to her on Aeneas' arrival that it was he who was the destined one for her daughter. 'Externi' is what Amata bothers to explain: she says or thinks nothing about 'venient'.

A close examination of the facts and the grammatical construction

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[1] Translation by W.F. Jackson Knight.

thus reveals that Amata was either trying to put upon divine premonition an interpretation to suit her own convenience, or that she was too mad in her passion to give a correct interpretation. Whichever it was, this situation affords a comparison with what Dido did when, as she realised that Aeneas was about to leave Carthage and by the gods' order, she would persuade him that the gods are quite unconcerned and ignorant at what is done here on earth.[1]

From the above it can be inferred that in Vergil's delineation of Amata, he is trying to give a picture of the demonic forces of Hell trying to disrupt or distort the things ordered by Heaven, and to what lengths man could go to achieve his ends - even if at the expense of his convictions, or how he could be so overwhelmed with the sense of his own ambitions or aspirations, that he is only too ready to brush aside or to appreciate divine monition to suit his own purposes.

Another point that emerges is that as Vergil symbolically showed the contrast between the raging passions of Dido and the calm tranquility of Aeneas, so he shows the striking difference between the frenzy of Amata and the serenity of Latinus. This is vividly shown in the simile of the pine which shows Latinus' firmness and thus brands Amata as a foil-figure, a temptress and a bane.

After Amata had realised that her prayers did not prevail on

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[1] See chapter 1; see also chapter on Camilla, pp 85ff

Latinus (and, by now, Allecto's poisonous snake had maddened her to the full) she rushed in her frenzy through the city, like a top lashed in a large ball by boys. She even pretended Bacchic orgies, carried her daughter to the mountain forests, and there gathered a crowd of infuriated women, who, dishevelling their hair shouted with her the praises of Bacchus and asserted his claim to the possession of the princess. Vergil's succinct account of her appeal to the Latin women is striking in three ways:

> torvumque repente
> Clamat: io matres audite ubi quaeque Latinae
> Si qua piis animis manet infelicis Amatae
> gratia, si iuris materni cura remondet,
> solvite erinalis vittas, capite orgia mecum.

VII 399-403.

"Suddenly she roared like a beast. 'Mothers of Latium! Hey! Hear me, each one of you, wherever you may be! If you still have any sympathy for poor Amata in your faithful hearts, or any prick of conscience for a mother's claims, untie the bands around your hair and take to the wild rites with me!'"

i) With the words 'torvumque repente clamat' Vergil heightens the tempo and emphasizes the extent of Amata's 'furor' - one of the salient characteristics of these wildly moving scenes.

ii) The use of the words 'piis animis' and notably of the epithet 'piis' constitutes yet another aspect of 'pietas' as Vergil wants it to be comprehended. In this context 'piis' connotes the idea of 'some fellowly feeling' or identifying oneself with the

situation (happy or otherwise) of another. Succinctly it can be called sympathy (συν + πάθειν = to suffer together) or pity - which is one of the ingredients of pietas.

iii) Furthermore by the order of words in the whole sentence, the second si-clause is in apposition to the first one, and it then follows that 'iuris materni cura' is an aspect of 'pietas' (since it refers to 'pius' in the first si-clause). Thus Amata though a queen was appealing to the women with the commonest bond they could ever have. Like Dido, she is a queen and yet a woman.

One of the remarkable things about this chapter is that in discussing Amata's character and role we cannot but mention Allecto because of the effect the latter had on her emotions. Also Allecto's function cannot be effectively assessed without analytical comments on the effects and results of her gestures on her victims.

Next Allecto went to Turnus in Ardea. The fury, taking the form and fashion of the aged Calybe priestess of Juno, told Turnus that Latinus had disclaimed his alliance and that it would therefore be improper for Turnus to place himself in peril by not taking up arms. He should assail the Trojans and burn their ships, for so Heaven commands. Even if Turnus' suit is rejected he should at least let Latinus feel his warlike strength:

> 'Turne, tot incassum fisos patiere labores,
> et tua Dardaniis transcribi sceptra colonis?
> rex tibi coniugium et quaesitas sanguine dotes
> abnegat, externusque in regnum quaeritur heres
> i nunc, ingratis offer te, inrise, periclis;
> Tyrrhenas, i, sterne acies, tege pace Latinus

haec adeo tibi me, placida cum noete aceres,
ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit
quare age et armari pubem portisque moveri
laetus in arma para, et phrygius qui flumine pulchro
consedere duces pictasque exure carinas.
Caelestum vis magna iubet rex ipse Latinus,
ni dare coniugium et dicto parere fatetur,... VII 421-432

"Turnus, wilt thou brook all these toils poured forth in vain, and thy sceptre transferred to Dardan settlers? The King denies thee thy bride and the dower thy blood has won, and a stranger is sought as to thy throne. Go now, confront thankless perils, thou scorned one: go, lay low the Tuscan ranks; shield the Latins with peace. This it was that, in very presence, Saturn's Almighty daughter bade me say to thee, as thou wert lying in the stillness of night. Rise then, and gladly make ready the arming of thy youth, and their march from the gates to battle. Consume the Phrygian chiefs, who are anchored in our fair stream, and burn their painted ships. The mighty power of the gods commands. Let King Latinus himself, unless he consent to give thee thy bride, and stand by his word, know of it and at last make proof of Turnus as a foe."

i) In the words 'caelestum vis magna iubet' an important point calls for discussion. Does 'vis magna' refer specifically to Juno or to divine power generally and collectively?

ii) Heyne explains that it refers to "magnum deorum numen, τῶν θεῶν κράτος, dii ". So he means that it refers to the great and divine power of the gods. Accordingly Calybe's injunction can then be interpreted as 'Don't despise these commands of Juno; remember

the great power, the immense vis of the celestials'. Calybe, it should be noted, first told Turnus that she was the bearer of Juno's commands (428); next he specifies the commands (429-31) and finally she gives the reasons why the commands should be obeyed: viz. because the power of the 'caelestes' one of whom Juno is, is great, and therefore not to be taken lightly. Thus Juno is included under the general term caelestum just as in Book 1 line 11 (tantaene animis caelestibus irae?) where Juno's mind is included under 'animis caelestibus'. Servius' interpretation seems to support this view: 'aut per definitionem ipsa Iuno est vis deorum; aut, per argumentum, suasit primo per se, deinde per Iunorem, postremo per omnium vim deorum'.

However when Turnus disbelieved and mocked 'Calybe' she had recourse to the measures of revealing and introducing herself in the true form - as Allecto. And with these words she cast a brand of fire at Turnus, and planted her torch in his breast, where it smoked in a murky glare. In short she had succeeded in kindling Turnus' spirit with martial rage. The Allecto-Turnus confrontation also affords us a sidelight on Turnus' character, for his initial overconfidence deteriorated to sudden panic.

The third phase of Allecto's mission was to make Iulus her prey. Speeding through the Trojan camp when Iulus was out hunting, Allecto allowed his hounds to rouse a stag petted by Silvia, daughter of Tyrrhus. Ascanius, pursuing pierced the animal with an arrow, and

it flew moaning in its last agony to the stall. Then Silvia cried to the rustics for aid. Headed by Tyrrhus they snatched what arms they could, and advanced against the Trojan hunting party. Meanwhile the fury, perching on the stable's summit, blows a shepherd's horn and shouts aloud. The effect of this was that, far and wide, the sounds echoed from the lakes of Nemi to that of Velinus; the forests trembled and mothers clasped their infants. In the fight Almo, Tyrrhus and Galaesus were slain. Now that Ausonian blood was shed, and friendship and peace were overthrown, Allecto's mission was complete. She is dismissed in line 552.[1] Vergil leaves the final seal to Juno herself, probably because the war is so great in extent and significance that its immediate precipitation should be left, not to a divine agent, but to a divine power. Juno, the embodiment of hatred and resistance to the Trojans, should complete the job.

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[1] See also 559-560: 'ego, si qua super fortuna laborum est, ipsa regam'.

INTERPRETATIO

In preceding paragraphs I have endeavoured to show the three stages of Allecto's destructive nature. First she invests Amata with her serpent's spirit (VII^{351}) then she makes her way into Turnus' heart (456); and finally she maddens Ascanius' dogs and this led to a general fight. All these illustrate her demonic character but they also represent, as Vergil would have us appreciate, the astounding way in which individual passion graduates through mass hysteria into a social war. Brookes Otis remarkably traces Vergil's artistry by showing (in the appropriate similes) the gradual escalation of the Allecto-inflicted violence: "The four great similes mark the three stages of the crescendo and the climax: whipped up (1), boiling (2), progressively surging (3), emotion that finally breaks against its barriers (4), and seethes uncontrolled upon its course."[1]

In general the wild and fast moving scenes and Vergil's vivid description of the goings on, coupled with the effect of Allecto's machinations on her prey, all these give the impression that one of Vergil's objects in the Allecto scenes was an allegorical representation of the evil thoughts and passions of men's minds. But it should be noted that VII$^{620-2}$ is almost a quotation of Ennius (Annals 7) where Discordia opens the gates of war. This corresponds to Juno's

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1 Brookes Otis
Op. cit. pp. 327, see also 325-6.

part in the 'insania' described in the Allecto scenes. Allecto does the initial preparation, but Juno dismisses her and completes it. Thus it is Juno, not Allecto, who is the personification of Discordia.

The Allecto scenes show the tremendous power of irrational furor and the insanity of civil war in short, quem ad modum furor arma ministrat. At the material time the Trojans had not yet been assimilated with the Italians. They could have been, by a peaceful marriage alliance, but human furor delayed fatum and it happened only after a fierce war. This situation is analogous to the circumstances of the union of Rome with Italy which happened only after the Bellum Sociale, and it suggests that Vergil's narrative here may have been meant to be a mythological anticipation of real history.

Furthermore through the Allecto scenes we are given an insight into Vergil's view about war. Juno had released Hell (Acherunta) and Hell had caused the war. The war itself was accursed and was a lunacy:

Thus in VII[461]

> scelerata insania belli
> (the accursed frenzy of war)

and in VII[583]

> Ilicet infandum cuncti contra omna bellum
> contra fata deum perverso nomine poscunt.

"Straightway, one and all, despite the omens, despite the oracles of gods with will perverse, clamour for unholy war."

Also Latinus laments the war as sacrilege:

VII[595]

> Ipsi has sacrilegio pendetis sanguine poenas,
> O miseri, te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit
> Supplicium votisque deos venabere seris

"Ye yourselves, my wretched children, with your impious blood shall pay the price of this! Thee Turnus, thee the guilt and its bitter punishment shall await and too late with vows shall thou adore the gods."

Further, in book XII[31] Vergil makes Latinus say: arma impia sumpsi - I wickedly went to war. (War is therefore a wicked and an impious thing.) Also some evil effects of war are shown:

VII[623]

> Ardet inexcita Ausonia arque immobilis ante

"Italy the quiet land, which no alarm could rouse before was ablaze."

i) In this short sentence, the key position of ardet suggests a strong emphasis and it could be an index to how strongly Vergil felt against war.

ii) Furthermore, in imagery and the collocation of words 'ardet' forms an antithesis to the next word 'inexcita'.

iii) Even the hitherto peaceful people are now described thus "Delightedly they raised their standards and listened to trumpet calls."

VII[628]

> Signaque ferre iuvat sonitusque audire turbarum.

The contrast of line 623 with 628 shows the evil effects of war: ante (emphatic also by its position) grammatically implies the past, and the expression 'ferre iuvat' refers to the present as opposed to the past. It can therefore be concluded that Vergil was here showing the sharp contrast between the 'status quo ante' and the 'status quo' of the Italians, and thereby showing what a radical change war can make, or cause in the disposition, not only of the Italians, but also of human beings generally.

In his estimation and rightly, too - war can have a catastrophic effect on the agriculture and economic stability of a nation. For in VII^{635} he comments:

> Vomeris huc et falcis honos, huc omnis aratri
> Cessit amor.

"All their love of the plough had given way to this" (war). This passage invites a comparison with IV^{86} where the Aeneas-Dido affair disturbed the building of the towers at Carthage and brought all useful work to a standstill.[1]

> "non coeptae adsurguns turres.....
> ..... caelo"

By a careful synthesis of both passages it can be seen that in the former (IV^{86ff}) it was love which constituted an impediment to progress, but in the latter VII^{635} it was war. To Vergil, then, violent passion, whether amorous or belligerent can have serious

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[1] cf. Georgics i, 501 ff.

consequences on the development of a nation. Love or war, activeness or passivity, inasmuch as they are 'wrong' can do much harm.

War brings only grief and unhappiness "lacrimabile bellum" (VII^{604}) The grief of Mezentius for Lausus is exactly like that of Evander for Pallas; war brings sorrow to both sides; and at the end of the seventh book, Vergil describes the beauties of the homes, with their fields and rivers and apple orchards, which the warriors have left, perhaps never to return to.

I have shown in the chapter on double causation that Amata could still have acted as she did without divine intervention; Allecto only intensified her furor. But the intensity of her Bacchanalian frenzy has been utilized to heighten our admiration of Latinus'[2] firmness and pietas because he did not yield.[3] Thus in this respect he is comparable to Aeneas, and that this is Vergil's intention can be surmised from the similarity of Aeneas' oak simile and Latinus' ocean-cliff simile in VII^{586ff} where Amata and her womenfolk represent the 'scopuli et spumea saxa' which roared about Latinus "nequiquam".

That she is the symbol of a loving mother is true; for this is why she seeks for her daughter the man she thinks is 'best'. But

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1 So like Dido, whose character interacts with Aeneas', one of her roles consists in the interaction of her character on Latinus'.

2 The only difference is that eventually he gave way, as Aeneas did not.

her motherly love and frenzy both eclipse from her mind the primacy of moral considerations. That is why she makes a casuistic interpretation of the oracle's injunction.[1] What she wants is the immediate materialisation of her wish. Thus like Camilla and Dido she lives in the present, and unlike Aeneas and Latinus she cannot see 'fore and aft;' and significantly enough, the underlying element in each of the three cases is passion.

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[1] This has been lengthily discussed in the 'narratio' section. See pages 2-5.

CONCLUSION

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The role of female characters in the Aeneid and its correlation to the mission of Aeneas.

The role of female characters in Vergil's Aeneid can be best understood when it is considered side by side with the mission of Aeneas which involved carrying on a contest in Italy, crushing the resistance of the warlike tribes, giving them customs and building them cities -

$_1{}^{263}$

> Bellum ingens geret Italia, populosque ferocis
> contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet. /r

It is noteworthy however that these enumerated points are merely incidents in the carrying out of his divine mission which briefly was to find a new home for the Trojan refugees, and found a new colony (i.e. dum conderet urbem etc.).

In view of these points specified by Jupiter it can be seen that the success or achievement of any other character must be made subservient to Aeneas'. Thus in order to be able to fulfil his mission his love for Dido must be crushed - though with difficulty[1] - Turnus the violent and Mezentius the monster of impiety and brutality must both be conquered, Lavinia won[2], and Rome established. Aeneas

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[1] See bk IV^{361,441} etc.

[2] Stanley Tate Collins in "The Interpretations of Vergil with special reference to Macrobius" (the Charles Oldham essay 1909), rightly refers to Lavinia as the allegorical '<u>laborum via</u>'.

has a sacred mission and is fighting a holy war. The furor of his opponents was 'impius' but his, whenever he chanced to have any, had at least a coloration of 'pietas' in it: his furor on Lausus sprang from his pietas towards Pallas, and the Helen episode in Bk II shows that Aeneas is so 'pius' that he can resist being misled by hate, just as the Dido episode shows that he can save himself from being misled by love. Thus Dido, Turnus, Camilla, Amata and Mezentius must eventually fall under the superiority of his cause and mission. "The desertion of Creusa, the betrayal of Dido, the high-handed violence to Turnus, are all acts of submission to the law of fate or providence, which in the imagination of the poet, transcended every other for this was also the law of Rome and her eternal destiny; this was the sanction of all her conquests and usurpations; this was the law, to go deeper still, of all human society, founded as it was, in the view of Roman moralists on the two immemorial despotisms of slavery and marriage. The establishment of the Caesarian Empire on the ruins of liberty was the crowning manifestation of this transcendent law, soaring far beyond the sphere of all minor obligations"[1]. A sense is therefore engendered whereby the female characters and all the other tragic elements in the Aeneid constitute a cost of progress in the hero's endeavours to achieve his

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[1] Saturday Review, Sept. 25, 1858, pp. 309.

goal.

Therefore we find - significantly enough - that in the Aeneid there is much deep sympathy but no approbation for any cause opposed to that of Aeneas. Thus, even Camilla whose brilliant martial exploits Vergil has narrated with exquisite artistry, seems intended as an epitomy of rude hardihood. The grandeur of her actions and her masculine heroism only help to demonstrate emphatically the superiority of Aeneas and the justice of his cause: for when she falls in the battlefield we cannot but feel that in spite of her prowess she meets the end of all who oppose the fate of Aeneas. According to R.S. Conway "Camilla impersonates the Italians' native love for Italy, the instinct of resistance to an invader. And this Italian spirit is meant by Vergil to be one of the central elements of the new world which the Aeneid foreshadows; and Camilla's death is one of those moving examples of the 'cost of progress' which bring the poem so close to Aristotle's conception of tragedy"[2]. In a similar sense the main female characters and all other tragic elements constitute a 'cost of progress in the hero's endeavour to achieve his goal.

But after noticing these points of political and didactic significance we must see beyond them and realise that the main female characters were not merely broken by Aeneas' fate and rolled

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[1] Classical Review Vol. XXXI, 1917.

along with it. We must appreciate on a natural level the weight of human frailties and human characteristics, the retributive justice for human extremities and the eventual triumph of good over evil. As I have tried to demonstrate in the previous chapters the predominant idea in the role of female characters is the obstinacy of female passion. It is this which basically disturbs the peace of the Aeneid: Juno would leave no stone unturned in trying to annihilate the Trojans: if heaven is immmovable she could release Hell (7^{280ff}). Thus she dispatches Allecto to distribute her destructive influence among queen Amata, Turnus, and the others. The queen engages in Bacchanalian frenzy and appeals to her womenfolk to join her. The great lengths to which she goes in order to achieve her wishes have already been discussed.

Next, Allecto visits Turnus the boastful and reckless man for whom Vergil symbolically makes violentia an exclusive preserve,[1] and who, it must be noted was impelled not only by the Fury but also by his own resolve. "He has a crude and savage strain in his nature which is contrasted at many points with the courtesy and chivalry of Aeneas."[2] He is violent in his outward dealings and throughout Vergil's delineation of him and especially from the beginning of the 12th book the extent of his 'violentia' is fully shown. In his

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1 $11^{354,376}$; $12^{9, 45}$.

2 Rand, The Magical Art of Virgil, pp. 376.

preparation for the last conflict the words 'turbidus', 'violentia' and 'furiae'[1] are used in reference to him. Also when his cause is defeated in 12^{622} it is in frenzy that he draws in the reins and halts. Another passage further exemplifies this point: $12^{665-671}$

> obstipuit varia confusus imagine rerum
> Turnus et obtutu tacito stetit; aestuat ingens
> uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
> et furiis agitatus amor et conscia virtus
> ut primum discussae umbrae et lux reddita menti
> ardentis oculorum orbis ad moenia torsit
> turbidus eque rotis magnam respexit ad urbem

"Aghast and bewildered by the changeful picture of disaster, Turnus stood mutely gazing; within that single heart suages mighty shame and madness mingled by grief, and love stung by fury and the consciousness of worth. Soon as the shadows scattered and light dawned afresh on his mind, his blazing eyeballs he turned wrathfully upon the walls and from his car looked back upon the spacious city." The words underlined above in the Latin version serve as a further proof of how Vergil portrays Turnus' characteristic in various forms and with various words which all have a common motif - furor.

aestuat: according to Lewis and Short aestuare means "to be in agitation or in violent commotion". The dictionary quotes part of the above passage i.e. 12^{666} and gives the meaning of aestuat in this context as "to burn with desire, to be in violent passionate excitement, to be agitated or excited, to be inflamed". Thus this

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[1] $12^{9,10,102}$.

word, taken from the metaphor of temperature symbolized impetuosity and violence of character - which are both engendered by 'furor' and 'violentia'.

'insania' and 'furiis' belong to the same semantic group, for they both denote recklessness, rage, and violence.

ardentis and turbidus are also related words. The first is used in describing something ablaze (and here again 'heat' is suggested as an element in Turnus' character); and the second denotes violence turbulence and confusion. It can be seen therefore that all the underlined words, if taken together have one motif in common - violence, and this is mainly how Vergil wants us to see Turnus; it is this flaw rather than the divine motivation that gave him a tragic end.

Although Turnus is not a female character and therefore seems to fall outside my scope, my purpose is to show that he has something in common with the main female characters; it is Frenzy that salient and pathetic characteristic which makes them headstrong and adamant and leads their lives to a tragic end. Their motivating force is furor (whether passionate love or passionate hatred) but Aeneas is 'pietas'. And since they constitute the main obstacle to Aeneas we can conclude that their main conflict in the Aeneid is between 'furor' and 'pietas', between stubborn human will and the divinely ordered affairs and projects. The opposition to the divine decrees is, as we shall see in detail below, the world of inferior deities

and baser human passions possessed mainly by Vergil's female characters. This is the cardinal standpoint from which the role of female characters should be viewed. Two of Vergil's key words for these baser human passions are 'furor' and 'furia' which are almost synonymous. They mean passion - whether furious anger or martial rage, or inordinate desire, or amorous passion.

The word 'furor' like 'pietas' has a wide range of meaning in the Aeneid and in the course of the poem Vergil shows it in all its ramifications in his main female characters (Dido, Amata, Camilla and even Juno - a goddess) and also in his tragic male characters - Euryalus and Turnus:

With Dido it was passionate love (improbe amor), and later it turned into a passionate hatred when Aeneas was about to leave her. She can love as violently as she can hate.

With Camilla it was passion for war and subsequently passion for finery.

With Amata it was passion for having her own way in the choice of a son -in-law either by hook or by crook. This can be seen in the way she gave a casuistic explanation to the oracle's injunctions and in her feigned orgiastic frenzy - all calculated to make her achieve her aim.

With Turnus it was passion for war springing from love.

With Euryalus a personage with maiden-like features it was passion for shiny helmets and finery, as well as blood-lust 9[354].

That 'furor' is a chief motif in the Aeneid is also shown by the comparative frequency of its occurrence in the poem. In all of Vergil's works furor (whether in the form of a verb, noun, adjective or adverb) occurs 120 times, but in the Aeneid alone it occurs 96 times! Other works share the remaining 24 times between them. The following statement shows the number of times it occurs in each book of the Aeneid.[1]

Bk I	8 times
Bk II	13 times
Bk III	3 times
Bk IV	15 times (the shortest book!)
Bk V	9 times
Bk VI	4 times
Bk VII	10 times
Bk VIII	6 times
Bk IX	3 times
Bk X	11 times
Bk XI	7 times
Bk XII	9 times

Thus it can be seen that Bk IV which deals with the episode of Dido has the highest number, 15. Of these Vergil uses it 11 times in direct description of Dido, and Dido uses it 3 times in describing herself. Therefore the total number of times in which 'furor is used

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[1] For detailed statistics see chart at the end of this chapter.

for Dido in Bk IV is 14. This added to Bk 1^{659} and V^{6} makes it 16 times altogether in the Aeneid when furor is used in the description of Dido. This is the highest number for any single character in the Aeneid and it points to the fact that Vergil wants us to understand this as the chief trait in the character of Dido. The intensity and extent of her 'furor' are symbolically and metaphorically summarised in the word 'igni'[1] in 4^{2}, which shows that her passion was, as it were, a consuming fire.

Turnus has the next highest number (10 times) and this, added to his exclusive preserve of the word 'violentia' strengthens the case that frenzy is a predominant feature in his character.

Furor is used twice in reference to Camilla when Vergil is describing her martial rage - but it must be remembered that there is nothing particularly 'impius' in her behaviour. She has enough good points to make her a sympathetic character, and part of her tragedy lay in the fact that she was fighting on the 'wrong' side (i.e. helping Turnus).

Moreover it is noteworthy that 'furor' has many related words in the Aeneid e.g. Saevitia, ira, dementia, and these words are often used instead of furor but seldom[2] with it. It is also interesting to note, in our statistics, that 'dementia' occurs with comparative

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[1] volnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.

[2] Vide 2^{316}.

frequency in the Aeneid. These statistics do not aim at proving that Vergil composed the Aeneid with the aid, so to speak of an electronic computer (as Professor Duckworth seems to suggest in his book entitled 'A study in mathematical composition'); but rather, it is to show that by conscious design rather than by accident Vergil has made furor and its related words a chief motif in the Aeneid. It constitutes as it were, an identical thread which runs through the characters of all the main female personages in the Aeneid: and this fact strongly suggests that this is how Vergil wants us to see them. For the most part they are irrational and impetuous and they are notably subversive of law and order.

In presenting furor as a motif, and in emphasizing its existence and influence, Vergil repeatedly indicates a contrast between the furor of some characters and the 'pietas' of others. The predominant antitheses in this scheme are tabulated below.

	Furor	Serenitas or Pietas
	JUNO	JUPITER
	JUNO	VENUS
	AEOLUS (Storm)	NEPTUNE (Tranquillity)
	The SYBIL (frenzy)	AENEAS (Composure)
	TURNUS (furor et violentia)	AENEAS
	CAMILLA[1]	AENEAS
	AMATA	LATINUS
	AMATA	AENEAS
	DIDO	AENEAS
Symbolically	CARTHAGE	ROME

[1] Although it must be remembered that she did not actually confront or encounter Aeneas.

There is a closely related antithesis corresponding to this:

Desire	Duty
Emotion	Logic
The moment	The future
agressive superbia	Law and order

e.g. wild Italian tribes - comportare invat praedas et viverę rapto

It can be seen from this analysis that everything on the human level is represented on the divine level by Juno (an epitome of chaos and disorder) and by Jupiter (an embodiment of serenitas and order). 'Serenitas' rather than pietas is the appropriate word for Jupiter not only because he is a god but also because he stands at the apex, as it were, of the pyramid of duties. According to Viktor Poschl, "In Jupiter is most clearly manifest the divine power that binds the demonic forces and the basic strength of Latinity, 'serenitas' - which includes in one untranslatable word, mental clarity, cheerfulness of soul, and the light of the southern sky ..... Vergil's Jupiter is a symbol of what Rome as an idea embodied. While Juno as the divine symbol of the demonic forces of violence and destruction does not hesitate to call up the spirits of the nether world, Jupiter is the organizing power that restrains these forces. Thus on a deeper level, the contrast between the two highest divinities is symbolic of the ambivalence in history and human nature. It is a symbol, too, of the struggle between light and darkness, mind and emotion, order and chaos which incessantly pervades

the cosmos, the soul, and politics."[1]

It is also important to note that if we look for double causation in the Aeneid we shall find that, on the divine level, it was the furor of Juno (her wrath against the Trojan race and her ruthless attempts to exterminate them) that engendered all the other main 'furores', and which led to the concatenation of catastrophic events (in which war, massacre, and suicide featured prominently); but her main vehicles for this gigantic operation were mainly female characters.

The intensity and extent of the 'furores' of Dido, Camilla, and Amata have been analysed in previous chapters. J.W. Mackail,[2] in showing the common bacchic motifs in the Dido and Amata episodes, shows their close similarity:

Amata		Dido	
XII	594 coniussit funditus urbem	IV	666 concussam per urbem
	595 regina ut tectis prospicit		586 regina e speculis ut vidit
	598 (regina) infelix		529 infelix phoenissa
	599 subito mentem turbata dolore		697 subito accensa furore
	600 se causam clamat malorum		548 to his malis oneras
	602 moritura		604 moritura
	605 crines et roseas laniata genas		590,673 flaventes abscissa comas ....unguibus ora soror foedans
	607 resonant plangoribus aedes		668 resonant magnis plangoribus aether
	608 totam vulgatur fama per urbem		bacchatur fama per urbem
	609 scissa veste		abscissa comas
	610 urbisque ruina		ruat omnis Carthago.

[1] Image and symbol in the Aeneid, page 17.
[2] Edition of the Aeneid 1930; Appendix entitled Duplicated Episodes, pp.516

Thus we can see that there's much in the Amata episode which reminds us of Dido's : Vergil's sympathy expressed with 'infelix'; their orgiastic furores, and the catastrophic effect it eventually had on their cities. It would have been easy to dismiss these close similarities as a mere coincidence, but the verbal and conceptual identicalities suggest that this is a conscious design on the part of the poet. Furthermore the role of Helen (as narrated by Deiphobus in VI^{509ff}) with the same idea of Bacchanalian orgies lends weight to the idea that Vergil meant emphatically to portray the main female characters as being subversive of law and order.

Notably their actions are invested with masculine doggedness (just as on the other hand some effeminacy can be discovered in Vergil's men). But all this is eventually in Aeneas' favour; for his image is boosted when we consider what a turbulent 'molis' he had to encounter or experience in order to achieve his goal. Thus although their 'furores' are very powerful we eventually find that furor's triumph is only temporary; truth, right, and piety will eventually prevail. This has been prognosticated in the first book of the Aeneid.

> ..... furor impius intus
> saeva sedens super[1] arma et centum vinctus aenis
> post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento

[1] 294ff

In this passage - the only occasion in Vergil in which furor is

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[1] Note the emphasis of the alliteration in the idea being expressed.

personified, Jupiter foretells the eventual triumph of 'pietas' over furor and, by implication, Rome's supremacy over her foes. For, just as in IV[449], in the oak simile, Aeneas steels himself against internal and external furor, and his mind is described as "immota manet" even so Carthago delenda erit, cum omnibus Romae inimicis hostibusque: sed Roma, per tot casus, aeterna erit. Such was the predominant idea in Vergil's mind.

Nevertheless it will not be correct to infer from the facts given above that in the Aeneid Vergil has been unfair to female character generally. On the contrary he has shown, in his delineation of their characters a good understanding of human nature: Dido's mind wavering between her 'old love' and Aeneas shows how 'mutabile' a woman can be; Amata's desire to choose a husband for her daughter is only symptomatic of the strong force of maternal love, and her 'furor' which almost amounted to a destructive hate of Aeneas was only engendered by a protective love for her daughter. All these are realities of human life, for women generally seem to be obsessed either by their own personal interests or by the narrow interests of their family circle, and are unable to subordinate these to larger causes.

By dealing with these realities of life Vergil means to supply in the Aeneid some elements of human interest. This is one of the great characteristics of the Alexandrian poets to whose writing he owed so much; thus as in Apollonius' Argonautica III and IV we have

an immense human interest in the Medea-Jason affair even so in the Aeneid the Dido-Aeneas story, modelled on this pattern and dealing with the central emotion of love achieves a similar effect.

Moreover Vergil's delineation of female characters reflects the spirit and political atmosphere of his age; for he was writing at a time when the reins of government had fallen into the hands of one man and people were becoming more individualistic; and when, women, forfeiting the prejudice and immunity hitherto accorded to their sex were making an emergence into public life. E.S. Duckett notes that at this time "Livia was almost to Augustus as Bernice was to Ptolemy, and her Emperor-consort frequently sought her counsel. The royal ladies were well versed in literature, a philosopher dedicated his work to Octavia, and before her and Augustus Vergil read the sixth book of his Aeneid."[1] She also adds that women studied philosophy and science. Thus it is hardly surprising that in the Aeneid women are given an individualism which contrasts with Homeric impersonality. They are also made to supply the mainsprings of action: Aeneas' vicissitudes have their roots in 'Iunonis ira' which rears its head ruthlessly at various stages in the poem until eventually she has to acquiesce in fata deum; one of his chief obstacles was the stubborn passion of the masculine Dido whose role in Carthage compares with that of the women in Lemnos described by

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[1] 'Hellenistic Influence on the Aeneid' pp. 33 (Smith College Classical Studies, No. 1 June 1920).

Apollonius[1] and whose regal splendour resembled that of Cleopatra; also Aeneas' men had to face the indefatigable strength of the 'horrenda virgo' - the masculine Camilla whose exploits echo "the martial spirit of Hellenistic royal women"; and Amata's 'furor' (reminiscent of the Bacchanalian celebrations of Olympias Alexander's mother) and her success in mustering a big following as a man would in such circumstances are symptomatic of the potentialities not only of women-folk in general but particularly of the women in Vergil's age.

In conclusion it would be wrong to say that Vergil was unfair to female characters in the Aeneid for apart from investing them with some masculinity and reflecting through them the political[2] and intellectual life of his age, he displays that deep and curious probe into human problems and human frailties, which is so typical of Hellenistic poets; and apart from showing us the flaws of his tragic characters - both male and female - he amply demonstrates that although they may not have his approbation, at least they have his sympathy. This idea of Vergil's sympathy has been succinctly mentioned by Sir Herbert Warren[3] who says: "Virgil everywhere has

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1 Vergil Studien, 1878, p.146; I owe this reference to E.S.Duckett, op.cit.

2 E. Meyer in his 'Caesar's Monarchie', has convincingly shown how much, in Augustus' reign, society was modelled on the political pattern presented by Hellenistic states.

3 'Virgil, Rome, and the History of Civilisation' August 1921, Institute of Classical Studies, Tracts 218, section 11, page 26.

praise for human achievement and for man in his strength, but tears also, it may be proud tears, for human failure, tears alike for friend and foe, tears for Polydorus, for Dido, for Marcellus, for Camilla and Lausus no less than for Nisus and Euryalus and the incomparable Pallas....." Indeed, as he suggests this may well be the general significance of the famous words:

> Sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi
> Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.

STATISTICS OF VERGIL'S USE OF FUROR IN THE AENEID. Total - 96 times

Book I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
41	244	252	42	6D	100	350Am	205	552	37	486T	101T
51	304	313	65D	202	102	375	219	691T	63	609	332T
107	316	331	69D	659	262	377Am	228	760T	68	638	601Am
150	345		91D	662	605	386Am	489		386	709C	607
294*	355		101D	670		392	494		545	762C	668T
348	407		283D	694		406	669		578	838	680T
491	498		298D	788		415			604	901T	686T
659D	499		376D	801		464T			694		832
	588		433D			625			802		946
	595		465D						872		
	613		474D						905		
	759		501D								
	771		548D								
			670D								
			697D								
Total: 8	13	3	15	8	4	9	6	3	11	7	9

D indicates that the passage refers to Dido.
C " " " " " " Camilla.
Am " " " " " " Amata.
T " " " " " " Turnus.
* " the only place in the Aeneid where furor has been personified.

A. STATISTICS OF VERGIL'S USE OF DEMENS AND DEMENTIA IN ALL HIS POEMS. Total: 23

Aeneid I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Ciris	Eclogues	Georgics
-	94	-	107	465	172	-	-	577	813	276	601	185	2^{69}	4^{488}
			469D		590			728		399			6^{47}	
			78D		280			560					2^{60}	
			374D					601						
			562											
Total:-	1	-	5	1	3	-	-	4	1	2	1	1	3	1

'D' indicates that the passage refers to Dido.

DETAILS AENEID = 18

Cerera = 5

COMMENTS:- As in the case of furor and furia;
(i) The Aeneid has the greatest number;
(ii) Aeneid Bk.IV has the highest figure (5), 3 of which are used in describing Dido.

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+ Abbreviations.

C.J.	-	Classical Journal.
C.Q.	-	Classical Quarterly.
C.R.	-	Classical Review.
C.W.	-	Classical World.
G and R	-	Greece and Rome.
V.S.	-	Publications of the Virgil Society.
B.R.L.	-	Bulletins of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.
T.A.P.A.	-	Transactions of the American Philological Association.

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N.B. This list by no means exhausts the number of books and classical journals consulted on the subject.