AENEAS

The angry crescendo of the tempest directs our attention to Aeneas with that sudden jolt found by Richard Heinze to be a favorite artistic device of Vergil: “Extemplo Aeneae sol-vuntur frigore membra” (1.92). He “enters with almost a fainting fit” (Saint-Beuve) and cries out in mortal fear:

How fortunate were you, thrice fortunate and more, whose luck it was to die under the high walls of Troy before your parents’ eyes! Ah, Diomede, most valiant of Greeks, why did your arm not strike me down and give my spirit freedom in death on the battlefields of Ilium, where lie the mighty Sarpedon, and Hector the manslayer, pierced by Achilles’ lance, and where Simois rolls down submerged beneath his stream those countless shields and helms and all those valiant dead!

1.94:

O terque quaterque beati,
Quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
Contigit oppetere! O Danaum fortissime genis
Tydide! Mene Iliacis occumbere campis
Non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
Saevus ubi Aecidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens

Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
Scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit?

This is a transformation of Odysseus’ words (Ody. 5.306) : “Three times happy are the Danaans and four times who fell on the broad plains of Troy, in loyalty to the house of Atreus. If only I had died and met my destiny on the day when so many Trojans hurled their bronze spears against me over the dead son of Peleus. At least I would have been buried with all honor and the Achaeans would spread my name far and wide. But as it is I seem fated to die a sad death.” But is it really no more than a quotation from Homer?

Odysseus grieves because he must forego glory and burial honors; he does not mention love. Aeneas’ wish to have died “ante ora patrum” expresses not only longing for glory but also for love and warmth of home. The thought that the presence of loved ones blunts the sting of death, is a common motif in the Aeneid. Thus, Dido’s death agony is eased by her sister’s presence and by the gesture of release with which Juno sends Iris to shorten her suffering. The dying Camilla is assisted by her fellow-in-arms, Acca, before Diana carries her off. We hear of Aeneas’ compassion for Palinurus and of Nisus sacrificing himself for Euryalus. Likewise, the battle death of Pallas and Lausus is relieved through Aeneas’ mourning. Turnus and Mezentius die alone but with thoughts of those they love. Even the dead of Actium and the doomed Cleopatra are lovingly received by the god of the river Nile (VIII.711). That is the kind of death for which Aeneas has wished. Moreover, while Odysseus remembers only his own peril before Troy, Aeneas mentions the end of the great Trojan heroes, Hector and Sarpedon, and all the corpses which Simois turns over and over. Thus his ties with the dead comrades of his old home are clearly seen.

He appears as a man of memory and of inner vision. In the extremity of death and suffering the grief burning in his heart breaks out. His speech not only expresses his mortal fear, but
also serves to express his character. It allows one a glimpse of his heart and of a basic motif of the poem. This is Virgil's own experience of what it means to be exiled from home, an experience that he had already expressed so movingly in the first Eclogue. The sorrowfully pathetic image which climaxes and ends his speech (Homer has no such climax), although inspired by Homer (Iliad 21.301), fits the storm at sea as perfectly as if invented especially for it. Shortly afterward the sad destructiveness of the storm is described with a similar image:

I.119:

Arma virum tabulaeque et Troia gaza per undas

This is an echo of the "correpta sub undis scuta virum." And in it the struggle for a homogeneity of imagery and unity of key is clearly visible. The monologue of despair surpasses Homer both in form and content of feeling. By means of its inner correlation to the tempest imagery, it has become more ingenious and somehow deeper and more gentle, but less "natural" than its simple-ending Odyssean counterpart. "I, however, was destined to die a sad death." This loss of natural simplicity is the price paid for perfection of the classical form. The richer, more significant content and riper artistry could not be reconciled with Homer's simple strength.

The sorrowful memory of Troy, emphasized in Aeneas' first words, is a recurring leitmotif in the first third of the Aeneid. It recurs in the hero's speech to Venus (I.372: "Odea si prima repetens ab origine pergamt") and in his concentration on the Trojan War reliefs in Juno's temple in Carthage; it expands as the great narrative of the city's fall (II), flares up in the meetings with Polydorus, Helenus, and Andromache (III), and reappears in the scene with Dido when Aeneas speaks once more of his longing for Troy (IV.430). Aeneas' close relationship to Hector, his predecessor as the Trojan leader, is also repeatedly revealed in these books, first in the description of the relief in which the particular importance of Hector's fate is emphasized in being set apart; again when Hector approaches the dreaming Aeneas in a decisive moment during Troy's last night (II.270 ff.); then in the pathetic image of Andromache mourning over Hector's ashes (III.302 ff.). Hector's personality is later conjured up in Aeneas' legacy to Ascanius, just before the decisive duel with Turnus:

But when in due time your own age ripens to maturity, it will be for you to see to it that you do not forget, but recall in your thought the examples set you by your kindred. Your father is Aeneas and your uncle was Hector. Let that be your inspiration.

XII.438:

Tu facito mox cum matura adoleverit aetas
Sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
Et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector.

Troy has gone, but Aeneas preserves its image and its heroes' glory, just as he saves its gods. His strength for founding a new Troy springs from a loving memory. Aeneas is the symbol of the mood existing between collapse and salvation, the chaos of civil war and the advent of Augustan peace.

The Trojan "Iliad" in the first third of the Aeneid, inserted in the Carthaginian events as reminiscent narrative and an "unspeakable," heavy burden upon the hero's soul, is counterpart to the Italian "Iliad" in the last third. This balanced way in which the Greco-Trojan past and the Roman future are incorporated into the poem is another example of the classical feeling for symmetry: the correlated parts are equated in form as well as content. The form is expression of organized thought.

The middle third contains, as it were, the hero's emancipation from the burden of the past. We are told how he leaves the "animos nil magnae laudis egentis" in Sicily under the
role of Acestes and founds a second Ilium for them (V). Then, after a final irresolution (V.700 ff.) he turns decisively to his new task. The revelation granted him in the underworld completely fills him with the consciousness of his new mission. The thought of Troy, which has occupied his heart so far, is replaced. Memory becomes hope; retrospective longing for Troy gives way to a visionary longing for Rome. He turns from his ancestors to his descendants. The poem rising from “Troiae ab oris” in the first verse to “alae moenia Romae” in the last verse has clearly emphasized the beginning and the end of the way. Rome is the last word of the poem because it is the inner goal of the epic and the main theme of the poem. Even the arrangement of words points out what is important. The “historical” attitude of Aeneas expresses the moral change in Vergil’s world and its difference from that of Homer’s. Unlike Homer’s heroes, the figure of Aeneas simultaneously comprises past, present, and future. Even in mortal extremity the past is with him: his actions spring from memory and hope. He is under the responsibility of history: “Atriollitique umero familique et fata nepotum.” We might add: “atque maiorum.” In the Aeneid, we see for the first time the tragedy of man suffering from historical fate. The hero is never allowed to belong completely to the moment. If and when, as in Carthage, he seems to be caught up in the moment, a god reminds him of his duty.

In the Homeric man the sensual present is supreme. The past may appear as memory and paradigm, the future as a fleeting glimpse, and sometimes—as in Homer’s most tragic figure, Achilles—the knowledge of tragic destiny overwhelms the present. Sometimes, as in Zeus’s speech to Achilles’ horses, words expressing the poet’s awareness of human tragedy are put into a god’s mouth. But even though Homer’s heroes feel sorrow as keenly as Aeneas does, they appear to forget it more easily. Aeneas’ sorrow is never forgotten; it is always ready to break forth from the bottom of his heart. Homeric heroes are not so constantly overshadowed by their melancholies. It is true that the Odyssean figures are subject to some secret longing which brings the soul to light, for when the soul’s light falls on the senses, the present fades. In the Odyssey we see a shift in emphasis on the importance of the moment and that of the soul. Still, the soul is in absentia for long periods. In contrast to the Aeneas of the book of wanderings, Homer’s Odysseus, in relating his adventures, is completely enmeshed by current events, and his longing, when it emerges, is confined to the small area of his individual life. It is easy to imagine what Vergil would have done with the subject matter of the Odyssey—how he would have enhanced the inner life of the soul and the impact of history and decreased the importance of the sensual present.

Past and future in Homer never extend to such psychological depths and historical distances. The scope of the Greek epic falls short of the scope of the Roman Aeneid. It was the Roman poet, Vergil, who discovered the grievous burden of history and its vital meaning. He was the first to perceive deeply the cost of historical greatness; Jacob Burckhardt much later restated the same insight. Aeneas’ attitude comes from a superior historical consciousness, developed by the Romans beyond that of the Greeks, and from the characteristic Roman feeling for time insofar as the present was evaluated as only a part of temporal totality and was always connected with historical past and future. In a deeper sense, past and future are always present inasmuch as they give weight and value to the moment.

Moreover, Aeneas’ attitude testifies to the Roman sense of duty which is in sharp contrast to the Greek sense of existence, for whatever the Homeric heroes do, they do in fulfillment of their nature rather than their duty. Aeneas, however, is a hero of duty, while Dido is a tragic heroine because she suffers from the guilty consciousness of her violated duty as does Turnus from the god-inflicted delusion on his.
\textit{Aeneid} would not be the ideal expression of \textit{res Romana} that it is, if the fulfillment of duty were not fundamental to its hero. The peculiar content of the modern concept of duty is a consequence of Roman morality. The early structures of family and state rest upon this concept and wherever it appears later, as in the Christian ethics of both Kant and Schiller, the influence of Roman thought is effective.\textsuperscript{10} This is one of the reasons Schiller felt so deeply attracted to Vergil.

To the hero, Aeneas, the memory of Troy and the hope for Rome are holy obligations, and in their fulfillment he displays \textit{pietas} which is nothing else but doing his duty to gods, country, ancestors, and descendants. "Duty" here, however, is not a response to the dictates of reason, but a response to love, and is without the harsh associations evoked by the word.

The "Homer quotation" of Aeneas' first words proves to be a farther-reaching transformation of its model than is immediately evident. The outer and inner structure of the \textit{Aeneid} transforms the simple thought of the \textit{Odyssey} into an integral part of itself. After these words, the storm grows more intense and the description of its ravages rises in two climactic peaks, and in comparison with the Homeric storms in the fifth and twelfth books of the \textit{Odyssey}, the accent shifts decidedly. First there is the sinking of the Lycian ship bearing "faithful Orontes"—an epithet which in itself shows the poet's compassion and some measure of the tragedy of Aeneas.\textsuperscript{11} In sharp contrast is the Homeric counterpart where Odysseus, himself and not the poet, describes the death of the pilot, his skull smashed by the mast so that he plunges into the sea "like a diver." He tells of the sad fate of his companions "dancing" like seagulls on the waves. He reports the death of his fellows with vivid accuracy but without visible emotional involvement.\textsuperscript{12} Even in a speech Homer is objective in viewpoint. Even in narrative Vergil remains subjective. Another climax comes in the words "\textit{Troiae gaza per undas}," which signify part of the tragedy within Aeneas—the loss of his keepsakes from Troy. They are important, too, in concluding the description proper of the tempest.

Here, then, are an inner and an outer climax: Aeneas' mortal fear increases and is yet surpassed by the feelings aroused in him at the loss of Orontes and the \textit{gaza Troiae}. Here, too, the final climax is the tragedy of Troy.

If Aeneas' first words show his \textit{pietas} above all, his comforting address to his companions after the rescue (198 ff.) reveals still another fundamental feature of his character—his \textit{magnitudo animi}.

\begin{quote}
We have forced our way through adventures of every kind, risking all again; but the way is the way to Latium, where Destiny offers us rest and a home, and where imperial Troy may have the right to live again. Hold hard, therefore. Preserve yourselves for better days.
\end{quote}

L.204:

\begin{quote}
Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
Tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas
Ostendunt: illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
Durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis.
\end{quote}

Vergil intensifies the impression of Aeneas' \textit{magnitudo animi} by showing it against the backdrop of his sorrow and grief:

\begin{quote}
He was sick at heart, for the cares which he bore were heavy indeed. Yet he concealed his sorrow deep within him, and his face looked confident and cheerful.
\end{quote}

L.208:

\begin{quote}
Curisque ingentibus aeger
Spem voltu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.
\end{quote}

This speech is considerably different from Odysseus' words to his comrades, which it recalls (12.208 ff.). Homer's Odysseus is a brave man, who in a perilous situation (between Scylla and Charybdis) gives intelligent and prudent orders. On the
other hand, Virgil's Aeneas is a great soul, pressing toward a magnificent goal. Like the first, the second speech culminates in the thought of Troy and its renascent empire to come. In this we see that Virgil differs from Homer in the monumentalization and transformation of something of specific importance into something of general importance; he removed epic reality from a too intimate contact with objective detail to weave the transparency of a larger scene.

Aeneas' first speeches reveal his basic character; they are inwardly and outwardly integral to the whole work because the poet concentrates completely on the essential and significant from the very beginning. However, this tendency to reveal basic traits of character and destiny upon the first appearance of an individual is also occasionally noticeable in Homer's much more loosely composed epic. It is seen, for example, in the sixth book of the Iliad, when Hector, failing to find Andromache at home, hears that she is neither with her family nor in the temple of Athena; on learning that the Trojans are being defeated and that the Achaeans' power is growing stronger, she has gone to the great tower of Ilium. In her gesture of madly rushing to the wall, with the nurse carrying the child, her gentle and passionate soul is given expression. The poet need say nothing of her love, for the gesture expresses it better than words could. This is our introduction to Andromache! The scene simultaneously intimates Hector's destiny, for on a deeper level of understanding, Andromache's concern is revealed as tragic premonition.

The connection is not so obvious with the other characters in the Iliad, though their first appearance is characteristic. The manner in which Agamemnon screams at Chryses points up his violent and selfish nature, and Thetis instantly shows herself as a loving mother when in response to Achilles' prayer she rises like mist from the sea to caress her son. In his censure of Paris, Hector proves himself an unyielding defender of his people's honor and their true leader. In this expression of long-suppressed resentment he uncovers his passionate nature. But the connection with the development of the story is not so definite. The strict integration of detail with the whole, of words and gestures with character, of character with destiny, of destiny with the structure of the plot—all essentials in the Aeneid—are less well developed in the Iliad. So there is less immediacy in the establishment of the principle of classical composition, according to which each part receives its true importance only through its relation to the whole. The introduction of a course of events is more leisurely, so there is more opportunity for involvement with each character.

The situation in the Odyssey is somewhat different, and this fact must not be ignored in a criticism of the two epics. There, the initial entrance of the main figures is fashioned with great care and harmonious variation around one idea—the longing for the hero's return and the grief over his absence. In an unforgettable picture, Odysseus appears looking tearfully out on the rushing sea. Unable to bear her grief, Penelope descends from her suite to make the minstrel stop singing of the Achaeans' return. At the approach of Athena in the guise of Mentor, Telemachus looks at the gate because in his mind's eye he sees his father coming to chase away the plague of suitors. Eumaios, after driving off the dogs which threaten the stranger, begins immediately to speak of his grief for his absent master. Each one is occupied by a single great feeling of longing which is the main content of his life.

Let us now return to the trials of Aeneas. The basic forces in Aeneas' soul, respect for duty, firmness of resolution, and human feeling appear in the decisive moment of the Dido crisis. The climax of the fourth book of the Aeneid comes after Queen Dido's plea to Aeneas to change his cruel decision to leave her:

He, remembering Jupiter's warning, held his eyes steady, and strained to master the agony within him.
Ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat
Lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.

The expression "obnixus curam," etc., is very similar to "premit altum corde dolorem" (I.209), except that more emphasis is given to the magnitude of effort. However, it is not so much the passion of his love that moves Aeneas, as is assumed by modern interpretation, for Vergil has treated this feeling with the greatest reserve. Rather, he is moved by compassion for Dido's grief. And this compassion, heightened by love, is a manifestation of humanitas, which, according to the command of the gods, is suppressed. Aeneas' painful resignation is not a renunciation of love, then, but a response to the gods' prohibition. He is not permitted to relieve the grieving queen, but is forced by his religious duty to gods and progeny to neglect his human duty to Dido. He suffers more because of the sorrow for others than because of his own misfortune. His concern to protect those near to him from grief and pain never slackens. This protective feeling finds its most beautiful expression in the Iliuperis:

And now, though up till then I had remained quite unafflicted by any weapons or even the sight of Greeks charging towards me, I myself was now ready to be frightened at a breath of wind and started at the slightest sound, so nervous was I, and so fearful alike for the load on my back and the companion at my side.

II.726:
Et me quem dudum non ulta iniecta movebant
Tela neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Grai,
Nunc omnes terrent aurae, sonus excitat omnis
Suspensum et pariter comitique onerique timentem.

When Dido, upon being refused, hurls her curse at the hero and is carried into the marble chamber by her maids, the same sorrowful determination is found in heightened form:

Meanwhile Aeneas the True longed to allay her grief and dispel her sufferings with kind words. Yet he remained obedient to the divine command, and with many a sigh, for he was shaken to the depths by the strength of his love, returned to his ships.

IV.393:
At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
Solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
Multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore,
Iussa tamen divom exsequitur.

Even more intensified, the motif returns for the third time following Anna's final attempt to change the departing hero's mind. Here, Aeneas' inner struggle is given mighty expression in the oak simile. This simile, symbol of Aeneas' heroic manner, is closely related to that inner strength so prized by the Stoics. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Seneca compares the wise man to a storm-buffeted tree—perhaps with the Aeneid in mind:

Like a strong oak-tree toughened by the years when northern winds from the Alps vie together to tear it from the soil, with their blasts striking on it now this side and now that; creaking, the trunk shakes, and leaves from on high strew the ground; yet still the tree grips among the rocks below, for its roots stretch as far down towards the abyss as its crest reaches up to the airs of heaven. Like that tree, the hero was battered this side and that by their insistent pleas, and deeply his brave heart grieved, but without effect.

IV.441:
Ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum
Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illine
Eruere inter se certant, it stridor et altae
Constringunt terram concusso stipite frondes,
Ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras
Aetherias tantum radice in Tartara tendit:
Haud secus adsiduus hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
Tunditur et magno persentit pectore curas,
Mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.

The *lacrimae inanes* are the tears which Aeneas sheds in vain; they have no effect on his unshakable resolution. In contrast to all modern commentators, Augustine and Servius have interpreted this passage correctly. To make these the tears of Anna or Dido would be to weaken the impact considerably, for the emphasis is not so much on the contest between Aeneas and Anna as on the hero’s divided heart and his painful resignation. The meaning of this simile, then, can be understood only as an image of this inner struggle or as an expression of the bitter contest between hard and fast resolution and his human heart. Once the overpowering nature of this battle is understood, no other interpretation is acceptable. The bold inner antithesis is much to be preferred to the lame outer one. The oak suffers, too, as is indicated by its groaning and the image “altae consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes.” As Servius has observed (“frondes sicut lacrimae Aeneae”), there is a distinct inner relation between Aeneas’ tears and the leaves shed by the tree, for there are fewer superfluous features in Vergil’s similes than in Homer’s. Here, the essence of the simile is “suffering.” The oak is similar to the fallen mountain ash which symbolizes the fall of Troy in the *Iliopis*. There too the simile, quite un-Homerically, does not illustrate an event, but expounds a destiny. The suffering of the tree—its “tragedy”—is the main thing:

Like an ancient rowan tree high up among the mountains, which, hacked with stroke after stroke of iron axes by farmers ying all round to dislodge it, begins to tremble and continues threatening while the crest shakes and the high boughs sway, till gradually vanquished it gives a final groan, and at last overcome by the wounds and wrenched from its place it trails havoc down the mountain-side.

II.626:
Ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornun
Cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennisus instant
Erure agricola certatim; illa usque minatur
Et tremexacta comam concusso vertice nutat,
Vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum
Congemuit traxitque iugis avolsa ruinam.

Hercules, too, conquers his grief at the death of Pallas and yet sheds *lacrimas inanes*:

Hercules heard the young man’s prayer. Deep in his heart he repressed a heavy sigh; and his tears streamed helplessly.

X.464:
Audiit Alcides iuvenem magnumque sub imo
Corde premit gemitum lacrimasque effudit inanes.

The inner relation of these passages is another proof that it is Aeneas who weeps—not Anna. Thus, the allegory of his sublime grandeur that concludes an important section of the fourth book ends with an antithesis which once more points out the strength of his resolution and the sorrow in his heart. It is worthwhile noting that this scene concludes with tears. The hero’s humanity is stressed at a moment when he could easily seem cruel. On the whole, the contrast between Aeneas’ coolness and Dido’s ardor is the original tragic contrast between man and woman as it has been shaped in modern art, by say, Heine and Boecklin. The relation of the Aeneas-Dido antithesis to that between Jupiter and Juno has been mentioned earlier.

Here, a simile signifies the sorrowful resolution of the hero; at the beginning of the fifth book a symbolic gesture does the same thing:

Aeneas and his fleet were now far out to sea. He set course resolutely and ploughed through waves ruffled to black by a northerly wind. As he sailed he looked
back to walled Carthage, now aglow with tragic Dido’s flames.

V.1:

Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
Certus iter fluctusque atros aquilone secabat
Moenia respiciens, quae iam infeliciis Elissae
Conlucet flammis.

Steadfastly, he follows his course in spite of storm and the memory of Dido (clearly reflected in the words “moenia respiciens”). He does so in spite of the glow of the funeral pyre the flames of which awaken dark premonitions in the hearts of the Trojans. Servius’ explanation: “certus: indubitabiliter pergens, id est itineris sui certus,” approved by Heyne and rejected by Wagner, is basically correct. Although certus refers immediately to the straight course of the fleet, the straight course, itself, symbolizes the hero’s firm determination. We are dealing here with an example of the language of symbolic gesture, where a gesture reflects an inner attitude. No doubt the metaphor of the “ship of life” (and “state”), familiar to Greek thought and to Mediterranean eyes, influenced this passage. There is also a metaphorical tie between “wind” and “destiny,” a frequent notion in antiquity occurring several times in the Aeneid. As it is a characteristic of art to create large transparent complexities behind single details, the poetic symbol is meant to disclose such general “philosophical” perspectives. The disparity among commentators in deciding between the visible route and the inner determination, is the result of the misjudgment of the symbolic character of poetic expression which, of course, encompassed both.

Within the above-mentioned metaphors, however, is the great idea that Aeneas’ journey and the whole poem are a simile of the life of man. Even in antiquity the Odyssey was so interpreted. Of course, there is no question of applying the simplified form of allegorical-philosophical interpretation exemplified, say, by the well-known epistle of Horace (I.2), but there can be no doubt that Vergil was well acquainted with it and that the Aeneid is a simile in this sense, too.

Aeneas’ firmness in the midst of trouble and confusion is shown in other symbolic gestures. Recall the words following the death of Palinurus at the end of the fifth book:

Therefore he steered her himself through the midnight waves with many a sigh, for he was deeply shocked by the disaster to his friend.

V.868:

Ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis,
Multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici.

Here, again, the symbolic meaning of the sea voyage appears. There is sublime simplicity and transparent beauty in image and expression. Another example is the beginning of the eleventh book, which in composition of the whole corresponds to the beginning of the fifth:

The morrow’s rising dawn had emerged from the ocean. Aeneas, deeply burdened as he was by thoughts of death, would naturally have preferred to devote his time to giving his comrades burial. But instead at first light from the east he started to fulfill his vows to the gods in return for his victory.

XI.1:

Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit,
Aeneas, quamquam et sociis dare tempus humanis
Praecipitut curae turbataque funere mens est,
Vota deum primo victor solvebat Eoo.

Compare the pathetically determined and restrained gesture “nec plura effatus” with which he turns back from the corpse of Pallas to the camp:
After the whole procession had gone on far ahead, Aeneas halted, and with a heavy sigh spoke again: 'We are called hence to other tears by this same grim destiny of war. Pallas, great hero, I bid you forever hail, and forever farewell.' Saying no more he moved off towards his own high defence-works and walked back into his camp.

XI.94:
Postquam omnis longe comitum praecesserat ordo,  
Substitit Aeneas gemitque haec edidit alto:  
Nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida bellii  
Fata vocant. Salve aeternum mihi, maxume Palla,  
Aeternumque vale. Nec plura effatus ad altos  
Tendebat muros gressumque in castra ferebat.

Here one senses how deeply the poet is affected by the bitterness of war; beneath Aeneas' grief for Pallas flashes a greater tragedy of which his friend's death is only one instance symbolizing the long procession of dead to follow him—the “other tears ...” In such moments Aeneas is the personification of the feeling of tragedy which is basic to the poem. It is true that all figures created by the poet represent dialectical possibilities of his own soul, but Aeneas represents the innermost core. Vergil's “psychography” may be drawn from Aeneas' personality. The sensitivity to tragedy which characterizes the hero is the same sensitivity with which the poet himself looks at the world and life. It is the compassionate eye with which the Vergilian gods regard the fighting:

In Jupiter's palace the gods pitied the pointless fury of both sides, sad that men doomed in any case to die, should suffer ordeals so terrible.

X.758 ff.:
Di Iovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem  
Amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores . . .

Their is the astonished sorrow to which Vergil gives voice at the beginning: "Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?" It breaks forth again and again from Aeneas—and from him alone. We hear it in the woeful exclamation: "Heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant?” (VIII.537). Or, most nearly related in content to the first question, in the hero's words to the Latins when they ask for a truce to bury their dead:

Ah, Latins, how unjustly and unhappily you have been involved in this terrible war which leads you to shrink from friendship with us! . . .

XI.108:
Quaenam vos tanto fortuna indigna, Latini,  
Implicitu bello, qui nos fugiatis amicos . . .

It finds its highest form in Aeneas' journey through the underworld, since this journey is a symbol of Vergil's experience of the tragedy of life. The guilt, atonement, and suffering he encounters there awaken in him tragically compassionate sorrow—the same enormous sympathy characteristic of his actions and sufferings elsewhere and explicitly stated in the case of Dido:

Aeneas was shocked by her unjust fate; and as she went long gazed after her with tearful eyes and pity for her in his heart.

VI.475:
Nec minus Aeneas casu concussus iniquo  
Prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem.

This compassion is the most pathetic when he sees the souls along the river Lethe "drink the waters which abolish care and give enduring release from memory" in order to return to the world:

Oh, Father, am I therefore to believe that of those souls some go, soaring hence, up to the world beneath our sky and return once more into dreary matter? Why should the poor souls so perversely desire the light of our day?
VI.719:
O pater, aniquas ad caelum hine ire putandum est
Sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reverti
Corpora? Quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?

It seems rather like a palinode on Achilles' lament in the Odyssey. Achilles would prefer being a hired hand of the poorest man to being a king in the shadowy world of the dead. This is the same Platonism as that of Cicero in the Somnium Scipionis. In both cases the soul acquainted with grief finds comfort in expressing its sorrow. Why these passages spoke so eloquently to the hearts of coming generations, filled as they were with an ever-growing longing for redemption, is plain.

Aeneas, measuring his own fate against the better fortune of others, similarly perceived its tragic quality:

How fortunate were you, thrice fortunate and more,
whose luck it was to die under the high walls of Troy
before your parents' eyes!

I.94:
O terque quaterque beati
Quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
Contigit oppetere.

Aeneas looked up at the buildings. 'Ah, fortunate people,' he exclaimed, 'for your city-walls are already rising!'

I.437:
O fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt,
Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis.

Live, and prosper, for all your adventures are past. We are called ever onward from destiny to destiny. For you, your rest is won. You have no expanse of sea to plough, no land of Italy, seeming always to recede before you, as your quest.

III.493 ff.:
Vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta
Iam sua, nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamus.
Vobis parta quies, nullum maris aequor arandum
Arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro
Quae renda.

'From me, my son,' he said, 'you may learn what is valour and what is strenuous toil; as for what good fortune is, others must teach you that.'

XII.435:
Disce puer virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
Fortunam ex alis.

No matter how often sorrow overwhelms his sensitive heart, he shows heroism by passing through it, by "leading his life through all extremities" (III.315: "vivo equidem vitamque extrema per omnia duco"), mastering inner torment (premit altem corde dolorem), and yielding to destiny in noble resignation. Thus, he illustrates what Schopenhauer expected of poetry: the power to save us from sentimentality and to raise us to resignation. The grief that Aeneas bears and conquers is, I repeat, less sorrow for his own lost or denied happiness than sympathy and compassion for others who must suffer bitterly for the sake of the command laid on him by destiny. Homer's heroes suffer through "love of self" in the high Aristotelian sense. And Vergil's other protagonists, Dido and Turnus, suffer in a similar way; but Aeneas suffers for the sake of others. A new humanity announcing the Christian philosophy bursts forth from him. He prefigures the Christian hero, whose heart remains gentle through struggle and sorrow and beats in secret sympathy with all suffering creatures.

Vergil also reshaped the idea of duty, which, always a primary element of Roman ethics, is a decisive factor in Aeneas' behavior. In infusing it with deep humanity, he
brought it close to the Christian idea of charity and solidarity. This is one of the main reasons why Vergil became a mediator between the antique Roman world and medieval Christianity.

It follows, therefore, from this line of thought that the "Stoic" interpretation of Aeneas, as proposed by Heinz, cannot be correct—at least not if the concept is accepted in its strict sense. The hero experiences sorrow, especially spiritual sorrow, to the utmost. It is always his moral goal to do what is necessary in spite of his great sensitivity and never to make himself insensitive. It is precisely because of this that he affects us as a tragic hero. It enhances the impression of his will power, for it is necessary that he have heroic spiritual strength in order to conquer the sorrows of which he is acutely aware. Vergil widens the distance between the longing in Aeneas' sensitive heart and the harsh demands of destiny, while the Stoic doctrine, on the contrary,hardens and silences the heart with overpowering reason. Although it is true that Aeneas is the noble sorrow of compassion, it must be remembered that the Stoa did not allow the wise man even this feeling.

Far from aspiring to ataraxia, Aeneas strives to deny sorrow's influence upon his actions rather than to obliterate it through reason. Here, the affinity to Christianity is unmistakable, for in the depth of his being he turns toward his sorrow rather than away from it. True, St. Augustine is right, as pointed out earlier, in claiming that the verse "mens immota manet: lacrimate volvuntur inanes" is an example of Ciceronian and Middle Stoic thought, according to which there is no difference between Peripatetic and Stoic attitudes toward suffering. But this applies only to the Middle Stoa of Panaitios which was bent on lessening the contrasts between the schools in favor of a middle way. It does not apply to the strict Stoa; the sorrow of Aeneas could not pass its censure. His "stoic" attitude toward the wound (XII.398), his apparent insensibility in the face both of physical pain and the sympathy of his comrades (characteristically emphasized more) is the result of his indignation at the Latins' breach of contract, as is his impetuous rage to meet Turnus in battle. The violation of the truce changes him into an angry warrior, dead-set upon merciless destruction of his opponent to satisfy the demand of "debellare superbos." Outraged justice obliterates any other consideration. Here and only here, he is called "avidus pugnae" (XII.430).

Seen in this way, Aeneas' attitude toward pain is by no means "stoic." Rather, perhaps, his perception of destiny as a school of suffering can be interpreted as "stoic." He opposes the wild prophecy of the Cumaean sibyl concerning the bloody battles awaiting the Trojans, with the words:

Maid, no aspect of tribulation which is new to me or unforeseen can rise before me, for I have traced my way through all that may happen in the anticipation of my inward thought.

VI.103:

Non ulla laborum,
O virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit;
Omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi.

The words and his serene attitude form a wonderful contrast with the furor of the priestess. Norden has noted the parallels in his commentary. Elsewhere, too, Aeneas' attitude toward fate may be considered as related to that of the Stoics, for example:

Instead, my own valor, holy oracles from gods, my kinship between your father and mine, and your own renown throughout the world have all joined me to you and brought me here in willing obedience to my destiny.

VIII.131:

Sed mea me virtus et sancta oracula divom
Cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama
Coniunxere tibi et fatis egere volentem.
But there is not always inner acquiescence to fate in Aeneas.

IV.361:
\[\text{Italiam non sponte sequor.}\]

VI.460:
\[\text{Invitus regina tuo de litore cessi,}
   \text{Sed me iussa deum... imperiis egere suis.}\]

When, after the burning of the ships, Aeneas, "casu concussus iniquo" (a recurring phrase no less characteristic of his justice than his humanity), is wavering again, the old Nautes reminds him of the claim of the Stoic attitude:

Son of the Goddess, we should accept the lead which Destiny offers us, whether to go forward or not, and choose our way accordingly. Whatever is to befall, it is always our own power of endurance which must give us control over our fortune.

V.709:
\[\text{Nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;}
   \text{Quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.}\]

And in Aeneas' last words to Ascanius the poet restates, as it were, the hero's testament by foretelling the dark doom which will threaten him after Turnus' death:

\[\text{From me, my son, he said, you may learn what is valor}
   \text{and what is strenuous toil; as for what good fortune is,}
   \text{others must teach you that.}\]

XII.435:
\[\text{Disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,}
   \text{Fortunam ex aliis.}\]

There is no trace of the gladiatorial challenge and "ostentatio" toward fate, the most impressive form of which can perhaps be found in Seneca's De Providentia. That he should hate to have his son inherit his fortuna—his grievous destiny—shows not only his love for Ascanius, but also a sorrowful pity for his own and other people's sorrow which is anything but Stoic. And in spite of individual points of resemblance, Aeneas' attitude toward fate cannot be called "stoic" without reservations.

That poetic and philosophic perception of fate can never completely coincide was persuasively pointed out by Grillparzer in his essay on fate—and this should be remembered. These concepts are fundamentally different forms of the understanding of reality. It is true that the poetic world can partake of the philosophic world, but it can never be completely absorbed by it or identical with it. The poetic world obeys other laws. What Goethe wrote to Schiller apropos of his conversation with Schelling is of general significance: (In me) "philosophy destroys poetry." The ideal of a Stoic sage could never appear in a poem in its pure form without destroying its poetic character. For the rest, strict Stoicism cannot be expected of Vergil since it would contradict the spirit of the age. Cicero, the herald of the Augustan consciousness, had followed Panaetius in Hellenizing and humanizing the Stoa. The later Roman Stoa likewise did not adhere to strict doctrine. Seneca, himself, of whose attitude the above-mentioned De Providentia is by no means characteristic, is on the whole far removed from old Stoic rigidity and extremism. He is dedicated to a humane, liberal point of view which is continued later in the mild Stoicism of Marcus Aurelius.

The character of Aeneas is determined by an amalgamation of several traits: Homeric heroism, early Roman Stoic "magnitudo animi," and Vergilio-Augustan "humanitas" combined into a new whole. Should the "stoic" component prevail, the harmony of this vision of man would disappear. The proud sensitivity as well as the greatness of both Aeneas and Dido rests on the tension between "magnitudo animi" and "humanitas." Any interpretation that emphasizes either the stoic heroism in Aeneas' character or his sensitivity to
the exclusion of the other, is false. It is also false to see him as too hard or too soft, too stoically Roman or too much like a modern Christian. And there is an analogous situation for Dido. In Vergil there is both the granite of ancient Roman grandeur and the delicate bloom of humanity opening upon a new dimension of the soul and destined to have a decisive influence on developing Christianity.

In this connection one more problem deserves discussion: the hero Aeneas' "character development." Heinz has attempted to state such a development. From the despair attending the tempest and the depression expressed in the monologue: "O terque quaterque beati" and the address "O socii . . .," Aeneas grows in steadfastness and stature. In the beginning, according to Heinz, he fails to personify the Stoic ideal, but finally reaches it in the course of his inner development. I do not believe that the modern concept of character development applies here. It is true that the stature of the hero grows with the situations according to the law of the intensification which governs the poem. This is true in the sense that the hero’s character proves itself on an ever-enlarging level and that his inner strength increases with the gradual revelation of his mission. It is not true, however, in the sense of a progressive approximation to the ideal Stoic sage, nor in the sense of an inner development, the psychology of which would not have attracted the Homerizing poet. His character, or that which is the mark of his existence, remains unchanged; the conflict of heroic fulfillment of duty with human sensitivity that determines the shape of his existence pervades the whole poem. It is evident in the first scenes and can be followed to the last verses where he hesitates between killing and pardoning Turnus.

Moreover, the address must not be seen as expressing a lack of wisdom or incomplete self-discipline or faltering faith in God. On the contrary, the determination in these words is all the more admirable when we see that beneath them lies doubt and even despair. He is even here, as the sibyl will later ask him to be, "audientior quam eius fortuna situm." Still, it is true that he passes through much suffering. Perhaps the formula "Vivo equidem vitamque extrema per omnia ducor" best describes his condition. His potentiality for experiencing sorrow grows with the realization of the greatness of his task. The difference between the Aeneas of the last third of the poem and that of the first third lies not in his greater courage but in his greater experience and in his being more deeply pervaded by Roman attitudes. The sixth to eighth books contain the essential kernel of the poem in that the hero meets Rome physically and spiritually. In the sixth book he finds the Roman idea; in the seventh and eighth books he meets the Roman soil and landscape, the Roman cult and the Αὐτοκάταρτος of the Roman style of living. Moreover, these books contain religious and political-historical revelations which give a necessary importance and a significant frame to his actions. In the sixth book Aeneas is not only introduced to the tragic fate of this world and the solution and atonement to come in the world hereafter, but also to the order of this world and the course and meaning of Roman history. The eighth book also contains a lesson in that the straightforward simplicity of the old Roman morality is given to Aeneas as a model to be followed. In introducing the guest into his house, Evander formulates the "moral" of the book:

Hercules himself in the hour of victory bowed his head to enter this door. This royal dwelling was not too small to contain even him. Guest of mine, be strong to scorn wealth and so mold yourself that you also may be fit for a God’s converse. Be not exacting as you enter a poor home.

VIII.362:

... haec, inquit, limina victor
Alcides subit, haec illum regia cepit.
In the eyes of his enemies, the Trojan king, Aeneas, was a rich Asiatic prince who had yielded to Punic luxury and was tainted with oriental effeminacy. Remember Jarbas' prayer in which Aeneas, the "Paris with a retinue of eunuchs and his perfumed hair," is oriental effeminacy personified; and the anger of Turnus (XII.97) and the harsh words of Numanus that contrasted the old Italian duritia with the Phrygian desidia (IX.603 ff.). In Evander's house Aeneas is cleansed, as it were, of the odium of his Asiatic origin and imbued with Italo-Roman contempt for luxuria. In leaving the Oriental world and entering the Roman world, Aeneas becomes a Roman in his heart. This then is the deeper meaning of the eighth book as it concerns Aeneas' inner pilgrimage. And it follows convincingly that at the end of the book—in a prominent place, where the middle third of the poem ends—he should lift the shield of Vulcan whereon Roman history is shown as culminating in Augustus' victory and triumph: "Lifting the glory and destiny of the grandsons upon his shoulders." The vicarious character of his sufferings and actions could not be expressed more earnestly. At last he has acquired the necessary maturity to bear the destiny of Rome. Symbols of the Roman mission and scenes in which he personifies Roman majesty mark the places in the last books in which his appearance is most powerful.

**DIDO**

As Aeneas the Dardan looked in wonder at these pictures of Troy, rapt and intent in concentration, for he had eyes only for them, the queen herself, Dido, in all her beauty, walked to the temple in state, closely attended by a numerous, youthful retinue. She was like Diana when she keeps her dancers dancing on the banks of Eurotas or along the slopes of Cynthus, with a thousand mountain nymphs following in bands on this side and on that; she is taller than all other goddesses, as with her quiver slung from her shoulder she steps on her way, and a joy beyond words steals into Latona's heart. Like her was Dido, and like her she walked happily with the throng around her, intent on hastening the work for her future realm. And then facing the Goddess's doorway, under her temple dome, with her armed guards about her, she took her seat in the center on a raised throne.

I.494:

Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda videntur,
Dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno,
Regina ad templum forma pulcherrima Dido
Incessit magna iuvenem stipante caterva,
Qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
Exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades, illa pharetram
Fert umero gradissque deas supereminet omnis,
Latonae tacitu pertemptant gaudia pectus:
Talis erat Dido, talem se laeta ferebat
Per medios instans operi regnisque futuris.
Tum foribus divae media testudine templi
Saepta armis solioque alte subnixa resedit.

The dark drama of Dido begins with a happy scene. This contrast according to the rules of classical composition adds emphasis to the tragic aspect of the poem. In the mind of the reader Dido's joy contrasts with her subsequent sorrow, her constant interest in the growth of Carthage with that city's destruction. Her destiny, like that of Sophocles' Oedipus, is accomplished in a tragic reversal. At the same time the brilliant opening scene indicates an important start in the same way a clear full melody would. Vergil knew how to heighten the beginning and end of a sequence of action through imagery and how thereby to increase the inner movement.