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Observations and implications in the writings of Virgil

Penelope Webster Thompson

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OBSERVATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

IN THE

WRITINGS OF VIRGIL

BY

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State University of Montana

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The purpose of this paper is to discover some fundamental traits of Virgil, the man, not so much by considering his express or obvious declarations, as by seeking out those less apparent characteristics and points of view which are implicit in his writings. Since Virgil seems more often to have shown what he really thought by what he suggested or implied rather than by what he stated baldly, these implications constitute the chief source of material for this paper. Those observations and implications which seem most revealing are believed to show either (1) Virgil's concept of loyalty or (2) his understanding and sympathy for human behaviour. The two principal parts of the dissertation will be devoted to these two topics. But inasmuch as Virgil's understanding of loyalty and of life must necessarily have had its roots in his own life and times, a preliminary biographical sketch, together with some description of his writings, is desirable.

Introduction

Publius Vergilius Maro was born in the township of Mantua during the consulship of Gnaeus Pompeius and Licinius Crassus, on the fifteenth of October, 70 B.C. Authorities are divided as to a more exact location for his birthplace. Valerius Probus writes that the poet was born in the village of Andes, thirty miles from the city of Mantua. In the Life of Suetonius, usually attributed to Donatus, we read that Virgil was born in Andes,

not far from Mantua. Servius and the Manuscript, known as Bemeneses, speak of him as civis Mantuanus. Virgil, in the first words of his epitaph, Mantua me genuit, spoke of himself merely as a Mantuan. Later students with these Lives, the writings of Virgil and the topography of that vicinity as guides, have tried to find a more exact location. Dante spoke of Pistoia as the birthplace of Virgil. In our own times, Robert Seymour Conway, in his lecture, "Where Was Virgil's Farm?" seeks to prove, through the use of ancient inscriptions and a study of the territory in Mantua, that the ancient Andus was the modern Calvisano. In this belief he agrees with the view previously advanced by G.E.K. Braunholtz. For our immediate purpose, all this is perhaps superfluous. The important thing to us is the fact that he was born, and that he was born on a farm, far enough from Rome to have, from earliest childhood, a great love and appreciation of nature and the simple pleasures.

If we were to believe the stories arising concerning his birth, we would indeed admit that Virgil was born under propitious omens. Examples of these are related by Suetonius in his Lives.

Praegnas ex mater somniavit anixam se laureum ramum, quem contactera coalesuisse et exorvisisse ilico in speciem maturae arboreis referataeque variis pomis et floribus, ac sequenti luce cum marito rus propinquum petens ex itinere devertit atque in

5. Nettleship, Lives, p. 9
4. Ibid. p. 21
5. Ibid. p. 24
7. Ibid. p. 15-40
It is this writer's irreverent guess that these omens concerning the birth of Virgil occurred after his death and were born, full grown, from the brain of some enthusiastic devotees of Virgil. They are of value, however, to show an attitude quite prevalent among people living in the two centuries after Virgil's death. We also know that the fifteenth of October was kept as a sacred day of festival for many years after his death.

Virgil's parents were of humble origin, but well enough fixed financially and sufficiently aware of the boy's promise, to have him educated under the finest of teachers. Virgil began his formal education at Cremona.

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8. While he was in his mother's womb, she dreamt that she gave birth to a laurel branch, which on touching the earth took root and grew at once to the size of a full grown tree, covered with fruits and flowers of various kinds and on the following day, when she was on the way to a neighboring part of the country with her husband she turned aside and gave birth to her child in a ditch beside the road. They say that the infant did not cry at its birth, and had such a gentle expression as even then to give assurance of an unusually happy destiny. There was added another omen, for a poplar branch, which as was usual in that region on such occasions was at once planted where the birth occurred, grew so fast in so short a time that it equalled in size poplars planted long before. It was called from him, Virgil's tree and was thereafter worshipped with great veneration by the pregnant and newly delivered women, who made and paid vows beneath it.


10. Nettleship, Lives, p. 8


where he remained until he received his toga, on the day, supposedly, 15 that Lucretius died. This fact may well have influenced the young six-
ten year old boy in his great admiration for the older poet and philoso-
pher. Studies followed at Mediolanum and at Naples, with the Greek poet
and grammarian, Parthenio. In his twenty-third year he came to Rome and
14 studied with Epidius, the rhetorician. There is the story that Virgil
15 was a school companion of Octavian in the school of Epidius. This is usu-
ally regarded as a fiction as Octavian at the time was only nine years
16 old. It is generally conceded that the introduction took place after the
Battle of Philippi at the time of the seizure of Virgil's estate by the
17 veterans of Octavian. Virgil, like Ovid studied law in Rome but according
18 to records was a failure at pleading and tried only one case. The unfavor-
able implications made in the Aeneid against the successful orator, Dran-
ces, may well imply Virgil's secret attitude toward oratory. From these
studies Virgil proceeded to the study of philosophy which became his deare-
est interest until the end of his life. He studied under Syrone, the Ep-

15. Henry S. Fries, Virgil’s Aeneid, American Book Company, 1902. Introdu-
tion. p. ii. Also see Nettleship, p. 10
14. Sallar. p. 110
15. Norman Wentworth DeFitt, Virgil’s Biographia Litteraria, Victoria
College Press, Toronto. 1923. p. 12
16. Nettleship, p. 57
17. Francis G. Allinson and Anne C. E. Allinson, The Aeneid of Virgil,
Scott Foresman and Company, Chicago. 1916. Introduction. p. 15
19. Aeneid II. 576-445
icurean, a learned philosopher, mathematician and scientist. This teacher
influenced the young poet very greatly. The Eclogues and the Georgics
show very definitely the Epicurean influence. The influence of Epicur-
eanism in his earlier writings and of Stoicism and Platonism in his later
writings will be shown later in this paper.

At the time of Virgil's first arrival in Rome, he was decidedly the
awkward, unsophisticated country boy. Suetonius wrote the following descrip-
tion of him,

Corpore et statura fuit grandi, aquilo colore, facie rusticana,
valetudine varis, nam plerumque a stomacho et a faucibus et dolore
capitis laboraverat, sanguinem stiasm saepe relit.

The modern writer, DeWitt described him in this manner.

About the time that Lesbia's lover died another of the Orphic
guild came down to Rome from that same country, our shy Mantuan,
as tenderhearted as St. Francis of Assisi, a white soul, a wis-
zard with words, who possessed all learning without pedantry, who
sat with the mighty and was not puffed up, whose gentle nature makes
friends even in this posterity.

About Virgil there is much that reminds me of Abraham Lincoln. The
American was large and ungainly, and no tailor could make him look
smart. The Transpadane, we learn from Suetonius, was of large sta-
ture and a rustic appearance, which lends corroboration to the tra-
dition that certain lines of Horace about one whose toga hung awry
and whose sandals had a way of slipping their straps, had reference
to him. In respect of the things that are not seen they were also
alike, in their gentleness, in their sympathy, in their feeling for
dumb animals, and in the general disposition of character that we
call benignity. In both of them was a singular tranquillity of mien
not untouched by melancholy, in both a singular freedom from malice

20. Fries, Introduction, p. 84
21. Sellar, p. 6
22. He was tall and of full habit, with a dark complexion and a rustic
appearance. His health was variable; for he very often suffered
from stomach and throat troubles, as well as with headaches; and
he also had frequent haemorrhages.
and vindictiveness. Yet not the least striking similarity between the pair is the degree to which each one of them carried his environment with him to the very last. Lincoln was always from the Middle West. Virgil was always a Transpadane. 25

Despite what would appear as a favorable induction into city life, Virgil soon showed his real preference for country life. Ten years after his arrival in Rome, he had returned to his native Andes, with the full intention of devoting the rest of his life to agriculture, science and letters. He always had a great loyalty and pride in Rome, as shown by his writings. It was, however, for Italy as his patria and the small Mantua and Parthenope that Virgil showed his greatest love. This is eloquently proved by his own epitaph,

"Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet munc Parthenope, cecini pascua, rura, duces." 25

The acknowledged works of Virgil are the Eclogues, Georgics and the Aeneid. In addition there are several minor poems, the authenticity of which is much disputed. These poems, the Catalapton, Culex, Ciris, Dirae, Priapea, Astae and Moretum would belong to the period in which Virgil was a student of Epidius and Siro. Because of the doubt of authorities concerning these poems, and the wealth of material, for our purposes, in the other writings of Virgil, these poems will not be treated further in this paper.

25. DeWitt, p. 6
24. Frieze, Introduction, p. 11
25. Nettleaship, p. 17
26. Sellar, p. 95...Fairclough, Intro., p. ix...DeWitt, Biographia Litteraria.
In 42 B.C., two years after the assassination of Julius Caesar, Virgil began the writing of the Eclogues. In these poems he was inspired by his favorite Greek poet, Theocritus. They were written under the patronage of his friend, C. Asinius Pollio. In the midst of this writing of the Eclogues, Virgil's lands were claimed by the veterans of Octavian. At first through the intercession of Pollio, they were saved. Later it became necessary to appeal to a higher power and at the advice of Pollio, Virgil went to Rome and appealed to Octavian in person. Octavian granted restitution but on Virgil's return to Mantua, he found that a veteran had already taken possession. Virgil's life was imperilled and he was forced to swim a river in order to escape from the violence of the soldier. After this second loss of his estate, Virgil, together with his parents and two brothers, found refuge in a house formerly belonging to his teacher, Siron. At this time, Virgil was very definitely the man of the house. His father was aged and blind, probably the inspiration of the similarly afflicted Anchises, and Virgil's two brothers were younger than himself. The emotions of Aeneas at the time of the flight from Troy, described in

28. Sellar, p. 131
29. Friese, Introduction, p. 11
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid. p. 11-12
32. Sellar, p. 115
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid. p. 116
35. Ibid.
the second Aeneid, no doubt were an echo of the sorrow of Virgil at the
time of his flight from his childhood home.

As a result of these circumstances, these ten short pastoral poems,
intended primarily to show the delight of the simple life and to honor
his friend, Pollio, became a chronicle of a very turbulent period in Vir­
gil's life. The writing of these Elegues or Bucolics occupied Virgil from
42 B.C. to 37 B.C. The second, third and fifth, dealing with the complaint
of the shepherd Corydon for his faithless lover Alexis, the musical con­
test between the shepherds, Menalcas and Damoetas, and between Menalcas and
Mopsus, were written in Mantua in 42 B.C. The first Elegue, showing Vir­
gil's own great gratitude to Augustus and the plea for the simple life was
written the following year in Mantua. In this same year, in Siron's villa,
were probably written the sixth and ninth, giving an account of the crea­
tion, in accordance with the philosophy of Lucretius, through the song of
Silenus, and of the personal dangers of Virgil at the time of the sei­
zure of his estates. The fourth or Messianic Elegue was written in 40 B.C.
in Rome. The following year in Rome, the eighth was written. This Elegue
deals with a song contest between the Muse of Damon and Alphesiboeus. The
tenth was written in Rome, either in 37 B.C. or 36 B.C. and is a tribute to
Virgil's friend Gallus. There is a dispute as to the time of the seventh,
38 another song contest between Corydon and Thyrae. These poems brought
to Virgil much acclaim and many of them were recited on the stage with

36. Aeneid. II. 705-730
37. Sellar, p. 151
37. Sellar, p. 152 and Fairclough, Introduction, p. x
great success. The Eclogues established Virgil as one of the great poets of his time and brought the friendship of Varrius, Horace and Propertius, 40 and the increased friendship of Pollio and Octavian.

After Virgil's forced departure from Mantua, he was liberally compensated by Octavian. He was enabled to spend the remaining years of his life in comparative luxury and to devote his entire time to his writings. This freedom from financial worry and this leisure were particularly fortunate to Virgil, broken in health. They contributed greatly to the finished art and to the tone of the Georgics and the Aeneid.

After the completion of the Eclogues, Virgil, in poor health, spent most of his life in Naples. He immediately began the writing of the Georgics and devoted the next seven years to the writing of these four books, dealing with the care of the fields, of trees, of horses and cattle and of bees. Virgil dedicated this poem to Maecenas, a fellow member of the intimate literary clique to which Virgil now belonged. As the Greek poet, Theocritus had inspired the Eclogues, so now the Greek poet, Hesiod, author of the didactic poem, Works and Days, inspired Virgil in the writing of his didactic poem. In this writing, Virgil borrowed freely from the earlier

59. Sellar, p. 152
40. Fries, Introduction, p. 13
41. Sellar, p. 55
42. Ibid. p. 54
43. Fries, Introduction, p. 14
44. Sellar, p. 183. See Georgic I., 1-4
45. Ibid. p. 176
46. Ibid. p. 175
Greek writers and from the Roman Lucretius. In this regard, Sellar wrote

But while his feeling is all his own,—the happy survival probably
of the childhood and the youth passed in his own home in the dis-
trict of Andes,—he largely avails himself of the observation, the
thought, and the language of earlier writers, both Greek and Roman.
His poem is eminently a work of learning as well as of native feel-
ing. He combines in its varied and fine texture the homely wisdom
embodied in the precepts and proverbs of the Italian peasants (vet-
erum praecepta'),—the quaint and oracular dicta of Hesiod,—the
scientific knowledge and mythological lore of Alexandrine writers,—
the philosophic and imaginative conceptions of Lucretius,—with the
knowledge of natural history contained in the treatises of Aristotle
and Theophrastus, and the systematic practical directions of the old
prose writers on rural economy, such as the Carthaginian Neco, whose
work had been translated into Latin,—Democritus and Xenophon among
Greek prose writers,—Cato, the two Sasernas, Licinius Stolo, Tre-
mellius, and Varro among Latin authors.47

While Lucretius' influence on Virgil was very strong throughout the
writing of this poem, we see in this same poem, Virgil's growing indepen-
dence of Lucretius and his swing from the Epicurean philosophy. In the
following quotations, Virgil shows teleological views directly opposed
to Lucretius,

G. I. Idcirco certis dimensum partibus orbes
per duodena regit mundi sol aureas astra.
quince tantum caelum zonas: quarum una coruscoc
semper sole rubens et torrida semper ab igni;
quae circum extremane dextra laevaque trahuntur
cassuere, glacie concretas atque imbribus atra;
has inter mediamque duas mortalibus aegris
munere concessae divum, e' via secta per ambas,
obliquus qua se signorum verteret ordo. 49

47. Sellar, p. 191-192

48. Ibid. p. 199

49. (Translations of Virgil by Fairclough)—To this end the golden Sun rules
his circuit, portioned out in fixed divisions, through the world's twelve
constellations. Five zones comprise the heavens; whereof one is ever
glowing with the flashing sun, ever scorched by his flames. Round this,
at the world's ends, two stretch darkling to right and left, set fast
in ice and black storms. Between these and middle zone, two by grace
of the gods have been vouchsafed to feeble mortals, and a path is cut
between the two, wheron the slanting array of the signs may turn.
Lucretius, through the intellectual stimuli he gave Virgil, inspired the early dependence of Virgil and also this later independence. Virgil was better equipped than any other poet to understand and admire Lucretius. Both men were inspired by a great love of nature and a desire to find truth through the scientific study of this same nature. Both men were intellectual pathfinders and their intellectual curiosity was well fortified with thorough training. Alike they scorned pomp, appreciated simplicity and had a real horror of war. Each was capable of hero worship and made his poetry serve the man he sought to praise. But there the similarity appears to end. Lucretius was an uncompromising pessimist and Virgil was a compromising optimist. While Lucretius emphasizes the cruelties of nature, Virgil argues for her fairness and that her apparent cruelties are merely means by which a man may prove his worth. While Lucretius complains that two thirds of the world is uninhabitable, Vir-

50. ... and that through unfailing signs we might learn these dangers, the heat, and the rain, and the cold-bringing winds—the Father himself decreed what warning the monthly moon should give, what should signal the fall of the wind, and what sight, oft seen, should prompt the farmers to keep his cattle nearer to their stalls.

51. Sellar, p. 201
52. De Rerum Natura, V. 1-5. . . Georgics III. 291-294
53. De Rerum Natura, II. 22-23. . . Georgics II. 458-474
gil rejoices that there are two temperate zones for "feeble mortals." Virgil apparently hoped the Georgics would soften the effect of the views of Lucretius and refute some of them. The writer believes he intended it to be a forerunner of a great poem on nature, an answer to Lucretius. In the Georgics, Virgil, the eclectic, combined the scientific knowledge of Lucretius with a milder, more hopeful theology, a theology more in keeping with the program of Octavian. The Georgics was a national poem and a definite part of Virgil's campaign to make the Italians conscious of the glories of the basic agricultural industries of Italy.

In 30 B.C., Virgil began his greatest work, the Aeneid. The writing of this poem occupied the remaining eleven years of his life. It is a tribute to Rome, Italy and to Augustus. Copied after the plan of Homer, it traces the adventures of Aeneas, the traditional founder of the Julian family. Virgil's death in Brundisium in 19 B.C. prevented the completion of the poem as originally planned. Augustus was with him at the time of his death and brought his remains to Naples. His death and interment are described by DeFitt,

In the dreaded month of September in the fifty-second year of his age, when intellectual men are at the summit of their powers, he breathed his last in the useless comfort of an imperial villa at Brundisium. The first and greatest of the Roman Emperors was beside him in his last hours, stood mournfully by the blazing pyre, and with naked feet shared in the melancholy privilege of collecting

56. G. I. 259 . . . De Rerum Natura. V. 204-205
57. Sellar, p. 221
58. Friesie, Intro. . p. 40
59. Ibid. p. 15
60. Fairclough, Introduction, p. x
the pitiful remains. From Brundisium the imperial cortège pursued its tedious way along the ancient road that led to Campania, and in the modest tomb erected for his beloved parents not far from the quaint memorial of the Siren Parthenope they left another urn, while a white soul took flight to Elysian fields.61

Despite his last request that the Aeneid be destroyed, it was published at the command of the emperor. It was immediately popular and has been so ever since. The contents of this poem will be the chief source of material for this paper.

Virgil was the ace of plagiarists. The chief examples of this borrowing are from the writings of Theocritus, Ennius, Catullus, Lucretius and Homer. Several lines in the Eclogues are taken directly from Theocritus. Several lines in the Eclogues are taken, with slight changes from the Annals of Ennius. Virgil knew Catullus by heart and was greatly influenced by the older poet. The following comparison of lines shows this influence. Catullus begins his lovely memorial to his brother with the line,

\[
\text{Vultae per gantes et multa per aequora vectus.}
\]

Anchises greets Aeneas in the underworld with these similar words,

\[
\text{VI. 692. Quae ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum Accipiam quantis iactatum, nate, periclis.}
\]

61. Dewitt, p. 171
62. Suetonius, p. 474
65. Ibid. xliti
66. Dewitt, p. 96
67. Catullus. 101. Line 1
DeWitt made the following comparison of lines from the denunciation of Aeneas by Dido, in the fourth Aeneid and from the denunciation of Ariadne in the poem of Catullus,

Cat. 191. Resperum iuvemae fratema caede secuta.
Aen. 21. sparsos fraterna caede penates.
Cat. 62. magnis currus fluctuat undis
Aen. 542. magnoque irerum fluctuat seatu.
Cat. 141. sed conubia laeta, sed opitatus hymenaeos.
Aen. 526. per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos.

As Virgil matured the influence of Lucretius became more marked than that of Catullus. Constantly intending to devote his life to science, the philosophy of Lucretius and the beliefs of Democritus, turned to poetry strongly appealed to him. The love of nature which had first inspired him to poetry, only increased his love of philosophy, by which he meant a study of nature. While the writings of Virgil are milder and more hopeful, the influence of Lucretius is constant. William A. Merrill made a study of the parallels and coincidences in the writings of these two poets. He found sixteen hundred and thirty-five similarities. While this shows the technical influence, I believe the effect of the mind of Lucretius on the mind of Virgil is summed in this single line,

G. II. 490. Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.

When it came to actual copying, however, Virgil took more from Homer than from any other poet. I have selected the following comparisons from the many available,

---

88. DeWitt, p. 96


70. Suetonius, Vol. II. p. 480
A. I. 94. "O terque quattuorbeati, quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenia altis contigit oppetere.

O. V. 306 τρισ μάκαρες, Δαναοί καὶ Τερέμον, οἱ τού ὀνόμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἑαυτῇ Χαίρων Ἀτρασσαῖος περνεῖ.

A. III. 725. Juppiter ipse duas aequato examina lances sustinet et fata imponit diversa duorum, quem dannet labor et quo vergat pondera letum.

I. XXII. 209. καὶ τοῦτο ὡς τοὺς Πατρὰς, πατὴρ ἐπάγε τὴν παῖν, ἐν δὲ ἐντεῦθεν παῖς ἡ γυνὴ ἔπεισε βαρδῶς τὴν μὲν Παλλάδαν, τὴν δὲ Ἐκτώρα ἵππον ἄλλαν ἐδέστη μετὰ λαβὼν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἐκτώρα ὠδικῶς ἡμῖν,

Virgil's comeback to this common charge of borrowing, is described by Suetonius,

"cur non illi quocumque eadem turba temptarent? Verum intellecturos facilius esse Herculis clamam quam Homero versum subscribere.

71. "O thrice and four times blest, whose lot it was to meet death before their father's eyes beneath the lofty walls of Troy!


"Thrice blessed those Danaans, aye, four times blessed, who of old perished in the wide land of Troy, doing the pleasure of the sons of Aetna."

73. Juppiter himself upholds two scales in even balance, and lays therein the diverse destinies of both, whom the strife dooms, and with whose weight death sinks down.


... the Father lifted on high his golden scales, and set therein the two fates of grievous death, one for Achilles, and one for horse-taming Hector; then he grasped the balance by the midst and raised it and down sank the day of Hector. . .

75. "Why dont my critics also attempt the same thefts? If they do, they will realize that it is easier to filch his club from Hercules than a line from Homer."
The lines Virgil actually lifted would seem to call his bluff or show him, a dyspeptic mortal, stronger than the strongest son of a god. The elder Seneca also wrote, indirectly, of this plagiarism of Virgil, in a criticism of Ovid. In the Third Suasoria, he wrote of Ovid, "fecisse quod in multis alis versibus Vergilius sectavit, non surripiendo causa sed palpam imitandi, hoc animo ut vellet agnosci. Despite similarities between great portions of the Aeneid and Homer's poems, the works are in marked contrast and the copying detracts from neither. Gladstone, a devotee of Homer, in his criticism of the two poets, said that in every particular the Aeneid is in marked contrast to the Iliad. Regardless of Virgil's methods, he succeeded in his task and the end achieved justified any means he may have used.

From the time of the first appearance of the Eclogues, Virgil has been one of the really great names in literature. He has more definitely influenced English literature than any other Roman poet. During his own time, he was preeminent among the writers of the Augustan era and by many was ranked above Homer. These lines of Propertius show this enthusiasm,

**Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii
Nasceo quid maius nascitur Iliade.** 81

---


78. Crump, p. 1


80. Sellar, p. 61

81. Ibid. p. 62.
During his own lifetime, many of the great writers, Horace, Ovid and Livy, showed through their writings, the influence of Virgil. After his death the later Augustan writers imitated Virgil and reverenced his memory. Pliny and Martial both praised him in their writings. The greatest compliment of the Roman authors, however, came in the imitation of Virgil by the historian, Tacitus, the greatest literary figure of his time. From the satirical poet, Juvenal, we learn that Virgil's writings were used as school books,

Cuua totus decolor asset
Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni. 86

Throughout the Middle Ages, Virgil retained this popularity. The following is the tribute of Chaucer,

Glory and honour, Virgil Mantuan,
Be to thy name! and I shal, as I can,
Follow thy lantern, as thou gost biform.87

The greatest honor paid by any great figure in literature, was the praise of Dante, summed in the following lines,

"Thou glory and light of all other poets, may the long study and ardent love avail me, which hath caused me closely to con thy volume. Thou art my master and my authority, thou art he from whom I derived the fair style which hath won me honour."88

82. Sellar, p. 62
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid. p. 65
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid. 'When the whole Horace had lost its natural colour, and the soot was sticking to the blackened Virgil.' vii. 226
87. Ritchie, p. 15
Hall I. 78-82
Through the darkness of these ages, numerous legends arose concerning the supernatural powers of Virgil. His reputation as a magician is discussed at length by J. S. Tunison and Domenico Comparetti. The most interesting of these legends, to the writer, concerns Virgil's bargain with the seventy-two bottled devils. Supposedly, in return for his art he freed them and there have been seventy-two devils to pay ever since.

Virgil was claimed by the Christians and his writings were commonly read in the church schools. The following mass, in honor of St. Paul, shows the respect of the Christians of the fifteenth century for this pagan poet,

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ad Maronis aausoleum} \\
&Ductus fudit super eum} \\
&Piae rores lacrimae} \\
&Quam te inquit reddidissem \\
&Si te vivum inuenisses} \\
&Postarum maxime! 92
\end{align*}
\]

A translation of the Aeneid by Gawain Douglas was one of the first works written in Scotland during the Renaissance. Virgil's prominence during the revival is further proved by the fact that ninety editions of his poems were published before the sixteenth century. Sir Philip Sidney showed his respect for the poet in these words, "No philosopher's precepts can sooner

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91. Tunison, p. 24-25

92. Sellar, p. 65. . . Being conducted (Paul, the Apostle) to the tomb of Maro, over him he wept reverently; and he said, "What a man I would have converted, had I found you alive, O Greatest of Poets."

93. Mitchie, p. 80

94. Sellar, p. 67
make you an honest man than the reading of Virgil." His *Defense of Poetry* is crowded with quotations from Virgil. Spencer's pastoral poems also show this influence. Milton's *Paradise Lost* has many allusions to and some translations directly from Virgil. Pope paid tribute with these lines from his *Temple of Fame*:

On which a shrine of purest gold was rear'd;  
Finished the whole, and laboured every part,  
With patient touches of unwearied art:  
The Mantuan there in sober triumph sate,  
Composed his posture and his looks sedate;  
On Homer still he fixed a reverent eye,  
Great without pride, in modest majesty;  
In living sculpture on the sides were spread  
The Trojan wars, and haughty Turnus dead;  
Elisa stretched upon the funeral pyre,  
Aeneas bending with his aged sire:  
Troy flamed in burning gold, and o'er the throne  
"Armis and the man" in golden ciphers shone.  

Dryden considered Virgil the greatest of all the poets and his translation proved this respect. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in France and England, Virgil rivalled Homer in reputation. Voltaire, the leader of literary criticism of his time, expressed the opinion that the second, fourth and sixth books of the *Aeneid* were superior to anything written by the Greeks. Landor, through his translation of the *Georgics* and through numerous references to Virgil's writings and quotations from

95. Ritchie, p. 95  
96. Ibid. p. 104  
97. Ibid., p. 149  
98. Ibid., p. 148  
99. Ibid., p. 111  
100. Sellar, p. 65  
101. Ibid.
them represented the continued popularity of Virgil during the age of the
Romanticists. During the Victorian Age, Virgil and the other Latin writers
began to be rated for their own merits rather than because of some similar-
ity or dissimilarity to a Greek poet. During this century a thorough know-
ledge of Virgil was considered an essential for public life. In this re-
gard, Herbert Paul wrote,

In 1868 Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lowe, both as good scholars as Peel,
almost exhausted the second book of the Aeneid, and left the Trojan
horse without a leg to stand on. Virgil was treated as if he had been
a living writer of dispatches, instead of a poet whose language was no
longer spoken, and who had been dead nearly nineteen hundred years."

Tennyson, perhaps more than any other writer of this period showed an in-
debtedness to Virgil. He liked to tell that he had been called the Eng-
lish Virgil. Since the Victorian Age, Virgil's popularity has declined.

The fundamental cause of this attitude is the decline in the study of the
Classics. With this decline the study of Virgil is usually limited to the
first six books of the Aeneid, read by high school students. As a result
any mature reading of Virgil is generally dependent upon translations.
While the translations may be excellent, as translations, the peculiar
beauty, that is Virgil's does not lend itself to translation and cannot
be expressed save in the language in which Virgil expressed it. The chief
charm of Virgil has always been the music with which he expressed what he
had to say, rather than in what said.

102. Ritchie, p. 200-201
105. Ibid. p. 213-214
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid. p. 224
106. Sellar, p. 73
PART I. VIRGIL'S CONCEPT OF LOYALTY

Chapter I. Family Loyalties

Loyalty appears to be the nearest equivalent of *pistis* in the Vergilian sense of the word. Through such a substitution of words, we can understand a *pius Aeneas* who made a human sacrifice of eight young men and an *Aeneas* who killed Lausus with pity and Turnus with anger. Through such a substitution, we can understand Virgil's surrender of his chosen field, the study of natural science, in order to become the court poet of Augustus. It makes plausible the mild-mannered Virgil, who wrote with seeming relish of the aged Priam slipping on the altar in the blood of his son. Loyalty was the "rock" on which Virgil hoped Augustus would build his empire and which he hoped, through the influence of his writings, to make a cardinal virtue of every Roman and every Italian.

Virgil's respect for the family ties is apparent in the sympathetic treatment of these loyalties in his poems. Writing of mother love, he ranged from the quiet tenderness of the mother of Lausus, embroidering the tunic for her son to the wild despair of the mother of Buryalus and from the resigned, pathetic love of Andromache to the aggressive protectiveness of Venus.

All Virgil's resentment of war's violation of mother love is shown in the single ironic line, describing the carefully made garment of the young Lausus and its ultimate use as his shroud,

107. Aeneid X. 517-520

108. Ibid. X. 821-824

109. Ibid. XI. 945-949

110. Moses Stephen Slaughter, *Roman Portraits*, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925) p. 44. See also Aeneid II. 550-551
Virgil's knowledge of the possessive martyr type of motherhood is evidenced in this verse from the complaint of Euryalus' mother,

A. IX. 492. hoc sum terraque marisque secuta?

Here is a woman who expects her son to equal her dependent loyalty to him. Even in her bereavement she thinks primarily of herself and of her sacrifices. Virgil implies a criticism of such a parent and her inability to understand her son's right to sacrifice his own life.

In sharp contrast to this unreasonable, resentful attitude is the sorrow of Andromache for her dead Astyanax. Andromache seeks, as such a mother would, to find comfort through kindness to young Ascanius, an age-mate of her own son. The following quotation gives the scene,

A. III. 488. capte dona extrema tuncus,
       o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis image,
       sic oculas, sic ille manus, sic ora feriebat;
       et nunc saccati tecum subacret aevos. 113

Virgil through this account of the enduring grief of Andromache, shows a belief that such a quiet, controlled sorrow denotes a deeper anguish than the uncontrolled lament of the other mother.

In the first Aeneid, Virgil showed an impatient, reproachful Venus, accusing Jupiter of breaking faith with her and her son,

A. I. 250. nos, tua progenies, caeli quibus adnus arcem,
        navibus (infandum) amissis unius ob iram
        prodimur atque Italis longe disiungiur oris.
       hic pietatia honos? sic nos in aevacra reponis? 114

111. and the tunic his mother had woven him of pliant gold;

112. Is it this that I have followed by land and sea?

113. Take these last gifts of thy kin, 0 thou sole surviving image of my Astyanax! Such was he in eyes, in hands and face; even now would his youth be ripening in equal years with thine!

114. But we, thy offspring, to whom thou dost grant the height of heaven,
Virgil shows a Venus, very lovely in her anxious, ambitious motherhood and in her willingness to use every tool at her disposal to help her son. Weeping gently, not enough to redden her eyes, but enough to make them shine, she touchingly shows her dependence upon his mercy and her fear for the welfare of her child. By first flattering Jupiter into thinking he really is the almighty, she doubles the effect of her charge that he is the dupe of his wife, and the effect of her scorn for his manner of rewarding virtue and keeping his promises to the future Italian race. Venus again shows her aggressiveness in her visit to Vulcan. While this appears primarily to be a great love scene between Venus and Vulcan, the real loyalty which prompts Venus to remember her husband is for her son.

Another phase of Virgil's treatment of maternal loyalty is the fear and hatred of women for war. The following quotations show the different aspects of this fear,

115
A. VII. 516. et trepidae matres pressera ad pectora natos.
116
A. VIII. 556. vota metu duplicant matres,
117
A. VIII. 592. stant pavidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur pulversam nubem et fulgentis aere catervas.
118
A. V. 659. tum vero attonitae monstros astaque furore conclamant rapluntque focis penetralibus ignem;...

114. cont. have lost our ships. O shame unutterable! and to appease one angry foe, are betrayed and kept far from Italian shores; Is this virtue's guerdon? Is it thus thou restorest us to empire?"

115...and startled mothers clasped their children to their breasts.

116. In alarm mothers redouble their vows;

117. On the wall mothers stand trembling, and follow with their eyes the dusty cloud and the squadrons gleaming with brass.

118. Then indeed, amazed at the marvels and driven by frenzy, they cry aloud, and some snatch fire from the hearths within, others, strip the altars, ...
in the first verse, Virgil very simply pictures the frightened despair of these Latin mothers at the very first rumor of war and the tendency of mothers to think of their grown sons as babes in arms. The second quotation shows the trend of people, after the danger has become a reality, to pay more respect to religion, and especially prayer. Virgil indirectly expresses his cynicism in the two words, *me tu* and *duplilcat*. The third shows an impressive scene of the terrified mothers, standing on the tower, for a last glimpse of the sons, they already picture as killed on the battlefield. Virgil understood the tendency of many women to borrow trouble and the inability to place future glory, resulting from a war they do not understand, before the immediate safety of their sons. In a more definitely aggressive form, this lack of "vision" is shown in the last quotation, depicting the burning of the ships. To these Trojan women, weary of war and wandering, safety for their sons was paramount and a settlement in Sicily, or in any land, was more appealing than any adventure or glory of a future Italian state.

The second family loyalty chosen for discussion is paternal loyalty. Of the family relationships, the paternal and filial loves are treated with the greatest genius. Here Virgil reflects the fine relationship existing between himself and his own father. His deep respect for paternity prompts the venom of Priam's curse on the son of Achilles,

A. II. 555, 'at tibi pro scalere' exclamat, 'pro talibus ausis
di, si qua est caelo pietas, tuae talia curet,
persolvant grates dignas et paeemia reddent
debita, qui nati coram me cernere letum
facisti et patris foedasti funere voltus. 119

119. "Nay, for thy crime, for deeds so heinous," he cries, "if in heaven there is any righteousness to mark such sins, may the gods pay thee fitting thanks and render thee due rewards, who hast made me look on my own son's murder, and defiled with death a father's face!"
His knowledge of his own unselfish father brought understanding of Latinus, more concerned over the happiness of his only daughter than the royal gifts of the Trojans,

A. VII. 251.

Virgil's comprehension of this loyalty is further shown by four examples chosen from the Aeneid, the love of Evander for Pallas, of Mezentius for Lausus, Anchises for Aeneas and of Aeneas for Ascanius.

As a basis for discussing the first of these, it becomes necessary to quote at length from the farewell of Evander to Pallas and from the lament of Evander for the dead Pallas,

A. VIII. 572. at vos, o superi, et divum tu maxime rector
Luppiter, Arcadii, quaeso, misercccite regis
et patrias audite preces, si numina vestra
incolumem Pallanta mihi, si fata reservant,
si visurus sum vivo et venturum in unum;
viitas oro: patior quemvis durare laborem.

A. XI. 152. "Non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti,
cautius ut saevo valles te credere Marti;
hand ignarum eras, quantum nova gloria in armis
et praeculcis decus primo certamine posset.

120. Nor is it so much that the embroidered purple or the sceptre of Priam moves the king, as that he broods over his daughter's wedlock and bridal bed, ...

121. But ye, O powers above, and thou, O Jupiter, mighty ruler of the gods, pity, I pray, the Arcadian king, and hear a father's prayer. If your will, if destiny keep my Pallas safe, if I live still to see him, still to meet him, for life I pray; any toil soever have I patience to endure. But, if, O Fortune, thou threatenest some dread mishance, now, oh, now may I break the thread of cruel life, while fears are doubtful, while hope reads not the future, while thou beloved boy, my late and lone delight, art held in my embrace; and my no heavier tidings wound mine ear!
primitiae iuvenis miseræ bellique propinqui
dura rudimenta et nulli exaudita deorum
vota precesque meæ tuæque, o sanctissima coniunx,
felix morte tua neque in hunc servata dolore! 
estarem genitor. Tuum socia arma sequit
obruerent Rutulii tellis! animam ipse dedisse
atque haec pompa domum me, non Pallanta referret!
nec vos arguerim, Teucri, nec foedera nec quae
iuxtimus hostilis dextræ. sors ista senectae
debita erat nostrae. quod si imatura mensebat
mors gnatus, caesis Volscorum milibus ante
ducentem in Latium Teucros cecidisse iuvabir.
quin ego non alio digner te funere, Pallas,
quam plus Aeneas et quam magni Phryges et quam
Tyrrenianique duces, Tyrrenianum exercitus omnis.
magna tropæa ferunt, quos dat tua dextera Lato;
tu quoque mune staræs immannis truncus in armis,
essept par setas et idem si robur ab aninis,
Turne. sed infelix Teucros quid demoror armis?
vadite et haec memoras regi mandata refera,
quod vitam moror invisa, Pallanta perempto,
dextera causa tua est, Turnum gnatoque patre
quam debere vides. meritis vacat hic tibi solus
fortunaeque locus, non vitae gaudia quasro
(nec fas). sed gnato Manis perferre sub isosi. 122

122. "Not much, O Pallas, was the promise thou hadst given thy sire, that
thou wouldst seek more warily to entrust thyself to cruel Mars! Well
I knew how strong was the fresh glory of arms and the over sweet pride
of battle's first day! O bitter first-fruits of thy youth! O cruel
schooling in close-neighboring war! O vows, O prayers of mine, to
which no god gave ear! And thou, my blessed spouse, happy in thy death,
and spared not for this grief. But, I living on, have overcome my des-
tiny, only to linger thus-thy father! Would I had followed Troy's all-
ied arms, to be overwhelmed by Rutulian darts! Would I had given my
own life, and this funeral-pomp were bringing me not Pallas' home! Yet
I would not blame you, ye Trojans, nor our covenant, nor the hands
clamped in friendship. This lot was due to my gray hairs. But is un-
timely death awaited my son, it shall be my joy that, after slaying
his Volscian thousands, he fell leading the Trojans into Latium! Nay
Pallas, I myself could deem thee worthy of no other death than good
Aeneas does, than the mighty Phrygians, than the Tyrrenian captains,
and all the Tyrrenian host. Great are the trophies they bring, to
whom thy hand deals death, thou, too, Turnus, wouldst now be stand-
ing, a monstrous trunk arrayed in arms, had thine age and strength
of years been as his! But why do I, unhappy, stay the Teucrians from
conflict? Go, and forget not to bear this message to your king, that
I drag out a life hateful now that Pallas is slain, the cause is thy
right hand, which thou seest owes Turnus to son and sire. That sole
field is left for thy merits and thy fortune. I ask nor for joy in
life that cannot be, but to bear tidings to my son in the shades below.
Evander in the opening plea to Jupiter begs the god to answer the prayer of a king, but more especially to pity the love of a father. In the event of Pallas' death, he prays for death, a death which he desires while the outcome is still uncertain and while he can still deceive himself into false assurances through sacrifices at the altars of the gods. The fortitude with which Evander meets the actual death of Pallas is very unlike this former weakness. The lament of Evander seems the noblest sentiment of courageous sorrow in the Aeneid. The contrast of Evander's behaviour at the time of a crushing personal loss, and the three women, Aemata, Dido and the mother of Euryalus, summarized in the two phrases, felix morte and quod vitas moror invisum signifies Virgil's personal attitude toward suicide. To Evander, life has become a losing game but a game which must be played to the finish. While the mother of Euryalus rails her dead son for his recklessness, Evander shows how well he realizes the sweetness of danger to a young man in his first great battle. He understands but he sorrows that such a bitter end should come to a young man's ambitions and courage. This is another instance of Virgil's pity for the victims of war. Humanly, Evander resents the gods' acceptance of his sacrifices and deafness to his prayers. In such lines Virgil's agnosticism is evidenced. Evander shows no resentment toward the Trojans as the authors of his loss and does not regret their covenant. Similarly, Virgil did not regret his friendship with Augustus although the demands of this friendship prevented him from devoting his life to philosophy. Evander shows the relative importance of personal sorrow and the good of the state by his request that the Trojans return to the conflict. Only one boon does he ask, namely, the privilege to carry to Pallas, in the
underworld the news that Turnus has paid the full price. In this last request Virgil implies a vindictive attitude, contrary to the biblical "turn the other cheek." Virgil's interpretation of fidelity did not necessitate such a doctrine.

With particular inspiration, Virgil makes a parallel between this love of Evander for Palles and the love of the contemptible Mezentius for his son, Lausus. This desire for balance seems an innate characteristic of the poet. This redeeming affection of Mezentius is shown in the following verses.

A. X. 859. multa super Lauso rogitat...
A. X. 849. heu, nunc misero mihi desem
A. X. 870. exsilia infelix, nunc altem volun adactum
A. X. 876. aestuat ingens uno in corde pudor mixtoque insanis luctu.
A. X. 906. et me consortem natn concede sepulchro.

The wounded Mezentius shows all the fussing solicitude of an anxious mother. Repeatedly he sends messengers to caution Lausus and to bring reports of the progress of the battle. Bitterly he reproaches himself.

123. Many a time he asks for Lausus,
124. Ah mei nor at last is come to me, alat! the bitterness of exile; now is my wound driven deep!
125. In that single heart surges a vast tide of shame and madness mingleth with grief.
126. "Why seek to affright me, fierce foe, now my son is taken? This was the one way whereby thou couldst destroy me.
127. . . . and grant me fellowship with my son within the tomb.
as the indirect cause of his own son's death. Coupled with his natural
sorrow is a regret for the type of father he has been. Deprived of his
son's companionship the real loneliness of exile now comes home to him.
The worst possible punishment having been meted out, he sees no reason
to fear either man or god. Only at the end does he soften. This last
verse implies a victory of religion in the face of death and the desire
of even such an irreligious man as Mezentius for the sacrament of proper
burial. Only his love for Lausus could have prompted this final lack of
contempt. It is the thought of the final separation from his son which
Mezentius cannot face. So the final plea of the unbelieving contemtor
divum to the pius Aeneas is for sanctuary for his body in a common sepul-
chre with his son.

The paternal love of Anchises for his divine son is of the highest
type. It is the natural devotion of a father combined with the worship
of a god. His watchful care is summarized in the single line from his
greeting to Aeneas in the underworld,

A. VI. 691. tempora dinumerans, nec mea cura fefellit.
All the father's longing for his son, the fears for his safety, the im-
patient counting of the days until his arrival show the real affection of
this father for his son. The loyalty existing between these two men will
be treated in detail through the discussion of the filial love of Aeneas.

Aeneas in turn had a love for Ascanius which was probably the great-
est emotion in the life of the man. The following lines show this affec-
tion and his sense of duty toward Ascanius,

128. Even so I mused and deemed the hour would come, counting the days
thereunto, nor has my yearning failed me.
Aeneas' first concern after his assurance of a refuge for the Trojans in the Carthaginian realms, is to send for his son. For him he had the natural love for his motherless child and also his hope for the continuance of his dynasty. It is this loyalty which greatly influences him in his desertion of Dido. In the crisis he cannot fail his son any more than he can fail his country. Such a surrender of personal desires to the good of the country was consistent with Virgil's life.

The unmarried Virgil, treating of connubial love and loyalty does a fine piece of interpreting. While in his youth, Virgil was reputed to have had illicit love affairs, during the writing of the Aeneid he is conceded to have been celibate. The two nicknames, Virgo and Parthenias, testify to his reputation in this respect. His portrayal of the love between men and women is probably based on imagination rather than actual experiences. His scenes between Venus and Vulcan and between Aeneas and Dido are a parallel of the Leonardo da Vinci painting of the Leda. Vir-

129. In Ascanius all his fond parental care is centered.

130. To me comes the thought of young Ascanius and the wrong done to one so dear, whom I am cheating an of Hesperian kingdom and predestined lands.

131. Nettleship, p. 10

132. Ibid. p. 11

133. Nitchie, p. 1

134. Nettleship, p. 11

gil's references to marriage are perhaps too optimistic. His own unmarried state might account for that fact or it may again be a part of his campaign to glorify the qualities which he considered essential for a perfect Italy. The few references to the marriage of Aeneas and Creusa imply a relationship above reproach. His despair on the discovery of her disappearance during the flight from Troy, is perhaps the greatest example of lack of moderation of the part of the controlled Aeneas. His frenzy is shown here,

A. II. 763. ausus qui etiam voces iactare per umbram

Creusa showed her loyal attitude in these speeches to Aeneas,

A. II. 675. si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum.

A. II. 776. quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori.

A. II. 785. illic res laetae ragnusque et regia coniunx

parta tibi. lacrimas delectae pelle Creusa.

Creusa shows her courage to share with her husband any danger, a calm acceptance of the inevitable and a complete lack of jealousy of the future of Aeneas in which she has no share. She subordinates her own importance to the welfare of her husband and son.

The concern of Aeneas for Dido, at the time of his desertion, shows a conflict of loyalties,

A. IV. 592. At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenira dolentem

molande supit et dictis avertere curas,

136. Now I dared even cast my cries upon the night.

137. 'If thou goest to die, take us, too, with thee for any fate.

138. Of what avail is it to yield thus to frantic grief, my sweet husband.

139. There in store for thee are happy days, kingship and a royal wife.
Banish tears for thy beloved Creusa.
multa gemense magnaque animus labefactus amore,  
'sussa tamen divum exsequitur classessaque revisit. 140

Aeneas' loyalty to Dido was sincere but as Virgil himself did whenever  
he was faced with a clash between personal and patriotic loyalties, he  
chose the greater one. Virgil's insistence on the epithet *puo* at such  
a time definitely shows his attitude toward the much debated question of  
the ethics of Aeneas' abandonment of his benefactress.

The third of the family loyalties to be treated here is fraternal al-  
legiance and is shown in the following verses,

A. I. 546.  
*sed regna Tyri gemanus habebat*  
Pygmalion, scelerare ante alices immanior omnis.  
quae inter medius venit furor.  
ille Sychaeus  
impius ante aras atque aurii caecus amore  
ciam ferro incautum superat, securns, amorum  
germanae; factumque diu celavit et aegram  
multa salus simulans vana spe lusit amentem. 141

A. IV. 677.  
*quid primam deserta querar? comiterne sororem*  
sprevisti moriens? eadem me ad fat. vocasses;  
edem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset. 142

A. XII. 878.  
*haec pro virginitate reposit?*  
quo vitae dedit aseternam? cur mortis adepta est  
condicio? possem tantos finire dolores,

140. But good Aeneas, though longing 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 fulfills Heaven's bidding and returns  
to the fleet.

141. But the kingdom of Tyre was is the hands of her brother, Pygmalion,  
monstrous in crime beyond all others. Between these two frenzy  
came. The king, impiously before the altars and blinded by lust  
of gold, strikes down Sychaeus by stealthy blows unawares, care-  
less of his sister's love and for long he hid the deed, and by  
many a pretense cunningly cheated the lovesick bride with empty hope.

142. Forlorn, what first shall I lament? In thy death didst thou scorn  
thy sister's company? Thou shouldst have called me to share thy  
doorn; the same swordpang, he same hour had taken us both.
Virgil's scorn of the murderer, Pygmalion is caused, not so much because of the fact of murder, as by the betrayal of this fealty. He betrayed not only his brother-in-law and sister but also the temple in which he performed the deed. His cruelty to the bereaved Dido through the false hope he inspired in her, is quite the opposite of the love of Anna for this same sister. Anna, the matter-of-fact, sensible woman was so deeply moved by her sisterly love, as to desire death.

Jupiter in return for the virginity of Juturna had given to her the boon of eternal life. In this speech, Virgil, in addition to his understanding of her affection implies a doubt of the value of eternal life.

In the final family loyalty, filial loyalty, Virgil surpasses all the previous descriptions and clearly indicates his own experiences, Dewitt wrote the following concerning Virgil and his father,

That the father was blind in his later years we know from Suetonius, and from the eighth of the Catalepton, written when rumors of confiscations were flying, we easily glean that the helplessness of the father was making him a special charge upon the care and affection of the son, to whom the filial relationship was one of special tenderness. The elder Virgil, who, as a servant, must have proved his worth and thrift before winning the hand of his master's daughter, may have married in middle age, an assumption that is borne out by the fact that his widow remarried and again became a mother. This being so, we may well believe that the father was well advanced in years at the time of the confiscations, which gives additional meaning to the son's anxiety. He was the pious Vergilius no less than his hero Aeneas, whose father was similarly afflicted by age and loss of sight. 144

143. Is this his requital for my maidenhood? Therefore gave he me life eternal? Why of the law of death am I bereaved? Now surely could I end such anguish, and pass at my poor brother's side amid the shadow.

144. Dewitt, p. 23
Throughout the Aeneid, filial loyalty is praised before all personal relationships. A violation of this allegiance is the greatest violation. This is implied in the single line,

A. X. 389. ... thalamos ausum incestare noveroae.

In this case it is not the adultery between the son and his stepmother which shocks Virgil but the fact that a son would so dishonor his father.

Another instance of Virgil's attitude is evidenced in the choice made by the young Iapys,

A. XII. 395. ille ut depositi proferret fata parentis, seire potestates herbarum usumque medendi maluit et mutas agitare inglorius artes. 146

In this case the son faced with the choice between skill in medicine, enabling him to save his father's life, and the glories of war, chose without hesitation the lesser glory and thus won immortality in the poetry of Virgil.

The filial love of Euryalus is summed up in this line, 147

A. II. 289. ... quadroqueam lacrimas perferre parentis.

The only reward desired by him in return for the probable loss of his life is protection for his mother. His affection for her is shown in his utter inability to face a sorrowful farewell from her. This devotion struck a responsive chord in all the Trojans, marking filial love as a trait of universal appeal and approval.

145. ... who dared defile his stepdame's bed.

146. He, to defer the fate of a sire sick unto death, chose rather to know the virtues of herbs and the practice of healing and to ply inglorious, the silent arts.

147. "I could not bear a mother's tears."
It is this tie that makes the noble Lausus give his life for a man
with characteristics he would not have tolerated in any other. The final
plea of Turnus is to the filial loyalty of Aeneas, in the hope that through
it he will pity the father, Daunus and restore to him, his son's body.

Fealty is summed and idealized in the relationship of Aeneas and
Anchises.

A. II. 559. "At me tum primum saevas circumstatet f horror.
Obstipui; subiit cari genitoris imago
ut regem accusatvum crudeli volnere vidit
vitam exhalantes, subiit deserta Creusa
et direpta domus et parvi casus Iulii. 148

A. II. 726. et me, quem duxum non ulla inieta movebant
tela neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Grai,
nunq omnes terrent aureae, sonus excitat omnis
suspensum et pariter comitique onerique tamen. 149

A. III. 709. heu! genitorem, omnis curae casusque levamen,
Amittu Anchisen; hic me, pater optima, fessum
deseris, heu! tantis nequiquam erepte periclis. 150

A. V. 26. an sit mihi gratio ulla,
quova magic fessas optem demittere navis,
quern quae Dardanum tellus mihi servat Acesten
et patri Anchisae gremio complctitur ossa? 151

148. The first an awful horror encompassed me. I stood aghast, and there
rose before me the form of my dear father, as I looked upon the king
of like age, gasping away his life under the cruel wound. There rose
forlorn Creusa, the pillaged house and the fate of forlorn Iulus.

149. . . . and I whom, of late no shower of misfits could move nor any
Greeks thronging in opposing mass; now am affrighted by every breeze
and startled by every sound, tremulous as I am and fearing alike for
my companion and my burden.

150. Here I, who have driven by so many ocean-storms, lose, alas, my fa-
thers Anchises, solace of every care and chanced; here best of fathers
thou leavest me in my weariness, snatched, alas! from such mighty per-
ils all or naught.

151. Could any land be more welcome to me, any whereto I should sooner
steer my weary ships, than that which holds my Dardan friend Acestes,
and the ashes of my father?
A. V. 49. iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quae semper acerbum,
semper honoratum (sic di voluistis) habebo.
hunc ego Gaetulias agerem a Syrtibus exsil,
Argolicove mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae,
annua vota tamem sollemnisque ordine pompae
exequenter strumeroque suis altaria donis. 152

A. V. 58. ergo agite et laetum cuncti nälabrumus honoras;
opossumus ventos, atque haec me sacra quotannis
urbe velit posita templis sibc ferre dicitis, 155

A. VI.106. unum oro; quando hic inferni ianua regis
dicitur et tenebrosa palus Acherontis refusus,
ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora
contingat; doceas iter et sacra ostia pandas.
ilum ego per flammas et mille sequentia tela
eripui, his umeris mediquo ex hoste recepi,
ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia sequum
atque omnis pelagique minas saeculique ferebat.
invalidus, viris ultra sortemque senectae.
quim, ut Se supplex paterem et huc limina adirem,
iod omens mandata debat. gnatiue patriisque,
alma, precor, misere, voce namque omnia, nec te
nequiquam lucis Hecate praeiect Avemis. 154

152. And now, if I err not, the day is at hand which I shall keep (such as
gods was your will) ever as a day of grief, even as of honour. Were I
spending it in exile in the Gaetulian Syrtes, or caught on the Argolic
sea or in Mycenae's town, yet would I perform the yearly vow with rites
of solemn ordinance and pile the altars with due gifts.

153. Come then, one an all, and let us solemnize the sacrifice with joy;
let us pray for the winds and may he grant that year by year when my
city is founded I may offer these rites in temples consecrated to him.

154. One thing I prey; since here is the famed gate of the nether king, and
the gloomy marsh from Acheron's overflow, be it granted me to pass in-
to my dear father's sight and presence; teach thou the way and open
the hallowed portal! Him, amid flames and a thousand pursuing spears
I rescued on those shoulders, and brought safe from the enemy's midst.
He, the partner of my way, endured with me all the seas and all meas-
ure of ocean and sky, weak as he was, beyond the strength and portion
of age. Nay, he, too prayed and charged me humbly to seek thee and
draw near to the threshold. Pity both son and sire, I beseech thee,
gracious one; for thou art all-powerful, and not in vain hath Hecate
made thee mistress in the groves of Avernus.
Throughout the first three books of the Aeneid, Virgil implies the respect due a parent in the numerous instances in which Anchises rather than Aeneas gives the orders and directs the course of the exiles. Aeneas' concern for his father's safety was greater than for himself. The depth of his feeling causes the only cowardice, on the part of Aeneas, shown in the epic. His responsibility for his father's life causes him to magnify the slightest peril. Aeneas' actual dependence on his own dependent father is shown in his sorrow at Anchises' death. These verses indicate the spiritual union of these two Virgil implies his own attitude toward the memory of the dead in the words celebremus honorum. He implies that that son best honors his father who shows his respect in constructive works rather than in senseless wailing. The steadfastness of this model son is shown in the last passage, and in his willingness to endure the dangers of hell to revisit him. All Virgil's concepts of loyalty involve such a subordination of personal dangers and desires for the benefit of others.

155. A. III. 57, 144-47, 182-91, 472-478
Chapter 2. Friendship's Dues

Uncommonly blessed in his own personal relationships, Virgil made frequent allusions in his writings to friendship's benefits and dues. The chief charm of the Epicurean philosophy for him was the glorifying of these bonds. While Virgil shunned crowds and publicity, his happiness demanded intimacy with a few chosen friends. Probus wrote that he spent several years in voluntary retirement from the city but in close communion with Varus, Tucca and Varius. These men, with their frank, constructive criticism, quite in contrast with the censure Virgil had received in Rome, influenced him greatly. Varius, primarily interested in the drama, taught Virgil much concerning dramatic technique and the effect of this teaching is very apparent in such scenes as the Dido and Aeneas episode. Virgil's friendship with Horace was extremely cordial and singularly free from professional jealousy. With Pollio, and Maecenas, patrons during the writing of the Eclogues and Georgics, he was ever on the best of terms. However the greatest personal friendship of Virgil was with Octavian. Here the poet combined a warm affection and patriotism. The relationship was, from the beginning, an attraction of opposite types. Virgil, while of well-to-do parents, was very definitely of the people, a country boy of crude appearance and manners. Augustus was every inch the young aristocrat. But this strange affinity worked more to the advantage of the young aristocrat than of the country boy. It

156. DeWitt, p. 36
157. Nettleship, p. 8
158. DeWitt, p. 64
159. Ibid., p. 65
prevented Virgil from doing what he had set his heart on, namely devoting his life to philosophy, but it helped Octavian fulfil his most ambitious dreams.

The first praise of Octavian appears in the first Eclogue and is felt, whether directly expressed or not, in all Virgil's writings. The first speech of Tityrus, a formerly dispossessed farmer, definitely signifying Virgil, summarizes this life devotion for Octavian, as his friend, ruler and god,


namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram
saepae tener nostris at ovilibus imbuet agnus.
ille meas errare boves, ut ternis, et ipsum
ludere cuae vallam calamo permisit agrasti. 160

The words ludere cuae vallam were Virgil's weak protest, flatteringly expressed in the form of a hope, against the future lack of freedom which even at this early date he suspected and mildly resented. While Augustus gave him great freedom in his writings, he nevertheless expected Virgil to write primarily for the benefit of his realm.

A second speech of Tityrus shows another quality of friendship, namely gratitude,

E. I. 58. Ante leves ergo pascentur in aestere cervi,
et freto destituent nuncios in litore pisces,
ante pererratis amborum finibus exum
aut Ararim Parthus tibet aut Germania Tigrim,
quas nostro illius labatur pectore voltus. 161

160. O Maliboeeus, it is a god who wrought for us this peace—for a god he shall ever be to me; often shall a tender lamb from our folds stain his altar. Of his grace my kine roam, as you see, and I, their master, play what I will on my rustic pipe.

161. Sooner, then, shall the nimble stag graze in air, and the seas leave their fish bare on the strand—sooner, each wandering over the other's frontiers, shall the Parthian in exile drink the Arar, and Germany the Tigris, than that look of his shall fade from my heart.
Virgil's speeches appear to smack too much of the flattering courtier. He was not above asking his Muse to butter his bread. He was a politician and in return for his poetry, expected a patronizing pat on the back from his patron. He saw the god-like qualities in Octavian at their first meeting and despite his own disappointment in some of Octavian's alliances, he never wavered from his reverence. He must have been shocked at the event which inspired Shakespeare to write the following lines,

Ant. These many, then, shall die; their names are pricked.
Oct. Your brother too must die; consent you, Lepidus?
Lep. I do consent—
Lep. Upon condition Publius shall not live
Who is your sister's son, Mark Antony.
Ant. He shall not live; look, with a spot I damn him.

Despite this outrage of family ties, so important to Virgil, he retained his fidelity to Octavian who was to him the symbol of the country's hope for peace. At the time of the treaty of Brundisium, he came through with the Messianic Eclogue; with his Georgics he swung the public opinion against the East. When Octavian needed his position deified, Virgil was ready with the Aeneid. He campaigned for Augustus from first to last.

Selections from representative friendships from the Aeneid have been chosen which show Virgil's fusion of friendship and loyalty into pietas. Those selected are of Aeneas and his followers, Evander and Aeneas, Aeneas and Fallas and of Nisus and Euryalus.

Through Aeneas and his followers, Virgil indicated his idea of the perfect relationship between a ruler and his subjects. This reciprocal loyalty appealed to Virgil and he used his influence to foster such a relation-

162. Shakespeare, Julius Caesar, Act. IV. Scene I. 1-6
165. DeWitt, p. 92
lationship between the déified Augustus and his subjects. The attitude of Aeneas for his comrades was a mixture of the pity and feeling of responsibility of a god for mortals, and the warm-blooded, human affection of an Italian man for his fellow-men. This combination is shown in the first Aeneid.

A. I. 186. "O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum,)
o passi graviore, dabit deum his quoque fines.
vos et Scyllaeum rabiem penitusque senitis
acceitis aemulus, vos et Cyclopa sexa
experti; revocate animos maestosque timorem
mittite; forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.
per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas
ostendunt; ilic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis."
Talia voce refert, curisque ingentius aeger
spea volutu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem, 164

A. I. 220. praecipue plus Aeneas nunc acris Oronti,
nunc Amyci casum gemit et æridelia secum
fata Lyci fortæmque Gyas fortæmque Cloanthum. 165

Virgil here sets forth certain essentials which he considered elemental, the subordination of self and a sincere affection for others. Aeneas, in addition to his natural sorrow and concern for the doubtful fate of his

164. Harlan Hoge Ballard, The Aeneid of Virgil, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1950. (This translation of the Aeneid is used throughout this chapter.)

"Comrades! for this is, by no means, our first acquaintance with trouble, Ye who have heavier borne, from these, too, Jove will deliver! Scylla's wrath ye have braved, where deep in her echoing cavern Thundered the wave-worn rocks; moreover the crags of the Cyclops Ye have escaped unharmed: take heart, and unhappy foreboding Cease; and even these days we may live to remember with pleasure! Through these varied mishaps, through all these crises of fortune, Seek ye Latium still, where the Fates are disclosing Peaceful abodes; where Troy is predestined to rise from her ashes. Be of good cheer, and reserve yourselves for a brightening future." Such are the words he speaks, but his heart is weary with trouble; Hope he reigns in his face, and hides the deep grief in his bosom.

165. Keenest of all is the grief of faithful Aeneas, now sighing
Over the fall of Orontes the brave, now Asycus mourning;
Lyceus, how cruel his fate! bold Gyas, and valiant Cloanthus.
companions, has a responsibility for the welfare of the group. He shows his real courage of leadership by hiding his own fears and thereby raising the morale of the others. Aeneas' philosophy in adversity must have echoed Virgil's own courage at the time of his homelessness. He implies that past difficulties met and overcome, are a pleasure to remember and a provision for the strength necessary for the future and are a necessity for the development of character. Virgil accepted such adversities rather than resented them. Through the words praecipue cius Aeneas, he indicates that depth of feeling is imperative for real companionship. Aeneas, the epitome of pietas felt an even greater anguish than his companions.

Through the dependence of Aeneas on the counsel of Achates, Virgil declared a certain humility to be an essential of wise leadership. In such verses he indicates a hope that the young Octavian would be amenable to the advice of his older and more experienced friends. Through the example of Aeneas, Virgil hopes the young emperor, while worthy of godship, will realize that the greatest asset of true friendship is co-dependence and cooperation.

The friendship of Aeneas and Evander is marked by mutual generosity and respect. Evander's understanding of friendship's dues is shown in his freedom from resentment of the union which results in his son's death. At that time he shows primary concern for Aeneas in ordering the return of the envoy to the battle. The following line from the story of these two kings shows Virgil's own joy in friendly conversation,

\[
\text{A. VIII. 309. ingrediens varioque viam sermone levabat.}
\]

166. A. I. 312, 457, 460

167. And as he walked he beguiled the way with varying converse.
One could easily imagine, in the place of Aeneas and Evander, Virgil and some one of his intimates walking in his garden. It is another plea for the simple pleasures derived from comradeship.

The affection of Aeneas for the youthful Pallas was a combination of paternal and fraternal fealty. It was in imitation of the Homeric story of Achilles and Patroclus. The following scenes show the length to which a loyalty can force a friend,

A. X. 515.

Pallas, Evander, in ipsis
omnia sunt oculis, sensas, quas adversa primas
tunc adit, dextraque datae. Sulmon creatus
quattuor hic iuvence, totidea quae educat Ufens,
viventis rapit, inferias quos immolat umbres
captivoque regi perfundat sanguine flammas. 168

A. XII. 938.

statit acer in armis
Aeneas, volvens oculos, dextranque repressit;
et iam ianque magis cunctantem flactere sermo
coperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
balsus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri, victum quem volnere Turnus
straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerabat.
ille, oculis postquae sevi monumenta doloris
exuviasque hausit, furii accensus et ira
terribilis: "tune hinc spoliis indues meorum
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc volnere, Pallas
terribilis: "tune hinc spoliis indues meorum-
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc volnere, Pallas
immolat et poenas scelerato ex sanguine sumit,
hoc iones ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
fervidus. 169

168. There arose in a vision before him
Pallas, Evander, the board where first he brake bread as a stranger,
Also the right hands joined. Then four young soldiers by Sulmo
Reared, and as many besides whom Ufens had nurtured to manhood,
Seizing, he captured alive, to offer them up to the spirits
Fled, and their funeral fires to slake with the blood of the captives.

169. Aeneas awails fierce in his armor,
Doubtfully eyeing his foe, and with holding his hand from his victim.
Now, too, the more he delays, the more are the pleadings of Turnus
Moving his heart, when, alas! a baldric gleams high on the should(Pallas)
Bright with the well-known studs that once flashed in the belt of young
Pallas, the victim of war, whom, vanquished and wounded, had Turnus
Slain, and was wearing now his enemy's badge on his shoulder.
Soon as Aeneas drinks in with his eyes these reminders of sorrow,
Relics of him he mourned, enkindled with furious anger,
In these instances, is evidenced a belief of Virgil that good and evil can come from the same source. Friendship's loyalty caused the moderate Aeneas to resort in one case to an insane revenge and in the second to a very unwise one. Only the depth of his affection for Pallas could possibly justify or rather explain this cruel sacrifice of human blood, and the seeking of relief from despair through the causing of pain to others. In the Aeneid's final scene, Aeneas, almost minded to spare Turnus is aroused to anger through the sight of the armour which Turnus had stripped from the body of the dead Pallas. In this instance, if Aeneas had been more of a statesman and less of a friend, he might have spared Turnus.

The story of Nisus and Euryalus is the most dramatic friendship in the Aeneid. Sufficient lines shall be quoted to give the complete picture.

A. V. 527. Nisse feret spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam
Finem adventabant, Levi cum sanguine Nisus
Labitur infelix, caesis ut forte invincis
Pallas humum viridesque super sacrificavit herbas.
Hic iuvens iam victor ovans vestigia presso
Haud tenuit titubata solo, sed promis in ipso
Consedit immundoque fisco sacroque cruore.
Non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum:
Nam seae opposuit Salio per lubrica surgens;
Ille autem spissa lacuit revolutus baren.
Emicat Euryalus, et munere victor amici
Prima tenet, plausque volat fremituque secundo.
Post Helymus subit, et nunc tertia palmi Diores.

168. Cont. Relics of him he mourned, enkindled with furious anger,
Fiercely he cries, "Shalt thou, thus clad in the spoils of my loved ones, make thine escape from me? Thus Pallas, non other than Pallas, makes thee his victim, and takes thy detestable blood for atonement!"
Speaking, he wrathfully buries the blade in the bosom before him;

170. Now, exhausted and near to the end of the track, they are speeding On to the goal itself, when Nisus, unfortunate Nisus, slips on the gliddery blood, that by chance from sacrificed bullocks Over the ground flowed, and dyed the green herbage with crimson. Here on the slippery earth the youth already exultant Fails to hold his uncertain steps, and plunges head-foremost Into the thick of the mire, and the blood of the consecrate victims.
A. IX. 184. Nisus ait: "Dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt, 
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dire cupidio?
Aut magnum, aut aliquid iamduum invadere magnum
Mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est.
Cernis, quae Rutulos habeat fiducia rerum:
Lumina rara micent; sommo vincula soluti
Procubuere; silent late loca. Percipe porro,
Quid dubitum, et quae munc animo sentientia surgat.
Aenean acciri omnes, populusque patresque,
Exposcunt, mittique viros, qui certa reportent.
Si, tibi quae posco, promittunt, — nam mihi fact,
Pasa est est,— tumulo videor reperire sub illo
Posse vias ad muros et moenia Pallantes."
Ostipuit magno laudam percussus amore
Euryalus; simul his ardentem adsatut amicum:
"Meno igitur socium suinis adiungere rebus,
Miae fugis? solum te in tanta pericula mittam?
Non ita me genitor, bellis adsumus Ophates,
Argolicum terrem inter Troiasque labores
Sublatum erudii; nec tacum talia gesi,
Magnanimus Aenean et fata extrema secutus:
Est hic, est animus lucis contemplator, et istum
Quis vita bene credat emi, quo tendis, honorem."
Nisus ad haec: "Ecudem de te nil tale Verebar;
Nec fes, non; ita me referat tibi magnum ovantem
Jupiter, aut cuicumque oculis haec spicet sequis.
Sed si quis— quae multa vides discriminat tali—
Si quis in adversum rapit causas deusve deusve,
Te superesse velit; tua vita dignior ates .
Sit, qui se ruptum pugna pretiose redemptum
Mandet humo, solita aut si qua id fortuna vetabit,
Aberi ferat inferias, decorata sequor.
Neu matri miseriae tanti sim causa doloris,
Cuae te sola, puer, multis e matribus sua
Persequitur, magni nec moenia curat Acestas."
Ille autem "Causas neculquam nectas inane,
Nec mea iam mutata loco sententia cedit.
Acceleremus!" 171

170. cont. Yet he remembers his friend, nor Euryalus hath he forgotten;
For, as he springs from the slime, he stumbles in Saliius' pathway.
Saliius falls, and rolls on the hard-trodden sand of the race-course.
Forward Euryalus leaps, and, victor by favor of friendship,
Darts to the front end flies 'mid a tumult of clapping and cheering.
Helymus finishes next, and now, as third victor Diores.

171. Nisus then: "Is it the gods who kindle this flame in our spirits,
Or is each warrior's god his own over-mastering passion?
Either to lead an attack or some daring deed to adventure
Long have I wished in my heart; I cannot endure this inaction.
One what presumptuous faith the Rutulians have in the issue;
Few are the glimmering lights; unsoldiered by wine and by slumber
Fallen are the guards all silent, their posts; and mark thou, moreover,
A. IX. 386. Misus abit; iamque imprudens evaserat hostes
Atque locos, qui post Aigeae de nomine dicti
Albani—tum rex stabula alta Latinus habebat—
Ut statit, et frustra absentem repesit amicum.
"Euryale infelix, qua te regione reliquit?"
Quaeve sequar, nescius perplexum iter omne revolvens
Fallacis silvis?
Simul et va tigia retro
Observare legit, dumisque silantibus errat.
Audit equus, audit stræcitus et signa sequentum.
Nec longum in medio tempus, cum clamor ad aures
Pervenit, ac videt Euryalem, quem iam manus omnis,
Fraude loci et nocti, subito turbante tumultu,
Oppressum rapit et conantem plurima frustra.
Quid faciat? qua vi iuvenem, quibus audas artis
Eri eref am asse medios moriturus in enses
Inferat, et pulchrum propter per vulnera mortem?
Ocis adducto torquens hostile lascerto,
Suspicieas altem Lunam et, sic voce precatur:"
"Tu, dea, tu praesens meostrum succurre labori,
171. cont. What now stirs in my soul, what thought in my mind arising:
All, both people and chiefs, demand the return of Aeneas,
Also that heralds be sent to report the true state of our city.
So they will grant thee the guardian I ask (for the glory of doing
Amply suffices for me), I think that by skirting your hillside
I can discover a way to the walls and the city of Pallas."
Thrilled by so noble a thirst for fame, Euryalus marvelled;
Then thus promptly replied to the words of his daring companion:
"Me as thy comrade to take in thy greatest and boldest endeavour,
Nisus, dost thou refuse? Shall I send thee alone into danger?
No such training had I from my war-loving father, Opheltes.
Nursed amid terror of Greeks and reared amid Trojan disasters,
Never, my comrade, to thee have I shown so disloyal behaviour
Since I have followed Aeneas the brave through desperate fortunes:
Here, ay, here is a heart regardless of death, and persuaded
That, at the cost of life, well bought is the glory thou seekest."
Nisus replied: "No question had I of thy valour, my comrade,
Nor any ground for fear; and so may great Jove, or whoever
Looks with impartial eyes, restore me to thee with rejoicing;
But, if some fatal mischance, and many there be in such perils,
Or if the wrath of the gods shall hurry me on to destruction,
I shall rejoice in thy life; thou art young and most worthy of living;
Let there be one to bear from the field or to ransom my body,
And to comfort it to earth; or, if that be my fortune forbidden,
Nor be it mine to occasion such grief to the sorrowing mother
One to pay vows for the dead, and render him funeral honor;
Who, among so many mothers, alone had the courage to follow
Thee, my friend, to the last, nor clung to the walls of Aeetes."
He, however, replied: "Too frail are the threads of thy logic;
Still is my purpose unchanged, unshaken my former decision
Haste we away."
Astrorum decus et nemorum Latonia custos.  
Si qua tuae cumque pro me pater Hyrtacus aries  
Dona tuit, si qua ipsae meis venatibus ausi;  
Suspendive tholo, aut sacra ad fastigia fixi:  
Hunc sine me turbare globus, et rege tala per auras."  
Dixerat, et toto coniux corpore ferrum  
Conicit. Hasta volans noctis dixerat umbrae,  
Et venit asseus in tergum Sulmonis, ibique  
Frangitur, ac fisco transit prascordia ligno.  
Volvitur ille vomens calidus de rectore flumen,  
Frigidus, et longis singultibus illa pulsat.  
Diversi circumspectum. Hoc acior idem  
Ecce alius numera telra librabat ab aure.  
Dum trepidant, itt hasta Tago per tempus utrunque,  
Graecis, traiectaque haecit tepes facta cerebro.  
Saevit atrox Volsena, nec teli conspicit usquam  
Autorem, nec quo se ardens immittere possit.  "Tu tamen interea calido mihi sanguine poenae  
Persolves amborum," inquit; simul esse recluso  
Ibat in Euryalum. 'Tum vero exterruit, amens,  
Concolam Nius, nec se celare tenebra  
Amplus, aut tantum potuit perferei dolorem:  "Me, me, adeum, qui feci, in me convertite ferrum,  
O Rutuli mea ferae omenis; nihil iste nec ausus,  
Nec potuit; caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor;  
Tantum infeliceum nium dixit amicum.  
Talts dicta dabat; sed viribus ensis adactus  
Transsibit costas et candida pectora rumpt.  
Volvitur Euryalus leto, pulchrosque per artus  
It crur, inque umeros cervix conlapas recumbit  
Purpurea veluti cum flos succisus aratro  
Lunguescit moriens, lassove papavera colo  
Deisrena caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur.  
At Nius su tuit in medios, solumque per osmes  
Volecentem petit, in solo Volecente moratur.  
Quem circuns glomerati hostes hinc comminus atque hinc  
Proturbant. Instat non retius, ac rotat ensam  
Fulmineum, donec Rutuli clamantis in ore  
Condidit adverso, et moriens animam abatulit hosti.  
Tum super examinum sese proicit amicum  
Confossus, placidique ibi demum morte quievit.  
Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possum,  
Nulla dies usquam memoris vos eximiat asvo,  
Dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum  
Accolat, imperiusque pater Romanus habebit.  172  

172. Nius rushed out, and now had unwittingly failed his pursuers,  
Reaching what later was known as Albania, named after Alba,  
Where Latinus, the king, then kept his imperial stables.  
Here he halted, and looked in vain for his missing companion.  "O, unhappy Euryalus, where have I left thee? or whither  
Now shall I follow, retracing again the long, difficult pathway
From the first of these quotations, loyalty appears to justify cheating and complete lack of sportsmanship. Nisus, leading the race and falling by an evil chance in the blood of the sacrifice, even in his discomfiture

172. cont. "O, unhappy Buryalus, where have I left thee? or whither
Now shall I follow, retracing again the long, difficult pathway
Through this treacherous wood?" So saying, he followed his footsteps
Backward with watchful eye, and noiselessly threaded the forest;
Nor was it long ere a shout rang forth on the air, and before him
Struggled Buryalus, hopelessly trapped by a body of horsemen,
Who had surprised him confused by the loss of his way in the darkness,
Also taken aback by the sudden and violent onslaught.
What could he do? What force, what weapons were his to adventure
Saving the youth? Should he rush to his death on that thicket of sabres?
And should he win for his life a speedy and glorious ending?
Hastily seizing a spear, he drew back his arm; and then, looking
Up to the face of the far-off moon, thus made his petition:
"Child of Latona, the pride of the sky and the warder of forests,
Grant me, fair goddess, thine aid, and strengthen mine arm by thy presence
If it be true that for me father Hyrtacus ever hath offered
Vows at thine altar; if I from the fruits of the chase have enriched thee
Hanging gifts under the dome or high on the frieze of thy temple
Guide thou my spear through the air, and help me to scatter this rabble
Speaking no more, his lance with the uttermost strength of his body
Swiftly he hurled, it flew through the night, and cleaving the shadows
Plunged into Sulmo's spine as he stood with his back to the forest;
There it was broken and flew in splinters of wood through his vitals;
Cold and fainting he fell and poured from his breast the warm current,
While with long drawn sighs and soul was released from his body.
This way and that they gamed; but he, by their terror emboldened,
Poised a fresh lance at the height of his ear before they had rallied.
Whistled the shaft, and passed through both of the temples of Tagus,
Then stuck fast in the skull, and was warmed by the brains of its victim.
Angrily Volscens raged; yet who had been hurling the lances
Failed to perceive, or whither in wrath he might hasten for vengeance.
"Thou, non the less, shalt atone unto me for the death of my comrades,
Shedding warm blood for both." he cried; and, drawing his falchion,
Rushed on Euryslus. Then, overmastered by fear and distracted,
Nisus shouted aloud, nor longer kept hid in the shadows.
Nor could he longer endure the anguish that tortured his bosom;
"Me, upon me! - I who did it am here! - Upon me turn ypur weapons!
Mine alone is the blame! O Rutulians, he could do nothing;
Naught would he dare! Let the sky and the all-seeing stars bear me wit-
He did but love his unfortunate friend with too faithful devotion." ness
Such were the words he spake; but the blade, resistlessly driven,
Entered between the ribs and tore the fair bosom asunder.
Lifeless Buryalus fell, and over his beautiful body
Trickled his blood, and his neck hung helplessly down on his shoulders;
Even as a bright-hued flower, when cut under ground by a ploughshare,
does not forget Euryalus. Robbed of his rightful victory, he assumes the right to transfer it to his comrade, through tripping the man in second place. The applause of the Trojans and the smiling approval of Aeneas implies Virgil's lack of censure of a fraud caused by devotion. The ninth book tells the dramatic story of their courageous enterprise and its tragic end. Congeniality of intellect as a foundation of perfect understanding is shown in the discussion centered around the lines:

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Dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt
Euryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira Cupido?
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Nisus, moved by the highest motives of honor, hesitates to take the younger, less experienced Euryalus on such a dangerous mission. He feels a responsibility, almost paternal for his younger friend. He tries to save the life of the overdaring Euryalus and at the same time his pride, by commissioning to him the duty of performing the last rites for him in case of his death. Euryalus, in this test of courage and friendship, vows his loyalty and willingness to buy glory at the price of death. The last quotation climaxes this story of devotion. Euryalus, through his overdaring is in danger. Nisus, through his caution is clear of the enemy but he throws away his hard

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172. cont. Fades to its death; or as poppies, perchance, that are heavy When on wearied stems their heads are languidly drooping. (with raindrops) Nisus, however, dashed into the crowd, and, among all the horsemen, Sought for Volscens alone, and regarded no other than Volscens; Round him his enemies pressed; on this side and that they opposed him, Forcing him back; he, plunging along, his glittering broadsword Whirled, and full in the mouth of the shrieking Rutulian chieftain, Dying, he drove the blade; ere he died, and took the life of his foeman. Then on the corpse of his friend he threw himself mortally wounded; There at last lay still in death, and peacefully slumbered. Fortunate pair! Unless my songs prove all unavailing, Never shall dawn a day forgetful of you—your glory While on the changeless rock of the Capitol sons of Aeneas Dwell, and a Roman lord shall retain the imperial sceptre.
bought advantage to come to the aid of his friend. Euryalus is killed and Nisus after avenging the death, falls from his own wounds upon the prostrate body of his friend. Virgil in the last few lines showed his belief that these two were fortunate, dying while their friendship was at its height, and before any misunderstandings might have marred its perfection. Virgil has immortalized a great friendship and made even its weaknesses seem justified.

As Virgil glorified the loyalties of friendship, he scorned its disloyalties. This resentment of such treachery is shown in the case of Lycurgus,

A. III. 15. hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique Penates,
dum fortuna fuit. 173

A. III. 57. quid non mortalia pectora cogis
suri sacra fames? 174

Lycurgus' feigned loyalty was a strictly "cupboard love." To the prosperous, ruling Priam, he claimed allegiance and accepted in trust large sums of money and Priam's youngest son, Polydorus. Priam slain, Lycurgus shifted to the Greeks, slew Polydorus and retained the Trojan riches.

There is only one hint of an unfortunate friendship in the personal history of Virgil. According to Suetonius, Virgil in his youth was homosexual and had such a relationship with the poet Cebes and with Alexander. This Alexander might well be the Alexis of the Second Eclogue. The following

173. Ancient confederate friend of Troy in holy alliance,
Long as our star shone bright.

174. Accursed hunger for riches,
Unto what crimes constrainest thou not the spirit of mortals.

For contrary view see Secklar, p. 125-124
verses show the pain caused by such a young man's fickleness,


E. II. 69. ah Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit? semiputata tibi frondosa vitis in ulmo est. quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus, viminibus mollique paras detorere tunce? invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexim." 177

The first speech pictures the crude, country musician appealing to someone who appears more sophisticated and scornful of the simple life and pleasures. The singer's affection for the city sophisticate drives him to temporarily forget the moderation which Virgil considered so essential at all times. The last speech shows the influence of Lucretius, and implies Virgil's mastery over this emotion and the opinion of both Virgil and Lucretius that any feeling, intense enough to make one forget duty and desire death, is a madness and must be controlled. This possible embittering experience in Virgil's youth might well be the cause of his later celibacy. In Virgil's writings there is no censure of such a relationship, as evidenced by the praise of the loyalty of the seven sons of Phorbas, who at the risk of their lives, saved from defilement the body of Cydon, a man who had turned his affection to another young man. It is not the deeds which Virgil condemns but the lack of loyalty which prompts them.

176. "O cruel Alexis, care you naught for my songs? Have you no pity for me? You will drive me at last to death.

177. Ah, Corydon, Corydon, what madness has gripped you? Your vine is but half-pruned on the leafy elm. Nay, why not at least set about plaiting some thing your need calls for, with twigs and pliant rushes? You will find another Alexis, if this one scorns you?

178. Aeneid I. 523
Chapter 5. Loyalty to Self

While of course any loyalty, like any other virtue, in one sense involves loyalty to self, there are two aspects of Virgil's loyalty to self which deserve special treatment, viz., his sense of values and his sense of moderation.

In Virgil's constant attempt to weigh values, there is a doubting, questioning attitude toward certain accepted standards. He attempts to define and measure the worth of such qualities as faith, piety, glory, friendship and love. His writings often show a mild cynicism and sadness. This is referred to in the lines of Tennyson,

Thou majestic in thy sadness
At the doubtful doom of human kind.

and in this quotation from Roman Portraits,

We are struck with the frequent repetition of certain phrases which faintly suggest Virgil's attitude of questioning hesitancy in face of the problem of human existence: Si qua est gloria, "if glory is anything," si qua est fides, "if there is such a thing as faith." He puts a similar doubt in the mouth of the wickedly self-sufficient Nersus in his farewell words to his battlehorse, Rhaebus, Reg si qua diu mortalibus nulla est, "if anything is long for mortals." We even find si qua est pietas. This is a note of doubt, a suggestion of the futility of human endeavor, though Virgil never proceeds to a mood stronger than that; he seems incapable of bitterness. 180

The two aspects of si qua est gloria are shown in the burial scene of Caesta and the recompence of Palinurus,

A. VII. 1. Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneas nutrix,
Aeternam morientem sasam, Caesta, dedisti;
Et nunc servat honor sedem tuus, ossaque nomen
Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria, signat. 181

179. Tennyson, To Virgil, Verse VI. Line 2

180. Slaughter, p. 41-42

181(Gailey translation used in this chapter.)
Thou, too, faithful nurse of Aeneas, Caesta, hast added
Lasting renown to our shore by thy death; and still remembrance
Graciously lingers here, and thy name marks the place where thou liest
The cases pro and con appear equal. They are consistent however, if taken as a part of Virgil's constant plea to give praise its just due but not to let it control life. Thus, and thus only is glory of any value.

Virgil even shows his doubt of the value of eternal life in the lament of Juturna,

\[ A. \text{VI.} \ 377. \] Sed cape dicta memor, duri solacia casus.
Nam tus finitimis, longe lateque per urbes
Prodigiiis acti caelestibus, osca piabunt,
Et statuent tumulum, et tumulo sollemnia mittent,
Aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.
His dictis curae emotes, pulsatque parumper
Corde dolor tristi; gaudet cognomine terrae. 182

Juturna was given eternal life as the price of her virginity. Faced with the death of her brother, eternal life becomes, instead of a boon to be prized highly, a burden. More is implied than the single question of the value of eternal life. Virgil means to show the caution one should use,

\[ A. \text{III.} \ 878. \] Haec pro virginitate reposit?
Quo vitam dedit aeternam? Qua mortis adepta est
Condicio? Posse tantos finire dolores
\[ Hunc certe, et misero fratri coram ire per umbras. \]
\[ Immortalis ego? aut quicquam mihi dulce meorum \]
\[ Te sine frater, erit? O quae satis ina dehiscat \]
\[ Terra mihi, Manesque deam demittat ad imos! 183 \]

181. cont. Tombed in this western land, if this be a measure of glory.

182. None the less cherish these words to solace thy bitter misfortunes. Far and wide through their cities pursued by the portents of Heaven, They that live near thy bones shall pay them the rites of atonement; They shall build thee a tomb, and bear to the tomb their oblations, So that the place shall preserve thy name, Palinurus, forever.
Slowly is grief dispelled; in the name-honored land he rejoices. Thus they continue their journey begun, and draw nigh to the river.

183. Doth he pay this reward for mine honor? Why hath he granted me endless life? The option of dying Why hath he taken away? I could else find a surcease of sorrow, And should assuredly now share the death of my ill-fated brother, Sweet to my soul shall be? Ah, where shall the earth so profoundly Open for me, and a goddess receive to the deepest abysses?"
(See Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound, 751-752)
In carefully weighing both the price paid and the object received, before any irrevocable exchange is made.

Virgil's doubt of human faith is shown in the advice which Evander gives to Aeneas,

A. I. 152. 

Vigil's doubt of human faith is shown in the advice which Evander gives to Aeneas,

A. I. 152. 

humanis quae sit fiducia rebus, 
Admonet, immiscatque preces. 184

Evander, the older man has learned to question and gage character. This fact does not mean that he is bitter and disillusioned. His open-armed reception of Aeneas disproves any complete loss of belief in faith and friendship. He has merely learned to judge people and he warns the younger Aeneas to form with care his judgments and his friendships.

The necessity for proper perspective of the present and the future is shown in the first speech of Aeneas to his men. Shipwrecked and homeless, he assures his followers that the immediate danger is unimportant and that the remembrance of it may even be a source of pleasure in the future,

A. I. 198. “O socii (neque ignari sumus ante malorum,) 

o passi graviora, debit deus his quoque fines. 
vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis 
acostis scopulos, vos et Cyclopi saxa 
experti; revocate animae maestumque timorem 
mittite; forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit. 185

These lines, almost a literal translation from the Odyssey, show Virgil's stoical acceptance of misfortune as aids of character.

184. Warned him how slight is the confidence men may repose in their fortune, and even these days we may live to remember with pleasure.

185. "Comrades: for this is, by no means, our first acquaintance with trouble. Ye who have heavier borne, from these, too, Jove will deliver; Scylla's wrath ye have braved, where deep in her echoing cavern Thundered the wave-worn rocks; moreover, the crags of the Cyclops Ye hav escaped unharmed: take heart, and unhappy foreboding Cease; and even these days we may live to remember with pleasure! See Odyssey. XII. 206-212
Another form of Virgil's perspective is the unselfish subordinating of personal sorrow when it would result in demoralizing the group.

A. V. 206. Talia voce refer, curisque ingentibus aeger 
spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem, 186

The relative value of life saved through caution and death through foolhardy bravery is shown in the speech of Aeneas to Dido,

A. II. 514. Arma amans capio; nec sat rationis in armis; 
Sed glosmare manum bello et concurrere in arcem 
Cum sociis ardent animis; furor ireaque mentem 
Præcipitans; pulchrumque mori succurrít in armis. 187

At the time of the fall of Troy, Aeneas' personal dignity seem to demand a heroic sacrifice of life. Aeneas, however, taking the long distance view appears to rate his former daring as a lack of rationis, an action governed by emotion rather than reason. He had desired to sacrifice his life to save something which had already been lost. Virgil shows both sides of this question in the motives which influence Nisus and Euryalus in their mission. Both men in this case feel that glory is cheaply bought at the price of life. Nisus reaches his decision through mature deliberation, considering his freedom from family ties and his own fitness for his important task. Euryalus reaches his decision through youthful daring and a desire to win the praise of his friend. His attitude is shown in this speech,

A. IX. 205. est hic, est animus lucis contemptor et istum 
qui vita bene credat emi, quo tendis, honorem. 188

186. Such are the words he speaks, but his heart is weary with trouble; 
Hope he feigns in his face, and hides the deep grief in his bosom.

187. Arms in my madness I seise, though arms already are useless. 
Fired is my heart to assemble a band and prepare for the conflict, 
And with my comrades to rush to the citadel; fury and anger 
Sweep me along, and I dream of the glory of dying in battle.

188. Here, ay, here is a heart regardless of death, and persuaded 
That at the cost of life, well bought is the glory thouseekset.
The courage of Pallas shows a careful judgment of life and death under the existing circumstances. His final challenge to Turnus shows his deliberation and gave a great tribute to his father.

A. X. 449. "Aut spolliis ego iam raptis laudabor opisis,
Aut leto insigni; sorti pater aequus utrique est.
Tolle insignas." 189

He vows to honor his father either through booty torn from the body of Turnus or through his own brave death. The real tribute he pays Evander is his implication that his father is equal to either outcome. He knows that Evander can also weigh values and would feel that a son lost through a brave death was a son to be proud of and that this pride would sustain him in his grief. The very fact that he speaks of his father suggests that at this time the final counsel of Evander for caution, is uppermost in his mind. Pallas must have felt that the risk was necessary and one his own father, if present, would have wanted him to take. Pallas knew that his father would prefer the loss of a brave son to the possession of a cowardly one. Pallas' action is motivated by courage before known dangers deliberately faced. The contrast of this is again shown in the final scene between Latinus and Turnus. In reply to the old king's plea that Turnus retire, save his life and end the war, Turnus said,

A. XII. 47. "Quam pro me curam geris, hanc precor, optima, pro me Deponas, letumque minas pro laude pacisci. 190

His daring is prompted by the most selfish of motives, personal glory at the cost of the lives of himself and his countrymen. Judgment does not
primarily control his actions. Only a bravery based on reason, could Vir-gil admire and consider worthy of the term patriotism.

Moderation was a fundamental of Virgil's character. Although he ad-mired Lucretius, he was unable to accept without some reservations his phil-
osophy. This reservation appears to be a notable characteristic of Virgil in most of his actions and thoughts. He checked his natural desire for science when it interfered with his duty. Disliking crowds, he was never-theless far from solitary and spent all his life in close contact with a few intimate and congenial friends. In his writing he was most conscien-tious, but refused to be hurried even by Augustus. "Servare moçum" would be a good characterization of Virgil. DeWitt wrote the following concern-ing this moderation of Virgil,

In speaking of Virgil's precocity it is wise to make a distinction. He was precocious only in learning, not in sentiment. There was no taint of unhealthiness about him, no touch of the genius that borders on insanity, nothing of the abnormal. The ripeness of his nature was not hastened by disease, as in the case of Keats, nor by passion and dissipation, as in the case of Catullus. Along with his ardent ambition for distinction there is a certain reserve and sobriety of disposition. In sentiment he was perhaps the very opposite of pre-cocious, and his progress toward maturity of taste and mastery of form was gradual and slow.

Virgil's mastery of psychology is shown in his choice of material for his plea for moderation. His most effective arguments are found in the

191. Slaughter, p. 24-25
192. Nettleship, p. 8
193. Suetonius, p. 470
194. Ibid. p. 474
195. Aeneid X. 502
196. DeWitt, p. 19
character of the adventurous Aeneas. Aeneas' daring, controlled by his pietas makes him the type Virgil sponsored as the ideal citizen. Aeneas' "fall from grace" as the self-controlled hero after the disappearance of Creusa, makes his later mastery of self the more convincing. The speech of Creusa's shade is the first great appeal for moderation in time of un-balancing grief.

A. II. 776. Quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori.

The two words, insano and indulgere were not in keeping with the character of the man whom Virgil wished to eulogize.

Dido at the height of her passion and Amata in her uncontrolled love for the youthful Turnus show the evils brought through immoderation. Virgil in telling of their self-inflicted deaths implies a censure of any extreme measures of avoiding the sorrows which should be endured and overcome.

The appeal for moderation and self control plays a large part in the last four books of the Aeneid. One of the finest verses concerns the final admonition of Aeneas before his departure to the kingdom of Evander.

A. IX. 40. Namque ita discendens praeceperat optimus arma
Aeneas; si qua interea fortuna fuisset,
Nov struere auderent acies, nee credere campo;
Casandra modo et tutos servarent aggeres munros. 196

No one could doubt the courage of Aeneas. But the last instruction he gave his men was for moderation. Although he knew that such a course might bring the cry of cowardice upon the heads of the Trojans, he charged them, even if goaded by the enemy, to refrain from a battle for which they were un-

197. Why doth it please thee, my husband beloved, to yield to this frenzied Passion of grief?

198. For before taking his leave, Aeneas, most prudent in warfare,
Thus had enjoined: that if any mischance should befall in his absence, They should not venture to form in line nor trust to the open, Rather keep close to the camp and the walls and the sheltering bulwarks.
prepared. This must have expressed Virgil's belief that the greatest courage includes an indifference to the opinion of the crowd. Again, this plea for restraint, on the part of a man who has proved his fortitude is shown in the speech of Nisus to the younger and more immoderate Euryalus.

A. IX. 553. breviter cum talia Nisus
(Sensit anim nimia casae atque cupidine ferri)
"Abstainamus" ait, "nam lux inimica propinquat.
Poenarum exhaustum satis est; via facta per hostes." 199

Nisus with his protective friendship for the younger man sensed the immoderate effect of victory and prayed for control even in the successful slaughter of the enemy.

Virgil's sentiment against boasting is shown in the scene between Remus and Ascanius. The contrast is striking between Remus, newly royal through his recent marriage with the sister of Turnus, and Ascanius, the grandson of a goddess and the son of a king. Remus taunts the Trojans for remaining behind the walls, and their winning of foreign brides by the sword. Remus boasts of the superiority of the Rutulians to the Greeks, of their hardiness and training in war and agriculture. He claims that iron rules their entire lives through these two activities. Their intrepidity is contrasted to the effeminacy of the purple robed, dance loving, twice conquered Phrygians. Ascanius answers him simply, first showing his humility to the gods,

A. IX. 634. I, verbis virtutes imlude superbis!
Bis capti Phryges haec Rutulis response remittunt. 200

199. \[... when thus he was hurrilily summoned by Nisus, Who now saw that his friend was too eager for blood and for slaughter: "Let us have done! he cried, "for the hostile dawn is approaching; There has been vengeance enough, and a path has been made through our foesmen."

200. "Go—mock with thine arrogant words the virtue of valor! Phrygians vanquished twice thus answer Rutulian insult!"
The effectiveness of bravery, coupled with vanity, of Ascanius over the vain boasting of Remus, is Virgil's means of ridiculing verbosity.

Young Ascanius, confident with this first personal victory was about to make the same mistake. Although Apollo is proud of his success, he counsels moderation and bids Ascanius to return to the walls until the arrival of his father.

A. X. 500. "Quo non e Turnus ovat spolia gaudeatque potitus.  
Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futuras,  
Et servat modum, rebus sublata secundis!  
Turmo tempus ait, magno cum optaverit emptum  
Intactus Pallanta, et cum spolia ista dixitque  
Oderit."

Turnus is at the height of his conceit. Next to slaying Aeneas, his greatest single desire in this war is to kill the youthful Pallas. He has stripped the armor from the young man and is exulting in it. Virgil, here shows his

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201. "Let it suffice thee, thou son of Aeneas, that, scathless, Numanus  
Thou with thine arrow hast slain. This first of thy triumphs Apollo  
Grants and envies thee not, though his shafts have before been unriv.  
Stay from the battle henceforth, my lad."

202. Aeneid I. 580, 548

205. ... and Turnus  
Gloats now over the spoil, and rejoiced to have captured the trophy.  
Spirit of man, unconscious of fate and blind to the future,  
How uncontrolled thy desires while cheered by the favor of fortune!  
Turnus will yet see the time when for Pallas unharmed he would gladly  
Pay a great ransom, and when this day with its glorious trophies  
He will despise!
regret of a common trait of victors, namely false appraisal of the permanence of victory. Virgil also indicates that the inevitable defeat will often be caused by the very victory.

The scene between Aeneas and Lausus shows the pathos of overdaring. Aeneas begs the young man to refrain from a useless battle with an older and more experienced fighter,

A. X. 811. "Quo moriture ruin, maiorque viribus audeas? Pallit te incautum pietas tua."

Exultat demens; saevae iamque altius irae Dardanie surgunt ductori, extremaque Lauso Parcae filae legunt; validum namque exiguit ensam Per medium Aeneas iuvenem, totumque recondit. 204

If ever immoderation were justified, it would be in this case. Lausus is motivated by his filial love. Aeneas recognizes the fact that this phase of pietas, filial love, is driving the young man to forget another phase of pietas, moderation. He begs him to cease from a rashness that can only result in death. Here Virgil indicates that a young man is often made more incautious through the caution of an older man. The young man feels he must go ahead to prove his manhood. Virgil also indicates in the admonition of Aeneas that a man who is older and has already proved his courage, does not feel the necessity to prove it every time an occasion arises. To him it is more an established fact and does not need constant proof. Lausus in his youth and inexperience cannot see that he would really have been a braver and a better son if he had risked the scorn of his companions and not entered the uneven combat. This appears a vindication of

204. "Why dost thou rush to thy doom, and dare what thou canst not accomplish
Filial devotion betrays thee to madness!" In madness, however
Lausus exulted the more. Then higher arose the indignant
Frath of the Dardan chief, and now was the life-thread of Lausus
Spun to its end by the fates; for through the young soldier Aeneas
Drove his resistless blade, and buried the sword in his body.
Virgil's swimming a river to escape from the veteran who had taken possession of his estate, rather than remaining to fight.

This contrast of wise caution of older men and overdaring youth is again shown in the speech of Latinus to Turnus,

A. XII. 19. "O praestans animi iuvenis, quantum ipse seroci
Virtute exsuperas, tanto me impensus aequus est
Consulere, atque omnes metuantem expendere casus. 205

Latinus' realization of the foolhardiness of Turnus obliged him to be over-cautious and weigh the matter even more carefully. This is an echo of a similar passage in the Iliad,

III. 109. ὅσις ὃς ἐρείμεν μετέχειν, οἷς πρόσεχον ἰδιὸς
καὶ ὁμοίως πάνις ὀλίγες, ὅλ' ἐκισθα μετ' ἀμοιβέροιοι σεῖν ταῖς. 205

The only fear Virgil seems to have had of the wisdom of Augustus as a ruler was the fear that the youthful ruler might be overcome by his successes and have a lust for power. This fear is hinted in the line,

G. I. 37. nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira curio,

He clothes his fear in flattering praise, but the fear is there. There is also the hope that Augustus may listen to the plea for moderation and judgment from his older and more moderate friend, Virgil. Virgil realized that these two qualities are essential to the welfare of every person but that they are of even greater importance to a ruler. His chief plea for a sense of values and for moderation was to Augustus himself.

205. "Most high-spirited youth, the more in impetuous courage
Thou dost excel, the more it behooves me with care to consider
What it is wisest to do, and to weigh all the chances with caution.

206. Murray, ... but in whatever an old man taketh part, he looketh both before and after, that the issue may be for the best for either side.

207. ... and may such monstrous lust of empire ne're seize thee,
Chapter 4. Loyalty to Country

The last and all inclusive loyalty of Virgil was his patriotism. This served and rules all his other loyalties. Whenever involved in a conflict, it always came first. Virgil's attitude toward this supremacy is melodramatically shown in the case of Brutus,

A. VI. 817. Vis et Tarquinios regem, animasque superbam
Ultoris Brutii, fascesque videre recentos?
Consulis imperium hic primus saevasque secure
Accipier, nataque pater nova bella moventes
Ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit,
Infelix! Utcumque ferent ea facta minores,
Vincet amor patris laudamusque immensa cupidio. 208

Here Virgil, the champion of family ties, justifies this father's murder of his own sons, caught in traitorous deeds. Through the Aeneid, the poet sought to recall his countrymen to such an uncompromising allegiance to the state. In this mission, however, he desired, as Socrates in his Apology to make the people aware of and loyal to the real underlying patria.

208. (Ballard Translation of Aeneid used in this chapter)
Seest thou, too, the Tarquinian kings, and the proud Roman spirit Breathing in Brutus, th' avenger? behold ye the fasces recovered? Consular power he first shall assume, and the terrible axes; And in fair Liberty's name, this father shall sentence his children Unto the pains of death for conspiring against the Republic. Ill-fated hero! However his deeds may be judged in the 'future, Love for his country and boundless ambition for glory shall conquer!

For I tried to persuade each of you to care for himself and his own perfection in goodness and wisdom rather than for any of his belongings, and for the state itself rather than for its interests, and to follow the same method in his care of other things.
Virgil was in the active service of his country from the time he wrote the First Eclogue. At times he chafed under this bondage but never did he seriously consider abandoning his patriotic writings as long as they were needed by the administration. He died, still planning improvements in the Aeneid, to make it worthy of the country and friend he wished to glorify. Unlike many faithful servants, he was well rewarded for his work during his lifetime, both by the acclaim of his countrymen and more satisfyingly in his case by the warm friendship and gratitude of the man he most honored. While Virgil and Augustus were entirely different types, they could well understand the same devotion to country and by it were carried to their highest endeavor and undying fame.

The chief aims of Virgil’s patriotism were (1) to bring back religion, (2) to arouse the Italians to a real pride in Italy, (3) to develop the great agricultural industries and instil in his countrymen a respect and desire for the simpler life and (4) to restore peace.

It is the writer’s belief that Virgil was an agnostic. This belief is based on a study of several statements which appear to imply doubt of accepted creeds. But Virgil would surely have felt that such a questioning attitude on the part of the masses would be detrimental to the good of Italy and opposed to the policy of his ruler. Here then was a clash, a clash between loyalty to his own intelligence and to Italy. It is consistent with his character that he favored the latter and openly crusaded for a return of religious institutions, and satisfied himself through implied doubts.

210. Sellar, p. 35

In accordance with this policy, Virgil stressed the importance of certain rituals and respect for the gods. Accepted beliefs in magic and superstition, Animism and the Graeco-Roman anthropomorphism all have a place of importance in his writings. Superstition in the form of prophecy was Virgil's chief means of glorifying the Julian gens. He upheld the anti-Epicurean belief in Animism in such lines,

G. IV. 221. daum namque ire per omnia, terraque tractuque maris caelumque profundum;

Virgil cooperated with Augustus in the strengthening of the worship of the established gods, Ianus, the Penates, Vesta and Lar. In his campaign for these gods and the ancient Greek gods adopted and renamed by the Romans, he tried to select the best from the traditions of the past to suit his present.

It is however with the implications which show his skepticism of the ultimate justice of the gods, and their ability to answer prayer that the writer is fundamentally concerned. Virgil's doubts of the justice of the gods is shown in his references to the jealousy of Juno and its evil effects,

A. I. 11. Tentaene animis caelestibus irae.

A. I. 56. Cum Juno, aeternum servans sub pectore vulner.

212. Bailey, p. 5
213. . . for God, they say, pervades all things, earth and sea's expanse and heaven's depth.
214. Bailey, p. 86-105
215. Glover, p. 258
216. Are such the resentments of Heaven?
217. Then, the eternal wound in her heart still cherishing, Juno . . .
A. VII. 622. Belli ferratos rumnit Saturnia postes.

Juno is symbolical of Carthage and the injustices seemingly brought about through divine power. These statements seem to show a resentment against supernatural powers, with human frailties but with superhuman means of gratifying these frailties. They are a cry of a mild-mannered man against the wrath of god. Virgil shows himself a clever politician in these instances. He chooses as the possessor of these jealous characteristics the traditional rival of Venus, the traditional mother of the Italian race. Thus he satisfies his doubts without weakening the position of the patron goddess of Italy, Juno becomes thus the symbol of the forces against which the founders of the state had to contend.

In several instances, Virgil implies a belief in the futility of prayer,

219
A. II. 354. Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.
220
A. II. 428. Dis aliter visum.
221
A. VI. 576. Desine fata deum flecti sperare precando.
222
A. X. 467. Stat sua cuique dies, breve et irreparabile tempus
Omnibus est vitae. 222
A. X. 625. 

sine altior iatis
sub precibus venia ule latet totaque moveri
mutarive putes bellum, spes nascis inanis. 225

218. Burst the iron doors of war from their bars and their sockets.
219. 'Tis the one safety of them that are conquered to hope for no safety'
220. Otherwise deemed the gods.
221. Banish the hope that the Fates of the gods can be changed by entreaty.
222. "Each has his own fixed day; a short and determinate limit Unto each life is set;
223. But if underneath thine entreaty
Lurk any deeper desire, if thou thinkest the war may be wholly
Ended or changed by me, the hope thou art nursing is idle."
A. I. 348.  

Ille Sychaem

Impius ante aras utque auri caecus amore
Clam ferro incautus superat, . . . 224

A. XII. 49. Et nunc quidem spe multum captus inani
Fors et vota facit cumulatique altaria donis. 225

The first speech is doubly effective because it is the speech of the pius Aeneas. Ever devout, he feels that in his need the gods have forsaken him and that each man must put his faith in his own strength and hope for no aid from the gods. Only by giving up all hope of safety can he possibly have the courage to dare what may save him. This speech may well have expressed Virgil's sentiment at the time of the seizure of his own estate. The next verse shows another aspect of his lack of faith in the insuring power of faith against destruction. Ripheus, reputed the most devout and just of all the Trojans, together with Pansima, a priest of Apollo, finds his prayers of little avail against the Greeks. The next three quotations show the inability of the gods to answer prayers. Palinurus, in the line of duty was destroyed and his unrecovered body prevents peace to his soul in the hereafter. Virgil here indicates a resentment against religious forms which work an injustice on the innocent. But Juno and Hercules are equally helpless against the inevitable and cannot save Turnus and Pallas from death. Virgil implies that the destiny of Italy is more important even than the wishes of the immortals and in a conflict, the gods must serve the state rather than the state the

224. . . . and by avarice blinded,
Disregarding his sister's love, and defiant of Heaven,
Even at the altar he stealthily slew unwatchful Sychaem.

225. He is perchance even now, led captive by hope's vain delusion,
Making his vows in thy name and heaping his gifts on the altar;
(See Tennyson's In Memoriam, VI)
for the gods. In this connection Bailey maintained that the lesser gods were primarily interested in individuals and races and that Jupiter was concerned with the world-fate. In Virgil's mind world-fate and the good of Italy were synonymous and the ineffectiveness of the prayers of individuals would be justified. The last two quotations show the pathos of unquestioning reliance on the protection of religion. Sycæus and Evander both hoped for more from the gods than the gods were able to give. Evander and the contemptor divus lost equally in the war but of the two, perhaps Messentius was the more fortunate. He at least expected nothing from the gods and so was not disappointed.

Virgil shows his own lack of credence in a personal god's interference in the lives of individuals in the speech of Nisus to Buryalus,

A. IX. 184. Nisus utit: "Dine hunc ardorem mentibus addunt, Buryale, an sua cuique deus fit dira cupidō?" 227

This is a reflection of the same idea expressed in a positive form by Menander:

\[ \text{οὐ νῦς \ γὰρ ηλίων ἐν εἴκαστιν θεὸς} \] 228

Virgil implies that instead of a personal god, expressing his desires for the course of our actions, our own desires and understanding of what is right, influence our behaviour. Such an attitude Virgil might well have felt would be a dangerous privilege for the masses. It might well weaken the strong power of Octavian. So for one expression of doubt, we have

226. Bailey, p. 305

227. Nisus then: "Is it the gods who kindle this flame in our spirits, Or is each warrior's god his own over-mastering passion?

228. Our own understanding is to each of us a god.
twenty instances of Aeneas making offerings at the altars and showing a decided deference to the established gods and their rituals. Virgil probably shows his sincere sentiments in the single implications rather than in the scores of stereotyped odes of praise.

The chief value of religion as Virgil understood it, was the development of good citizenship. This is summarized in these words,

The religious element of the Aeneid is its insistence upon devotion to duty, upon the value of moderation, upon the good old-fashioned Roman formulas for the right conduct of life, and is not dependent upon the machinery of the gods. Virgil uses the gods in the story with effect, for, though they were an outworn convention, the Romans liked to look at their first beginnings through this hazy mythological atmosphere. The gods of Olympus thus introduced into the Aeneid lend a certain dignity to the situation and excite admiration by their Roman qualities, but stir no deeper feeling. 229

The three methods which Virgil employs in this campaign for religion, treated in this paper are the suggestion of reward in the hereafter, the establishment of Augustus as the high priest of the state cult and the treatment of the character of Aeneas. The promise of recognition after death is shown in the visit of Aeneas to the lower regions,

A. VI. 660. Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
Quae sacriotes casti, dum vita manabat,
Quae pia vates et Phoebi digna locuti,
Inventas art qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quae sui memoris aliquos fecere merendo;
Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vita. 250

The four groups most honored were the martyred heroes, the men of the cloth, the bards and the philosophers. Thus religious patriotism was a

229 Slaughter, p. 47

230. Here are the heroes who fell while fighting the wars of their country; here are the holy priests whose lives upon earth were unsullied; here are the poets divine, who sang as inspired by Apollo,—All who have dignified life by the arts they have won by invention, all who have worthily earned the lasting regard of their fellows. All these, having their brows encircled with snow-white fillets,
good insurance of eternal blessedness.

In making Augustus a sort of high priest, Virgil combined his loyalty to his friend, country and to religion. This attitude toward Augustus is shown in each of his poems,

E. I. 7. namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram
saepes tener nostris ab ovilibus imbus agnum. 251

G. III. 16. In medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit. 252

A. I. 290. vocabitur hic quoque votis. 253

A. IX. 642. Dis genite et geniture deos. 254

Throughout these lines is evidenced Virgil's own personal loyalty and devotion to Augustus, the man, his reverence for him as a ruler and potential god, his belief that the civil ruler should be a religious leader and his arguments for the divinity of Augustus through his descent from Julius, Aeneas and Venus.

In the century preceding Augustus' rule, religion had declined. Augustus saw the political advantage of a strong national religion. He set the example for his people by encouraging ritual, and by building and restoring temples. While he was laying the emphasis on the forms of worship, Virgil, despite his doubts, went even further to strengthen the cause by writing convincingly of the religious significance of right living.

251. ... for a god he shall ever be to me, often shall a tender lamb from our folds stain his altar.

252. In the midst I will have Caesar, and he shall possess the shrine.

253. ... he too shall be worshipped with honor,

254. Seed and predestinate sire of gods.

255. Bailey, p. 4
The chief form of Virgil's evangelism was in his treatment of his hero, the *puis Aeneas*. Using the best psychology, Virgil makes his religious exponent a strong warrior rather than a weak-stomached poet. He gave him the body of Augustus and his own mind. The religion of Aeneas is a practical, everyday affair. This combination is shown in the services for Anchises, composed of sacrifices and games. Both aspects of the memorial honors are implied in the single line,

A. V. 58. *Ergo agite et laetum cuncti celebremus honores.*

In making the religious observances something joyful as well as ritualistic, he makes them more constructive to the development of the young men. Aeneas is not frivolous in his proposal to have athletic contests in honor of his father. His filial obedience merely takes a cheerful, practical form. In the religious observances for the nurse of Aeneas, Caieta, Virgil shows the democracy of true worship. His adherence to ritual is shown in the line,

A. VII. 5. *At pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solitis.*

After the performance of the rites, Virgil implies that Aeneas shows even greater respect for the nurse by immediately remembering his duty to his people and going on his way to found his city. Aeneas and his commission to save the Penates symbolizes Virgil and his self-imposed task of aiding in the restoring of religion to Italy.

The great victory of piety over impiety is dramatically told in the story of the victory of Aeneas over the *contemptor divum*, Mezentius. The final request of Mezentius for honourable burial by the side of his son,

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236. *Come, then, and let us together glad sacrifice do in his honor,*

237. *Loyal Aeneas to thee, due honor of burial paying,*
showed his final fear of the power of religion. The victory of Aeneas over Turnus shows the victory of a man who places his loyalty to his country and his country's gods in the first position, over a man who chooses his own ambitions in preference to the welfare of his country and her gods. The ultimate and complete victory of the Penates over shipwreck, fire, love and war expresses the optimism of Virgil in the future of the Augustan Age.

The second phase of Virgil's patriotism is his effort to arouse in the Italians a real pride in their country. His chief means of this inspiration is prophecy, a form of literature quite prevalent during this age. There are such prophecies in the Eclogues, Georgics and in every book of the Aeneid. In most of these predictions, Virgil takes some established fact, projects it into the future, and gives it sanctity through some prophetic utterance concerning it, from the lips of prophets, the Sybil and gods. Thus much of the past history of Italy is justified.

The first of the celebrated prophecies is the fourth or Messianic Eclogue. This poem with its extravagant praise and hope gives prestige to the future of Rome and Italy, through the claim that the Cumaean Sybil herself had foretold this glory to Italy, a race descended from the gods. This prophesied glory and praise of Augustus is repeated throughout the epic and is centered around the character, Aeneas, the traditional founder of the house of Julian. The opening prophecy of the Aeneid is the speech of Jupiter to the anxious Venus,

258. DeWitt, p. 176
A. I. 275. Inde lupas fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
Romulus excipiet gentem, et Navortia condet
Nenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicit.
His ego nec metas rerum nec temporae posco;
Imperium sine fine diem. Quia aspera Iuno,
Quae mere nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
Consilia in melius referet, necumque sovebit,
Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.
"Sic placitum. Veniet lustros labentibus aestas,
Cum domus Assaraci Phthiam claraque Mycenas
Servito promovit ac victis dominabitur Aegis.
Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,
Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminat astra,
Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.
Hunc tu olim caelo, apollis Orientis omnium,
Accipies secura; vocabitur hic quique votis.
aspera tua positis mitescent saecula bellis; 279

While moderation was a primary trait of Virgil, in his praises of Italy
he was most extravagant. In such a passage the emphasis on military glory
is a concession to Augustus. The lines which really show Virgil's hope
for the future of Italy are,
gentemque togatam

and

aspera tua positis mitescent saecula bellis;

279. Romulus robed in the tawny hide of the wolf that once nursed him
Then shall ascend the throne, and, founding a city of soldiers,
Give his own name to the state, and call the citizens Romans.
I have determined for them nor date nor limit of empire;
Endless dominion I grant. Nay, even implacable Juno,
Who is now vexing the sea and the land and the sky in her terror,
Changed to a kindlier mood, shall join me in aiding the Romans,
Lords of the world, and the nation that robes itself in the toga!
Such is my pleasure. The time shall come in the lapse of the ages
When the Assaracan house, both noble Mycenae and Phthia
Under its thrall shall bring, and reign in discomfited Argos.
Then shall a Trojan be born of illustrious origin, Caesar!
Ocean the edge of his realm, constellations the fringe of his glory;
Julius his name, by right of descent from mighty Iulus.
Him to the heavens at last, with spoils of the Orient laden,
Thou shalt surely receive; he too, shall be worshipped with honour.
Then renouncing war, rude ages shall yield to refinement.
Even in Virgil's praise of Augustus' military skill, he usually indirectly shows that the real greatness of Italy must come from laws and be founded, not on victories of war but on the security of peace.

In the second Aeneid, the speech of Hector's shade to Aeneas is a joint commission to save the Penates and a prophecy of the city Aeneas is to found,

A. II. 295. Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penates; Hos capi fatorum comites; his memin quaere, Magna pererrato statuae quae denique ponto. 240

The importance of religion is emphasized since the prediction comes from the lips of so renowned a warrior.

The first reference to Italy as the destined land comes in the third Aeneid, through the oracle of Apollo,

A. III. 94. 'Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum Prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubera lasto Accipiat reduces. Antiquam exquitite matrem, Nic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris, Et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis.' 241

The exact location of the city of Rome is told later in the same book through the prophecy of the seer, Helenus.

The fourth book is especially moving in its account of the conflict between love and patriotism. The following verses tell of the prophecy and its influence on Aeneas' desertion of Dido,

240. Troy entrusts to thee the sacred form of her hearthgods; Take them to share thy fate; for them seek a glorious city, Those thou shalt found at last, after wandering far on the billows.'

241. Brave-hearted Trojans, the land that at first from the stock of your fathered your earliest growth, the same shall receive you with gladness Safe to her bosom restored, ye must patiently seek your old mother. There shall the shores of the world be ruled by the sons of Aeneas, And by their children and heirs, and all generations that follow.'

242. A. III. 390-394
Virgil's conception of the subordinate importance of personal attachment, to duty to one's country is made emphatic through this reproach of Jupiter himself. The last line of the second quotation could well imply the personal struggle which Virgil himself made in the surrender of retirement and the study of science to a more active patriotism.

The sixth Aeneid is the greatest book of prophecy in the Aeneid. Led by the Cumsean Sybil to the lower regions, Aeneas meets his beloved father. The book is climaxed in the prediction of Anchises. This one speech amply repaid Virgil's debt to Augustus. The most significant passages from this book were read aloud to a group of intimate friends, including Augustus and his sister Octavia. These two passages have been selected for consideration,

245. This is not what his most glorious mother hath prophesied of him.
       Neither for this hath she rescued him twice from the sword of the Grecians
       But to be one who should rule an Italy pregnant with empire,
       Sounding aloud with war, a man who should prove his valor
       Kinship with Teucer of old, and bow the whole world to his sceptre.

246. Nay, 'tis but now that the herald of Heaven, at Jupiter's bidding,—
       Witness ye deities twain! on the wings of the wind hath delivered
       Heaven's commandments to me; I saw him myself in broad daylight
       Passing within the walls; with these ears I drank in his message.
       Harrow no longer thy heart and mine with useless repining.
       Not of my choice is Italy's quest."

245. Suetonius, p. 474
A. VI. 769.  
Hic Caesar et omnis Iulii
Progenies, magnum areli vetusta sub axem.

Hic vir, hic est, tibi nam promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condit
Saeula qui rursus Laticis regnata per arva
Saturno quandam, super et Geremantria et Indos
Proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera telluris,
Extra annis solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
Axem uerno torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.
Hulius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna
Responsis horrent divum et Maeotia tellus,
Et septemgeminis turbant tremida ostia Nili. 246

A. VI. 845.  
Tu Maximus ille es,
Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.

Excedent alii spiriant solium aeris,
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
Orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus
Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent;
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memet;
Hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque impones morem,
Parsere subjectis et desellere superbos." 247

The tone of these two selections is in marked contrast. The first, emphasizing the glories of war and conquest, pleasing no doubt to Virgil's

246.  
Lo, Caesar and all the Iulian
Line, predestined to rise to the infinite spaces of heaven.
This, yea, this is the man, so often foretold thee in promise,
Caesar Augustus, of birthright divine, who again shall a golden
Age in Latium found, in fields once governed by Saturn,
Further than India's hordes, or the Garamantian peoples,
He shall extend his reign, there's a land beyond all of our planets;
Yond the far track of the year and the sun, where sky-bearing Atlas
Turns on his shoulders the frigidament studded with bright constellations;
Yea, even now, at his coming foreshadowed by omens from Heaven,
Shudder the Caspian realms, and the barbarous Scythian kingdoms,
While the disquieted mouths of the sevenfold Nile are affrighted!

247. That Maximus art thou
Who dost alone reestablish our prestige in war by delaying.
Others may fashion the breathing bronze with more delicate fingers;
Doubtless they also will summon more lifelike features from marble;
They shall more craftily plead at the bar; and the paths of the planets
Draw to the scale, and determine the march of the swift constellations;
Rome, be thine the care to subdue the whole world to thine empire!
These be the arts for thee, the order of peace to establish,
Them that are banquished to spare, and them that are haughty to humble!
patron and the second emphasizing the glories of conquest through peace, pleasing to Virgil. It is in such speeches that Virgil implies a warning to the young and confident Augustus. The stressing of the caution and moderation of Maximus and the plea for peace and mercy to the conquered, are definite appeals to Augustus to place the glories of conquest second to those of statecraft.

The final fulfilment of the prophecy of the Harpy, Calaeno comes in the speech of the young Ascaniás,

A. VII. 114. Heus etiam mensas consumimus, inquit Iulius.

There is implied in the accomplishment of this prophecy the belief that many dangers seem greater in anticipation than in reality, and that such men as Aeneas and Augustus are capable of meeting and overcoming seemingly hopeless tasks.

The oracle given to Latinus justifies the conquest of Italy and further lauds the union of the Trojans and the Latins,

A. VII. 96. Ne pete comibus natam sociare Latinus,
O mea progenies, thalamis nee credas paratis.
Exteri veniant generi, qui sanguine nostrum
Nomen in astra ferant quorumque ab stirpe nepotes
Omnia sub pedibus qua Sol utraque recurrens
Aspicit Oceanum, vertique regique videbunt. 250

The following three prophecies of the gods Tiberinus, Apollo and

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248. A. III. 257

249. "Why!" Iulius exclaimed, "It is trenchers and all we are eating!"

250. Seek not thou for thy daughter, my son a Latin alliance, Neither look forward with hope to the marriage already provided. Sons-in-law are to come from afar, who shall carry our glory Unto the stars by their blood; and, sprung from their loins; our des-Whereaso'er the swelling sun looks down on the sea-shore (candens There beneath their feet shall see the world vanquished and governed.
Jupiter sums up the case for Virgil in his plea for a genuine pride in the past and future of Italy. The first is Tiberinus' welcome to the Trojans and a confirmation of Italy as the destined land,

A. VIII. 35. O sate gente deum, Trojanam ex hostibus urbem

Qui revehis nobis aeternae Persa serras,
Exspectate solo Laurenti arvisque Latinis,
Hic tibi certa domus, certi (ne reshape) Panates; 251

The speech of Apollo is a request to the youthful Ascanius, proud in his first victory in war, to practice moderation and save himself for a greater future,

A. IX. 541. Valet nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra

Dis genite et geniture deos. Iure omnis bella
Gente sub Assaraci fato ventura resident;
Nec te Troia capit. 252

The last is the final prophecy in the Aeneid and is the speech of Jupiter,

A. XII. 635. Hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget,

Supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis
Nec gens uilla tuos aque celebrabit honores. 253

Again, the major stress is on the importance of religion and strength of character rather than skill in war. It is the final proof of what Virgil considered the real loyalty to the real Patria.

251. Child of a mother divine, who bringest thy Teucrian city
Saved from the foe to our shores, and Pergamum guardest forever,
Hope of the Laurentine land, the desire of the meadows of Latium,
Here is thy home assured, assured beyond question thy dwelling;

252. "Strength to thy new-born valor, my child! So rise thou to glory,
Seed and predestinate sire of gods. Of right shall all warfare,
Fated to come, be quelled where rules the Assaracan nation;
Nor is thy confine Troy."

253. Hence a race shall arise with the blood of Ausonia mingled,
Men to surpass, and even gods so excel in compassion,
While in devotion to thee no nation shall equal the Romans.
The third aspect of Virgil's loyalty to Italy to be considered is his effort to instill in his countrymen a desire to develop the basic agricultural industries and follow the simpler life. Virgil was definitely of the country and he made no attempt to deny this fact or change himself to fit into the city pattern. On the contrary, he sought, through his writings to make the simpler life and pleasures seem more attractive than the complex life of the city. The Eclogues and the Georgics have the most definite arguments for a return to agriculture but the Aeneid is full of implications which perhaps speak even more convincingly than the earlier writings. As Lucretius sought through poetry to make his philosophical teachings more palatable, so Virgil with his charming dactyls sugar-coats his agricultural precepts.

The first complaint of Virgil, the farmer, of the demands of city life is shown in the speech of Tityrus in the first Eclogue,

E. I. 53. Quamvis multa meis exciret victima saeptis,
Pinguis et ingratae premeretur caseus urbi,
Non unquam gravis aere domus mihi dextra redibat. 255

The Georgics are devoted almost entirely to this third phase of Virgil's patriotism. Each of the four books considers a separate form of agriculture, viz., care of the fields, of the trees, of livestock and of bees. In these books he makes no attempt to disguise the fact that success can only be attained through toil. The following verses show not only this fact but also the actual risk of starvation to the slothful,

254. De Rerum Natura, I. 958-950

255. Though many a victim left my stalls and many a rich chees was pressed for the thankless town, never would my hand come home money-laden.
G. I. 121. pater ipse colendi
Haud facile esse viam voquit, primusque per artem movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda,
Nec torpore gravi passus sua regna veterno. 256

G. I. 155. Quod nisi et adsiduis herbam insectabere rastris
Et sonitu terrebis aves et turis opaci
Falce premes ubram votisque voca veris imbram,
Heu, magnum alterius frustra spectabis acervum
Concussaque famem in silvis solabere quercu. 257

These warnings were intended to challenge the Italians rather than discourage them.

Virgil, to contrast the unfairness of city life, shows the fairness of nature even in her severity through the sure signs available to her observing students,

G. I. 575. numquam impre dentibus imber
Obruit aut illum surgentem vallibus imis
Aeris fugere gruses, aut bucula caelum
Suspicient patulis captavit narius auras,
Aut arguta laevis circumvolitavit hirundo
Et veteram in limo ranae cecinere querrallam.
Saepius it tectis penetralibus extulit ova
Angustum formica terras iter, et bibit ingens
Arcus, et e pastu decedens agmine magno
Corvorum increpuit densis exercitus alis.
Iam varias pelagi volucres et quae Asia circum
Dulcisbus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri;
Sertatim largos uermis infundere rores,
Nunc caput objectare fretis, nunc currere in undas
Et studio incassum visus gestire lavandi.
Tum cornix pennis pluvias vocat impros voce
Et sola in sicca secum spatiatur harena
Ne nocturna quidem carpentes pessa puella

256. The great Father himself has willed that the path of husbandry should not be smooth, and he first made art awake the fields, sharpening men's wits by care, not letting his realm slumber in heavy lethargy.

257. Therefore, unless your hoe, time and again, assail the weeds, your voice affright the birds, your knife check the shade of the darkened land, and your vows invoke the rain, vainly alas! will you eye your neighbor's big store, and in the woods shake the oak to solace hunger.
Neaciveres hiemem, testa cumardente viderent
Scintillare oleum et putris concrecere fungos. 258

Virgil claims that those wise in nature’s ways are warned through the behaviour of the flying cranes, the heifer’s sniffing of the air, the twittering of the swallows, croaking of frogs, transference of eggs by the ants, sound of the rooks clanging through the air as they leave the pasture, actions of the sea birds and the deepened tones of the raven. Within the house the girls, at their spinning are warned of the approaching storm by the sputtering of the wick or the mold forming on it.

The second Georgic sums up the arguments for the simple life. Sufficient lines shall be quoted to give the spirit of this glorious eulogy,

G. II. 458/ O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
Agricolas! quibus ipsas, procul discordibus armis,
Fundit humo facilem victum iustissimas tellus. 259
G. II. 467. At secura quies et nascia fallere vita,
Divas opum variarum et latis otia fundis,
Speluncae vivique lacus et frigida Tempe
Mugitusque boum molasque sub arbore sonani
Non absunt; ilic saltus ac lustra ferurum,

258. Never has rain brought ill to men unwarned. Either, as it gathers, the skyey cranes flee before it in the valley’s depths; or the heifers look up to the heaven, and with open nostrils sniff the breeze, or the twittering swallows flits round the pools, and in the mud the frogs croak their old-time plaint. Often, too, the ant, wearing her narrow path, brings out her eggs from her inmost cells and a great rainbow dwinks, and an army of rooks, quitting their pasture in long arks, clang with serried wings. Again, there are the sea-birds manifold, and such as, in Cayster’s sweet pools, rummage round about pouring the copious spray over their shoulders, now dashing their heads in the waves, now running into the waters, and aimlessly exulting in the joy of the bath. Then the dainty raven with deep tones called down the rain, and in solitary state stalks along the dry seasand. Even at night, maidens that spin their tasks have not failed to mark a storm as they saw the oil sputter in the blazing lamp, and a mouldy fungus gather on the wick.

259. O happy husbandman! too happy, should they come to know their blessings! for whom, far from the clash of arms, most righteous Earth
et patiens operum exiguoque adaeuta inventus,
sacra deum sanctique patres, extrema per illos
Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit. 250

G. II. 490. Felix qui potuit rerum cognosce cognosce causas,
etque astus omnis et inexorabile fatum
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.
fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestias,
Panaque Silvanumque saepe Nymphasque soreores.
ilum non populi fasces, non purpurea regum
flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres,
aut coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro
non res Romanae perituraeque regna; neque ille
aut doluit miseros inopes aut invidit habenti,
quos rami fructus, quo ipsa volantia rura
sponte tulere sua, cappsit, nec ferreum iura
insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit.
sollicitant aliis remis fretae caseae, ruinique
in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum;
hic patet excidiiis urbes misericordiae penates,
ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiet ostro;
condit opes alius defossaque incubat auro;
hic stupet attenitus rostris; hunc plausus hiantem
per cuneos geminatus anim plebisque patrumque
corripuit; gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum,
assilique domos et dulcia limina mutant
atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacente. 261

259. cont. unbidden, pours forth from her soil an easy sustenance.

260. Yet theirs is repose without care; and a life that knows no fraud,
but is rich in treasures manifold, Yea, the ease of broad domains,
caverns, and living lakes, and cool vales, and loving of kind,
and soft slumbers beneath the trees, all theirs. They have woodland
and the haunts of game; a youth hardened to toil and in­
ured to scanty fare; worship of gods and reverence for age; among
them, as she quitted the earth, Justice planted her latest steps.

261. Blessed is he who has been able to win knowledge of the causes of
things; and has cast beneath his feet all fear and yielding Fate,
and the howls of hungry Acheron! Happy, too, is he who knows the
woodland glades, Pam and old Silvanus and the sister Nymphs! Him no
honours the people give can move, no purple of kings, no strife
rousing brother to break with brother, no Dacian sweeping down from
his Iagused Damae, no power of Rome, no kingdoms doomed to fall, he
knows naught of the pang of pity for the poor, or of envy of the
rich. He plucks the fruits which his boughs bear, which his ready fields,
of their own free will, have borne; nor has he beheld the iron laws,
the Forum's madness, or the public archives. Others vex with oars
seas unknown, dash upon the sword, or press into courts and the por­
tals of kings. One wrecks ruin on a city and its hapless homes,
G. II. 516. nec recuies, quin aut pomis exuberet annus
aut fetu pecorum aut Cerealis ergite culmi;
proventique oneret sulcos atque horrea vincat. 282

G. II. 525. interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati,
casta pudicitiam servat domus, ubera vaccae
lactae demittunt, pinguesque in gramine lasto
inter se adversis lactani cornibus haedi;
ipse dies agitat festos fumisque per herbas,
ignis ubi in medio et socii cratera corumant,
telibanus, Lenaeae, vocat pecorisque magistri
telocis iculi certamina ponit in ulmo,
corporaque agresti nudant praedium palœstrae. 285

These magnificent lines state the advantages for the simple life, and
show the real thrills of the country for those with the capacity to enjoy
and appreciate. They are addressed to that fortunate farmer who possesses
potential riches beyond measure. Far from the dangers of war, the blessed
earth gives him a safe living. Echoing Lucretius, Virgil shows the rela-
tive insignificance of the luxuries of the city dweller when bought at the
price of the peace. The farmer is free from fraud, so often found in the
other life. Virgil stresses the advantage of having to work hard during

261. cont. that he may drink from a jewelled cup and sleep on Tyrian pur-
ple; another hoards up wealth and broods over buried gold; one is
dazed and astounded by the Rostra; another, open-mouthed, is carried
away by the plaudits of princes and of people, rolling again and a-
gain along the benches. Gleefully they steep themselves in their
brother's blood; for exile they change their sweet homes and hearths,
and seek a country that lies beneath an alien sun.

262. No respite is there, but the season teems either with fruits, or with
increase of the herds, or with the sheaves of Ceres' corn loading the
furrows with its yield and bursting barns.

265. Meanwhile his dear children hang upon his knees; his unstained home
guards its purity; the kine droop milk-laden udders, and on the glad
sword, horn to horn, the fat kids wrestle. The master himself keeps
holiday, and stretched on the grass, with a fire in the midst and his
comrades wretching the bowl, offers libation and calls on thee, O
god of the Wine-press, and for the keepers of the flock sets up a
mark on an elm for the contest of the winged javelin, or they bare
their hardy limbs for the rustic wrestling bout.
youth. He also implies that justice and city life are incompatible. The next few lines again show even more strongly the Lucretian influence. Blessed, says Virgil, is that person who knows the causes of things and through this knowledge subdues his fear, and that person who knows the simple gods of the country. Such a person could not be moved by bribery, civil war or family strife. He is unacquainted with the pity of the poor or envy of the rich. Receiving a safe living from his labor, he is not tempted by public life and escapes the accompanying strife. He is free from jealousy and will not commit crimes resulting in exile. Through his labor, he provides an honest living for his family and finds his greatest pleasure within this circle. Virgil pleads for a return to these simple pleasures and the stability they represent.

The third Georgic, dealing with the care of horses and cattle, has many passages showing the Lucretian influence. The following appears to the writer to be the most significant of Virgil’s faint cynicism and sadness,

G. III. 66. optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi
prima fugit; subeunt morbi tristisque senectus
et labor, et duras rapit inclementia mortis. 284

This is a warning and a plea to make the most of the younger years, the fairest years which go so quickly. Virgil says that youth is so brief and the majority of the years are clouded with sickness and approaching death. This is a more or less natural attitude for a young man just passing from youth to early middle age. It appears to be also a plea to turn to the

284. Life’s fairest days are ever the first to flee for hapless mortals; on creep diseases, and sad age, and suffering, and stern death’s ruthlessness sweeps away its prey.
simple life while one is still young enough to enjoy the blessings she
offers, and to increase the span of years possible for the enjoyment of
life. While the Aeneid is not a particularly optimistic poem it appears
to show more hope than such passages of the Georgics influenced by the
pessimism of Lucretius.

From the Aeneid have been selected the following passages which show
Virgil's love of nature and the cruelty resulting from greed, prompted by
a forgetfulness of the simple life, and the contrasting security of this
simple life,

A. IX. 455. Purpurus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
Languesit moriens, lassove pepera collo
Demisere caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur. 265

A. XI. 67. Hic iuvenem agresti sublimem stamine ponunt
Quales virgines demessum pollice florem
Seu mollis violae, seu languentis hyacinthi,
Cui neque fulgor adhuc, nec dum sua forma recessit;
Non iam mater alit tellus, viresque ministrat. 266

A. IX. 59. Ac veluti plena lupus insidiatus ovili
Cum fremit ad caulas, ventos perpeesus et imbres,
Nocte supra media—uti sub matribus agni
Batatum exercent; illes asper et improbus ira
Seavit in absentes; collecta fatigat edendi
Ex longo rabies, et siccae sanguis faucias:— 267

265. Even as a bright-haired flower; when cut under ground by a ploughshare,
Fades to its death; or as poppies; perchance, that are heavy with rain—
When on weared stems their heads are languidly drooping. (drops,

266. There in state on his wild-wood bed they laid the young hero;
There like a flower he lay, which the hand of a maiden has gathered,
Either of violet soft or of hyacinth languidly drooping,
Out of which neither the brightness as yet nor the beauty has faded,
Though mother earth is replenishing now nor its food nor its vigor.

267. Like to a wolf that is lying in wait for the flock in a sheepfold,—
While he howls at the gates, enduring the darkness of midnight,
Braving the winds and rain, the lambs safe under their mothers
Constantly bleat, while the wolf in savage and pitiless fury
Snarls from without; his long increasing and ravenous hunger
Wears away his strength, and his blood-thirsty jaws are unsated,—
The first two quotations show the pathos of young men struck down in their prime, by war, an indirect result of the greed resulting from a departure from the fundamental pleasures. This pathos is the more striking when compared to the snug comfort of the domestic animals, protected from the wolves through the very protection the orderliness of their lives provides. These contrasting quotations appear to the writer to be Virgil's appeal for a life where the young will have a chance to live in safety, secure from the destructive forces. Such a life and such a safety involved a return to the appreciation of the simple pleasures and a development of the basic industries.

The last phase of Virgil's patriotism, here considered, is his plea for peace. This grew from a great pity for mankind. This compassion is indicated in this speech of Virgil's in the Divine Comedy,

'It is the anguish of the folk here below which causes my face to wear that hue of pity which thou takest for fear. 269

This is further shown through the famous line,

A. I. 462. Sunt lacrimae rerum... 270

In his plea for peace, Virgil was practically forced to make a distinction between civil and foreign wars. His very loyalty to Augustus would not permit him to condemn the wars which had been beneficial to the empire. This distinction and Virgil's attempt to make it consistent will be treated later in this same section.

266. Catullus, II, 21-24

269. Toser, Divine Comedy, Hell, Canto IV.

270. Here are tears for distress...
Virgil is skeptical of the gods' power to prevent death and destruction in war and so pleads with men to help themselves through the very prevention of this war. Virgil is also desirous of peace as an aid to the development of literature. Concerning this Nettleship has written,

For the successful cultivation of literature demands security of property, leisure, and an undisturbed mind, it is peace for which Lucretius prays in his immortal prelude, peace which the authority of the princeps was beginning for the first time since the civil wars of Marius and Sulla to reestablish in Italy. 272

Furthermore Virgil considered peace imperative for the reform which Augustus was instigating. This is shown in the first Georgic,

271. A. X. 464, 620, 758, 584
272. Nettleship, p. 27
273. Gods of my country, Heroes of the land, thou Romulus and thou Vesta, our mother, that guarded Tuscan Tiber and the Palatine of Rome, at least stay not this young prince from aiding a world upturned! Enough has our life-blood long atoned for Laomedon's perjury at Troy; enough have Heaven's courts long grudged thee, 0 Caesar, to us, murmuring that thou hast paid heed to earthly triumphs! For here are right and wrong inverted; so many wars overrun the world, so many are the shapes of sin; the plough meets not its honour due; our lands, robbed of the tillers, lie waste, and the crooked pruning hooks are forged into stiff swords. Here Euphrates, there Germany, awakes war, neigh-
This speech is Virgil's prayer that the young Augustus be allowed to devote his energy to the healing rather than the causing the wounds of war. It is a direct appeal against civil war but the writer believes there is veiled a plea against wars, any wars which cause the neglect of the basic industries and the destruction of life and happiness. Virgil recoils from war and the breaking of treaties. He isstricken with a sincere sorrow at the sight of a world drawn to ruin. He picturesquely compares such a crazy world to a chariot and driver pulled to their downfall by uncontrolled horses. This bitterness is again shown in the seventh Aeneid,

A. VII. 635. vomeris hue et falcis honos, huc omnis aratri cessit amor; recogunt patris formacibus ensiv 274

It is again the plea against conflict told so many times in the De Rerum Nature, of the creative power represented by Venus and the destructive power of Mars. The twelfth Aeneid implies a doubt of the necessity of war as an insurance of peace,

A. XIII. 503. tanton placuit concurrere motu,
Iuppiter, aeterna gentis in pace futuras? 276

Virgil's patriotism could not sincerely reconcile him to such a means of

273. canit. bour cities break the leagues that bound them and draw the sword; throughout the world rages the god of unholy strife; even as when from the barriers the chariots stream forth, round after round they speed, did the driver, tugging vainly at the reins, is borne along by the steeds and the car heed not the curb!

274. All the devotion to sickle and share, all love for the furrow, Yielded to this; their fires retempered the swords of their fathers;

275. De Rerum Natura I. 29-50

276. Was it thy pleasure, O Jove, that there is so cruel conflict Nations should meet, though destined thenceforth to endless alliance?
acquiring peace. Here was his greatest test of patriotism, a conflict between his innate horror of any form of violence and his support of Augustus. Virgil probably sought to justify in his own mind the conquests of Augustus as a practical means of securing unity and internal peace for Italy. In his heart he must have believed that peace could be bought at a cheaper price and his own greatest concern for his countrymen and Augustus in particular concerned the preserving of this peace without bloodshed. Throughout his poems Virgil implied a prayer to Augustus to remember that his real patriotism demanded the subordinating of his own glory to the furtherance of peace. Virgil hoped for the same brand of patriotism from his countrymen and his emperor which he himself so freely gave.

PART 2. VIRGIL'S UNDERSTANDING AND SYMPATHY FOR HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

Introduction

In studying the works of Virgil we are impressed with the profundity of his knowledge. Casual references show an amazing intellectual storehouse. This extensive learning did not however make him haughty and uninterested in the common people. It rather increased his understanding of people and his sympathy and pity for their behaviour. A fitting introduction to this discussion is the description of the meeting of Virgil and Dante in the opening Canto of the Divine Comedy.

"While I was hurrying downward toward these depths, there presented himself before mine eyes one who seemed enshrouded by long silence. When I beheld this being in the wide wilderness, "Have compassion on me," I exclaimed to him, whether thou art whether a spirit of very man. Not a man he replied to me; I was once a man, and my parents were Lombards, both of them own Mantua as their fatherland. Under Julius was I born, though late in time, and I lived at Rome under the good Augustus' sway, in the days of the false and spurious gods. A poet I was, and I sang of Anchises' son, the just who came from Troy after proud Ilium was consumed by fire. But why art thou returning to so dread annoy? Why dost thou not ascend the gladsome mountain, which is the origin and source of all joy?" "Say art thou that Virgil, that fountain head whence so copious a stream of language proceeds? Thus answered him, "Thou glory and sunlight of all other poets may the long study and ardent love avail me, which hath caused me slowly to con thy volume. Thou art my master and authority; thou and thou only art he from whom I derived the fair style which has won me honor." 279


Tunison, p. 65

Glover, p. 235

279. Toser, Canto I. Lines 61-105, p. 5-6
Again in a later Canto, Dante speaks of Virgil as,

"... that noble Sage, who knew all things..."

A study of Virgil justifies such an extravagant praise on the part of this later Italian poet.

Virgil was a keen observer of nature and this keenness helped him in his understanding of human behaviour. The close relation of the two is shown in the numerous comparisons for which his writings are famous. The primary human qualities shown through these comparisons are courage, fear, industry, discouragement, steadfastness and despair. The character study of Tumus, dramatized through these likenesses illustrates this point. That reckless courage which typifies Tumus is shown in Virgil's likening him to a wounded lion, made more fierce through these very wounds, to a mighty bull in battle, to the eagle of Jove, to a raging tiger destroying the flock of sheep, to a lion attacking a bull and to the rush of the wind.

The quality of fear is shown in the comparisons of the bewildered, frightened Latins at the time of their defeat, to bees being smoked out

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280. Tozer, Divine Comedy, Hell, Canto VII. Line 2, p. 27
281. Aeneid XIII. 4-9
282. Ibid. XII. 715
283. Ibid. IX. 751-756
284. Ibid. IX. 730
285. Ibid. X. 454
286. Ibid. XII. 567-68
For other comparisons showing courage see, XI, 721-24, XII. 475-77, II. 555-58, II. 471-75, X. 751-56, E. 264-66
by a shepherd. This is further shown by the comparison of Hecuba and her frightened daughters, clinging to the images of their gods, to terrified doves before a storm. The fear of the people for the cruel Mesœtius is likened to the hounds' fear of a boar.

The industry of the Trojans departing from Carthage is compared to the organized labor of ants. Shame is vividly shown in the likeness of Arruns, the murderer of Camilla, to a wolf, conscious of a violation, in the slaying of a man. The slinking, ashamed and frightened animal shows Arruns' shame, horror and stolen joy in his unholy deed. The steadfastness of Latinus is emphasized in his similarity to an ocean cliff, strong and immovable. The frenzy of Dido, consumed with love for Aeneas, is likened to a hind, struck by an arrow and fleeing through the woods.

Through these comparisons, Virgil shows not only a sure knowledge of the habits and characteristics of various forms of nature but an understanding of man's behaviour. This comprehension will be treated through a discussion of (1) his understanding of children, (2) understanding of women and (3) his knowledge of the motives of behaviour.

287. Aeneid. XII. 587-92
288. Ibid. II. 516
289. Ibid. X. 707-719
290. Ibid. IV. 402-408
291. Ibid. XI. 809-815
292. Ibid. VII. 589-590
293. Ibid. IV. 68-75
Chapter I. Virgil's Understanding of Children

Virgil's own sympathetic love for children is simply expressed in the description of the child Ascanius at the time of the flight from Troy. The lines describing his attempt to keep pace with his father are more eloquent than any elaborate eulogy of childhood,

A. II. 725. dextrae se parvus Iulus implicit sequiturque patrem non passibus assisi;

Virgil's appreciation of the joy which children bring to their parents is shown in the following instances,

C. II. 525. Interea dulces pendent circums oscula nati;

A. V. 575. Excipiunt plausa pavidos gaudentque tuentes Dardanidae veterumque adgnoscunt oras parentum.

Virgil here shows his perception of the joy which children bring to their parents, either through their loving ways or through the pride which they inspire.

The influence of children is shown in the case of the young Ascanius and his ability to bring the Trojan women to their senses at the time of the burning of the ships.

A. V. 672. en ego vestae

Ascanium

294. Charles W. Eliot, Virgil's Aeneid, Translation by John Dryden, P.F. Collier & Son, New York, 1909. p. 126. (This translation will be for all passages from the Aeneid in the next two chapters)

295. Meanwhile his dear children hang upon his kisses;

296. The pleased spectators peals of shouts renew,
And all the parents in the children view;

297. Behold your own Ascanius!
Virgil's knowledge of children's joy in play is revealed in the following verses,

A. I. 689. Parat Amor dictis carae genetricis, et alas
Exuit, et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli. 298

A. IV.156. At puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri
Gaudet equo, iamque hos cursor, iam praeterit illos,
Spumanemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
Optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte Leonem. 299

A. V. 565. Una scies iuvenum, ducit quaem parvus ovantem
Nomen avi referens, Priamus, tua clara, Polite,
Progenies, succura Italos; 300

Even the immortal child, Cupid delights in pretense. The mortal child Ascanius and his joy in the hunt shows Virgil's perception of childish delight in danger and the extents to which a child's imagination will carry him in quest for adventure. The last lines show Virgil's sympathy with a child's delight in pretending he is grown. In all these instances, as in his observations on love and marriage, Virgil shows an ability to understand what he may not have experienced.

298. He walks Iulus in his mother's sight,
And in the sweet resemblance takes delight.

299. The glad Ascanius, as his courser guides,
Sours thro' the vale, and these and those outrides.
His horse's flanks and sides are forced to feel
The clanking lash, and goring of the speel.
Impatiently he views the fable prey,
Wishing some nobler beast to cross his way,
And rather would the tusky boar attend,
Or see the tawny lion downward bend.

500. The first young Priam led; a lovely boy,
Whose grandair was the unhappy king of Troy;
His race in after times was known to fame.
Chapter 2. Virgil's Understanding of Women

Virgil's observations and implications show a sincere admiration and respect for women. Although there are a few such statements as,

A. IV. 569. varium et mutabile semper
Femina. 301

A. II. 585. Non ita! Namque etae nullum memorabile nomen
Feminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem. 302

Virgil's attitude is not patronizing. He appears to sympathize with, rather than ridicule their faults.

This sympathy is shown in his attitude toward a woman's love of possessions. Camilla, the warrior girl could not escape her feminine love of vanity,

A. XI. 781. Caeca sequabatur, totumque Inomita per egmen
Feminae praedae et spoliorum ardebat amore. 303

The queen of the underworld could be moved by such a trinket as a branch from the golden bough. Even the wife and sister of Jupiter could only give in to the ultimate victory of the Trojans through the bargain that her chosen side should retain its name.

301. Woman's a various and a chargeful thing.
302. 'Tis true, a soldier can small honor gain,
And boast no conquest, from a woman slain;

303. (Dryden has changed the order somewhat; hence more English lines quoted than Latin)
Fond and ambitious of so rich a prize,
Or that the temple might his trophies hold,
Or else to shine herself in Trojan gold,
Blind in her haste, he chases him alone.
And seeks his life, regardless of her own.

304. A. VI. 142-45
305. A. XII. 823
Virgil also understood a woman's tendency to influence a man against his will. The following lines imply a resentment and criticism of such a willingness to resort to tears rather than reason,

A. IX. 289. Quod nequeam lacrimas perferre parentis.

A.XII. 29. Vicus amore tui, cognato sanguine victus,
Coniugis et maestae lacrimas, vinola omnia rupi,
Promissam eripui genew, arma impia sumpsii. 307

Virgil knew that kings and warriors are often helpless against such weapons of women.

Virgil has an appreciation of the relationship between men and women, both in and out of marriage. The triangular union of Aeneas, Dido and Anna shows this. There can be no doubt that Aeneas sincerely loved Dido. But it is with the matter-of-fact sister, Anna that he found mental companionship. Dido recognizes this relationship between her sister and her lover. While she may have been jealous, she was eager to avail herself of the benefits of such a relationship. Her appeal to Anna shows the companionship between Aeneas and Anna,

A. IV. 421. solam nam perfidus ille
Te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus
Sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras. 509

506. My soul so sad a farewell could not bear.

507. Brib'd by my kindness to my kindred blood,
Urg'd by my wife, who would not be denied,
I promis'd my Lavinia for your bride;
Her from her plighted lord by force I took;
All ties of treaties and of honor, broke;
On your account I wag'd an impious war

508. A. IV. 361, A. VI. 455

509. You are his fav'rite, you alone can find
The dark recesses of his inmost mind:
In all his trusted secrets you have part,
And know the soft approaches of his heart.
The friendship of Turnus with Amata and with Camilla show other aspects of such a relationship. For Amata, Turnus felt a great admiration and a justified pride that such a lady should be so partisan to him as her prospective son-in-law. Amata's feeling for him may well have been a transferred love for a son, a compensation for the death of the one she had lost. The friendship of Camilla and Turnus is marked by mutual admiration and dependence and seems entirely devoid of sentiment. It was such a regard as two men, interested in the same work, might feel for each other. The complete equality and respect between these two is shown in Turnus' request for help,

A. XI. 508. "O decus Italiae virgo, quas dicere gratis
Quasve referre parem? sed nunc, est omnia quando
Iste animus supra, mecum partire haborem. 511

Virgil's understanding of women is perhaps best shown in his portrayal of Dido. With objective fairness he recognizes her splendid qualities as well as her lack of judgment and moderation when faced with her crisis. The simple phrase, dux femina facti, implies his belief that women are potentially equals of men in leadership and statesmanship. These passages show the qualities of Dido as a woman whom Virgil understands,

510. A. VII. 50-51

511. Then thus returned. "O grace of Italy,
With what becoming thanks can I reply?
Not only words lie lab'ring in my breast,
But thought itself is by thy praise oppress'd.
Yet rob me not of all; but let me join
My toils, my hazard, and my fame with thine.

512. A. I. 584
A. I. 507. Iura dabat legesque viris, operisque laborem
Partibus sequabat iustis aut sorte tenebatur. 515

A. I. 574. Troes Tyriacus mihi nullo discrimine agetur. 514

A. I. 630. Non ignara mali miseris succurrere discor. 515

A. IV. 172. Coniugium vocat; hoc praebuit nomine culpam. 516

A. IV. 296. At regina dolos (quid fallere possit annatem?)
Præessent motusque exceptit priscis futuros,
Omnia tuta timens. 517

A. IV. 327. Saltem, siqua mihi de te suscepta fuisse
Ante fugam suboles, si quia mihi parvulus aula
Luderat Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
Non equidem omnia capta ac deserta viderer. 518

A. IV. 424. I, soror, etque hostem supplex adfere superbam. 519

A. IV. 600. Non potui abetum divellere corpus et undis
Spargere? Non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
Ascanium patriisque epulandum poneere mensis? 520

515. (Note. The Ballard translation is used for the passages concerning
Dido)
Judgment and law she ordains for the men, and apportions their labors,
Equalling each to each, or trusting to chance the allotment.

514. Trojan and Tyrian both I will treat without any distinction.

515. Not unacquainted with grief, I am learning to aid the unhappy.

516. Cloaks her fault with a name by claiming the sanction of marriage.

517. Nevertheless the queen (who ever outwitted a lover?)
Fathoms their wives, and is first to divine their intended departure,
Fearful while all is safe.

518. Ah, if before thy flight, some child might have called me his mother,
One who should bear thy name; if I had any little Aeneas
Playing about my hall, who might only re-image thy features;
I should not seem to myself so wholly betrayed and forsaken.

519. Go, dear sister, and humbly bespeak the proud-spirited stranger;

520. I could have seized him and torn him in shreds, and scattered his body
Over the waves; or his friends, Ascanius even have slaughtered—
Why could I not? and his corse could have served as a feast for his father!
A. IV. 661. Haeriat hume oculis ignem crudalis ab alto
Dardanus et nostrae secum ferat omnia mortis. 321

A. VI. 469. Illa solo fixos oculos averse tenebat
Nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur
Quam si dura silex aut stat Maspeia cautes. 322

A. XI. 75. quas illi laeta laborum
Ipse suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido
Federat et tenui telas disceperat auro. 323

The first quotation shows the complete fairness and effectiveness of Dido as a ruler. In this, the only example in the Aeneid of a city actually developing at peace, there is a plea on Virgil's part for the growth of a state where justice and industry are keynotes of progress. The verses describing Dido's cordial welcome to strangers and her willingness to treat them with complete lack of discrimination, is a real tribute to her as a ruler of a growing city, a ruler completely devoid of petty favoritism.

The following lines show a woman's ability through her own experience with suffering to sympathize with and understand the suffering of others. Virgil next shows a fault of many people, namely believing what they want to believe. Dido's reason may tell her that this is not a real marriage and that she is not justified in putting her emotion before this reason. But she is convinced that if she calls this union connubium enough times it will no longer be culpa. The next lines show the ever watchful fear and

321. Let him, afar on the sea, drink these flames with his eyes, cruel Daryea, let him bear in his heart our death and its ominous tokens

322. She, with averted face, remained looking fixedly downward,
Changed in expression no more, as Aeneas began to entreat her,
Than is hard flint she stood, or as marble crag of Marpessa.

325. Rigid also with gold, with glad for his sake of her labor,
Once with her own fair hand Sidonian Dido had women,
Parting with delicate golden threads the warp of the fabric.
suspicion of many women who love intensely. Virgil implies that in such women, suspicious fear is often more dominant than trust. Virgil follows with the implication that women need someone to care for and that often motherhood is a solace for disappointment in love. Virgil further shows the complete lack of pride of some women in their desperation. It must have been a supreme humiliation to Dido to ask her less attractive sister to use her influence with Aeneas. Such an appeal Virgil understood and pitied. He also realizes that such a love could change to a revengeful hate. Only such circumstances could force Dido to consider such a cruel action toward a child of whom she had been genuinely fond. This one wish for a horrible revenge shows the complete lack of balance of a woman like Dido if the one she loves scorns or rejects her. Virgil indicates here the real tragedy of an uncontrolled and wild passion. Virgil also understood a woman's tendency to dramatize herself. Dido actually enjoyed the thought of her suicide and the thought of the grief it would cause. The scene in the lower regions shows the inflexibility of the hate which could only come from such a love as Dido's. Her hardness and immovability is just as great and unreasoning as her love had been. The last reference of Virgil to this great queen implies a desire on his part to make the last memory of Dido a sympathetic one. The reference is to a garment made by Dido, which is being placed on the body of Pallass.

324. A. I. 717


326. Gertrude Atherton, Dido, Queen of Hearts, Horace Liveright, New York, 1929, p. 581
It is a tribute to her and many women's skill at handiwork, but the real importance of the lines lies in the fact that Dido had enjoyed this service of love. Her work took on a personal aspect because it was a gift to one for whom she cared. Virgil's pity for this woman and for her unrealized dreams is implied in the two pathetic words, laeta laborum.

Contrasted to Virgil's description of the royal Dido is his real respect for the simple duties and pleasures of the homemaker,

G. I. 295. interes longus cantu solata laborum
arguto coniumx percurret peccine telas,
aud dulcis musti Volcani decoquit usorem
et folias undas treppida despumat aesti. 327

A. VIII. 407. Inde ubi prima guises medio iam noctis abactae
curricula expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
cui tolerare colo vitas tenuique Minerva
impositum, cinerem et sopitos suascit ignis,
noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo
exercet penna, castum ut servare cubile
coniugis et possit parvos eductere natos. 328

In the verses from the Georgics, Virgil shows his appreciation of the simple, thankless, unrewarded duties of the housewife. He makes very appealing this picture of this wife, singing at her work and through this cheer, making her seemingly insignificant tasks achieve a real dignity. The passage from the Aesop is another tribute to the never ceas-

327. his wife the while solaces with song her long toil, runs the shrill shuttle through her web, or on the fire boils down the sweet juice of must, and skims with leaves the wave of bubbling cauldron.

328. The time when early housewives leave the bed;
When living embers on the hearth they spread,
Supply the lamp, and call the maids to rise—
With yawning mouths and with half open'd eyes,
They ply the distaff by the winking light,
And to their daily labor add the night;
Thus frugally they earn their children's bread,
And uncorrupted keep the nuptial bed—
ing toil of a woman. Her day begins while it is still night. This woman is a real help-mate and through her simple tasks helps to provide a livelihood for the family. Such a woman's world is completely centered in her family. Virgil gives real significance to such a life.

Virgil also praises the warrior maiden, Camilla, who spurns the distaff side of life. Virgil makes no such hard and fast rules as "a woman's place is in the home." He does however seek to show that the career woman, Dido, the devoted simple housewife and the warrior maiden are all necessary types and should each be given her due.
Throughout his poems Virgil shows himself, in a practical sense a real psychoanalyst. He studied the causes for behaviour and tried to explain and excuse the results. His clinical objectiveness is blended with warm sympathy and compassion. The qualities selected for this final discussion of his understanding are hope, fear, conceit, mob enthusiasm and revenge.

Virgil's conception of hope as a motive of behaviour is here shown,

A. II. 263. *spes addēta cras.*

A. II. 26. *ergo omnis longo solvit se Teucria luctu.*

A. II. 248. *nos delubri deum miser, quibus ultimus esset ille dies, festa velamus fronde per urbem.*

Through these verses, Virgil implies that while hope can be a mighty force for good and for endeavour, it can, if not born of reason, bring destruction. In the latter case the Trojans hoped because they wanted to hope and by deceiving themselves through this unfounded joy they paved the way for their own ruin. These three quotations again show a

329. Theodore C. Williams, The Aeneid of Virgil, Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1908. (This translation for passages quoted from the Aeneid will be used throughout this chapter.)

330. Teucria then

Throw off her grief inveterate; all her gates
Swung wide; exultant went we forth, and saw
The Dorian camp untenanted, the siege
Abandoned, and the shore without a keel.

331. But doomed to unbelief were Ilium's sons.

Our hapless nation on its dying day
Flung free o'er streets and shrines the votive flowers.
belief which Virgil repeats so many times, namely that the same quality can be a source of good and evil.

The good and evil of fear as an incentive is shown in these cases,

A. VIII. 224. pedibus timor addidit alas.

A. II. 130. adsensere omnes et quae sibi quisque timebat, unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere. 554

While in the first instance fear inspired these men to their greatest efforts, in the second terror brought the very worst to the fore. All the Greeks were in terror lest their lot be chosen. Escaping the fatal choice, however, they rejoice in and applaud a system which preserves them at the expense of another's life. Virgil also relies on fear as a motive in his description of Hades. While his own belief in eternal reward and punishment is dubious, he realizes that such a hope and fear is common and can be put to good use to the benefit of his state.

Conceit, born of flattery proves a motivating force in the case of Allecto,

A. VII. 335. tu potes unanimos armare in proelis fratres atque odis versare domos, tu verbena tectis funereaque inferea facies, tibi nomine mille mille nocendi artes. fedunda concute pectus, disic compositum pacem, sese crimina bellis; arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus. 536

332. Iliad XI. 491

333. His feet by terror winged.

334. Nor did one voice oppose, The mortal stroke Horribly hanging o'er each coward head Was changed to one man's ruin, and their hearts Endured it well.

335. Glover, p. 251

336. Thou canst thrust on Two loving brothers to draw sword and slay And ruin homes with hatred, calling in
Juno calls upon Jllecto to wreak vengeance on the Trojans. To ensure the wholeheartedness of this evil goddess of the night, she flatters her concerning her great powers of evil.

Virgil's comprehension of mob action and its effect on the behaviour of individuals is shown here.

A. II. 39. scinditur incertum studia in contraria volgus

A. XI. 451. extemplo turbati animi concussaque volgi

A. XIII. 238. Talibus incensa est iuvenum sententia dictis

Virgil's distrust of mob enthusiasm is implied in these cases. His illustrations show that such behaviour brought destruction to Troy and the Rutulian forces alike.

538. cont. The scourge of Furies and avenging fires.

A thousand names thou bearest, and thy ways
Of ruin multiply a thousand-fold.
Arouse thy fertile breast! Go, rend in twain
This plighted peace! Breed calumnies and sow
Caused of battle, till you warrior hosts
Cry out for swords and leap to gird them on

Yet did the multitude
Veer round from voice to voice and doubt all

The people's soul
Was vexed and shaken, and its martial rage
Rose to the stern compulsion.

So speaking, she inflamed
The warriors' minds, and through the legions run
Increasing whisper, the Laurentine host
And even Latium wavered. Those who late
Prayed but for rest and safety, clamored loud
For arms, desired annulment of the league,
And piteous Turnus' miserable doom.
The final motive here considered is revenge. This quality as an incentive and as an excuse is shown in the lines following.

A. I. 530. 
*Aeneas contra cui talis reddet argenti atque auris memoras quae multa talenta, /gnatis parce tuis, belli commercis Turnus sustulit ister prior iam tum Pallante perempto.* 540

A. I. 565. *Aegaeon qualis, centum cui braschia dicit centennasque manus, quinquaginta oribus ignem pectoribus armisse, Iovis cum fulmine contra /tot paribus streperet clipeis, tot stringeret ensis; /sic toto Aeneas dessevit in aequora victor, ut semel interruit macro.* 541

A. I. 597. *"Per te, per nul te talea geouere p&rontea, /vir Troiane, sine hanc animam alserere precantis." /pluribus oranti Aeneas;— "haud talia dudum dicta dabas. morere et fratres ne desere frater." /tum latebras animae nectis murcres recludit.* 542

Here is shown the lengths to which even such a kind a man as Aeneas will go when driven by revenge at the time of war. Impervious to bribery, now that Pallas has been slain, raging like a wolf that has tasted blood, he goes on a very orgy of slaughter. Even the plea of a brother for mercy,

340. *In answer he spoke*  
*Aeneas: "Hoard the silver and the gold /For thy sons. Such bartering in war /Finished with Turnus, when fair Pallas died.*

341. *Like old Aegaeon of the hundred arms, /The hundred-handed, from whose mouth and breasts /Blazed fifty fiery blasts, as he made war /With fifty sounding shields and fifty swords /Against Jove's thunder,—so Aeneas raged /Victorious over the field, then once his steel warmed to its work.*

542. *"O, by thy sacred head, /And by the parents who such greatness gave, /Good Trojan let me live! Some pity show /To prostrate me!" But ere he longer sued, /Aeneas cried, "Not so thy language ran /A moment gone! His nose! Nor let this day /Brother from brother part!" Then where the life /Hides in the bosom, he thrust deep his sword.*
Appealing to the filial love of Aeneas, finds him unrelenting.

The most significant example of revenge, as an unbalancing incentive is found in the final lines of the Aeneid. The writer believes that the final scene is the greatest implication in the entire works of Virgil,

A. XIII. 913. Cunctanti telam Aeneas fatale corus cat,
Sortitus fortunam sculcis et corpore toto
Emius intueri. Murali concita numque
Tormento sic axa fremunt, nec fulmine tenti
Dissimulant crupitus. Volat atri turbinis instar
Exitium dirum haeta ferens, orascue recludit
Loricam et cipieli extremos septemplicis orbis.
Per medium stricos transit remus. Incidit ictus
Ingens ad terram duplicato soplitie Turnus.
Consurgent gema tothi totusque remus
Hos circums, et vocem late memoria alta remittunt.
Ile humiles supplemaque oculos dextramque presentem
Prostendet "Equidem servum, nec depressor," inquit;
"Utero sorte, miseri te si qua parentis
Tangere cura potest, oro, --fuit et tibi talis
Anchises genitor—Dauni miserere senectae.
Et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis,
Radda meis. Viciisti, et victua tendere palmas
Ansonii videre; tue est Lavinia coiumus;
Uterius ne tende odiis." Statit acer in armis
Aeneas, volvens oculos, dextramque represat
Et iam iam magis cunctament flectere servo
Cooperat, infalix usico cum apparuit alto
Balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis puriri, victum quem vulnera Turnus
Straverat etuim umeris initicum insignem gerebat.
Ille, oculis postquam saevo moneta doloris
Erviusque haurit, furis accensus et ira
Terribilis; "Tune hinc spoliis induta meorum
Eripine mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnera, Pallas
Immolat, et ponam sclerato ex sangine sumit."
Hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub vectore condit
Fervidus. Ast illi solvantut frigore membra,
Viraque cum gemitus fugit indignata sub umbras.
We know from ancient writings that Virgil left his last work unfinished and that it was in opposition to his last wish that the Aeneid was published.

It seems logical to the writer, then, that the last verses were not in the

545. Of the last circles of the seven-fold shield,
Pierced, hissing, through the thigh. Massive Turmius sinks
O'erwhelmed upon the ground with doubling knee.
Uprising the Rutulian, groaning; the whole hill
Roars answering round them, and from far and wide
The lofty grooves give back the echoing cry.
Lowly, with suppliant eyes, and holding forth
His hand in prayer; "I have my need," he cried,
Nor ask for mercy. Use what Fate has given!
But if a father's grief upon thy heart
Has power at all, — for Sire Anchises once
To thee was dear,—I pray thee to show grace
To Daunus in his desolate old age;
And me, or, if thou wilt, my lifeless clay,
To him and his restore. For, lo, thou art
My conqueror." Ausonia's eyes have seen me
Me suppliant, me fallen. Thou hast made
Levinia thy bride. Why further urge
Our enmity?"

With swift and dreadful arms
Aeneas o'er him stood, with rolling eyes,
But his bare sword restraining; for such words
Moved on him more and more; when suddenly,
Over the mighty shoulder slung, he saw
That fatal baldric studded with bright gold
Which youthful Pallas wore, what time he fell
Vanquished by Turmus' stroke, whose shoulders now
Carried such trophy of a foeman slain.
Aeneas' eyes took sure and slow survey
Of spoils that were the proof and memory
Of cruel sorrow; them with kindling rage
And terrifying look, he cried, "Wouldst thou,
Cled in a prize stripped off my chosen friend,
Escape this hand? In this thy mortal wound
Tis Pallas has a victim; Pallas takes
The lawful forfeit of thy guilty blood!"
He said, and buried deep his furious blade
In the opposer's heart. The falling limbs
Sank cold and helpless; and the vital breath
With midst of wrath to darkness fled away.

544. Suetonius, p. 474
form in which he desired Augustus and the Italians to read them. His in-
sistence that they be burned could well show that in addition to being
imperfect in regard to workmanship, they expressed thoughts which Virgil
did not care to have published. The writer feels that if Virgil had been
able to spend the intended three years revamping this poem, the finale
would have been changed from a sorrowful reproach of Aeneas' final re-
venge, to praise and hope. Any censure he might have made would have been
more veiled and probably would not even have existed. The ending might
have been more optimistic and Aeneas would have been a moderate, commiser-
ate, forgiving Abraham Lincoln, "binding up a nation's wounds"—rather than
a Ulysses S. Grant. Aeneas, instead of killing Turnus would have made him
secretary-of-state. Aeneas would have placed the future good of the state
before his former vows of loyalty to Evander and Pallas. Virgil would have
ended the poem in the manner in which he hoped Augustus would behave under
similar circumstances rather than in the way he felt Augustus really would
act. Such lines show Virgil's sadness toward the acts committed by Augus-
tus back in the days of the proscription.

Throughout the Aenaid, Virgil had placed the emphasis on the impor-
tance of moderation and a judging of values and loyalties. He had al-
ways considered the future of the race before the present concerns of an
individual. He had condemned revenge when it was detrimental to the group.
And throughout it all, Aeneas had been his apostle for these beliefs. In
the end, this same Aeneas, deaf to the plea of pity and filial loyalty,
Dauni miserare senectae and the plea for moderation, ulterius ne tende
odisse, this Aeneas betrayed Virgil. In his final purge, Aeneas let Vir-
gil down. This last passage shows Virgil unmasked. It shows his sadness in the realization that in the crisis, even the pious Aeneas and all whom he represents, are more often moved by emotion than by reason. It shows his sorrow at the wrongs which loyalty can provoke. It gives his final plea to all, and particularly Augustus to place personal ambition and glory second to the real loyalty to the real patria.

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