WAR AND PEACE
IN
VERGIL'S THOUGHT

BY

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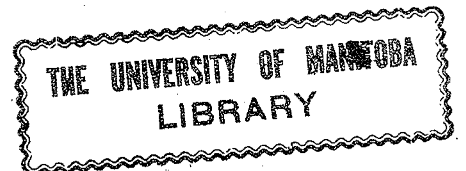

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CHAPTER 1

EFFECTS OF WAR UPON VERGIL'S ENVIRONMENT

As Vergil's race and country may probably account for certain tendencies in the development of his poetry and for the personal expressions and reflections contained therein, it is fitting to commence a study of this kind with some comment on the country of his birth.

Vergil, like other poets of the first century B. C., came from the northern part of Italy, from the region usually known as Cisalpine Gaul. In effect this region comprises the valley of the Po. It was divided by this river, Vergil's "fluviorum rex Eridanus",[1] into Gallia Transpadana in the North, and Gallia Cispadana in the South. Cisalpine Gaul was distinguished from the rest of Italy by the remarkable fertility of its soil and by the extent of level ground suitable for cultivation.[2] "A vast level expanse 200 miles in length by 60 to 100 in breadth",[3] says Sandys. Tenney Frank gives its area as 33,200 square miles,[4] and Chilver as 40% of Italy.[5]

As a protection against the Gauls[6] and the invading army of Hannibal, Cisalpine Gaul was early colonized by Rome. In 218 B. C. Latin colonies of 6000 settlers each were founded at Placentia and Cremona.[7] During the Hannibalic war, Roman influence in the north was destroyed, but not for any length of time.[8] In 190 deputies from Cremona and Placentia voiced a complaint in the Senate that they were suffering from lack of colonists. Steps were immediately

taken to remedy the situation and it was decreed that these colonies should be re-inforced. Six thousand families were enrolled among them.[9] Throughout the second century B. C. Cisalpine Gaul was receiving immigrants from all parts of Italy and it is more than likely that Vergil's forebears were among these early colonists.[10] Chilver thinks that they may have come from Etruria or Liguria.[11] The suggestion that Vergil may have been of Etruscan blood gains some color from the poet's own description of Mantua as partly an Etruscan city.[12] Sturdy men these early immigrants were, of the real Italian stock before it was contaminated by the freedmen of Eastern extraction. The lofty ideals expressed in the Georgics and the exhilarating idealism of the Aeneid speak the true language of these people.[13]

The hundred years of war and bloodshed which followed the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus and ended with Actium in 31, and which shook Rome to its very foundations, did not leave Cisalpine Gaul unscathed. The general conditions resulting from war, together with the proscriptions and land confiscations in which each successive victor indulged affected the lives of the Italian people profoundly. Roughly the effects of the wars may be divided into two groups. First, economic, that is devastation of property, the ruin of the farmers, and general impoverishment of the population; and secondly, social and moral demoralization. The economic results were occasioned by various features, among which the following are probably the most outstanding: (1) military operations, (2) reprisals, (3) proscrip-

tions, (4) maintenance of armies in the field, (5) rewards for discharged soldiers, (6) growth of Imperialism.

During the hundred years of civil war, which include such wars as the Social War, the wars of Marius and Sulla, the Slave war, the wars of Julius Caesar and the battles in which Augustus took part, the military operations of the various generals extended throughout the greater part of Italy, not excepting the capital city, Rome. Naturally these military operations, together with the necessity of maintaining armies in the field, resulted in the devastation of much property with the consequent ruin of countless farmers and the impoverishment of the entire population. The loss of life, too, was enormous. Appius estimates it at 100,000 on each side for the Social war alone,[14] and Tenney Frank states that in the ten years of intermittent civil wars (90-80) at least half a million able-bodied Romans and Italians perished.[15]

The proscriptions added considerably to this loss of life and property. Although these followed every war in one form or another, the most outstanding were the Marian proscription, in which Marius, old and embittered, took his revenge like a raving madman;[16] the Sullan proscription, which has the reputation for having set the example for excellence of proscriptions, 4700 persons are said to have been proscribed;[17] and finally the famous proscription of the Triumvirs, which has been described as "one of the coldest deeds of cruelty in Roman history"[18] This time the proscription list contained the names of 300

senators and 2000 knights.[19] Speaking of this proscription one writer says: "Nights and days of unendurable horror followed; victims were cut down without mercy; terror ruled."[20] The 'Three' seemed to have determined that "there should be no clemency such as had ruined Caesar: with unflinching logic and on approved "Sullan" methods they would uproot all opposition."[21] The primary motive for the proscriptions of Sulla and the Triumvirs was the securing of money with which to reward their soldiers. The generals had gathered their legions only by lavish promises of money, and since they had none, they knew that they must at once get funds by confiscation, or their soldiers would desert them. Hence in drawing up their proscription lists, the wealth of the party in question was an important factor.[22]

Closely allied to the proscriptions and an important factor in the economic results of the wars, were the land confiscations in which both Sulla and the Triumvirs indulged lavishly. Sulla is said to have settled from 23-27 legions, comprising about 120,000 veterans, on lands taken from his enemies.[23] According to Frank this act of cruelty disturbed the whole economic machinery of Italy.[24] The colonization carried on by the Triumvirs was wholly of the Sullan type. The victors confiscated considerable land in Cisalpine Gaul in order to provide the promised land bonus to the 170,000 soldiers who were about to be demobilized.[25] Whole communities were brutally deprived of part or all their land. About eighteen cities,

believed to have opposed the Triumvirs were the principal victims.[26] Even loyalty to the Caesarian party was of no avail. The confiscation of the Cremonan district took place and when this proved insufficient, Mantua, Vergil's birthplace, shared its fate, the only reason apparently being its proximity to Cremona.[27] Vergil gives a vivid picture of the misery and distress resulting from this in his Eclogues 1 and 1X.

Among both contemporary and modern writers of this period there is some divergence of opinion as to the effect of the civil wars, with the ensueing proscriptions and confiscations, on economic conditions in general. Some insist that it occassioned the ruin of agriculture,[28] while others take a more lenient view.[29] That the immediate result was heartrending is beyond doubt. It has been estimated that about 100,000 tenants and slaves, in addition to landowners, were evicted and forced to find homes elsewhere, and that about a million acres of good arable land changed hands.[30] It stands to reason that this must have had a detrimental effect on agriculture, at least for a time. The land in the Po valley was very fertile and agricultural conditions were unusually healthy.[31] To replace the owners, experienced farmers who understood conditions and took pride in their work, with indifferent soldiers who merely wanted a place to live, would naturally have a disastrous result.[32] Appian

affirms that agriculture was ruined[33] and other contemporary writers emphasize the same condition brought about by the wholesale evictions of the triumvirs. However, most authorities agree that this was but a temporary condition, and that, on the whole, a fair agricultural prosperity seems to have continued despite the frequent disturbances. Frank says the whole fertile valley was a garden in Augustus' day.[34] Varro declared that no land is better cultivated than Italy where "every useful product grows to perfection.[35] Vergil, in the Georgics, also emphasizes the simple prosperity of the more modest farmer. It is likely that as time went on, the veterans, who generally preferred town to country life, sold their land and migrated to the towns.[36] Rostovtzeff states that many of the veterans belonged to that class of landowners who resided not on the land, but in the cities.[37] This brings up the question of large estates. Here again we meet conflicting views, but as the question is not very pertinent to the present topic, suffice it here to say that Frank believes that the veteran colonization checked the growth of large estates,[38] while Rostovtzeff takes the opposite view.[39]

The growth of imperialism may figure as an important effect of these wars. It had both a good and a bad side. Undoubtedly it gave the Romans the conception of a national mission and responsibility in the world, which was all to the good. Vergil, as the poet and prophet both of unified

Italy and imperial Rome, did much to arouse in the people a sense of the grandeur and greatness of their task. However, along with the gradual growth of imperialism came something else, something which history has proved to be an inevitable result of war, i.e. social and moral demoralization. After her great struggle with Carthage, Rome emerged as mistress of Italy, and a world power, but also with the loss, never entirely repaired, of her older and nobler traditions, of simplicity, patriotism, a high standard of honour, in brief, all that was meant by Roman virtue. The poison of wealth, the greed for exploitation of subject countries, the craving for amusement and the excitements of town life, crept into all classes of society. The century which passed between the destruction of Carthage and the dictatorship of Julius Caesar, while it witnessed the gradual growth of the idea of imperialism, at the same time was a record of immense material and territorial expansion, of corrupt and increasingly incapable government, of domestic dissensions and sanguinary civil wars.[40] The greater good of the father-land was too often forgotten in the selfish ambition of leaders, fratricidal strife and the personal revenge of victors.

During these years Roman control of Italy became increasingly oppressive. The Italian peoples were treated not as allies but as subjects. But under this pressure there arose the feeling of joint Italian nationality which

showed itself on both sides. At Rome there was an increasingly strong movement towards incorporation of Italy in the Roman Republic, and in Italy there was a growing tendency to shake off the Roman yoke and create an Italian nation out of the complex aggregation of tribes, communities, and municipalities which filled the peninsula. The Social war broke out. Its immediate object failed as after three years of desperate fighting Roman armies conquered. But in the course of the war, or at its conclusion in 89 B. C., Roman citizenship was given to all Italy south of the Po. The status of the north long remained anomalous. In 49 B. C. when Caesar crossed the Rubicon he conferred citizenship on the Transpadanes, but it was not until 42 B. C., the year of the battle of Philippi, that the whole region between the Alpes and the Apennines ceased to be technically a province.[41]

This region was of prime importance to Caesar as a recruiting ground[42] and supplied him with the flower of that famous army that conquered first Gaul and then the world. Here he came for men on each of the four occasions on which he raised new legions for his Gallic wars. After 49, when the Cisalpines were legally citizens, they were taken into his army wholesale. Indeed, it is said that his legions were mainly recruited from the "Transpadani." From this we may infer that many of those who fought in the civil wars must have come from Cisalpine Gaul and hence that a good number

of the colonists later settled in this region by the Triumvirs were but returning to the land of their birth.[43]

For ten years of the boyhood and youth of Vergil, Cisalpine Gaul was under the personal rule of Julius Caesar[44] and during his proconsulate he spent his winters in Transpadane Gaul, especially at Verona.[45] He seems to have endeared himself to the people and to have won their lasting support. Plutarch says "Great numbers came to him continually, always finding their requests answered; for he never failed to dismiss all with present pledges of his kindness in hand, and further hopes for the future."[46] In the splendid lines which record the eclipse of the sun and the mourning of all nature at the murder of the great man,[47] Vergil is doubtless expressing the sentiments of his countrymen as well as his own. No doubt they realized his ability as a soldier and were grateful for his interest in the provinces. He displayed a keen interest in agriculture,[48] and had he lived it is not unlikely that he would have developed for Cisalpine Gaul and the other provinces a broad economic program. Unlike Sulla before him, and the triumvirs after him, he confiscated no lands after his conquest of Gaul and seems to have been desirous of leaving it prosperous and well disposed, as if he foresaw that in time it would become an integral part of Rome.[49] Indeed, had Cisalpine Gaul not been drained of its sturdy youth by the civil wars,

and recolonized by the remnants of those wars, it is more than likely that it would have been Italy's mainstay throughout the empire.

Efforts to repair the disasters inflicted by the civil wars were made by both Julius Caesar and Augustus. In the short time given to him, Julius Caesar set up a definite program of reconstruction for Rome and Italy.[50] It is in his economic legislation that his practical wisdom is best seen. A few of his measures will perhaps illustrate this. He was the first statesman to try and check the overgrowth of slave labour; the first too, to lay the base of a reasonable bankruptcy law. He regulated the city's corn supply and reduced the number of recipients of corn doles to less than half of what it had been. In these and other practical and far-sighted measures we see indications of an attempt to remedy the most crying social and economic evils resulting from the civil wars.

The later actions of Augustus with regard to Cisalpine Gaul seem to indicate that he regretted the errors of which he himself as triumvir had been guilty. Once in power, he set up and endeavored to carry out a definite plan of restoration and reconstruction in this region.[51] Realizing that the plan of providing for veterans by grants of land confiscated from their owners had produced only confusion, discontent and distress, he adopted another method after the battle of Actium. This time lands taken

from municipalities were paid for.[52] A sincere attempt was made to repopulate and bring again into cultivation the districts which had been hard hit by the civil wars. In general Augustus's policy in the economic sphere seems to have been one of adaptation to existing conditions. He did not try to change, but rather to build up. No attempt was made to regulate economic life, but only to stimulate it.[53] Means and opportunities for developing natural resources were provided and roads were improved.[54] Tenney Frank states that in the middle of the reign of Augustus there were as many contented peasants in Italy as there had been since the Punic wars.[55] This speaks well for Augustus' program of reform.

In summary it may be said that the land which bore Vergil had suffered cruelly from 100 years of civil war. Right and wrong had been confounded; crime was rampant, murder and destruction wholesale; fields the most productive lay uncultivated, the ploughman having been marched to war; owners were turned from their lands to make way for indolent veterans. In a word, a general upheaval on all sides. In confirmation of this we have a most instructive and significant contemporary impression of the terrible conditions resulting from the wars, in the short poem of Horace, Epode XVI. As one writer interprets it, Horace is here expressing the fears of Roman republicans for Rome's capacity to survive.[56] He asks whether it is not the

duty of those who still love liberty to abandon a land of endless warfare and found a new home in the west--a land which still preserved the simple virtues of the "Golden Age." We sense in this poem the weariness and longing for rest which possessed not only the poet but the whole Roman world. Tacitus writing of the age says the whole world was exhausted and gladly consented to the establishment of the Empire in the interests of peace.[57] From this we see that although Augustus appears to have done his best to make amends for his share of the disasters, still the mischief resulting from a hundred years of almost continuous civil wars cannot be effaced in the lifetime of a single man. All in all, we may conclude that war had a detrimental, though not a fatal, effect on the environment of the great poet, Vergil. We shall now see how it affected the man himself.

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CHAPTER II

VERGIL'S OWN EXPERIENCE OF WAR

The greater part of Vergil's life was lived in times of political confusion, open war, and moral degeneration, which touched the poet in varying degrees during the different stages of his life. He was born October 15, 70 B.C. at Andes, near Mantua, and considered himself a Mantuan.[1] Most of his biographers agree that the small village of Andes was part of the township of Mantua. His parentage was humble. Authorities do not agree as to the occupation of his father. According to one tradition he was a potter, but a more common belief makes him the employee of a minor public official, a certain Magius. He is said to have married his employer's daughter, Magia, and the poet was their offspring.[2] With the passage of time Vergil's father must have become a man of some means, as we know that he was able to give his son an excellent education and even to support him for several years after its completion.[3] Ancient biographers explain this by affirming that he bought woodland and devoted himself to the cultivation of bees.[4] The Georgics, displaying as they do, an intimate acquaintance with the care of bees, would support this.

The year of the poet's birth was one of historical significance, and before proceeding farther it might be well to glance at the picture of the time. This year marked the close of the various disturbances which arose out of the first great civil war and is significant as that

of the joint consulship of Pompey and Crassus.[5] These two men were elected on their promise to restore the democratic institutions and once in power they energetically set about the work of reform. In series of laws passed in the year 70, the Sullan constitution was abolished, the Senate purified, and the knights and people had their rights restored to them.[6] War was again raging in Asia where Mithradates had invaded a Roman province. After defeating one consul, Aurelius Cotta, he was besieged by another, L. Lucullus, and driven to take refuge with his son-in-law, Tigranes, king of Armenia.[7] At this particular moment in Rome's history was born the great Latin poet who was destined to enshrine in immortal verse the supreme interpretation of the genius of his people.

Of the poet's early life and education we know very little. It is quite possible that during these first years he considered war a glorious adventure. This was the period of Pompey's conquest and settlement of the East, 70-59. Too young to realize, as he did so intensely in later years, the suffering and bloodshed that war entails, the lad was doubtless thrilled as he listened to accounts of Pompey's suppression of the pirates and his triumphal progress through the East. Personally this war touched Vergil not at all, but as vast domains were added to Rome's empire, that sense of pride in Rome and her magnificent achievements which never left the poet, probably had its beginning.

Another public crisis which perhaps attracted the attention of the child during the first decade of his life was the conspiracy of Catiline. Sallust mentions that there was some disturbance in Cisalpine Gaul at that time,[8] and we can well imagine the anxiety felt by the people in 63 and 62 when it was still uncertain what Catiline would do. Vergil himself was too young to realize the import of all this at the time, but a child senses the fears and anxieties of his elders, and as he grew to manhood no doubt he learned more of what Catiline's rising had meant and how, but for the vigilance of Cicero, Rome might have been convulsed in another devastating civil war.

The second ten years of the Poet's life brought him into closer contact with actual warfare. These were the years of Julius Caesar's brilliant conquest of Transalpine Gaul. Frank writes, "There can be little hesitation in saying that this conquest of Gaul was one of the most brilliantly planned and executed military exploits in Roman history, also that in its consequences to Rome and later history it was one of the most important."[9] It is interesting to speculate on the relations which existed between this great military genius and our poet. Was Vergil personally acquainted with Caesar? None of the early biographies mention such a thing, but it is not unlikely. Frank goes so far as to say that Vergil served in Caesar's army through the campaign of Pharsalia.[10] Be that as it may, we have reason to believe that the poet esteemed him highly

and considered his death in 44 B.C. a calamity to the nation. We find this sentiment expressed in Eclogue IX,[11] and again at the close of the first Georgic.[12] Eclogue V has been interpreted as an allegory on the death and deification of Caesar.[13]

After studying in Cremona and Milan, Vergil was sent to Rome about the year 52 B.C.[14] No doubt this was an outstanding event in his life. To the Italians who had only recently become citizens, Rome meant more than she had ever meant before. They had been subjects of Rome, now they were Romans! This position however, had not yet been achieved by the Transpadanes, except perhaps at Cremona and a few other towns.[15] To Vergil then, it was still a hope and a dream. Surely this first visit to Rome would somehow make the dream seem closer! Perhaps it was this first entrance into the great city which he had in mind when he wrote Eclogue 1 in which he speaks of Rome as raising her head above all other cities just as the cypress does above the viburnum.[16] After long acquaintance with the city his verdict still was "Rome is the most beautiful of all things."[17]

Yet the date of his arrival was not auspicious. Events destined to change the history of the world were maturing in the city. The news of the crushing defeat of Crassus' Roman army by the Parthians had just been announced. Of the seven legions engaged very few soldiers had escaped; ten thousand were taken prisoners and twenty thousand killed.[18]

This, together with the scene of disorder, lawlessness, riot and bloodshed which greeted him must have dismayed the peace-loving soul of the gentle poet. The struggle between the party of the Senate and that of the people was reaching a crisis. Armed bands under their respective leaders, Clodius and Milo, roamed the streets with impunity spreading terror wherever they went.[19] Intrigues, deceptions and threats were common. To a less virile spirit than Vergil's, such an environment might have proved disastrous, but events in his after life indicate that it did but increase his love for peace, tranquility and order.

Just what Vergil did in Rome and how long he remained there, we do not know. Tenney Frank is of the opinion that he attended school with Octavian.[20] Rose, on the contrary, maintains that as Octavian was Vergil's junior by almost seven years, it is unlikely that they studied together, although they might possibly have studied with the same masters.[21] The earliest biographies of the poet merely state that he studied rhetoric under the greatest teachers, and even pleaded a case in court--his first and last however, as he did not possess the readiness of speech and self-possession of the lawyers. After abandoning this as a career, he began to attend some of the schools of philosophy opened in Rome by learned Greeks, and one writer asserts that among his other studies he included medicine and mathematics.[22]

Certainly the education he received was the best possible to fit him for his life's work, and evidence of it is everywhere apparent as we read his poetry. Eclogue Vl[23] and the second book of the Georgics[24] contain passages expressing his knowledge of and his deep admiration for scientific and philosophic study, and throughout his master poem, the Aeneid, especially in the speeches of Book lV and in the speech of Turnus in Book Xl,[25] there are outstanding evidences of his rhetorical training.

On completing his education Vergil seems to have returned to his well loved Mantua. It is just possible that military service may have been imposed upon him in 49 B.C. in connection with the general levy raised by Caesar.[26] An event which certainly must have touched the poet at this time and stirred his soul to its very depth was the bestowal of citizenship on the Transpadanes in 49, when Caesar crossed the Rubicon.[27] This gift had long been coveted and we can well imagine that Vergil was caught up in the general enthusiasm of his people. To a man of his temperament and breadth of vision it meant much more than it did to his fellow countrymen. In it he saw a united Italy--one people and one country. In his aspirations it doubtless meant a peaceful Italy, free from civil strife. This act of Caesar's, more than any of his other deeds, bound the poet to his house in life-long fidelity.

What little information we have about the third

decade of the poet's life is gained mostly from Eclogues I and IX, in which he is supposed to be referring to actual events. To understand the allusions to persons and deeds, some knowledge of the historic events which the poet witnessed is necessary.

Four years of civil strife, which included the two great battles of Pharsalus and Munda, at last gave Julius Caesar control of the state. How eagerly and with what hope for the future must Vergil and his fellow Italians have watched his rise to power! With the victory of Munda in 45 B.C. the civil war might be considered over. The Senate bestowed upon Caesar the permanent dictatorship and he became master of the Roman world.[28] Once again life became normal and the people seemed justified in looking forward to a period of tranquility.

Those acquainted with the history of the period know how short-lived was this peace. The Romans were forced to endure a period of greater confusion, violence and treachery than anything they had yet experienced. Vergil was almost 26 years of age when Julius Caesar was assassinated on the Ides of March 44 B.C. Mark Antony, hoping to secure for himself the political succession, assumed the reigns of government and planned to get rid of the leading conspirators and to secure himself against the youthful Octavian who might claim to inherit his uncle's position in the state. But Octavian cleverly put himself on the side of the Senate, gained the favor of the people

and the goodwill of Caesar's veterans and made ready to resist.[29] Again the Roman world was plunged into civil war.

Though Octavian at first sided with the Senate against Antony, when he realized that it intended to use him for its own ends and then ignore him, he demanded that he be given the consulship.[30] The Senate refused, so he entered into an agreement with Antony and Lepidus, and took the consulship by force.[31] The "three" began to re-organize the public offices, ejecting all the partisans of the state and publishing long lists of political opponents whose lives and property were forfeit. A reign of terror ensued.[32] Then came the battle of Philippi, followed by the land confiscations which affected Cremona and Mantua. It is this event in particular to which Vergil refers in Eclogues I and IX.

After the victory of Philippi, Octavian, in order to fulfil a promise made to his soldiers, evicted owners and occupiers alike from their lands. Eighteen cities, supposed to have sympathized with Brutus and Cassius, were condemned to loss of property. Among them was Cremona, to which Mantua was subsequently added. "Mantua, alas too near hapless Cremona."[33] Vergil not only lost his ancestral estate, but also witnessed the heartrending spectacle of hundreds upon hundreds of his fellow countrymen left destitute and forced to seek homes they knew not where. There can be little doubt that this episode left

an indelible impression upon the poet. For the first time in his life perhaps, he realized the meaning of despair. His sensitive soul was deeply touched, and in his writings this note of sympathy, of feeling for others, becomes the background of all his thought.

Vergil's personal experience of the results of civil war had been unhappy and disastrous, but it led to a more fortunate sequel through his introduction to Octavian. Ancient tradition ascribes this meeting to a triumvirate of influential friends, Asinius Pollio, Alfenus Varus, and Cornelius Gallus. As these three men are prominently mentioned in the Eclogues, the question naturally arises as to how Vergil came to know them. Did he know them as personal friends whom he liked for their own sakes, or simply as public men whom he might approach as an individual petitioner, or as a representative of his city or district? The answers to these questions are partly speculative, and hence we find conflicting statements by different writers.

C. Assinius Pollio, a noble, was six years older than Vergil. Associated in his youth with the new poets, he seems never to have lost his interest in literature and art, and was himself a writer of no slight distinction.[34] At the outbreak of the war between Caesar and Pompey he was on Caesar's side. When Caesar crossed the Rubicon he commanded his presence and afterwards sent him to command Sicily. After taking an active part in the battle of Pharsalus, he

returned to Rome with Mark Antony, whose friend and partisan he was. He again fought with Caesar at Thapsus and was rewarded in 45 with the praetorship. At the end of 43, when the second triumvirate was formed, Antony apparently made him de facto governor of Cisalpine Gaul, and this position he held until the year 40, when he became consul.[35] In this capacity he, with Maecenas, negotiated the treaty of Brundisium between Octavian and Antony, by which, after two generations of civil war, the peace of Italy seemed to be assured.[36] This event is celebrated in the fourth Eclogue which is dedicated to Pollio. It is not possible to say when Vergil gained his friendship. Nardi says he must certainly have known him when he was governing Cisalpine Gaul, if not before.[37] Prescott thinks it likely that Pollio's many intellectual interests and his position as a man of affairs may have drawn Vergil to him before the year 42.[38] But though he may have been Vergil's friend and well-wisher, in 42 and 41 he was hardly in a position to advance the poet's interests with Octavian. According to Tenney Frank's view, Cisalpine Gaul fell out of Pollio's control in the autumn of 42, when it was declared a part of Italy. He spent the year 41 at the upper end of the Adriatic with his seven legions, and it was during this year that Octavian besieged Antony at Perusia, so it is not likely that Pollio, a legatus of Mark Antony, was on good enough terms with Octavian to use his influence with him in behalf of Vergil or anyone else. He therefore concludes

that Pollio was neither governor nor colonial commissioner in Cisalpine Gaul at the time of the disturbances around Cremona and Mantua, and, therefore could not have been of any material help to Vergil. He believes that the fourth and eighth Eclogues which honor him owe their origin solely to his position as a poet and to his interest in young men of letters.[39] Rose's view is interesting as being somewhat similar, though less extreme.[40] He, too, is of the opinion that Pollio had nothing to do with the restoration of Vergil's Mantuan estate, and he maintains that Vergil in his poetry never implies that he did. He concludes that Vergil knew Pollio, and thought it worth while, out of interest or esteem, to win his good graces, and nothing more.

Alfenus Varus was a native of Cremona and was perhaps a schoolmate of Vergil's there. A legate of Octavian, he seems to have been a commissioner on the colonial board. There is evidence to prove that, far from being generous to Vergil or anyone else, on the contrary, he did much harm to Mantua and seized an unreasonable amount of land. This information is gained from a fragment of a speech of Gallus, criticising Varus for his behavior at Mantua. The passage reads, "When ordered to leave unoccupied a district of three miles outside the city, you included within the district eight hundred paces of water which lies about the walls."[41] From this it would appear that Varus exceeded his instructions with regard to appropriating territory, although it is possible that this may have been partly the work of a certain Octavius Musa, who is

supposed to have measured off fifteen miles of Mantuan land for assignment to soldiers, to avenge a small private quarrel he had with the local magistrate.[42] However this may be, there are good grounds for believing that Vergil knew Varus, and hence it is not an unlikely supposition that when Mantua was threatened with wholesale evictions, she should turn to her best known literary man, and ask him to use his influence with Varus to spare the land. Such a supposition seems to gain support from the *Eclogues* in which Varus figures. According to most authorities he is referred to in both the sixth and ninth *Eclogues*, but Frank maintains that Quintilius Varus has a better claim to the sixth and that Alfenus has a place only in the ninth.[43] Mr. Rose's interpretation seems most reasonable.[44] He suggests that in the sixth *Eclogue*, Vergil at the request of the Mantuans (non iniussa cano) prefaces the poem with a most tactful dedication to Varus with the hope that he would appreciate it and hence listen favorably to a request coming from the author for bare justice. Unfortunately Varus apparently paid no attention to the poet's plea. Then, according to Mr. Rose's belief, the ninth *Eclogue* was written to express Vergil's anger. Here, the poet says in effect that could Varus have been induced to show mercy to Mantua, something really fine could have been written about him, but as it is the song is "nondum perfecta" and is not likely to be finished now.

Mr. Prescott's interpretation is entirely different. [45] He believes the Vergil celebrates Varus as the savior of Mantua and Cremona. However in so doing he seems to be taking rather too much out of Eclogue 1X, and it is doubtful if this is the right interpretation. Rose and Frank, we believe, are nearer the truth.

According to their view we see that of the three alleged friends Pollio need hardly have been an acquaintance, and Varus though probably an acquaintance, was hardly a congenial one, at least during the time of the confiscations. It remains now to examine the position of Gallus.

Cornelius Gallus, about the same age as Vergil, [46] was born at Forum Julium, just north of the Adriatic sea and not far from Vergil's home. Of Vergil's close intimacy with him there can be little doubt. In the tenth Eclogue he calls him 'meo Gallo' [47] and one man did not speak of another as meus unless they were on very good terms. [48] He was well known as an elegiac writer and is frequently praised by Ovid. [49] With Pollio and Varus he took some part in the distribution of lands to soldiers in 41 B.C., and is usually mentioned with them as having been of practical assistance to Vergil at that time. According to arguments put forward by both Frank and Rose, [50] he is the only one of the trio who may have helped Vergil at all, although conclusive proof for such a belief is not gained from the Eclogues in honor of him. There is a statement to the effect that Gallus'

specific duty in the work of the land commission was that of exacting money contributions from cities which escaped confiscations. [51] The quotation from the speech of Gallus given above lends support to this statement and if we assume it to be a fact, we can readily understand how Gallus and Varus came into conflict, since the former's financial sphere would naturally be invaded if the latter seized exempted territory for the extension of his new colony of Cremona. From a selfish motive, if for no other reason then, Gallus must have been interested in saving Mantua and may well have appealed to Octavian on Vergil's behalf. Frank says that his interpretation of the three mile exemption might actually have saved Vergil's properties which seem to have lain about that distance from the city. [52]

Gallus remained in favor with Octavian and in the battle of Actium fought with him against Anthony. Perhaps as a reward for his loyalty and doubtless fascinated by a brilliancy which in reality hid a lack of Roman steadiness, Octavian entrusted to him the stupendous task of organizing Egypt when it was made a Roman province in 30 B.C. [53] Here he is believed to have incurred the Emperor's displeasure for too great independence in the administration of the country. [54] Too proud to endure the disgrace of a demotion and in deep chagrin he committed suicide in 26 B.C. Of Vergil's affection for this man we have ample evidence in the sixth and tenth

Eclogues, and also in the eulogistic tribute which is believed to have originally formed the conclusion of the fourth book of the Georgics, but which was necessarily withdrawn when his fall from grace made it unwise to celebrate their friendship publicly.[55]

When, during the confiscations, Vergil faced the prospect of losing his farm, he is said by the ancient commentators, to have appealed to his three powerful friends, who succeeded in saving his possessions.[56] On Pollio's advice he is supposed to have hastened to Rome and obtained from Octavian a promise that he should enjoy his farm in peace, as seems to be suggested in Eclogue I.[57] On returning to Mantua he learned that Pollio, de facto governor of Cisalpine Gaul, had been replaced by Varus, who was apparently unable or unwilling to help him, and he almost lost his life at the hands of a ruffian soldier occupying his estate. Tenney Frank calls this 'petty gossip',[58] and in fact most modern commentators, as pointed out above, believe this whole story of the recovery of the farm highly improbable. But Eclogue IX certainly pictures the general unrest which pervaded Italy at this time. According to Servius, the poet again appealed to the Emperor and was again successful.[59] There is nothing definite to support this statement which seems to be based on inference from the last line of Eclogue IX. Modern opinion doubts that Vergil's property was ever restored, and while it is generally admitted

that Eclogue IX alludes to his personal loss, the prevailing view interprets Eclogue 1 as a general picture of the fate of Mantua, where some citizens lost their land and others were spared.[60]

Whether or not Vergil's estate was restored to him, certainly he did not again reside there. We know that he stayed for a time at the country house of Siro, his former teacher, and then went back to Rome.[61] Apparently he never again returned to his native land, but lived at Rome or Naples.[62] He became the intimate friend of the emperor Augustus, and his minister Maecenas, the great literary patron of the day, and hereafter never lacked friends or worldly goods. Donatus-Suetonius asserts that he eventually possessed ten million sesterces from the generous gifts of friends, and he had a house at Rome on the Esquiline, near the gardens of Maecenas, although he usually lived in retirement in Campania and in Sicily.[63] Dangers or hardships never again disturbed the even tenor of his life. Although the Roman Empire was not at peace until after Actium, 31 B.C., Vergil's personal experiences with warfare were over. However, the remembrance of it and the untold suffering it had entailed would never be over. So deeply was it burned into his very soul that it influenced profoundly the remainder of his life and the quality of his writing.

It has been said that "pain and sorrow open the eyes of men to the human world around them, and bring men into sympathy with one another."[64] Vergil expresses this thought when he has Dido say: "Myself no stranger to sorrow, I am learning to succor the unhappy."[65] Certainly the grim experiences of forty years could not be obliterated from such a mind as the poet's, and it is more than likely that had Vergil's early environment and experiences been other than they were, his work too would have been different. He might have been a great poet, but hardly one of the world's greatest. The Eclogues, Georgics, and above all the Aeneid, are stamped with the impress of sorrow borne and understood, and his characters reflect the full and strong humanity which are the result of a long but victorious knowledge of pain and suffering. After considering the age in which the poet lived it is not difficult to understand how this is so.

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CHAPTER III

INCIDENTAL REFERENCES TO ROMAN WARS AND WARRIORS

In attempting to probe Vergil's thought on war and peace it is helpful to consider the actual Roman wars and heroes mentioned or indirectly referred to in his writings, and to examine the tenor of his comment.

The background of two of the most important Eclogues, I and IX, is the aftermath of the battle of Philippi,42 B.C. and the confiscations and evictions which were authorized by the victors for their disbanded veterans. In these Eclogues Vergil brings out the cruel suffering which this war inflicted, not only on himself and his father, but also upon large numbers of his fellow countrymen. In Eclogue I, Meliboeus, personating those unfortunate Mantuans who had lost their farms, gives a heart-rending picture of conditions in northern Italy as a result of the war.

"En quo discordia cives produxit miseros!"[1]

Confusion reigns everywhere.

"undique totis
Usque adeo turbatur agris."[2]

Driven from their homes, their well-known streams and sacred fountains, the unfortunate victims must move on to far distant lands; some to Africa, some to Scythia, and some to Crete or Britain.[3] The suffering entailed by the forced migration is stressed by Meliboeus who describes himself

as aeger, and as having been compelled to abandon his new-born kids to die among the hazels on the rocks.[4] The bitterness of the dispossessed farmers, the fruit of whose labours is now to be reaped by barbarian soldiers, is well expressed in his cry:

"Insere nunc, Meliboee, piros: pone ordine vites."[5]

Even more pathetic and touching than his anger, is the nostalgic beauty of his description of the scene that he is leaving, where so often idly musing he watched the nimble goats feeding from a precarious footing on the cliffs. And he wonders whether he shall ever behold the sight again, or see his sod-roofed home.[6]

Tityrus, who is left in the enjoyment of all these blessings, used to be regarded as Vergil's picture of himself, after he had been promised the restoration of his farm, but unlike Tityrus,[7] Vergil was neither old nor a slave, and in any case the words of the restoring god had been expressed in the plural:

"Pascite ut ante boves, pueri: submittite tauros."[8]

Modern opinion prefers to take Tityrus as the representative of those Mantuans who had been left undisturbed in their possessions and had much to be thankful for in contrast to their less-fortunate neighbors.[9]

Eclogue IX concerns the same subject, and even more graphically perhaps, pictures the general unrest and fear of violence which pervaded northern Italy during the con-

fiscations. Lines 7-10, which have sent Conway and others all over the ancient territory of Mantua in the search to find a site to answer the description, are perhaps a general picture of that territory rather than a specific snapshot of Vergil's farm. Nevertheless the appeal to Varus on behalf of the threatened Mantuan farmers quoted in this Eclogue,[10] and attributed to Menalcus, seems to identify Menalcus with Vergil, and if this identity is correct, the Eclogue justifies the inference of the ancient commentators that Vergil's own life was endangered when his or his father's farm was confiscated:

"Nec viveret ipse Menalcas."[11]

There has been considerable discussion as to which of these two Eclogues was written first, and whether they point to one or two evictions. Ancient commentators take the Ninth as written after the First and as indicating a second eviction. The words "Audieram.... omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Menalcam,"[12] if they refer to Eclogue I, support this view. But they may just as well refer to a confident hope of Vergil that his literary acquaintance with Pollio, Varus and Gallus might enlist their protection, a hope that his neighbors knew he entertained, but which was not realized.[13] Nettleship places the Ninth before the First in order of time, and decides that there was only one eviction. He admits that the question is doubtful, but feels that the best evidence, that of the Eclogues themselves, lends more support to this decision than to the other.[14]

The ninth *Eclogue* represents Vergil as saying that a calamity had befallen him of which he had never had any apprehension:

"Quod nunquam veriti sumus"[15]

Surely this is strange language if he had been ejected only a few months before. Then again if Vergil had really gone to Rome before the ninth *Eclogue* was written and had returned with an order from Augustus for the restoration of his farm, is it likely that he would have made no mention in the poem of so important a fact? It is difficult to say who is right, but as the question is not very pertinent to the present study, it need not be further discussed.

In both poems Vergil seems desirous of impressing the fact that all the suffering and disturbance was a result of war. His personal experience enabled him to sympathize with the misfortunes of others and he longed for a lasting peace which there seemed at last some ground for anticipating. He courteously declines to accede to the desire of Varus to celebrate the latter's military achievements, which he calls *tristia bella*[16] and which may have been a share in the civil wars, perhaps at Perusia. To Vergil the civil wars were nothing but a deplorable crime, all vestiges of which he wished to see erased:

"Si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri."[17]

Yet he admits that he too had thought of attempting a military theme--"Cum canerem reges et proelia"[18]--before he had been checked by Apollo. He realizes that there are wars, perhaps glorious wars, yet to come:

"Erunt etiam altera bella
Atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles."[19]

Much as he deprecated war in general and its deplorable results, there seem to be some expeditions of which Vergil can write without reluctance. One such must have been Pollio's successful campaign in 39 B.C. against the wild Parthini, if as is usually agreed, that is the event referred to in the invocation of Eclogue VIII:

"-en erit umquam
Ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?"[20]

The pacification of a semi- barbarian Illyrian tribe could obviously be regarded in a different light from the intestine conflict between two Roman factions.

In the first book of the Georgics, written during the years of uncertainty and alarm preceding the outbreak of the last of the great civil wars, Vergil recurs to the theme by which he was still haunted. It was all too clear that his poetic precepts for agricultural revival would prove ineffectual unless the conflict of power within the state were finally resolved. Hence he ends the book with a prayer and a warning. He prays that the youthful Augustus may be spared to repair the ruin of the age, and

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may not be transported too soon to heaven[21] to join his great uncle whose murder had precipitated a bloody repetition of all the horrors resulting from his own struggle with Pompey. Elaborate details of the portents which accompanied the death of Julius[22] are followed in this rhetorical passage by the conclusion that therefore once again Philippi witnessed the clash of the Roman armies and the broad plains of northern Greece were twice enriched with Roman blood.[23] By stressing so pointedly the causal connection between the calamitous campaign of Philippi and the assassination of the first Caesar, Vergil suggests the political and patriotic necessity of preserving the power of the second Caesar against the threats of Antony and the immemorial menace of the East. The book concludes on a sombre note: crime is rampant in many forms; right and wrong are hopelessly confused; the world is rent with war from Germany to the Euphrates. The evil most relevant to the poet's theme and regarded by him as fundamental is the decay of agriculture which has resulted from a breakdown of the rule of law, and the armed strife of city with neighbouring city.

"--squalent abductis arva colonis,
Et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem."[24]

The first _Georgic_ is reminiscent of the sentiment of the fourth _Eclogue_, but not so hopeful. In the earlier

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poem a recent understanding between Octavian and Antony prompted a more cheerful mood, the later is written under the impending cloud of Actium.

The prayer of the first Georgic is answered in the second where Octavian is described as already victorious in the uttermost bounds of Asia and turning away the unwarlike Indian from the Roman citadel.[25] From these hyperbolical and inaccurate terms we may infer that Antony and Cleopatra have been put to flight and that Octavius is successfully engaged in restoring the eastern provinces and protectorates of the Roman Empire to a state of peaceful submission. This note of triumph and rejoicing is embedded in one of the finest passages of Vergil's writing, the famous eulogy of Italy.[26] In language of beauty unsurpassed he celebrates not only the flora and fauna, the rivers, lakes and harbours of his native land which are more closely related to his agricultural theme, but also gives their meed of praise to the ancient Marsian and Sabine stocks, the hardy Ligurians and the warlike Volscians, who formed the basic element of Italian greatness. They were a farming and a fighting breed, but their wars were fought essentially in defence of their land.

So in the individual names which the poet singles out for honorable mention, of men like the Decii, like Marius, Camillus and the Scipios, we recognize heroes whose chief claim upon the memory of posterity consisted in their having

saved the nation in a time of crisis. Camillus and the Decii are legendary figures whose heroic deeds were magnified by the lapse of time. Camillus was credited by tradition not only with the capture of Veii in 396 B.C., but also in 390 with rescuing Rome itself from its Gallic conquerors.[27] The Decii by two similar acts of self-devotion in two critical battles turned the scales of victory in favour of their countrymen, the father in the war against the Latin League in 340 B.C., and the son in the third Samnite war at Sentinum in 295 B.C.[28]

The victories of the Scipios and Marius are more historical. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior performed wonders in Spain in the second Punic war. However his name makes us think especially of the final defeat of Hannibal at Zama, in Africa, 202 B.C., for which he was responsible.[29] The war with Hannibal is again forcefully brought to our attention in the fourth book of the Aeneid, when Dido, in a passionate prayer for vengeance utters her last great curse,[30] "the curse that embroils Roman and Carthaginian forever."[32] The curse was realized in the destruction and desolation inflicted upon Italy by "the greatest of the sons of Carthage."[32] Between 219 and 202 B.C. the Italian peninsula was so terribly ravaged and such dreadful defeats were inflicted upon the armies of Rome by Hannibal and his Punic forces that the Roman memory remained indellibly impressed with the horrors of that nightmare of foreign

invasion.[33] Still another reminder of the worst of Roman military disasters is employed effectively by Vergil in an impressive passage where Jupiter in a council of the gods quotes it as the example par excellence of calamity in war.[34] It is estimated that Rome lost 120,000 men[35] in the three battles of Trebia, 218 B.C., Transimene, 217 B.C., and Cannae, 216 B.C. She was saved by her own stubburnness and the loyalty of her colonies. By slow and obstinate fighting the Romans gradually recovered their territory, and finally the invasion of Africa forced Hannibal to leave Italy in order to protect Carthage. He was defeated for the first and last time by P. Cornelius Scipio, in the famous battle of Zama, 202 B.C. These events were a living tradition to the Roman of Vergil's day, and the mention of the Scipios, duros bello, and the curse of Dido were intended to remind them of the mighty achievements of Rome in the past, and the obligation they were under of carrying on her great mission. Scipio Africanus minor, also known as Scipio Aemilianus, was responsible for the capture and complete destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.[36] This also was a memorable event in Roman history.

The mention of Marius reminds us of the great general who saved the state from the terrible irruption of northern barbarians, defeating the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae in 102 B.C., and the Cimbri at Vercellae in 101 B.C.[37]

The glorification of Italy as a land of heroes reaches its climax with the mention of Augustus,[38] who was then in the East securing Rome against her enemies. As the other heroes had saved Rome in the past, so he had just saved her at Actium. An elaborate account of this battle, which ushered in the reign of peace, is given in the last fifty lines of the eighth book of the Aeneid to which we shall refer below.

In spite of the eloquent enthusiasm with which Vergil in this Georgic praises Italy, still the traces of sorrow and suffering are not yet quite obliterated. The memory of his bitter experience lingers on to find expression in a beautiful and touching reminiscence of Mantua:

"Et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum"[39]

He could never forget that beautiful home of his youth with its reedy river and snowy swans, its flowing fountains and abundant grass, and herds grazing through the long and dewy nights.[40] This picture remains to haunt him in the court of Caesar whose fulsome praises he henceforth labours to sing.

The successes of Augustus are again extolled in the third book of the Georgics.[41] For variety of treatment this time Vergil promises to erect on the green plains of Mantua beside the winding Mincius a temple, and on its gold and ivory doors to carve the victories of Augustus[42] over India, Egypt, Asia, Armenia and Parthia. Sidgwick

accuses the poet of poetic exaggeration in these lines, as Augustus had no fight with the Indians, never subdued Asia or "beat back" Niphates or the Parthian.[43] The actual facts of the Emperor's triumphs are these. In 42 B.C. he defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi. In 40 he was successful in putting down the wife and brother of Antony who had stirred up a civil war in Italy. In 36 his generals defeated Sextus Pompey in Sicily. In 35-34 they waged war against Dalmatia, which ended in complete subjugation. In 31 came the famous battle of Actium, which resulted in the surrender and suicide of Antony and Cleopatra, thus making Augustus supreme head of the Roman world. In the same year he marched through Syria and part of Asia Minor settling the affairs of the East.[44] In all probability the lines do not refer to accomplished facts, but are rather a vision of triumph written in a moment of exaltation and hope, when, after Actium, the poet's dreams for peace seemed on the point of realization.[45] Conington speaks of these lines as "prophecies of conquests never actually effected, compiled by an admirer of Octavian before his work was finished."[46]

The imaginary sculpture on the promised temple doors constitutes a pretty compliment to the emperor by way of introduction to the poem, but the poet goes on to make a more significant promise. "Presently I shall gird myself to tell of Caesar's fiery fights and bear his name through as many years as are counted from the age of Tithonius

to his."[47] The promise was never literally fulfilled, but the wise poet conceived a subject of more artistic merit in the Aeneid, celebrating Augustus' mythical ancestor. The point of interest here is the apparent enthusiasm for writing of battles on the part of a poet whose hatred of war has been everywhere manifest in his writing. Perhaps we may find a clue to this seeming contradiction in the closing words of the fourth Georgic where with the usual conventional rhetoric Octavius is said to be thundering at the Euphrates with war, but at the same time more significantly the victor is praised for giving laws among the willing nations.[48] The imposition of law and order is the redeeming feature of Roman conquest in Vergil's eyes, and the fact that the subject people accept it willingly justifies for him the expansion of Roman power by force of arms. It is the classic argument for imperialism,[49] and under the cautious policy of Augustus,[50] who was neither a militarist nor a conqueror, may be regarded as a sound argument based on real facts and sincerely advanced by the poet on behalf of his patron.

Incidentally we find in Georgic III a simile which proves that Vergil's understanding of warfare was not confined to sympathy for farm-victims of the miles barbarus,[51] but that he had a realistic appreciation for the strenuous and dangerous life of the legionary whom he describes as marching under his cruel pack and facing the foe from the

ramparts of the camp that he has pitched.[52]

In the sixth book of the Aeneid, Vergil uses an ingenious device to enable his readers to roll back the years and thus view the great past and its inlustres animas.[53] This is the famous 'pageant of heroes'[54] which Anchises presents to his son to aid him in visualizing the future greatness of Rome. The record includes many a leader who has shared in Rome's making and hence calls to mind most of the outstanding wars of the past. Its significance for us consists in Vergil's characterization of these heroes, from which we may infer his attitude towards the wars in which they engaged.

Anchises commences by introducing the Alban kings, Silvius, Proca, etc. They are to perform a constructive work, founding many towns in Latium. It is significant that their military prowess is characterized chiefly by the civil oak which is not a symbol of aggression, but of saving the lives of fellow citizens.[55] The attention of Aeneas is next directed to Romulus, the founder of Rome. Under his influence Rome "shall measure her dominion by the earth and her valour by the skies."[56] But his efforts are likewise mainly directed towards a constructive and defensive objective, the fortification of Rome,[57] and therefore he is compared to the Berecynta mater,[58] who is pictured as turrita[59] because she was credited with inventing the art

of fortifying cities.

Aeneas is now bidden turn his eyes upon the whole race of Iulus, among whom Augustus, restorer of the golden age, is most conspicuous. In majestic language his work is compared to that of the unwearied Hercules and the beneficent Bacchus.[60] It is clear that Vergil wished his readers to regard Augustus, not as an exploiting conqueror, but as the restorer of peace to a war-torn world. But it is important to note that the benefits of the Augustan peace are to be world-wide, and his power is described as spreading to the natives of the Sahara and of India,[61] and as being respected in the regions of the Caspian, Azov, and the Nile.[62] If the blessings conferred by the Roman Empire can be compared, as Vergil thinks, with the benign gifts of Hercules and Bacchus, then why should the emperor hesitate to extend his power?[63] Thus Vergil gives his approval to a qualified imperialism, qualified by the condition of benefits bestowed.

Following Augustus the remaining Roman kings step upon the stage:[64] Numa, distinguished by his love of peace; Tullus of a warlike disposition, who passed his reign in wars and destroyed Alba Longa; Ancus, overboastful, and already courting popular acclaim; the arrogant Tarquins, fifth and seventh kings of Rome. Special attention is given to Brutus, who roused Rome to expel the Tarquins and found the Republic. He became the first consul and when his sons renewed the

civil war in an attempt to restore the Tarquins, he had them executed, valuing his country's freedom rather than the lives of his sons.[65] Such an example of self-sacrificing patriotism was dear to the heart of Vergil. His treatment of the group as a whole is marked by the emphasis laid upon the religious and juridical contributions of Numa,[66] his scarcely veiled disapproval of the militaristic tendencies of Tullus--otia rumpet patriae--[67] and the demagogic policies of Ancus.[68] Though admitting the harshness of Brutus, whose unnatural act he realizes will not commend itself to posterity, Vergil reminds his reader that the father's sentence was a penalty for that worst of all crimes, civil war.[69]

The list of republican heroes continues with names[70] already met in Georgic I, so amplified as to cover most of the landmarks of Roman history. There had been several famous Romans by the name of Drusus. Perhaps the most outstanding was Livius Salinator, who assisted Claudius Nero to conquer Hasdrubal, and thus led to the defeat of Hannibal.[71] No doubt the name is included as a compliment to the Empress, Livia, who belonged to the family of Livii Drusi. Manlius Torquatus, so called from the torques or necklace which he took from a giant Gaul whom he defeated in single combat, was a favorite hero of ancient Rome. At the battle of Mt. Vesuvius, 340 B.C., he commanded against the Latins, and ordered his son's execution for engaging the enemy in vio-

lation of his orders.[72]

The roll-call of generals is interrupted at this point for dramatic reasons to anticipate the last crisis of the Republic. The climax at the end is reserved for the more elaborate tribute to Marcellus, in whose career there was nothing to regret except its untimely end. The deadly feud between Julius Caesar and Pompey and the death struggle of the Republic is something on which Vergil does not wish to dwell except to press his point more deeply than before that it is an ill day for Rome when concordes animae[73] turn their patriae validas in viscera...vires.[74] In these words we have a stern appraisal of civil war.

Contrary to the picturesque description of Caesar's descent from Gaul into Italy as given in lines 830-831, the hostile movement really began with the crossing of the insignificant Rubicon, which formed the boundary between Italy and Cisalpine Gaul. After this events moved rapidly. Pompey and the Senate crossed from Brundisium into Greece, abandoning Italy without a battle. Caesar entered Rome unopposed and after settling affairs in the city and crushing the Pompeian party in Spain, pursued his enemy and succeeded in completely routing the Pompeians at Pharsalus, August 9, 48 B.C. This battle led to the final overthrow of the Republic.[75] The exhortation which Vergil here puts into the mouth of Anchises is interesting as further revealing his

attitude to war. "My sons," he says, "school not your great souls in such vast wars, nor turn your strength against the bowels of your native land."[76] Then addressing Julius as his own lineal descendant he begs him to be the first to refrain from wars and to cast the weapons from his hands.[77] Here again we have not only a denunciation of civil war, but if the poet laureate can be assumed to be interpreting the policy of his imperial patron, almost an advertisement of change in the policy of the reigning Caesar, from war to peace, from national discord to national solidarity.

As the heroes of old continue to pass in review before our eyes, we see first L.Mummius,[78] the man responsible for the end of Greek independence. After a brief struggle with the Achaean League, the chief military combination of southern Greece, he won a decisive victory at Leucopetra and captured and sacked the city of Corinth, 146 B.C.[79] Greece was attached to Macedonia until the time of Augustus, when it was made a separate province under the name of Achaea.[80] By the reference to L. Aemilius Paullus,[81] we are reminded of the great battle of Pydna, 168 B.C., in which Perseus, king of Macedonia was defeated. Paullus was one of the most illustrious of Roman conquerors and his victory one of the most important. He did not uproot Argos and Mycenae as Vergil seems to state, but the Macedonian kingdom was overthrown by the victory, and as Greece was at that time under Macedonian influence it might be included in the conquest. Mycenae was not captured by Paullus because it was then practically

non- existent, but as it was the home of Agamemnon who commanded the Greeks at Troy, it is mentioned in order that Paullus ' conquest may seem to avenge the capture of that city. Vergil's use of the word 'avenge' here is worth noting. It suggests that perhaps he reconciles the Roman slaughter of the Greeks[82] with his own abhorrence of war by this literary myth of historical vengeance for a legendary wrong in the past. He may have wished to hint in literary symbolism that the Macedonian wars of Rome were provoked by a king who boasted descent from the legendary enemy of Rome's Trojan ancestors.

As the pageant seems to be drawing to a close a few more outstanding figures are ushered onto the stage. Cato,[83] distinguished for his integrity and justice comes first. He it was who continually repeated the exhortation 'delenda est Carthago'[84] and probably helped to bring about that result. Ever an enemy of the Greeks and fearing their influence,[85] he finds himself naturally in the company of their conquerors, Mummius and Paullus. A. Cornelius Cossus[86] is mentioned as an outstanding example of valour in conflict. He was one of three Romans ever to win the distinction of the spolia opima. This he did by killing Tolumnius, king of Veii, in battle 437 B.C. Perhaps it is with a definite purpose, to point out to his readers that there is a noble warfare, that Vergil includes in this list the Gracchi,[87] in which family name he probably meant to include the two famous tribunes,

Tiberius and Gaius. Both died fighting for the rights of the plebians. Their father, T. Sempronius, was distinguished both in the senate and in the field, especially in Spain where he was outstanding for his firmness and justice combined.

Fabricius[88], the conqueror of Pyrrhus, would commend himself to Vergil not so much for this fact as because he refused to conquer by dishonorable means. In other words, though he was a warrior, he practiced a rigid ethical code even in war. Two famous stories about him would doubtless come to the mind of Vergil's reader. The first that he refused a large bribe of gold from the Samnites to make peace with them against the interests of his country[89], and secondly that he spurned the treacherous offer of Pyrrhus' physician to poison that king and so easily rid himself of a foe whom he preferred to conquer fairly[90]. Atilius Regulus Serranus[91] was a man of the same high honour, refusing to assent to dishonorable terms, even at the cost of his life, as Horace brings out in one of his Odes[92]. Vergil characterizes him as "sowing in his furrow," showing that he preferred to stress the simple and stirling qualities of the hero's native character rather than his military achievement which we know was splendid. It serves also to remind us of the lesson of the Georgics that Roman greatness depends fundamentally upon a prosperous and virtuous agricultural class. Again in the

case of Fabius Maximus it is the constructive, not destructive side of his work that is mentioned. He 'restores' or 're-establishes the state,' says Vergil, quoting the great line of Ennius.[94]

Thus throughout the whole passage which at first glance seems to be a celebration of Rome's military glory, we discover on more careful and critical consideration, that Vergil has managed to insert suggestive words and phrases of characterization which perhaps justify us in concluding that he was no jingoistic imperialist, but sought the secret of his country's greatness in more fundamental qualities, and that where war is mentioned, it is usually of a defensive character, or justified as a means of spreading the rule of law, and so regarded by the poet as a stepping-stone to peace.

This interpretation is borne out by the famous comparison of the arts of Greece and Rome which follows,[95] and which will be discussed in another chapter.

The final scene of the pageant is presented with the introduction of two persons of the same family. They are the older and younger Marcellus.[96] The former was an illustriuos general and five times consul. During his first consulship in 222 B.C. he fought against and defeated the Insubrians in Cisalpine Gaul and with his own hand killed Viridomarus, their king, thus winning the coveted _spolia opima_.[97] Later he commanded against Hannibal and succeeded in capturing Syracuse in 212 B.C. He fell in battle in

208 B.C., a true Roman hero. His exploits, like those of Fabius, are described as a stabilizing factor at a time of internal chaos. Vergil's use of the words <u>tumultus</u>[98] and <u>rebellem</u>[99] indicate that he is still concerned with the problem of a united Italy, and that he honours Marcellus for having promoted it.

> "Hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu,
> Sistet."[100]

The younger Marcellus, son of Octavia, the Emperor's sister, and married to Julia, his daughter, was the ideal youth of Vergil's day. He typified that strength and probity upon which Augustus was trying to build a new Rome, linking it to the great traditions and high ideals of a remote past. He was destined to succeed Augustus as head of the state, and to carry on his policy of reconstruction. His death in 23 B.C. at the age of twenty was a serious blow to the Emperor's hopes. The peculiar language in which Vergil attributes his death to the jealousy of fate

> "Nimium vobis Romana propago
> Visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent."[101]

seems to suggest that the actual limits of Roman power were in fact determined by fate, and the inference therefore is that the empire as it existed under Augustus had received the divine sanction, exemplifying as it did in Marcellus its finest flower, piety, honour and invincibility:

> "Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello
> Dextera!"[102]

The pictured story of early Rome is presented in a somewhat similar manner in the last hundred lines of the eighth book of the Aeneid. The device used this time is the prophetic shield which Venus has had divinely fashioned for her son. Among the scenes depicted on the shield there are several which are significant in the present study and which seem to justify and confirm still further our view on what we believe to be Vergil's attitude to war.

The rape of the Sabine women,[103] ending as it did with the plighting of a treaty between the Romans and the Sabines, was one of the early conflicts which had a positive constructive result, the building of a greater Rome resulting from the union of two peoples. The quarrel between Mettius and Tullus[104] justifies another step in Roman expansion, the destruction and incorporation of Alba. The heroism of Horatius Cocles[105] and the defence of Rome is again an example of such a war as Vergil could approve of. Cloelia's adventure[106] recalls the high standard of the Roman ethical code even in war. Manlius' bravery in defending the Capitol[107] is of the same quality as that of Horatius at the bridge.

The situation in which Catiline is portrayed[108] is most significant for our argument. Here Vergil selects for his most horrible example of the most guilty sinner in Tartarus the man who tried to overthrow the government by violence and sedition. This is but another way of sternly condemning civil war and revolution. On the other hand Cato is found

among the just.[109] He had committed suicide at Utica rather than submit to Caesar's successful revolution. Here we may note by contrast how Octavius' position at Actium differs from Julius' at Utica. Octavius is represented as leading a united nation (Italos not Romanos) with the Senate, the people and the gods behind him,[110] not against Romans as Julius had done, but against barbaric might, collected out of the Orient from Egypt to Bactra.[111] Worst of all in the eyes of Rome was the threat of royal tyranny represented on the shield in the person of Cleopatra, and her outlandish rites and deities.[112] The struggle is elevated from the mere human plane to a grand clash between opposing religions with the inevitable victory on the side of the more enlightened gods of the West, specifically Apollo[113] whose worship was emphasized by Augustus. The divine sanction for the victory of Augustus is more clearly indicated in the majestic climax of distant tribes bringing tribute to Apollo, from the Morini on the English channel whom Julius had conquered, to the most remote peoples of the East who lived beside the Araxes.[114]

From this brief survey it can be seen that at one time or another in the course of his writings, Vergil mentions or indirectly refers to most of the wars of Roman history. He does not do this for the purpose of glorifying war or even of exulting in Roman conquests and dominion, but his theme is the birth of a nation and an empire, and that nation had been forged and tempered in the fires of

war. Wars are therefore part of his story together with the scars that they left, and the heroes that they made. By tracing this distinction as Vergil draws it, we ascertain his attitude to war and those engaged in it. Each of the Roman heroes, so proudly extolled by the poet, has had a share in this task of empire-building, which is now on the verge of completion under the great emperor Augustus.

To confirm our interpretation of Vergil's judgment on the work of those foremost Romans whom he chooses to mention by name, we may point out in conclusion the significant arrangement of a more general classification of military types in his allocation of various souls to their proper places in his underworld. The indistinguishable host of fallen soldiers in general is confined to the outer regions of Hades,[115] but those who are admitted to the interior find their way to Tartarus or Elysium according to their deserts. Tartarus receives those who had stained their hands with civil war,[116] while those whose wounds are proof of nothing else but love of country are rewarded with a resting place in the haunts of the blest.[117] This irrevocale division is Vergil's most impressive way of showing his condemnation of civil discord and his approval of disinterested patriotism.

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10 Vergil, Eclogues IX, 27-29.
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CHAPTER IV

THE FALL OF TROY

Vergil began his heroic narrative of the mission of Aeneas by plunging in medias res according to the rule of Horace.[1] The story begins after Aeneas has been wandering for seven years[2] and at the dramatic moment when he is wrecked on Dido's shores. When the reader's interest is thus easily enlisted on behalf of the critical fortunes of the hero, the poet employs the convenient and disarming device of Dido's curiosity to enable him to return and review the principal incidents of those preceding seven years in the recital of a single night. It might be wondered why Vergil chose to include in his national epic such an old theme, "the best worn story of all literary tradition since the age of Homer."[3] It has been suggested by a modern commentator that the continuity of Roman and Trojan religious tradition made this beginning inevitable.[4]

In the first book of the Aeneid, we are told that Aeneas' wanderings were a part of his endeavor to bring his ancestral gods to safe abode in Latium.[5] From the description of Troy's fall we learn how those gods were first entrusted to him and hence the story becomes an essential part of the plot. Instead of the usual daring gladiator of epic adventure, Aeneas thus becomes the agent of a mission imposed upon him by divine sanction. It is his duty to preserve the ancient Trojan religion and to re-

establish it in Italy. This mission is made clear to him in a succession of scenes. He is warned of it by the apparition and command of Hector.[6] The sacred emblems and images of the gods are brought to him by Panthus, the priest of the citadel and Apollo.[7] Finally the miraculous flame that played about the head of Iulus and the comet which confirmed it as an omen convince Aeneas that his paramount role is to obey the divine bidding.[8] Like the founders of the Greek colonies,[9] who carried fire from the altars of the mother city, he obtained his commission in Troy, and to enable him to appreciate its real character and importance, the reader is given a full and vivid account of the awful circumstances under which it was imposed.

Then, too, a certain conservatism dominates ancient literature, and it is doubtful whether the Roman reader would be disturbed by the triteness of the story, especially as Vergil treats it from a relatively new standpoint. The poetry of Homer enjoyed such pre-eminent prestige in ancient times, and the 'tale of Troy divine' commanded such undying interest among all ancient readers, that ambitious poets felt compelled to relate their work in some way to that surpassing story. Vergil felt the full force of that tradition and did not scruple to appropriate some of the reflected glory of the absorbing Homeric theme. Indirectly he bears witness to its widespread influence. He represents Aeneas arriving in Carthage only to find that his fame and

the fame of Troy had preceded him, and that the ten years war had become a subject for Carthaginian art in the temple of Juno.[10] Instead therefore of detracting from the interest of the *Aeneid*, the episode of book two only enhances the appeal of the whole poem, and Vergil did well to include it.

There is another aspect of literary tradition that must have influenced Vergil in re-telling the story of Troy. He did not invent the main outline of the history of Aeneas. That had grown and been altered and embellished in the hands of many previous writers since Homer. Vergil too, cut and shaped it to his particular purpose, but, as we shall see, this purpose was promoted rather than hampered by the use of the story of the fall of Troy. In this respect he adhered to the tradition of the legend as it came down to him.[11]

At first sight, however, his decision to expatiate upon the death throes of Troy and the futile, if gallant part played in the disaster by his hero, seems to involve the poet in a literary difficulty. Thus far the Trojan narrative had been regarded only from the Greek point of view. Greek authors and artists had celebrated Greek prowess, Greek strategy and Greek successful superiority. The conditions of Vergil's main plot forced him to treat it from a somewhat different point of view. He was writing a patriotic epic in which the conquered Trojans were progeni-

tors of his own people, of the greatest military heroes of his time. It was his task to re-fashion a story which represented the forefathers of the Roman people as deserting Troy in its death hour; which represented his hero Aeneas, the forbear of Julius and Augustus Caesar, as turning his back on his city after it had been conquered, instead of falling in defence of it. The danger was that Aeneas would seem to the reader neither heroic nor admirable, but with masterly skill Vergil has overcome this danger, and if he could not yet represent his hero as invincible on the battlefield, he could and did succeed in arousing in his readers sympathy for the vanquished. This shrewd manipulation of emotion was accomplished in three ways: by elevating the power of destiny; by casting the victors in the role of villainy and savagery; by stressing the reluctance of the unwilling victim.[12]

It is apparent from the beginning of Book II that in abandoning Troy, the Trojans yield not to a superior foe, but to an irrestible supernatural force, the will of fate. Their case is hopeless from the start; it is impossible to withstand the gods.[13] Prescott points out how many times throughout the book fate[14] is blamed for the catastrophe, not only by the narrator himself, but by his various characters. Fate blinded the Trojans to the warnings of Laocoon[15] and Cassandra.[16] Fate led Coroebus to betray himself.[17] Fate saved Aeneas from the same death.[18] Fate was held responsible for the loss of Creusa.[19] The malign por-

tent of the sea serpents which devoured Laocoon, converted the Trojans to the fatal credulity in Sinon.[20] The benign portents of the flame in Iulus' hair and the comet convinced Anchises that Jupiter commanded their flight.[21] Most impressive and decisive of all was the vision vouchsafed by his divine mother to Aeneas of the hostile gods completing the destruction of Troy.[22] Aeneas was justified by destiny and the gods in abondoning Troy; indeed they made it imperative for him to do so.

On the mortal plane there is a more natural explanation of the downfall of Troy. The city which had lorded it for so many years[23] was overcome by the diabolical cunning of a treacherous foe. Having failed to take Troy by fair means,[24] they succeeded by foul. Even in modern times the term 'Trojan Horse' has become a classic expression for 'boring from within' or 'fifth column' activity. The clever plan of building a horse so large that it could hide a good-sized ambush[25] and also must necessitate breaching the walls[26] to receive it, shows the calibre of the enemy to which the hard-pressed Trojans were opposed. And the consummate rhetorical art which Vergil lavishes upon the persuasive efforts of wily Sinon[27] would not only do credit to Ulysses, it was well calculated to disarm even Trojan distrust of the Greeks.[28] Who could blame them for yielding when Minerva's serpents singled out for destruction the leader of those who feared the Greeks 'even with gifts in their hands'?[29] Wherever Greeks

or their deeds are mentioned in Book II they are coupled
with such words as <u>insidiae</u>,[30] <u>ars</u>,[31] <u>doli</u>,[32] <u>scelus</u>.[33] Their ring-
leader Ulysses is characterized as <u>pellax</u>,[34] <u>dirus</u>,[35] or <u>artifex</u>[36]
and sometimes scornfully referred to as <u>Ithacus</u>.[37] Even per-
jured Sinon[38] in his false tale describes his compatriots in
the same terms.[39] Palamedes found that even Greeks were not
immune from Greek plots. When the Greeks meet with a minor
reverse at the hands of Aeneas' desperate band, they are
said to flee in craven fear to their ships or back into
the bowels of the horse.[40] But when their efforts are crowned
with success they wallow in blood, respecting neither the
aged Priam nor the sacred altar.[41] Pyrrhus, their bloodthirsty
leader, is compared to a viper swollen with poisonous food.[42]
Cassandra, the priestess, is dragged from her temple.[43] This
ruthless savagery stands in sharp contrast to Priam's gen-
erosity in sparing Sinon's life in pity,[44] or to Aeneas, re-
strained by his mother from molesting Helen,[45] or later to
the compassion of Anchises in his rescue of one of Ulysses'
crew,[46] left behind in the cave of Polyphemus. Only Priam
can recall one instance of Greek chivalry.[47] The means by
which the victors won their victory explain the failure
of the Trojans to save their capital after ten years of
heroic defence, and exonerate Aeneas from blame in making
the best of his escape from an unequal struggle. It should
be remembered too that the city was in flames[48] before he
became aware of the enemy's entrance.

"Venit summa dies, et ineluctabile tempus."[49]

Vergil's somewhat too consistent and caustic characterization of the treacherous Greeks in this book raises an interesting and not irrelevant question. As a dramatic explanation for the misfortune of Troy and the retreat of Aeneas it was useful to represent the Greeks as wholly bad, but even in this picture which blackens their character, Vergil's debt to Greek literature is very great and he would have been the last to deny it. All educated Romans were indebted to the Greeks, a fact which the poet openly acknowledges when he admits Greek superiority over the Romans in the arts and sciences,[50] although Sellar sees in the words "credo equidem" a touch of scorn.[51] It is perhaps worth considering whether he may not have had a political as well as a literary motive for his denigration of the Greeks at least in their military activities. Might it not be possible that the legendary relations between Greeks and Trojans were intended in this national epic to reflect and supply a kind of literary justification for actual historical events such as the Roman conquest of Greece?

At the close of the second Macedonian war in 196 B.C. we read that Flamininus declared publicly at the Isthmian games that, having conquered King Philip and the Macedonians in war, he had freed the Greeks and now left them in full enjoyment of their own laws.[52] The Greeks proved unable either to maintain or employ this restored liberty to the satisfaction of the Romans, but the latter hesitated for half

a century yet to supress the great tradition of Greek independence and assume direct responsibility for the government of Greece. Meanwhile strong currents of Hellenic culture were flowing from Greece to Rome,[53] not only proving irresistible to the younger intelligentia, but being actively fostered by intellectual nobles like Scipio, as later by Lucullus and Cicero.[54] But Cato. who disliked the Greeks and was afraid of the new ideas that came from contact with them, formulated the policy "Get out of Greece, or subject it to Roman rule and custom."[55] However after the third Macedonian war, 171-168 B.C., Rome's policy was still one of comparative vacillation until another rising twenty years later forced her to make Macedonia a province in 148 B.C., and the end of Greek independence came two years later when Mummius captured and destroyed Corinth. Greece was attached to Macedoni until the time of Augustus, when it was made a separate province under the name of Achaea.[56] Still, Rome always showed herself more lenient in her dealings with Greece than with other conquered nations.

In Vergil's day the official attitude of the Romans towards the Greeks was for the most part one of dislike and distrust. It persists later in the writings of both Juvenal and Tacitus,[57] and Vergil himself as we have seen indicates something like antipathy towards them. The type of Greek slave and Greek trader, which were the actual representatives of the race, who came to Rome and were personally known to the Romans were not the persons who were likely to inspire

confidence in the Greek character as a whole. Their cleverness was regarded in Rome as unscrupulous hypocrisy. In the announcement which Jupiter makes concerning the future glories of Rome, her triumph over the Greeks is made prominent. "There will come a time as the years glide on, when the house of Assaracus will reduce to bondage Phthia and famous Mycenae, and lord it over vanquished Argos."[58] And again of the victory of Pydna, Anchises says: "He shall overthrow Argos and the Mycenae of Agamemnon, and the king himself of the line of Aeacus, descendant of the puissant Achilles, thus avenging his Trojen sires, and the violated temple of Minerva."[59] Likewise in Vergil's portrayal of the characters of Ulysses and Helen we sense the bitterness of national prejudice. He speaks of Ulysses as "the inventor of crime."[60] At the moment of the downfall of the royal palace and the savage slaughter of the feeble king, he sees Helen as the cause of it all, and looks upon her with thoughts of hatred and vengeance.[61] He returns to the theme of her treachery in the story of Deiphobus in Book VI,[62] where her behavior is inconsistently represented as even more despicable than in Book II.[63] The cowering suppliant of Book II is portrayed in Book VI as actively signalling to the Greeks from the citadel and introducing Menelaus into the chamber of the helpless Deiphobus. It is obvious that Vergil is upholding the cause of Troy and that dramatic propriety demanded a suitable show of

antagonism to her destroyer. After reading the account of Troy's downfall as told by Aeneas to Dido, we sympathize with the narrator and feel that there is ample justification for his sweeping condemnation of the Greeks when he allows his characters to utter such expressions as: "Do you think any gifts of the Greeks can be free from deceit?"[64] or "Whatever it be, I dread the Greeks even when they bring gifts."[65] "Now learn the treachery of the Greeks and from one crime take a specimen of the whole nation,"[66] warns Aeneas, and he punctuates the speech of Sinon with appropriate comments and insinuations, emphasizing the wiliness of the speaker and of the nation that he represents.[67]

With the throes of Troy still echoing in our ears, we share all the resentiment of Aeneas at the guilty and treacherous foe; we concur in Vergil's literary motive for this wholesale characterization of all Greeks as traitors. But on subsequent sober reflection we wonder whether there may not be a hint in Anchises phrase "ultus avos Trojae"[68] of a further and political motive. In the long history of the political relations between Greece and Rome, culminating in the formation of the province of Achaea, the Greeks had given comfort and aid to more than one enemy of Rome, until now the Augustan settlement seemed to end the possibility of Hellenic disaffection by the imposition of Roman dominion. Whatever his motive may have been, Vergil's dark picture of Greek duplicity in Troy and his eulogistic references to

Aemilius Paullus and Mummius, do lend moral support to the policy of his imperial patron in reducing Greece to the status of a province. Moreover the epithet insignis[69] applied to Mummius for his razing of Corinth, and the description of Paullus' victory as vengeance[70] tend to support the view that here at least was a war of conquest that Vergil could condone. The Roman conquest of Greece would appear to him as part of Rome's mission to establish law and order where it did not exist. It is not improbable that Vergil's gifted intellect and his ability to see into the future made him consider, as did the writer of the following words, that "it was on the whole beneficial that a state like Rome with enduring political capacity, established peace in Greece and saved it from the eastern monarchs and northern barbarians until her great culture could permeate Rome and thus be saved for future generations."[71]

We return to the story to consider the third method by which the poet preserves the reputation of his hero for patriotism and valor. Aeneas does not willingly succumb to fate and Grecian guile. The cause of king and country was lost before he awoke, as Hector and Panthus explicitly inform him. "Troy is tumbling."[72] "The Greeks are masters."[73] Hector bade him save the gods by flight. Panthus at once appeared bearing the gods that were to be saved. The course of fate was set, but Aeneas was more than a messenger or emissary of fate. He possessed the instinct of a warrior.

He seized his arms, and though he realized that they would avail him little, he preferred to die fighting.[74] Rallying a band of desperate men, he wrought some execution upon roving bands of Greeks in the streets until overpowered by superior numbers. "We sent many of the Greeks down to Orcus."[75] Then gaining secret entrance to the palace of Priam he shared in the final struggle for its defence, accounting for many more of the enemy.[76] It was only when resistance had been completely crushed, and when his divine mother appeared to reiterate the command to escape[77] and to show him the gods actively engaged in the destruction of his city,[78] that he at last abandoned the fight. Even then when Anchises refused to leave, Aeneas would not go without him and prepared to sell his life as dearly as possible at Greek expense.[79] The miracle of Iulus' illuminated hair and the comet which fell on Mount Ida converted the reluctant refugees,[80] but after reaching the safety of Ceres' temple and discovering the loss of Creusa, Aeneas once more fearlessly returned to Troy and searched the city if perchance he might find or re-capture his wife.[81] The futility of these heroic efforts was demonstrated again and again, but there is no evidence of cowardice on the part of Aeneas.[82] If his valor was unavailing it was no less genuine and convincing. To Dido his heroism was untarnished by defeat; it was unlikely to earn the disapproval of the Roman reader, who would acquiesce in Aeneas' own melancholy protest:

Testor in occasu vestro nec tela nec ullas
Vitavisse vices Danaum, et si fata fuissent,
Ut caderem, meruisse manu.[83]

We have seen how the traditional account of Aeneas' flight from Troy seemed to militate against his eligibility as an epic hero. We have seen too how successfully the poet explained that flight without loss of heroism on the part of Aeneas. It remains to point out why Vergil did not change the current form of the tradition, as a poet is entitled to do, to make his hero a more successful warrior. Prescott remarks[84] that the poet was forced by the conditions of his plot, and by the literary tradition, to represent the ancestors of the Roman people as abandoning their native city to the Greeks, whose descendants the Romans subsequently reduced to the position of humble subjects. We should rather argue that instead of being forced to adopt a plot which did not suit his purpose, Vergil found that the doleful tale of Trojan disaster was admirably adapted to bring out his own attitude to war and bloodshed, and perhaps it was in keeping also with the views and policy of his imperial patron. Vergil's position seems to be not far removed from the modern doctrine that no one wins a war, and so he painted its cruelties and horrors, almost unrelieved by any deceptive glamor. All the while that Aeneas strives to satisfy his instinctive patriotism and national pride, he is made to confess the hopelessness

of his endeavor.

"Arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis."[85]

"Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem."[86]

It required the repeated frustation of his own heroic efforts, and the revelation of his divine mother to teach him the lesson which Vergil thereby desires to convey to his reader. He does not expect the lesson to be completely taught in Book II. Other champions of valor appear in the later books, many valiant deeds are wrought in vain. In the end peace triumphs in the person of Aeneas, who brought peace, not war to Italy. The devastating defeat which at first sight appeared as a handicap in the characterization of a conventional hero, now appears as the necessary schooling for a new type of hero, the symbol of Vergil's artistic purpose and of the Augustan policy, the hero who makes war only to secure peace.

Enough has been said about the Trojan episode to show how it contributes to the development of the plot of the poem and the character of the hero. Much more could be said about the rich and sombre colours with which the poet fills in the scene and creates the atmosphere of pathos and despair in which he wishes to enfold the theme of war. Some of the effect can be appreciated only in the deep and sonorous tones of long Vergilian adjectives in such phrases as: _infandum dolorem_,[87] _lamentabile regnum_,[88] _supremum laborem_,[89] _domum exitiale_,[90] _armorumque ingruit horror_,[91] _ineluctabile tempus_;[92] or in the hissing sibilants of which the ancients

were so fond: animus meminisse horret,[93] toties sudarit sanguine litus,[94] miserabile vulgus.[95] Still more impressive are the sordid details of Sinon's treachery and Pyrrhus' ruthlessness. The picture of ugliness and frightfulness reaches a pitiful climax in the description of Priam's mangled corpse, then fades before the awful tableau of hostile gods which Venus discloses, and flashes briefly before us again as we follow Aeneas in his last reconnaissance of the scene of destruction. A closer inspection of two or three incidents in the story will serve to illustrate the tenor of the whole.

Let us look first at the apparition of Hector. The primary purpose of the apparition is, as we have already pointed out, to furnish Aeneas with a supernatural motive for abandoning Troy and thus destroy any charge of cowardice which might be levelled against him. The vision makes clear the fore-ordained destiny of the city and the divine mission of Aeneas.[96] However the minuteness with which Vergil describes the tragic figure and the care he takes to make the situation one which will excite sympathy and pity[97] causes the scene to serve a secondary purpose, that of revealing the tragedy of war. Hector's gruesome appearance, cruel wounds, and bloodstains are a stern reminder of the horror and suffering of battle, and Vergil, with his usual fondness for pathetic effects, makes the most of the situation.

"Hei mihi, qualis erat."[98]

The night battle includes two main incidents; the stratagem of Coroebus and its failure, and the fight in and around Priam's palace. Both scenes bring out vividly the stark tragedy and ruthlessness of war.

The Coroebus scene is a tragic drama in miniature, portrayed with all the art of the author.[99] On learning from Panthus that Troy is in the hands of the Greeks, Aeneas gathers a few magnanimous souls around him, among them Coroebus, and rushes madly into the raging din. The scene is one of wild disorder and strikingly reveals all that we are accustomed to associate with war. Vergil seems at a loss for words to describe it. He says: "Who can describe in words the havoc, who the deaths of that night? or who can furnish tears equal to the disasters?"[100] Consider the soul-rending tragedy of these words: "our ancient city having borne sway for many years, falls to the ground: great numbers of sluggish carcasses are strewn up and down in the streets, in the houses, and the sacred thresholds of the gods."[101] And again: "Everywhere is cruel sorrow, everywhere terror and death in a thousand shapes."[102] These words require no comment. Written by the poet they may be regarded as a forceful indication of his conception of concentrated warfare. As the scene progresses, feelings of pity and sympathy for the "ill-starred lover"[103] are aroused. The pathetic figure of Coroebus occupies the foreground and when the stratagem conceived by him, and carried out with such youthful daring, ends so disastrously,

the feeling is one of mingled admiration and bitterness; admiration for the impetuous young lover who hurls himself into the midst of the enemy to rescue his sweetheart; bitterness for the tragedy of war which so needlessly and with such utter unconcern robs mothers of their sons and maidens of their lovers.

In the description of the battle scene in and around the palace of Priam, there is again the Vergilian appeal to the emotions. Once again the din of battle and the general confusion are such that the narrator interrupts his story to tell us that it was "as though this had been the only seat of war; as though none had been dying in all the city besides."[104] Mars raged with ungoverned fury.[105] As the story is told we are reminded of what war does to civilized humans. Men become little better than beasts in their savage thirst for blood. This is exemplified particularly in the character of Pyrrhus, whom Vergil compares to a swollen viper, just emerging from his winter's rest fresh and strong.[106] Without pity, without feeling of any sort, he slays a son before his father's eyes, and then ruthlessly drags the feeble king "trembling and sliding in the streaming gore of his son"[107] to the sacred altar and there drives his sword deep into the old man's heart. The panic-stricken women and the aged queen, crowding in terror around the altars and embracing the shrines of the gods[108] are pity-compelling figures who arouse in the reader feelings of resentment and hatred against the merciless Greek assailants

who respect not even the gods and desecrate the altar with blood.

The whole story up to this point may be described as a crescendo of calamity, and the remainder of the book as a diminuando of depression. The poet spares no effect that is calculated to enhance our impression of the hellish character of war. The vanquished are dragged through the ultimate agonies of catastrophe, the victors exult in the callous cruelty of their dastardly deeds. The incidents of the narrative well illustrate the condition of demoralization that results from ten years of continuous war. It should not be overlooked that Vergil begins the book in a setting of war weariness on both sides. Aeneas explains the building of the horse as a last resort of the Greek leaders who were _fracti bello fatisque repulsi_,[109] and Sinon repeats that their might was broken, and that Pallas was estranged from them by the sacrilegious conduct of Ulysses and Diomedes.[110] On the other side we have the vivid and ironic picture of Trojan relief when they thought the war was over and the Greeks had gone. Vergil makes it easy to visualize the joy and abandon with which they burst from their prison walls and overrun the plain from which they have been driven for so long a time.[111] It is the reaction from this scene of premature rejoicing that makes the ghastly barbarism of the city's fall so telling, and the insidious treachery of Sinon so revolting.

We are now perhaps in a position to answer the question:

Does Vergil hate or glorify war? A study of the scenes described must elicit the reply: Vergil hates war. This statement may be somewhat qualified by noting, as has already been done, that Vergil makes a distinction between civil wars and imperialistic wars, and under certain circumstances urges the latter as a necessity to the attaining of nobler things. However, war in itself, with all that it entails of cruelty, death, trickery and deceit, is utterly abhorrent to him. This attitude is unmistakeably revealed in his account of Troy's fall. In the telling of the story he necessarily reveals himself and it is to be noted that it is not the glorious deeds of valor that he stresses, but the pathos, the suffering, the horror and inhumanity of it all.

It might be objected that Aeneas' statement, _pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis_,[112] points to a glorification or at least an approval of war. Vergil is here extolling the warrior who falls in defence of his country. It is indeed glorious to die for one's native land and the man who spurns death at the call of his country deserves and has ever received the highest meed of praise. But to praise the warrior is not to approve the war. This is well brought out in our own time. We deplore war and long for peace, but who will not pay the highest tribute to the brave lads who fight and die to win that peace? In a similar manner Vergil seldom fails to praise the warrior, but always abhors the war.

In the one romantic episode of the nightmare of destruction

the figure of Coroebus is drawn with sympathy and understanding. We admire the courage of despair with which he and his companions embark on a forlorn hope; we share his grief and rage when he sees his beloved mistreated by the Greeks; we are tempted with him to approve of the ruse de guerre when he dons Greek armour. But even this trick involves its own penalty of poetic justice. Coroebus is the first to fall when he has betrayed his own disguise, but the others too suffer for his mistake, even Rhipeus, who was the justest man of all the Trojans.[113] Vergil's condemnation of war is so thorough and so severe that he does not allow himself to approve of trickery even at the hands of those who have had great provocation.

The desperate display of valour on the part of Aeneas, which no doubt endeared him to the patriotic Roman reader, was doomed to failure because it ran counter to the divine command which had been conveyed to him by Hector. Priam and the people of Priam were but expiating the sins of their ancestors and that was why the gods were inexorable in their insistence upon the fate of the city. Aeneas' valour likewise ran counter to Vergil's artistic purpose which was to portray the wickedness of internecine strife. It was but the first tragic lesson in the education of a prince whose mission was to inaugurate the rule of peace. It proved that he had the qualities of a hero, but those heroic qualities were destined for a nobler use.

In summary, Book II of the Aeneid is a magnificent

indictment of war, an arraignment constructed of various arguments. War makes the victors more hateful, and the vanquished more pitiful. The hero's role is shown to be not in the battle, but leading the survivors to safety. The plot is tragic, and the proper tragic emotion is fear of war. In all the symphony there is no sound or hint of glory or glamor. Every chord is an accompaniment of Hector's warning, repeated by Venus:

"Teque his eripe flammis."[114]

References

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2. Vergil, _Aeneid_ I, 755.

3. Prescott, H.W., _The Development of Virgil's Art_, 302.

4. _Ibid_, 301.

5. Vergil, _Aeneid_ I, 6; cf. Sellar, W.Y., _Virgil_, 342.

6. Vergil, Aeneid II, 270-297; see also Prescott, H.W., _Op. Cit._, 314.

7. Vergil, _Aeneid II_, 318-335.

8. _Ibid_, 679-720

9. Prescott, H.W., _Op. Cit._, 345.

10. Vergil, _Aeneid_ I, 456-493

11. Prescott, H.W., _Op. Cit._, 303.

12. The material for this whole paragraph is from Prescott, H.W., _Op. Cit._, 302-304.

13. Vergil, _Aeneid II_, 402.

14. Prescott, H.W., _Op. Cit._, 305, 309, 314, 319, 328.

15. Vergil, _Aeneid_ II, 54.

16. _Ibid_, 246.

17. _Ibid_, 402.

18. _Ibid_, 433.

19. _Ibid_, 738.

20. _Ibid_, 203-240.

21. _Ibid_, 679-704.

22. _Ibid_, 601-623.

23. _Ibid_, 363.

24. _Ibid_, 198.

25. _Ibid_, 254-264.

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27. _Ibid_, 69-194.

28. _Ibid_, 49.

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30. _Ibid_, 36, 65, 195, 309,.

31. _Ibid_, 106, 152, 195.

32. _Ibid_, 44,62,152, 196, 252,

33. _Ibid_, 106, 125, 164.

34. _Ibid_, 90.

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64. *Ibid*, 43-44.

65. *Ibid*, 49.

66. *Ibid*, 65-66.

67. *Ibid*, 105-106, 152, 195-198.

68. Vergil, *Aeneid* VI, 840.

69. *Ibid*, 837.

70. *Ibid*, 840.

71. Frank, Tenney, *Op. Cit.*, 164.

72. Vergil, *Aeneid* II, 290.

73. *Ibid*, 327.

74. *Ibid*, 317, 353-354.

75. Ibid, 398.

76. Ibid, 466.

77. Ibid, 619.

78. Ibid, 601-618.

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80. Ibid, 680-704.

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87. Ibid, 3.

88. Ibid, 4.

89. Ibid, 11.

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101. *Ibid*, 363-366.

102. *Ibid*, 368-369.

103. *Ibid*, 345.

104. *Ibid*, 438-439.

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106. *Ibid*, 471-475.

107. *Ibid*, 550-551.

108. *Ibid*, 515-517.

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110. *Ibid*, 162-170.

111. *Ibid*, 26-30.

112. *Ibid*, 317.

113. *Ibid*, 426.

114. *Ibid*, 289. Cf. 619.

CHAPTER V

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

The last six books of the *Aeneid* recount the story of the war in Latium. The "Odyssey of wandering" is passed and the "Iliad of fighting" ensues. The story is not new. It is Vergil's refashioning of a mass of variant accounts of the Trojans in Latium, but his treatment of the topic, the war and the heroes of that war, throw considerable light on his attitude to war and peace. His invocation, in which he calls for special inspiration from the muse, gives a clue to his thought from the outset. "Dread wars I tell, array of battle, and light-hearted kings thrust forth to perish, when Etruria's host and all Hesperia gathered to the fray. Events of grander march impel my song and loftier task I try."[1]

This war is foretold in the first book of the *Aeneid* when Jupiter, seeking to comfort Venus, reveals the secrets of fate and warns her that Aeneas shall wage a mighty war in Italy and crush a stubborn nation.[2] Hence we are surprised when we hear Jupiter declare later that he had forbidden that Italy should engage in war with the Trojans.[3] Sidgwick accounts for the inconsistency by saying that Vergil forgot what he had said earlier.[4] But perhaps there is no contradiction. In the first passage Jupiter is not speaking for himself, but is revealing the secrets of fate, while in the

second he simply says that he himself had forbidden war. It is possible that his will does not always coincide with the decrees of fate. Several times in the Aeneid Vergil seems to make this distinction between the two. Jupiter is represented as cognizant of the fates rather than as their author. At times he can grant very great powers as when he tells Venus:

"Imperium sine fine dedi."[5]

But very providence or fate he never seems to be. He draws the lots of fate, he does not assign them at will;[6] he unrolls the book of fate and announces what he finds.[7] He cannot decide the battle between the warriors until he weighs their fates,[8] and in the council of the gods he announces his impartiality and refusal to interfere with the laws of causality:-

"Sua cuique exorsa laborem
Fortunamque ferent. Rex Juppiter omnibus idem.
Fata viam invenient."[9]

Venus also hints that fate is the supreme power in the world.[10] Again it may be noted at the close of the Sixth Book that Aeneas is told by his father that he must avoid or endure wars.[11] The suggestion seems to be that it is desirable to avoid them if possible, otherwise he must endure them. Arrived in Italy it soon becomes clear to Aeneas that he cannot escape them, and therefore, as the chosen vessel of destiny, fato profugus,[12] he must perforce sustain them.

A study of the causes of the war reveal that they were almost all instigated by Juno and her minion, Allecto. Filled with hatred for the Trojans, humiliated by the failure of her former plans for their destruction, Juno's desire to avenge herself knows no bounds. She will stop at nothing. If heaven refuses help, then she will call on the powers of hell.[13] She may not be able to prevent the nuptuals, but at least she will delay them.[14] War, bloodshed is her cry! Latinus and Aeneas, the father and the son-in-law, shall unite only at the cost of their people's blood.[15] Roused to this pitch of fury she summons the demon, Allecto, from the underworld, and instructs her to stir up strife and thus prevent the Trojans from settling peacefully in Italy.

We cannot but believe that Vergil purposely chose this terror of the lower regions to embody concretely the power of war and thus convey to his readers his loathing and fear of it. From bitter personal experience he knew its torments and his description of Allecto breathes forth all the bitterness of an aged cursed by civil war. Coming from the infernal glooms she revels in wars, wrath, vengeance, foul treason and fatal feuds. Loathed by her father and detested by her hellish sisters, it is her delight to let loose the passions of mortal men and kindle them to madness. Bristling with snakes and hideous to behold she is capable of causing loving brothers to draw swords against each other, and of ruining homes with hatred.[16] This loathsome, terrifying and

diabolical creature is the one Vergil chooses to symbolize war and to bring out its hell-inspired beginnings.

The strategy of this fiendish fury, as she seeks to execute Juno's command to break the plighted peace, breed calumnies and sow the causes of war,[17] is diabolical in its cleverness. She sets about her hellish task with relish and accomplishes it by exerting her power in three directions. She first seeks out the queen, Amata, into whom she infuses madness by hurling at her a snaky lock of hair.[18] The poison spreads throughout her body and in a frenzy she wanders through the towns and wildly roams the woods, communicating the contagious fury to the other women of Latium.[19] Satisfied that her demoniacal work is well started and will spread, the destructive goddess next visits Turnus, Lavinia's rejected suitor, who has the greatest personal interest in the war and becomes its leader. Assuming the form of a priestess of Juno, she addresses the youth in sleep with words well calculated to rouse his manly pride and jealous sense of honor, and bids him go forth and protect the Latins from the foreigner who is endeavoring to steal first his bride and then the throne.[20] Turnus at first laughs her to scorn,[21] when on a sudden she assumes her real form and hissing with snakes thrusts a torch into his breast.[22] Immediately the diabolical fire blazes up within him and throwing off sleep he rages for arms, being possessed of a cursed madness for war.[23] He commands the chiefs of the youths to proceed with him to

King Latinus to dissuade him from the new alliance with the Trojans.[24]

But this does not suit the crafty Allecto since it is still possible that a peaceful settlement may result. She cannot be satisfied until she has caused the shedding of blood. So devising new treachery she sets out on a third frenzied attack. Her purpose this time is clear. She must manoeuver the Trojans into the position of aggressors. Unless the Latins feel themselves the injured party, they cannot compel their king to fight and, fight they must. The injury which incites them to take the offensive is slight enough, but it is sufficient for Juno's purpose. Allecto causes the youthful Ascanius to shoot and mortally wound a tame deer, the pet of the daughter of the king's forester.[25] In her violent grief the child calls the country people to her aid.[26] These sturdy rustics, inspired by the fell pest who crouches in the silent forest, eagerly take up arms to avenge the injury.[27] By blowing a signal on the shepherd's horn, "straining her hellish voice so that every grove trembled and the recesses of the deep forests echoed,"[28] Allecto takes care that the excitement spreads. The result is no rustic brawl, but a real battle with "two-edged steel"[29] and a "bristling crop of drawn swords."[30] The poorly equipped country swains are no match for the expert Trojans who have rallied to the assistance of their young prince, and so the victims are chiefly Latins. This is according to Allecto's plan. The shedding

of blood calls for revenge.

Thus the city-folk, aroused by the madness of Amata, gather from every quarter and importunately demand war; the Rutulians animated with daring courage and eager for battle, follow their prince to the court of king Latinus; the hardy rustics are stirred by resentment to warlike action. Allecto has done her work well and has achieved her wicked design; "she has drenched the war in blood and has ushered in the havoc of the first encounter."[31] She reports her success to Juno[32] and offers to do more, but the queen of heaven, thinking that the terror and deceit have gone far enough and that she can manage the rest alone, somewhat scornfully dismisses her and she disappears into the pestilential jaws of hell.[33] Now Juno puts a finishing hand to the war.

The three parties unite in the palace of king Latinus and against the omens, against the decrees of the gods, with malign will, demand the <u>infandum bellum</u>.[34] Latinus, a man of peace, does his best to withstand them and to stem their desire for revenge, but at length, realizing that he can avail nothing against the will of Juno, he shuts himself up in the palace and abandons the reigns of government.[35] He shrinks with abhorrence from opening the dread gates of war,[36] the official declaration of hostilities, so Juno herself stoops down from the skies, and with her own hand pushes the lingering portal.[37] Thus are we reminded that all this hostile action issues from a single malevolent source, Juno,

the implacable enemy of Aeneas and the Trojans.

This review of the causes of the war reveals several points of significance. In the first place, Aeneas, the hero of the poem and the outstanding figure in the war, is guiltless. He has absolutely nothing to do with the induction of the war. Forces beyond his control compel him to fight. How reluctantly he does so is made manifest again and again. When he perceives the true state of affairs in Latium we are told that "he is rocked upon a mighty sea of cares"[38] and that "he is disturbed at the thought of disastrous wars."[39] That he is destined by fate to wage war in Italy we have already seen, and now it becomes clear how the war is brought about.

As indicated above the causes were almost all instigated by Juno with the assistance of the demon Allecto. To state the case thus is to present ourselves with an apparent problem. Juno is a goddess, the wife of Jove. Can she do wrong? If not, is Vergil then expressing his approval of war by thus representing her as bringing it about? No. The difficulty is caused by confusing later ideas about deity, such as its perfect wisdom, goodness and justice, with ancient ideas concerning the gods. Juno is clearly in the wrong, though she is acting from very natural and understandable motives. It is evident that she is just a greater-than-mortal woman, with a woman's jealousy and partisanship and

desire for revenge. She is infuriated to think that she has been outdone by Aeneas. "Vincor ab Aenea!"[40] she exclaims with wounded pride. In this story she is a personification of malevolence, a kind of queen of devils, and to accomplish her wicked designs she actually employs a devil as her agent. Hence in representing her as the chief instigator of the war, far from showing his approval of it, Vergil is emphasizing the fact that war originates among the powers of evil and is a hellish business.

Juno is not the only divinity who figures in the story. Venus, the mother of Aeneas and the daughter of Jove, is the champion of the Trojans. Although she is on the side of right, she is just as partial as Juno and like her possesses the weakness of a mortal woman. Jupiter is the only god in the narrative who approaches the modern idea of the goodness and wisdom of God, but even he is not omnipotent and admits that the ultimate issue of affairs lies not in the hands of gods, but of a still higher power. In the council of the gods he solemnly declares that he will be the same to all, but that "the fates will find a way."[41]

Yet another fact is brought out by an examination of the causes of the war, namely, that once discord has sprung up among men it grows into war by an inner necessity.

"Saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli."[42]

Allecto understood this well and hence we see that her plan

was simply to sow the seeds of discord. The inevitable result would be war. In exposing this truism with such painstaking care, Vergil perhaps wished to offer it as a warning to his readers, in an attempt to prevent future wars.

With the opening of the gates of war by Juno, war is officially declared in Latium. The signal is given and the troops muster. But no share of the blame for this unhappy development can be laid upon the shoulders of Aeneas, whom Vergil represents as doing all in his power to prevent hostilities. He shows that the influences which compel Aeneas to fight are vicious, evil, and accidental. Driven to Latium by the express will of the gods, he comes in the garb of peace.

"Nec veni, nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent."[43]

Realizing that he is an intruder in the domain of another, almost his first act upon arriving in the destined land is to send envoys bearing the symbolic olive bough to the royal palace of the local king, whose authority he thus recognizes, to implore a peaceful reception for the Trojans.[44] Ilionus, spokesman for the party, makes his simple request to king Latinus for "a small settlement and an unmolested shore for our country's gods, and air and water which are open to all."[45] Nothing could be more pacific, nothing farther from the conduct of an aggressor who intends taking what he wants by force of arms. Latinus welcomes them in a friendly manner. Convinced that Aeneas is his destined son-in-law, he joyfully accepts the proffered alliance, betroths his daughter to the

Trojan prince, and dismisses the envoys with royal gifts and assurances of peace.[46] We have here a picture of two peoples in friendly relations with each other, and there is no thought of conflict in their hearts. It is at this point that Juno, viewing the turn of events with hurt surprise, takes a hand.

We should not fail to note that Vergil is careful to preserve King Latinus free from any taint of responsibility for the conflict. Indeed he employs one of the most beautiful and most effective of his epic similes[47] to emphasize the determined resistance of the aged king to the fevered tide which overwhelmed him. From the very first Latinus met Trojan pleas for peace with terms of peace, and to the last he refused to participate in the struggle. It is the poet's method of leaving the door open for final reconciliation between the Trojans and the Latins who are destined to unite in the nation of the future. When the recalcitrants, Amata and Turnus, have been eliminated, the negotiations of Aeneas and Latinus may be resumed.

When Aeneas realizes that war is inevitable his reaction is true to his character. Commanded by the fates to settle in Italy,[48] and having been assured by Father Tiber that he has reached his destined home,[49] duty bids him remain even at the cost of war. He has done his utmost to avoid it, but if it must be, he once again bows to the decrees of fate. He will fight, yes, but not for any selfish interests; the fates summon him to take up arms for his people and for the accom-

plishing of his divinely allotted task. Thus does Vergil justify sending his hero to war. It is even possible that he does so with a definite purpose. By describing the stark realities of warfare does he not perhaps hope to inculcate in his readers a loathing and a fear of it?

As the war proceeds from one scene of carnage to another, we note the strategy of Aeneas, ever trying to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, ever ready to make terms when possible, but thwarted more than once in his desire to do so. Before setting out for the city of Evander, he forbids the Trojans remaining behind to take the offensive in any way; even if attacked they are to do no more than defend their camp.[50] Thus does he seem to hope until the very last that war may be averted. He is forced to fight and to kill, but the oftener we read the story, the more apparent it becomes how loth he is to do it. With what reluctance does he slay Lausus, and with what noble chivalry does he restore the armour and the body to the lad's own followers.[51] Not to strike on this occasion would have been weakness and Aeneas, the ideal warrior, must be free from such a defect, but it is apparent that his nature inclines far more to the side of peace than of war, so aptly denoted as lacrimabile bellum.[52] To the Latins who come begging the bodies of the slain he says, "Is it peace for the dead you ask of me, for them on whom the war-god's lot has fallen? Nay, to the living also would I grant it."[53]

This is always his attitude, but when he must make war

he does it with all the courage of an epic hero. With a bravery that knows no fear he leads his allies into action with him, and no cost of death or suffering will tempt him to withdraw or even falter. If his enemies want war they shall have it, but would that they wanted peace! This is evident in the parley with the Latin ambassadors referred to above. Here and elsewhere he seems to plead for peace and reconciliation. He profoundly regrets the war and the unnecessary slaughter, and makes it clear that he has no quarrel with the Latins, but fights because their king has abandoned the alliance and chosen to entrust himself to the arms of Turnus:- "What undeserved misfortune, Latins, involved you in so fatal a war, that now you shun our friendship?...nor is it with the people I wage war."[54] He would spare the lives of countless Trojans and Latins by fighting it out with Turnus in single combat if the latter would but agree. When, after the death of Camilla and the flight of the Latins, no other alternative is left Turnus and he consents to meet Aeneas, we are told that the latter is "glad of the closing of the war upon the proffered terms,"[55] and "he orders men to bear a definite reply to king Latinus, and name the terms of peace."[56]

Aeneas' heartfelt sympathy with suffering and sorrow and his innate tendency to spare rather than take life is again manifest in his willingness to spare the life of Turnus at the end,[57] until he catches sight of the luckless belt

(*infelix balteus*) of Pallas and is reminded of Turnus' treatment of him.[58] Bitter resentment now annihilates the instinct of mercy[59] and he deals the fatal blow.[60] As Mr. Duckworth expresses it: "No mercy can be shown to Turnus, for the latter's *violentia* must be responsible for his own death--Vergil's final and supreme example of poetic justice."[61] Throughout the action of the plot, Aeneas, who as the hero of the poem undoubtedly expresses the view of the author, shows a marked preference for peaceful negotiations rather than recourse to violence; indeed he clearly regards a final peace as the crown of all his labors, and looks upon the war he is compelled to wage as a hated task imposed upon him by the fates.

> "Nos alias hinc ad lacrimas, eadem horrida bella
> Fata vocant."[62]

In striking contrast to Aeneas, we have his chief antagonist Turnus. Just as Aeneas is finally successful because of his whole-hearted acceptance of the role assigned him as the chosen vessel of destiny, so Turnus perishes because his fortune and actions bring him into antagonism with the decrees of fate. In him patriotism, courage and passion are exhibited in a fatal but not ignoble struggle with the purposes and chosen instruments of destiny. As we follow his conduct through the war, we are somewhat surprised at our own reaction. Although we realize that the *pius Aeneas* is in the right, time and again we find ourselves sympathizing with Turnus. In the first place this

is perhaps due to the art of Vergil, who does not try to augment sympathy with his chief personage by an unworthy detraction from his antagonist. Then too, we feel that after all Turnus is more sinned against than sinning. At the outset he does not appear eager to make war, but is driven to it by Juno and her agents and dupes, Allecto, Iris, Amata etc. It is with some difficulty that Allecto arouses him to arms. At first he mocks her and accuses her of inventing grounds for fear and jealousy.[63] Even when driven by the fury to take up arms he seems somewhat loth to start the actual fighting, and Juno is forced to send Iris to persuade him to attack the Trojan camp while Aeneas is away.[64] Again, as Mr. Sellar points out,[65] the cause which moves him to resist the Trojans is no unworthy one, either on patriotic or personal grounds. If the Greeks were justified in making war against the Trojans on account of Helen, the Italians may be justified in warring against the same people on account of Lavinia.

For these reasons the general bearing of Turnus excites a feeling of admiration, although we are conscious of certain defects in his character. We recognize the justice of Drances' reproach that he is heedless of national well-being or divine decree if at any cost to anybody and everybody he can gratify his own wishes.[66] His strategy, if such it can be called, is very different from that of Aeneas. After the war has begun we find no attempt on his part to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, no remorse at taking life. Fury and violence charac-

terize his actions on the battlefield and he deals slaughter madly and indiscriminately. The contrast between his cruelty and brutality and the decency and generosity of Aeneas is stressed throughout the fighting, but nowhere more clearly than in Book X, where we witness his reaction after slaying Pallas and that of Aeneas when forced to kill Lausus. Turnus exults in his victory and proceeds to strip the dead body of his victim;[67] Aeneas is filled with sadness at the tragedy.[68]

There seems too, to be something underhanded in Turnus' manner of making war. He begins by attacking the Trojan camp because Aeneas is away. Later when Camilla suggests that he withdraw and let her Volscian cavalry meet the Trojan horse, he readily consents, planning an ambush for the Trojan troops who follow behind the cavalry.[69] Perhaps "all is fair in war" because war is an evil thing in any case. But it is remarkable that the exploits of Turnus in the Vergilian account show to best advantage when the advantages of the contest are on his side. When he is confronted with Aeneas on something like equal terms, it is a different story. He declares himself ready for a duel as soon as it is desired and with feverish excitement prepares for it.[70] But once the terms are arranged he begins to lose courage and the Rutulians, affected by their leader's disinclination, clamor to annul the compact.[71] There is a tumult around the altar, the truce is broken, and fighting breaks out anew.[72] Aeneas attempts to stem the tide of passion,[73] declaring, " 'Tis only I do lawful battle here."[74]

A contrast of the two is again in favor of Aeneas. Turnus is all too ready to break the sworn pledge and permit a general conflict. His courage revives only when Aeneas is wounded and carried from the field. Now he rushes into battle rejoicing, subita spe fervidus ardet.[75] Taking advantage of the absence of his principal foe, he courses over the field in his chariot, a veritable god of war, striking down everything before him.[76] True to character to the very end, he excites contempt one moment and admiration the next. Aroused to a sense of shame by the sight of his struggling followers and by the pleading words of Saces,[77] he at length resolves to meet Aeneas and to atone for his disgrace by suffering all the bitterness of death.[78] He enters upon the final contest with a courage born of despair and by his last words compensates for any trace of cowardice incurred by his former actions. It is impossible not to extend our sympathy to him, proud, brave, chivalrous and loyal. He is so utterly foredoomed and yet in his struggle with destiny he remains a man.

In this story Aeneas is the undoubted champion of right while Turnus, as his enemy and the human cause of the war, is necessarily the enemy of right. It may therefore justly be asked whether Vergil does not confess a tacit approval of war in portraying the character of Turnus in a manner to arouse sympathy rather than disgust. We think not. Even though Turnus should appeal to some readers more than does the dutiful, but less colorful Aeneas, still, as we have

shown, so far from hiding his defects, the poet makes it all too evident that he is proud, vain and boastful, and that he fails because he puts personal interests before the interests of his people. It might also be pointed out that in writing his national epic Vergil had to remember that not many of his readers claimed actual descent from the Trojans; most perhaps had Latin and some Rutulian forbears. No doubt the poet had this in mind when portraying the character of the prince of the Rutulians. Although Turnus and the Rutulians are the enemies of Aeneas, they are the progenitors of the Romans and Italians of Vergil's day. Hence the author presents them as stalwart warriors and as worthy members of the races that went to form the Roman nation, and thus tries to win for them the respect and admiration of his readers. With Turnus he has succeeded. In spite of the defects of his character he is a warrior worthy of admiration.

An important feature of the war in Latium is the terms of peace which brought the war to an end and made Latins and Trojans one people. It is both interesting and necessary as an important guide to the proper interpretation of the whole struggle to point out the significance of these terms. In the pact arranged by King Latinus and Aeneas preparatory to the duel we are struck by the complete lack of personal ambition which the latter displays: "I shall neither require the Italians to obey the Trojans, nor claim I power for myself. On equal terms both nations unsubdued

may pledge themselves to everlasting friendship."[79] Through the mouth of his hero Vergil here declares the ruling motive of the whole poem. War for the sake of one's people and one's country, war to impose the arts of peace on a barbarian race, is glorious and worthy of the highest praise; but war for selfish aims is a crime to be condemned in all ages. Should the Trojans be unsuccessful in the combat they will retire to the city of Evander and wage war no more;[80] should they win, the races will unite on equal terms to live in amity forever.[81] Aeneas strives to make it clear that the Trojans are settling in Latium because it is their destined home, and in friendship not hostility to their neighbors. Their intention is cooperation and consolidation, not conquest. From seven years of wandering and suffering Aeneas has learned the important political principle of compromise. When he first left Troy he perhaps believed that it was his mission to find a new site on which to rebuild another Troy. In fact he told Dido in an emotional moment of self-revelation that if he could obey his personal preference, he would even then be re-establishing the original Troy.[82] The bitter opposition of Turnus and the native Italian suspicion and resentment against the foreign intruder have not been without a purpose nor an effect.

The final result is the loss of Trojan identity and the merging of the new settlers into the Latin nation. Rome is not to be a Trojan town, nor are her people to be Trojans. She is to be the embodiment of all that is best in Italy.

As Mr. Glover puts it: "The Trojan element reaffirms the ideals of the Italian race; all it does is to add the slight touch that changes nothing while it alters everything."[83] This is well brought out by the speech in which Juno makes her submission to fate, and by Jupiter's reply. After yielding to the inevitable decree of fate that Turnus must die, and Aeneas, as victor, marry Lavinia and become king, Juno makes one highly significant request, namely, that after victory the Trojans will not force the vanquished to take Trojan names and customs, but that the new nation may keep the ancient rites and name of Latium and be called not Trojans, but Latins.[84] Jupiter consents: "I grant thy wish. The Ausonii shall retain their native speech and customs, and their name shall continue as it is. Incorporated merely the Trojans are to settle."[85]

It is important also to point out that the long sustained animosity of Juno to the Trojans throughout the poem has not been without a deliberate artistic motive on the part of the poet, nor does Juno yield completely at the last. The reconciliation is in reality a compromise. Juno has gained her main point that the name and identity of Troy and Trojans shall disappear forever. Her inveterate hostility to Aeneas and his followers was artistically necessary to motivate and sanction this grand result. Artistically to save the "face" and prestige of the hero, Aeneas, however, this transformation is not to come about at once nor in the lifetime of Aeneas. Thirty years of rule in Lavinium and three hundred years in Alba

Longa will have to pass before the dynasty will finally be transferred to Rome[86] and transmuted into a purely Italian power. The agreement between Juno and Jupiter is really a prophecy of the future. The Italians, made up of many races amalgamated into a single state, shall become one people. Vergil seems to deprecate a narrow urban patriotism. He seems to lean towards the policy of Julius Caesar, who scattered Roman colonies throughout the Empire and extended citizenship to peoples of all races.[87] It is significant that in mustering allies for Aeneas, Vergil departs from the usual version of the legend. Aeneas receives his aid from the Greek Evander and from the Etruscan cities north of the Tiber, while most of the Latins join Turnus, the enemy. Vergil purposely arranged the story thus in order to impregnate his readers with the idea that they have all, no matter what their origin, contributed to the building up of the Roman nation, and that they must all contribute to maintaining it in all its greatness.

We remark too, what care the poet takes to smooth over the difficulties between the Etruscans and the Latins. They are enemies because Mezentius, the tyrannical king of the Etruscans, driven from his kingdom by his own people has been received and given hospitality by the Rutulians.[88] The Etruscans are eager to avenge this insult with arms,[89] but have been warned to await a foreign leader.[90] When Aeneas comes looking for allies they eagerly flock to his standard.

Hence in the battles which follow we have Mezentius fighting against his own people. This is obviously an unnatural situation and deliberately represented so by the poet because he desires to suggest that the strife between neighboring Italian peoples should also be regarded as unnatural and undesirable. The cause of conflict is removed in the story by the death and elimination of Mezentius. Even he is not without his redeeming quality. His love for his horse[91] and his remorse at his son's sacrifice[92] neutralize much of the dislike that we have been taught to feel for him. Lausus' fatal attempt to save his father's life[93] is one of the noblest episodes in the whole of the Aeneid. Like another Saul and Jonathan, the manner of their death was lovely, and "in death they were not divided."[94] The tragic appeal of the beautiful picture is Vergil's method of drawing the poison of hate from the wound, preparing to heal the breach between the partisans in the conflict.

Thus from the beginning to the end of the war in Latium there is ample evidence of the desire of the author to impress his readers with pride in their ancestry and in the romantic incidents of their early history. So far from feeling themselves the descendants of a conquered race, they were encouraged by Vergil's inspiring epic to glory each in his own tribal strain as a component source of the virile stock that was welded into the steel of the body politic of Rome.

"Haec genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam,
Adsuetumque malo Ligurem, Volscosque verutos
Extulit.[95]

That is why our poet devotes the versatile talents of his art to enrich with local color the pageant of tribes which rally to Turnus' standard at the end of Book VII.[96] Each troop in the imposing array is distinguished by some trait or badge or hero of legendary fame and the whole magnificent mosaic splendidly adorns the structure of Italian unity in diversity which Vergil has built in lofty rime.

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CHAPTER VI

YOUTHFUL WARRIORS

One of the most appealing traits of Vergil, at least to the modern reader, is his sympathetic interest in young men. He loves them and sees in them the hope of Rome's continued greatness. To them belongs the task of maintaining the newly won peace. Throughout the Aeneid it is apparent that the poet delights to dwell upon the distinguishing characteristics of youth. When writing of them he is entirely original and seems to take pleasure in his task as nowhere else in his writings.[1]

In the earlier part of the Aeneid there are several passages which point unmistakably to the author's love and understanding of children. Ascanius, evidently a favorite, is more than once the means of revealing this trait in the poet. There is the stirring scene in the Third Book in which Andromache bids farewell to the boy, so like her own son Astyanax:[2] "Even such his eyes and hands, and such the face he showed, and would now have been a youth like thee."[3] Seldom has Vergil succeeded better in arousing the sympathy and tender feeling of his readers. In the Fourth Book he relieves the relative commonplaces of the details of the chase by again dwelling for a moment upon the son of Aeneas. With fond enthusiasm he relates how the lad shows boyish eagerness to hunt some real wild beasts instead of the tame varieties offered.[4]

It is with evident enjoyment that he pictures in the Fifth Book the young lads engaging in the Trojan games and revelling in the stirring action of mock fighting.[5] In the case of Nisus and Euryalus, whom we first meet at the games, we note how Vergil delights to call attention to the youthful beauty of the one and the loyal friendship of the other.[6] He reveals a knowledge and sympathetic understanding of the young when he pictures Euryalus bursting into tears at the prospect of losing a prize[7] which he won by Nisus' unsportsmanlike manoeuvre.[8] The poet's unusual and unique interest in even the female representatives of the younger generation is brought out in the pretty picture of Sylvia, the forester's daughter. The description of the little girl fondly caring for the pet deer, and her poignant grief when it is fatally wounded, is charming in its simplicity.[9] The whole scene lends support to the conclusion that the poet was attracted to children in an unusual manner; that he knew, loved and understood them.

In the latter half of the Aeneid this love for the child develops into a sympathetic interest and deep affection for the young man. It is both interesting and instructive to note the genuine feeling and tender compassion with which the poet follows the careers of Lausus, Pallas, Nisus and Euryalus, Camilla, and Ascanius, as we feel that at the same time he is revealing his own personality.

Pallas, like his father Evander, represents all the virtues of Roman and Italian at the best period of their

history--simplicity, dignity, hardness, faith, courage and piety.[10] From our first acquaintance with the youth we are attracted to him and this attraction grows into admiration as his story unfolds. He it is who boldly forbids his companions to interrupt the sacred rites of their rustic festival when they catch sight of Aeneas and his crew approaching,[11] but snatching up a javelin he hastens in person to meet them.[12] On learning who they are and whence they come he charmingly offers his father's hospitality.[13] In a touching scene he later bids farewell to his aged sire before departing for battle as the leader of the Arcadian allies of Aeneas.[14] The passage is outstanding for its strange pathos and beautiful tenderness and pays a high tribute to the filial qualities of Pallas who can arouse such sentiments even in a father.

On the battlefield where the youth is seen in action,[15] it is evident that his father's confidence in and devotion to him are fully justified. His bravery is exhibited in determined and consistent heroism as with indomitable courage he charges the enemy.[16] By word and example the youthful leader induces his wavering forces to hold their ground until, like a great forest fire, they sweep with combined strength to his aid.[18] His words reveal his sense of honor and his piety which trusts to providence.[19] In his encounter with Turnus,[20] we are filled with admiration at the courage and daring of the

young man, who faces his arrogant antagonist undaunted and replies to his brutality with such impressive dignity:- "For either lot my sire is ready."[21] Pallas desires no easy escape for himself. Victory or a glorious death is his highest hope.[22] He prays for success to Hercules who[23] "hears the youth and deep in his heart stifles a groan and sheds unavailing tears"[24] because the lad is fated to die. The voice of Vergil is recognized in the words of consolation which he puts into the mouth of Jupiter: "To each his day is given. Beyond recall man's little time runs by."[25] Then the poet adds a line which reveals his own tender compassion for the tragedy about to be enacted. He says that Jupiter, having spoken, turned his eyes from the field,[26] so as not to witness the death.

The funeral rites of Pallas are described at considerable length and with much feeling.[27] It is not mere sentimentality which causes the author to dwell upon this death in such a special manner. Pallas, coming from the future site of Rome, is for that very reason no ordinary youth. He is the first great victim sacrificed on Italian soil for the cause of Rome; his death is the prototype of the sacrifices of young lives through later Roman history.[28] His death is glorious but unfortunate. It is one of the countless casualties of a sanguine and unnecessary war. Vergil and his contemporaries had had far too much experience of such futile fighting and killing. He felt keenly the loss to Italy in his generation

of much of its best young blood spilled on the fields of the civil wars. While exalting the courage of the victim, he deprecates the waste of life. The dominant note in his story of Pallas is mingled pride and sorrow, but the pride is drowned in sorrow.

The grief which the death of Pallas aroused in all who knew him intimately is a further testimony of his worth. The sorrow of Evander,[29] Aeneas,[30] Acoetes,[31] and even the war horse[32] is heartrending, and yet all find a certain comfort in their justifiable pride in his achievements. Aeneas says: "Still Evander, by no dishonorable wounds struck down shalt thou behold him."[33] And the grief-stricken father consoles himself thus: "Still though an untimely death awaited my son, it would console me that he fell establishing the Trojans in Latium, when thousands of Volsci had first been slain."[34] Pallas is the ideal youth of the poem and Vergil has cleverly suggested this to the Roman reader by emphasizing the connection of his name, Pallas, with Pallanteum, and so with the later Palatine, and also by making him the son of Evander and a Sabine mother,[35] of Greek and native Italian origin. His premature and tragic death, just as the reader has grown to love and esteem him, is used purposely by the author to enrich the pathetic effects of the battle scenes and hence arouse a feeling of hatred for war.

A character in many ways similar to Pallas is Lausus, son of the Etruscan tyrant Mezentius. Speaking of the two on the occasion of their first meeting Vergil says, "nor do

their ages differ widely... matchless in beauty."[36] In portraying this young warrior the poet displays the same innate love of youth in the first bloom of manhood which he evinces so often in the course of his epic. His every reference to the lad bespeaks tender affection and heartfelt pity. Insight into his character is gained from his self-sacrificing deed on the field of battle,[37] from the deep sorrow of Aeneas at being forced to slay him,[38] and the passionate outburst of grief which shakes the hardened Mezentius at the event.[39] Like Pallas, Lausus possesses an insatiable thirst for achievement and distinction, but the manner in which he meets his death shows how ready he is to subordinate any personal ambition to his filial devotion to his father. His death is a voluntary sacrifice to save Mezentius whom Aeneas has wounded and is about to kill. "Here I shall not pass over in silence the disaster of thy tragic death, and thyself memorable youth,"[40] says the poet about to re-enact the scene.

When the boy catches sight of his father wounded and so unable to defend himself, with the tears streaming down his face[41] he springs forward and thrusts himself between the sword of Aeneas and its intended mark, thus saving his father.[42] About to strike, Aeneas pauses and bids the youth retire: "Why dost thou rush on death and venture beyond thy strength? Thy affection misleads thee into rashness."[43] Determined to save his parent and with a courage far beyond his years,

Lausus madly defies him.[44] Stern necessity then compels Aeneas to strike and with a characteristic touch of pathos Vergil adds that the blade pierced the tunic which his mother had spun.[45] No sooner is the deed accomplished than the dying face and the supreme sacrifice of the lad touch the victor's heart and recall vividly his affection for his own father Anchises.[46] The use of <u>Anchisiades</u>[47] here delicately suggests the sympathy of Aeneas for filial affection. Aeneas hastens to render to his victim all the honor that a hero can pay to a hero.[48] This short scene is an expression of Vergil's love, esteem and pity for the self- sacrificing heroism of youth.

If further proof were needed to attest the sterling quality of Lausus' character, we have it in the passionate grief of Mezentius which he is able to evoke by his death. Mezentius possesses a cruel, hard nature such as can tyrannize over his own people, scorn death, and defy the gods. It is a telling indication of the worth of Lausus that he alone can touch this hardened character. It is not improbable that Vergil purposely made Lausus a bright ideal figure in contrast to his stern and gloomy father in order to augment the pity of his readers for his self-sacrifice[49] and thereby increase their horror and detestation for war which makes such sacrifice necessary. Vergil makes it clear that there is no point of resemblance between the father and the son

except their strong mutual affection. "Worthy he to serve a nobler sire," he says, and "happier far if he had ne'er been born Mezentius' son."[50]

It is important to remember also that Lausus fought on the wrong side of the war, on the side opposed to Aeneas and Pallas, on the side that began the aggression, and yet, as we have noted, the treatment accorded him by the poet and the light in which he is represented are almost identical with those used with Pallas. In other words the accident of allegiance and association is neither an advantage to Pallas nor a disadvantage to Lausus. Both are depicted as noble heroes, both benefit from the sympathy and liking of writer and reader alike, and both meet a tragic end. What inference could be clearer than that death to neither is the result of his cause, but rather the result of war, that enemy of all mankind? Vergil's enthusiasm for the young heroes is the measure of his detestation of war.

Two other youths included in the poet's gallery of youthful warriors are Nisus and Euryalus. Both are Trojan sentries: Nisus, "a youth of eager heart for noble deeds,"[51] and his friend Euryalus, "upon whose cheek unshorn the tender bloom of boyhood lingered still."[52] As previously mentioned Vergil first introduces us to the pair at the funeral games in honor of Anchises. In describing the foot race he mentions seven of the contestants by name,[53] but seems to linger

affectionately over Nisus and Euryalus, the one "for beauty's bloom renowned,"[54] the other "for loyal love."[55] These two qualities of youth, beauty and loyalty, seem to captivate the heart of the poet at all times and he loves to draw attention to them. In this particular episode of the foot race he evinces a rare understanding of youth and an almost parental blindness to their innocent follies. At the start of the race Nisus gets a good lead, with Salius coming second and Euryalus third. All are counting on Nisus as the victor when he slips and falls. The next best thing to winning himself is having his friend win; so he purposely trips Salius and Euryalus emerges the winner.[56] Of course the act is unsportsmanlike and Salius justly claims the prize.[57] However, Vergil, with lenient partiality for the tears of the beautiful Euryalus says," General favor smiles upon Euryalus whose beauteous tears commend him much, and nobler seems the worth of valor clothed in youthful shape so fair."[58] He excuses the unsporting behaviour of Nisus by emphasizing the fact that it was due to affectionate zeal and devotion to his young friend. The author dwells upon this incident so that his readers will recall this early manifestation of loyalty, and be more deeply impressed by the tragedy which overtakes these devoted friends later in the poem.

They next appear in the battle scene at the camp. The grim actuality of war has sobered them, but has not dimmed their mutual love and loyalty. In the absence of Aeneas,

Turnus has attacked the Trojan camp, and Nisus conceives the idea of making a way through the enemies' camp to bring word of their plight to Aeneas.[59] He confides his plan to Euryalus, who "flushed warm with eager love for deeds of glory"[60] demands that he too be allowed to go.[61] Nisus, fearing to expose a mere lad to such danger, at first will not hear of it.[62] However his objections are overruled by his eager friend and the pair set off to get permission from the chieftains,[63] who are moved to tears at the courage of such youthful hearts.[64] Permission is readily obtained and the two prepare to depart. In a touching scene Euryalus begs Ascanius to care for his mother should he not return.[65] There is something pathetic in the picture of the young warrior thirsting for adventure, who yet has not the courage to bid his mother farewell because he "cannot bear a mother's tears."[66]

There is no need to go into the details of the night adventure in the enemies' camp. The conduct of these two young men is more obviously motivated by character than is usual in Vergil. The poet is no moralist and we see that he loved the pair and sympathized with them even in their rashness. Nevertheless the story illustrates certain universal truths and we cannot but recognize that the adventurous couple fail to accomplish their mission because they subordinate obvious duty to other considerations. One or two aspects of the incident will make this clear. It is

the ambition of Nisus in the first place which suggests to him the bold night sally and it is the ambition of Euryalus which overcomes Nisus' consideration and anxiety for his young friend. Later this same ambition brings disaster.[67]

The primary purpose of the excursion is to bring word of the attack made on the Trojan camp to Aeneas. In the enemy camp this main purpose is forgotten when the friends discover the foe buried in sleep and drunkenness, and the desire for plunder leads to rashness. Nisus, less reckless than his youthful companion, checks his greedy imprudence,[68] but cannot deny him the delight of adorning himself with the spoils of the dead, the golden belt of one,[69] and the georgous crested helmet of another.[70] But for this they might both have escaped. The gleaming helmet on the head of Euryalus betrays him to the enemy.[71] Nisus gets away, but as soon as he realizes that he is separated from his friend he at once turns back to seek him.[72] In the scene that follows[73] his loyalty and love for Euryalus are noble and pathetic and call forth both pity and admiration. He forgets everything in his anguished desire to save his comrade. His desperate attempt is vain and only results in the death of both. Both owe their death to impulse, the impulsive desire of Euryalus for plunder, and the generous impulse of Nisus to share his friend's fate. Yet with Vergil we love them for their very rashness and bitterly deplore the brutality of warfare which cannot make allowance for such youthful

folly. Vergil has indeed made of this simple tale one of the most touching episodes in all poetry. For once he brushes aside the impersonal reserve of the epic writer and claims for the pair an eternity of fame.

"Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possunt,
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet aevo,
Dum domus Aeneae Capitoli inmobile saxum
Accolet, imperiumque pater Romanus habebit."[74]

Yes, they have been remembered, because the poet's verse has charmed many generations of men. They have been remembered for their lovely characters, so natural and sincere, so eloquently depicted by a poet who sympathized and understood. But most of all they have been remembered for the pathos of their deaths, for the sadness of their untimely fate, for the poignant pangs of resentment that stir in the heart of the reader of Vergil, who asks why this should be, why the flower should be cut by the plough,[75] why sons should be placed on the pyre before the faces of their parents.[76] Again and again Vergil directly and indirectly questions the wastage of war, until his reader can hardly escape the answer.

We turn now to a unique figure in the person of the young Amazon Camilla. The fact that she is a female warrior gives her an appeal to the imagination which the other characters do not possess. She is given prominence in the Seventh Book, where, though not the most important, she is yet chosen

to conclude the catalogue of outstanding Latin leaders. Marching at the head of her column, a figure brave, agile, and beautiful, she draws all eyes.[77] Again it may be noticed how the bravery and beauty of youth seem to hold a special attraction for Vergil. In the Eleventh Book the history of the warrior-maiden is unfolded as the goddess Diana relates the tale to Opis.[78] As a child she had lived from infancy among the lonely hills with rivers and forests for her companions. Refusing all offers of marriage she clung to her love of weapons, and now, turning from the hunt to warfare, she sides with Turnus against the Trojans.

On the field of battle as she leads the cavalry attack, she is an entrancing figure. This whole battle is but the background for her prowess. She revels in the fight, and her daring exploits, as with spear and ax and bow she slays one after another of the bravest Trojans,[79] prove her dauntless courage and complete unconcern for personal danger. Her encounter with Orsilochus,[80] who persuades her to dismount and meet him in fair fight and then craftily flies off on his own horse, illustrates the naive simplicity and charming directness of her character. Prescott declares that she is not a woman but a masculine heroine.[81] It may be noticed nevertheless that her death is caused by a woman's love of finery. In her effort to gain the resplendent armor of the Phrygian priest, Chlorius, she forgets her own safety and falls a prey to the weapon of Aruns who has long been watch-

ing his chance.[82] In death she loses none of her courage; she remembers her responsibility to her leader. In the few minutes of life remaining she summons her expiring strength to bid farewell to her faithful friend Acca and to send a last message to Turnus to keep up the fight.[83]

In this portrait of Camilla Vergil does not stint the resources of his art. The same fond, affectionate touch which is so evident in the portrayal of his youthful heroes is apparent in this picture of his one heroine, and to her death as to theirs he lends the full force of his compassion.

We must not conclude this discussion of the youthful warriors of the <u>Aeneid</u> without more extended reference to Ascanius, dear to the gods and to the Roman people.[84] It might be objected that he is not yet a grown warrior nor active in that capacity, and although this contention is true, there are one or two episodes in which he shows himself already a true son of his warrior father.[85] He is evidently a favorite with Vergil who follows him lovingly through his growth, from the child who escaped from Troy clinging to his father's hand,[86] to the princely figure who begins to take his place in council[87] and in battle.[88] As he grows from childhood to manhood we note the gradual development of those characteristics essential to the Roman warrior, patriotism, courage, enthusiasm, filial affection, respect for the gods. On the hunting expedition near Carthage, his boyish desire to encounter more dangerous beasts than the timid African deer is[89]

a tribute to his courage and high spirits. This keen interest in the chase which he manifests again in Latium when he shoots the pet deer of the forester's daughter,[90] was a trait common to Roman youths of Vergil's day,[91] a trait which the poet seems to admire and approve since he bestowed it upon the progenitor of the Julian family.

On several occasions Ascanius shows a maturity beyond his years.[92] This might be accounted for by the fact that he had lost his mother at an early age and had been exposed to so many hardships in the voyage over land and sea. The beginning of matured power is quite apparent when he is left in charge of the Trojan camp in the absence of Aeneas, and gives the required permission for their dangerous undertaking to Nisus and Euryalus.[93] In this scene he displays in a marked manner the potential capacity for leadership of men. That he is rapidly becoming a man is again evident when he makes his appearance on the battlefield and shoots and kills the jeering Numanus.[94] In this incident we admire the pride and patriotism which will not endure the taunts and insults levelled against his countrymen. He prays to Jupiter and with the words, "Go insult valor in haughty terms. The twice subdued Phrygians return the answer to the Rutuli,"[95] he launches the fatal arrow and lays low his first victim. The Trojans shout and applaud and extol his valor to the skies,[96] and the lad glows with conscious pride. Like a child he thirsts for more but the gods cannot permit it. Apollo

admonishes him thus: "Such dawn of glory great Apollo's will conceded...but, tender youth, refrain hereafter from war."[97] This might be interpreted as a plea to Augustus to preserve the peace he had at last obtained. Ascanius does not again appear on the battlefield, but henceforth learns heroism and true valor by observing his father from the side-lines.

One further picture of Ascanius is given us which is significant because it might be said to contain Vergil's message to the youth of his day. The scene takes place just before the final contest between Aeneas and Turnus. Drawing his son to him, Aeneas kisses him tenderly and says: "My boy, what valor is and patient toil, learn thou of me; let others guide thy feet to prosperous fortune. Let this hand and sword defend thee through the war and lead thee on to high rewards. Thou also play the man."[98] "Play the man" is the poet's message. How? "Learn thou of me" he says, pointing to his hero who gives the example <u>par excellence</u> of the Roman ideal of true manliness; an example of courage, piety, and patient, genuine toil in adversity as in prosperity.

After this episode we see Ascanius no more. All in all he perhaps fails to arouse the interest of the reader to the same extent as do the other youthful heroes of the epic, but in the picture of him we recognize that same tender sympathy and fineness of touch which are characteristic of Vergil's portraiture of boys. We see the heart of the poet

brimming over with affection for vibrant, spirited youth.

That Vergil was naturally attracted to youth is evident from the fact that he has made the youthful characters the most attractive figures in his national epic which is mainly devoted to the achievements of matured warriors. It is also a known fact that in writing the Aeneid, Vergil was attempting to aid Augustus in the task of revitalizing society. As a member of the circle of Maecenas he must have possessed an intelligent appreciation of the social dangers confronting the state and a sympathetic knowledge of the policies devised to overcome them.[99] Augustus wisely availed himself of the genius of the poet not only to glorify the successes of his reign, to make men welcome the security of a divinely appointed government, and to inspire pride in belonging to a powerful state, but also to actively further his policy of national regeneration.[100] Realizing that it is the youth of today who will make the world of tomorrow, he was especially interested in the physical and moral welfare of the growing generation. He saw the necessity of reinvigorating his people by a finer strain in the new blood of young Rome, in order to secure the permanency of the new era of peace and welfare which he had inaugurated. Hence in dwelling with such evident fondness and sympathy on the traits of the ideal youth, Vergil is quite in accord with the wishes and active efforts of the Emperor.[101] He too was convinced that the hope of Rome's future depended

on the younger generation. Thus in addition to his own natural affection for youth, the poet willingly and purposely devotes time and attention to his portrayal of them in order to assist the Emperor in his task of social reconstruction after the havoc wrought by so many years of civil war.

The question of importance in this study is whether or not Vergil's treatment of the youthful warriors throws any light upon his general attitude to war and peace. We think so. It seems to confirm the decisions reached in earlier chapters and also to reveal other aspects of his thought. Each of the youths is pictured against a background of war, and as the poet describes their untimely deaths, there is in him a tenderness and a depth of feeling which indicate how profoundly he was affected at the thought of young lives sacrificed in ignoble warfare. It is his aim to arouse similar sentiments in his readers and so he dwells lovingly and lingeringly on qualities peculiar to youth...their beauty and loyalty, their courage and ambition, their filial affection and piety, their patriotism and spirit of self-sacrifice, their very rashness and evident desire for glory. He then pictures one youth after another, possessing these qualities so highly esteemed by the Roman people, yielding his life to the savagery and cruelty of unnecessary war. He emphasizes the fact that

War, like a ravening wolf, selects his victims indiscriminately with total disregard to age or worth. Such a picture Vergil places before his readers and then leaves them to draw their own conclusions. War or peace? There can be only one answer and it is Vergil's. War in itself is inhuman and cruel; it saps the very life of a nation and leaves in its wake only bitterness, heartrending sorrow, and utter havoc.

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CHAPTER VII

INCIDENTAL TREATMENT OF MILITARY VIRTUES AND VICES

As we saw in a previous chapter, the story of Aeneas' attempt to found a new home in Latium is a story of war and bloodshed. As the tale unfolds we are given some striking examples of military virtues and vices, of horrors and atrocities, of the use of stratagems and the greed for spoils. A consideration of some typical instances may furnish additional insight into the thought of the poet regarding war and peace. His epic story contains some isolated examples of exploits and atrocities attributed to various characters and Vergil's treatment of them often implies praise or condemnation, showing that he approved or deplored them. In our search for some of the significant activities of warfare, and in our attempt to assess Vergil's motive in dwelling upon them, we shall first glance again at the actions of some of the most prominent and striking characters of the story, in order to note any special aspects of their behaviour in battle. As the youthful warriors have been discussed in some detail, we shall for the most part confine ourselves to the maturer warriors, Mezentius, Aeneas, and Turnus.

With his deep knowledge and understanding of human nature, Vergil is well aware that no one is entirely good or bad. On the battlefield as elsewhere men reveal themselves as they really are, and so we find the characters

in the Aeneid at one moment performing heroic deeds of valor and at the next debasing themselves by their acts of cruelty and violence.

This is illustrated in the case of Mezentius, the Etruscan tyrant. Driven from his kingdom because of his outrageous crimes, he seeks refuge in the land of the Rutulians, and is protected by the arms of Turnus, his friend.[1] Later he joins him in the war against the Trojans. Meanwhile his own people, the Etruscans, become the allies of Aeneas,[2] and so in the final set-up Mezentius is fighting against his former subjects. Thus Vergil makes him guilty of the worst of all military crimes, treason, and just what this crime can lead to in grimness and brutality is made very evident as we watch the tyrant on the field of battle. In spite of this we are yet drawn to him by a strange fascination. He possesses a certain rugged grandeur and strength which make us yield him that involuntary tribute of admiration which is given to courage even when allied to moral guilt.

The account of his exploits in the Tenth Book[3] proves that he does possess courage to a marked degree. When he advances into combat and attacks the triumphant Trojans, Vergil emphasizes his strength and intrepidity by comparing him to a "rock that juts into the sea, facing the fury of the storm, breasting the wave, withstanding all violence and terror of sky and main, itself remaining motionless."[4]

With utter disregard of personal safety, he rushes eagerly among the thronging enemy like a ravening wolf pursuing a timid goat, and ruthlessly slays them one after another.[5] His fierceness and brutality increase as he sees himself surrounded by the hatred and violence of his own people. Still it is evident that Vergil wishes to acquaint us with his virtues as well as his vices, for he hastens to add "that he scorned to deal an unseen blow,"[6] but encountered his enemy face to face, "not in treachery superior but in manly fight."[7] And as his career of tyranny draws to a close, we note the skill with which the poet makes use of the tyrant's love for his son and his horse to make us feel for him. "Even his wonted impiety..'Nec divom parcimus ulli'..[8] is elevated into a kind of proud courage,"[9] which excites, if not admiration, at least pity.

The stormy character of the despot, moulded of mingled vices and virtues, is convincing and rings true. Vergil is faithful to his art. Bad men have fine qualities. Mezentius is a man who adds great interest to the conflict in which he plays a part. Not the least part of that interest for the poet is the tragic aspect of the tyrant's fate. It seems as if Vergil would impress his readers with the pity of it all. Possessed of such a deep and sincere affection for his son, the man must be capable of finer feelings, and yet barbarous warfare and the desire to dominate have made him little more than a brute beast. And logically enough he meets the bloody

death of a beast. He has roused hatred in every breast except that of his horse and his son, and he receives the reward of hatred from those whom he has antagonized. It is his fault also that his horse and his son share his fate. The moral is plain. They that take the sword shall perish by the sword, and those that fight on their behalf shall perish with them. If they merited nothing but our condemnation, the tragedy would neither be so poignant nor so moving. It is the revelation of good combined with the badness of Mezentius' character, the power that he possesses to command the loyalty and sacrifice of his son, the final gallantry that tempers our disapproval, that gives the incident its pathetic value, and makes the truth more telling.

In comparing the military strategy of Aeneas and Turnus in a previous chapter, we necessarily brought out to some extent their virtueas and shortcomings. According to the basic plan of the poem, Aeneas had to be an idealized and symbolic character. Therefore his conduct can scarcely be judged by human standards, and it is perhaps for this reason that the reader finds him less interesting than the other major characters. Carrying the destinies of a race and a nation, his own life is entirely subordinated to the claims of public duty. His dominating characteristic is pietas, conscientiousness, and this he carries even onto the field of battle.

Hating war and bloodshed he is nevertheless a formidable warrior, and in time of battle is conspicuous for his bravery, and incites courage in his followers by his deeds of valor. This is attested on several occasions, but more especially perhaps by the bloody battle he wages after the death of Pallas[10] and again shortly before the final duel.[11] Generally Aeneas' remarkable self-restraint and moderation are in striking contrast to the intemperate ardor of Turnus, but in these two instances, goaded beyond human endurance he "flings loose all the flowing reigns of his wrath"[12] and rages over the plain dealing death and destruction. Without pause, without respite he mows down the foe, claiming in quick succession ten and eight victims respectively. In the first of these bloody frays, as he is about to slay a certain Magus, the victim, pleading for his life, attempts to bribe the Trojan prince with "a stately mansion, masses of wrought silver and bars of gold."[13] The hero spurns the offer, thus showing himself proof against bribery and corruption. He slays Magus, but the victims of his sword are not numerous. When he takes life it is under strong provocation as in this case he is smarting under the death of Pallas, and in the other one referred to he is foiled by Juturna in his efforts to encounter Turnus[14] and enraged by the javelin of Messapus.[15]

The consideration for a fallen foe and the humanity which Aeneas evinces after slaying Lausus[16] reveal, even more than the

colorful exploits referred to above, the strength of a truly great warrior. Reflecting upon the youth and filial devotion of the lad, he immediately changes from foe to friend, and not only allows him to retain his splendid armor, but himself raises the lifeless body from the ground and restores it to his companions. This mercy and gentleness in Aeneas is no weakness in his character. There are several instances to prove that when to show pity and clemency would be weakness in the performance of duty, he is adamant.[17]

There are times perhaps when we wish that Aeneas would show more spirit and allow himself to be stirred by great passions and chivalrous ideals. However Vergil purposely chose to make his central character as he is, blameless, pious, patient, and merciful. Why? That he was capable of doing otherwise is apparent from his success with such characters as Dido and Turnus. It would seem indeed that the poet wished his hero to express his own belief that "the deepest need of his time was not for military glory, but peace, reconciliation, the restoration of law, order, and piety."[18] Aeneas definitely reflects Vergil's own nature, humane rather than heroic. In him we have a religious ideal of pious obedience, steadfast endurance, persistent purpose.

In Turnus we find depicted the virtues of the natural man, chivalry and daring courage.[19] His general bearing excites a feeling of admiration, mingled perhaps with pity for what might have been. The basis of his character would seem

to be an intemperate vehemence and a proud independence of spirit amounting at times to boastfulness. "If Aeneas typifies the civilizing mission of Rome and is to be regarded as an embodiment of the qualities which enabled her to give law to the world, Turnus typifies the brave but not internecine resistance offered to her by the other races of Italy, and is an embodiment of their high and martial spirit--of that Itala virtus which, when tempered by Roman discipline, gave Rome the strength to fulfil her mission."[20]

As for natural military virtues, Turnus possesses them in abundance. We may admit his shortcomings, but no charge of treachery or cowardice can be levelled against him. He slays his enemy in fair battle just as Aeneas does, nor often does he sully the act with any unwonted ferocity. Like Aeneas too, he shows consideration for a fallen foe, as when he allows Pallas "all the honor of the grave, all the solace of obsequies."[21] But turning to the other side of the picture we find his virtues balanced by his vices. His courage, unsupported by reason and moderation, not infrequently degenerates into mere recklessness. His strength, devoid of wisdom becomes mere brute strength.

"Vis consili expers mole ruit sua."[22]

Such is the case, when in his fury and mad desire to slaughter the enemy, "agitated by hideous rage,"[23] he shuts himself into their camp and fails to open the gate to his own followers.

Had he done so "that were the latest day of the war and the nation,"[24] but instead "rage and the unreasoning thirst for blood urged him against the foe,"[25] and he lost the wonderful opportunity.

The deeds of Turnus in the assault on the Trojan camp[26] furnish the finest example of dash and daring in the whole Aeneid. Enclosed within the enemy camp he seems to be possessed of superhuman strength and his daring is attested by truly Herculean feats. Vergil states that Juno supplied him with strength and vigor.[27] Alone against the Trojan troops, like a savage tiger among spiritless sheep,[28] he quickly slays the huge Pandarus and twelve others. The details of this savage butchery are an example of Vergil's relentless horror when describing ghastly things. At length, roused to a sense of shame by the stinging reproaches of Mnestheus,[29] the Trojans rally and drive the Rutulian giant to the walls, from which he springs, like Cocles,[30] into the river, and swims back safe to his companions. This last spectacular deed is in keeping with his whole performance on this occasion.

In the latter part of the war Aeneas is wounded and Turnus, encouraged by his forced retreat from the field, runs amuck and again attests his strength and valor by the sanguinary slaughter he inflicts.[31] "Many a valiant frame does he give to death in his winged course; many does he roll on earth half-slain, or trample down ranks with his chariot, or snatch up

lances and shower them on the fugitives."[32] Racing along, like Mars on the Thracian plain,[33] he mercilessly tramples on those already slain and in quick succession lays low thirteen more of the bravest Trojans in a most gory manner. Wherever he cleaves a path, the ranks give way and the men flee like clouds before a north wind.[34] This bloody slaughter is perhaps highly commendable from the point of view of dauntless courage and giant strength, but when the victor plants his foot on the neck of a prostrate victim, gloats over the corpse of another, and leaves a third headless on the sand, he reveals the innate cruelty and hardened savagery of his nature.

The brutal desire which Turnus expresses just before slaying Pallas is a good example of his violentia. "I would that his father too were here to see,"[35] he declares with utter lack of feeling. After the deed, although he shows consideration for his victim, still he has not the moderation to refrain from despoiling the prostrate enemy, but must perforce strip the lifeless body of its massive belt,[36] with dire consequences to himself later on. In sharp contrast to the touching grief of Aeneas when forced to kill Lausus, Turnus, having possessed himself of the rich trophy, "triumphs and rejoices."[37] That there was in him a certain innate brutality, incompatible with true greatness, is again evidenced when he cuts off the heads of two brothers he has slain and

adorns his chariot with them.[38] There is something disagreeable and almost repellent too in his boastfulness and self-glorification. Several instances might be quoted. "I shall meet him with confidence, though he shall prove himself a great Achilles,"[39] he says on one occasion. And again, "I Turnus, second in valor to no progenitor."[40] At all times he is overly fond of recounting his own deeds of bravery.

His impetuosity and lack of restraint are again manifested in the closing scene of his life. Not with quiet determination, but with mad violence he prepares for the duel.[41] As is usual with such temperaments his courage fails him at the critical moment and he allows himself to be carried off by his sister.[42] However his sense of honor returns and before the last encounter he redeems himself somewhat with the words, "Am I to turn my back? Shall this land witness the flight of Turnus? I shall go down never disgracing my proud ancestry."[43]

All in all the general feeling which Turnus leaves with us is one of admiration mingled with disgust, pity, and regret. The fates are so definitely against him, and in spite of his vices, he seems to embody those chivalrous qualities which affect the imagination with more sympathy and interest than do the qualities of self-restraint and obedience to duty which are so typical of Aeneas. Both Mezentius and Turnus represent brutality and violence, and yet in them,

these qualities are not incompatible with a certain chivalry, and deep, sincere affection, which have a definite appeal.

The total impact of these two characters then upon the reader, over and above his interest in the artistic truth of the characterization, is a feeling that in them he sees fine qualities perverted to wrong uses. In his delineation of these characters, Vergil contributes to the general impression left by his whole poem, that war is a calamity and involves tragedy for those who are caught in its coils.

The military exploits of Mezentius, Turnus, and Aeneas overshadow the deeds of valor of all lesser men in the poem. Almost their every act on the field of battle is outstanding and is an instance of <u>aristeia</u>. Some of the minor characters however, especially the youthful ones, also exhibit splendid acts of heroism. Such are the bravery of the youthful Pallas, leading the Arcadians to battle against overwhelming odds, and himself accepting without fear the challenge of the mighty Turnus;[44] the strong love of Lausus for his father, which impels him to give his life in his defence;[45] the daring of Ascanius, who, galled by the taunts of Numanus against his countrymen, shoots an arrow and brings him to his death;[46] the mutual love of Nisus and Euryalus, and their desire to perform deeds of valor, which lead them to venture forth in quest of their leader Aeneas and to attack the enemy camp;[47] and finally the daring exploits of the brave Camilla whose

prowess is attested by the very fact that her enemies do not dare to meet her in open combat.[48] Nowhere does Vergil question the wastage of war and condemn its savagery more forcibly than by the careers and untimely deaths of these courageous youths.

A feature of the Aeneid which the modern reader finds somewhat disconcerting is the unflinching vividness and realism with which scenes of horror and atrocities are described. The fact that the Romans revelled in the gladiatorial shows indicates a callousness, even a coarse taste for atrocities and bloodshed, but the not infrequent examples of these grim descriptions which Vergil brings into his epic story make us think that perhaps he has a definite purpose, namely, to make wicked war more horrible.

Two or three instances stand out as being particularly revolting. One such is the description of Deiphobus[49], whom Aeneas encounters in the underworld. Without mincing words Vergil describes his appearance in all its ghastliness. No slightest detail is ommitted in presenting the repulsive picture of his mutilated countenance. All this, so unlike the gentle poet, seems to be done with deliberation and intent. As he relates how Deiphobus received such wounds, we learn that they are the result of war...the vengeance inflicted by the victor on the vanquished.[50] They are the result of war in its vilest form, the result of a woman's treacherous schemes, a woman who was twice traitor. Helen betrayed

Deiphobus to Menelaus whom she had betrayed before. Here again we have a forceful reprobation of war.

Another tale of horrors, borrowed from Homer, but losing none of its frightfulness in the borrowing is recounted in the third book of the Aeneid by the pitiful figure of Achaemenides.[51] After spending the night near Aetna, Aeneas and his party are greeted in the early morning by the strange figure of a man, emaciated to the last degree and in a lamentable plight. They take him on board and learn his story. He is a Greek, Achaemenides, and has been abandoned in their hurry by his companions in the Cyclops' cavern. In language all too vivid he describes how Polyphemus, living in an abode of gore and bloody banquets, feeds on the entrails and purple blood of hapless wretches. "The splashed floor ran with gore...limbs oozing blood he chewed, the warm joints quivering beneath his teeth."[52] In this same book also we read of the cruel fate of Polydorus, murdered by the Thracian king to whom he had been given to rear.[53] The motive given for the wicked deed is the greed for money. "Cursed thirst for gold, to what dost thou not drive the hearts of men!"[54] The murderer excused his deed by the changing fortunes of war. Since Troy had fallen to the Greeks, the Thracian king thought to ingratiate himself with the victors by dispatching Polydorus, the young Trojan prince.[55] The savage barbarity of the Cyclops, Polyphemus, represents a state even more primitive than war, or rather a state where

war is the normal relation between tribe and tribe. The description does not make war more attractive, nor did Vergil intend it to do so.

Other instances of horrors are to be found in almost every book of the poem. Book Two contains the tale of Pyrrhus' ruthless murder of Polites in the presence of his parents,[56] followed by that of Priam before the very altar of the gods.[57] The Fifth Book, though not primarily concerned with war, contains an incident which is indicative of the same ancient disregard of cruelty, and a certain hardness in the Roman character. We refer to the bloody features of the boxing match between Dares and Eutellus.[58] Here again Vergil imitated Homer, but he has added details. The most horrid of all, mixtosque in sanguine dentes,[59] is his own. The story of Nisus and Euryalus in Book Nine brings out the same point. Euryalus seems to revel in the bloody work of slaughtering a foe rendered powerless by sleep and wine.[60] We note here the incongruity between the almost woman-like character of the boy, his love for his mother,[61] and his cruel and heartless carnage in the enemy camp.

The battle scenes of the last four books contain several instances of horrors described with grim realism. To mention but one or two : "He strikes with a stone the face of Thoas, and crushed the bones mingled with bloody brains."[62] And when Pallas slays the twins Laridus and Thymber, whose parents

could not tell them apart, the poet says: "...but now Pallas set cruel mark of difference upon you; for thy head Thymber, Evander's sword struck off; thee, Laridus, its owner, seeks thy amputated hand, and the dying fingers quiver and grasp the steel."[63] As Sidgwick remarks, imagination adds a superfluous horror here.[64]

A small but significant incident in the story of Dido might be construed by a Roman reader as a reason why it was the design of providence that the empire of the world should fall to Rome rather than to Carthage. We recognize that Dido has a just grievance against Aeneas and cannot blame her for calling down vengeance upon himself and his seed, but it is the nature of the vengeance which she imagined that is so startling. It reveals her natural ferocity and reminds us that she represents the dark powers of the East which Vergil considers it Rome's mission to master and civilize.

> "Non potui abreptum divellere corpus, et undis
> Spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro,
> Ascanium, patrisque epulandum ponere mensis?"[65]

Dido asks. A modern commentator remarks that "Rome, even in her sins, did not sin thus."[66]

In the _Aeneid_ we learn too, how war makes just and innocent men its victims. Time and again it is evident, but two examples are drawn especially to the reader's attention. In the night battle of Troy, Rhipeus, "the most just

among the Trojans and of the strictest integrity,"[67] falls as a result of the stratagem of Coroebus. Similarly the aged Galaesus "who was of all others the most upright"[68] while attempting to negotiate for peace in the struggle between the hardy swains, avenging the slaying of the pet deer, and the Trojan youths, fighting in defence of their young prince, Ascanius, was shot down by an arrow.[69] We see here the injustice of war which steals away the best and those most undeserving of death.

In the stratagems woven into the story as part of the machinery of war, it would seem perhaps that Vergil wishes to suggest that trickery and deceit, no matter how clever, serve no good purpose. Two outstanding examples are cited in the Second Book; that of Sinon the Greek,[70] and that of Coroebus on behalf of the Trojans.[71] The stratagem of Sinon led to the fall of Troy, with all the accompanying disaster and loss of life. It is detailed by Aeneas in terms of the most heart-felt scorn and loathing. "By such treachery and artifice of perjured Sinon, the story was believed; and we whom neither Diomede, nor Achilles, nor a siege of ten years, nor a thousand ships had subdued, were ensnared by guile."[72] Likewise the stratagem conceived and carried out by Coroebus with such apparent justification, resulted not only in his own death, but in the most pitiful slaughter of many besides. Vergil would have his readers believe that the very gods

are averse to such artifice. "We march on mingling with the Greeks, but not with heaven on our side,"[73] says Aeneas, after relating the Coroebus episode to Dido. All trickery, deceit, and the like, whether employed by Greek or Trojan are wrong and result in disaster. They are products not of peace, but of war.

Another notable feature of the Aeneid and one that cannot help but strike the reader as significant is the prominence which Vergil on all occasions gives to the love of finery, the stripping of armor from the dead, and the boasting about valuable prizes. Knowing the Roman's attraction for such things, the poet takes time to describe at length the soldier's rich trappings...arms elaborately wrought of solid silver, belts with golden bosses, helmets of ingenious workmanship and richly adorned with plumes, gilded swords in ivory sheaths etc. So numerous are the instances that they can with difficulty be counted. But it is noteworthy that at every opportunity Vergil reminds his readers that it is this love of finery, innate in the heart of the Roman, which is responsible for many of the deaths of those who fall in battle. We may recall the chief cases. Nisus and Euryalus both lose their lives because the latter can not resist wearing the plumed helmet of Messapus, and this helmet, flashing in the moonlight betrayed the couple to the Rutulians.[74] A woman's love of plunder and rich spoils brings

about the death of Camilla. Forgetful of all else in her reckless desire to possess the showy Phrygian arms and attire of Chloreus, the maiden affords Aruns the opportunity for which he has long been waiting, and he hurls the fatal weapon.[75] Again, had Turnus possessed the moderation to refrain from stripping Pallas of his massive belt, his own life would later have been spared by Aeneas. After relating the incident Vergil, in one of his rare interruptions of the narrative exclaims, "The mind of man, how ignorant of fate and coming doom, and to be temperate when intoxicated by success."[76] In the closing scene of the story, Aeneas is wavering as to whether or not he shall spare Turnus,[77] when suddenly catching sight of the belt of Pallas he is roused to vengeful wrath and slays him.[78] Can any inference be drawn from this? That the stripping of armor from lifeless victims was a regular and legitimate part of ancient warfare, we know. But does Vergil really approve of it? Aeneas, the hero of the story, refuses to strip Lausus.[79] Perhaps it is Vergil's intention to condemn, by calling attention to, the fatal consequences of inhumanity in warfare. Perhaps he is attempting to warn his readers of the dangers attendant on an inordinate desire for riches and spoils. In any case his own hero, Aeneas, by his chivalrous behaviour sets a standard in military ethics of which the poet can approve.

In these realistic descriptions of bloody frays, ac-

companied by the despoiling of armor and the use of stratagems, is Vergil merely following epic tradition, of which these features are a well-known characteristic, or has he some further motive? The type of epic battle had been set by Homer, and Vergil of necessity followed this type, nevertheless his descriptions are at all times his own. His audience was not Homer's. Many of them had no active interest in military combat based on personal experience, and such of them as had, had gained it perhaps vicariously from observation in the amphitheatre. At any rate the age was more sophisticated than Homer's, and the military service of a large proportion of Vergil's readers had been more perfunctory than real. He wrote for those who were steeped in literature more than for those who were trained in arms. To get and hold their interest he had to rely on human sympathy, and hence he departs from the older epic tradition with intent to lend his descriptions greater appeal to his readers by creating pathetic situations, situations likely to arouse the strong emotions of pity or disgust. Deploring war himself, and desiring to arouse in men's minds an aversion to it, he endeavors to portray in the most realistic manner possible the horrors and atrocities which are necessarily a part of it. To this end he devotes all the color of his brilliant palette of words. In the Aeneid of course, it is thought no shame but rather a glory for soldiers to slay defenceless or wounded men in battle.[80] This is apparent

in the exploits of both Turnus and Aeneas. This was the current military convention of the day. Still for the most part Vergil's warriors are more tempered with humanity than are the heroes of the Iliad and for this very reason the atrocities, described with such vividness and force stand out in bolder relief and make a deeper impression.

Vergil's treatment of military virtues and vices, implying as it so often does either praise or condemnation, is a revelation of his own thoughts and feelings. Where he draws attention to virtue and deeds of valor it is either to imply that these were called forth by a just and necessary war, or else to arouse pity for those possessing such qualities and capable of such deeds, that they should be cut off from life by wicked war, or should use their gifts in an unworthy cause. Where vices are emphasized it is to represent war fought for selfish or base ends, as exemplified by Mezentius and Turnus. When he makes a character most hateful, it is with the intention of inculcating his own detestation of strife; when he makes one most lovable, his motive is to arouse in his readers an admiration for true virtue, an appreciation of the sterling qualities of unspoilt youth, and a fear and abhorrence of anything which might rob the world of them.

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CHAPTER VIII

VERGILIAN INTERPRETATION OF THE MISSION OF ROME

The main subject of the Aeneid is the glory of Rome and the greatness of her mission in the world. Once the civil wars were over and Augustus had restored peace and a stable government to the Roman world, Vergil, at the desire of the Emperor, and urged by his own strong national enthusiasm, endeavored to strengthen the belief of the people in their national destiny and to encourage them in their hope for a future even greater than their past. In the Aeneid he becomes the interpreter of a great national ideal, an ideal at once political, social, and religious. He sees and makes his readers see the supremacy of Rome as a divine ordinance towards which all previous history has been tending. Now this supremacy has become an accomplished fact in the establishment of an empire without limit of time or space, and in which mankind finds ordered peace, settled government, material prosperity, and the reign of law.

"His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono,
Imperium sine fine dedi."

is the decree of Jupiter.

There is no one section of the Aeneid devoted exclusively to Vergil's interpretation of the mission of Rome. We find it revealed for the most part in the prophecies which keep recurring in the narrative. From a study of these prophecies

it becomes clear that in Vergil's mind the mission of Rome is closely bound up with the name and policies of Augustus, who is not only the founder but the typical embodiment of the Roman Empire. The three great passages which foretell the glorious destiny of Rome also celebrate the achievements of the Emperor.[2] In these passages Augustus is set before his people as the fulfilment of Rome's destiny and the incarnation of the great ideas of the race.

Early in the Aeneid Jupiter reveals to Venus the fates, and unrolls the pages of mysterious destiny.[3] From this prophecy we learn many highly significant facts. Aeneas is destined to wage a serious war (bellum ingens)[4] in Italy, but he is to conquer (contundet populos feroces), and then reign for three years during which time he is to impose law (mores) and build walls.[5] Ascanius is to reign for thirty years at Lavinium and then transfer the seat of government to Alba Longa where his successors will rule for three hundred years before Rome is founded.[6] Romulus, the twin son of Mars and Rhea Silvia, nurtured by the wolf, is to be responsible for this great task.[7] Juno, the bitter enemy of the Trojans, is to change her purpose and become a patron of the Romans.[8] As the ages glide along Rome is to triumph over Greece,[9] and then will come the peaceful reign on earth and the reception into heaven of the greatest of the descendants of Aeneas, Augustus.[10] It is important to note from the start that the prophecy foretells that this final peace is not going to

come easily, but will only be the outcome of a long series of bitter wars.[11]

Parts of this prophecy are pregnant with meaning and express in a forceful manner the author's belief in the future greatness of Rome as a result of the work of Augustus and because such is the decree of fate. Jupiter declares that there is to be neither duration nor limit to the Roman empire and that he gives it dominion without end. He goes on to say that fate ordains this people to be "Romans, lords of the world, and the nation of the toga."[12] Glover interprets this as meaning that the sovereignty of the world is to belong to the collective Roman people (<u>rerum dominos</u>) but that the distinctive mark of the people is to be the garb of peace.[13] The next words of Jupiter lend weight to this interpretation. He says that the day will come when, under the sway of Augustus, "wars having ceased, fierce ages shall soften into peace."[14] And again: "The dreadful gates of war shall be shut with close bolts of iron,"[15] and the war fury shall be shackled a helpless prisoner.[16] Vergil clearly intends his readers to see that this prophecy has attained fruition in the reign of Augustus.

When Aeneas visits his father in the lower world, he receives from him a revelation which confirms the earlier prophecy of Jupiter.[17] In a glorious pageant he beholds the spectacle of his unborn descendants and chief among them the oft-promised Augustus, "The offspring of a god; who once more shall establish the golden age in Latium, through lands where

Saturn reigned of old, and shall extend his empire over the Garamentes and the Indians."[18] Anchises sets forth in a vivid picture the military and peaceful achievements of Augustus, comparing his work to the great mythological benefactors of mankind, Hercules and Bacchus.[19] The achievements of Augustus are thus understood to be a new series of Herculean labors for the benefit of the human race, and his beneficent policies as great a boon to civilization as Bacchus' own gift of the vine. Anchises adds the stirring appeal; "And do we still hesitate to find by our deeds a wider field for our valor, or does fear hinder us from establishing ourselves on Ausonian soil?"[20] These words are not to be interpreted as a mere exhortation to military conquest, but rather as a challenge to the Romans to continue the noble work of Augustus by disseminating yet farther afield, by arms if necessary, but preferably by peaceful means, their civilizing gifts of law and order. It may be recalled here that Augustus recovered the lost standards of Crassus from the Parthians by diplomatic negotiation and not by war.[21] This is typical of his policy. He also suggested to his successors that they should not extend the actual boundaries of the Empire set by him.[22]

In lines perhaps the most famous in Latin Literature, lines outstanding for their stateliness and majesty, Anchises then sets forth the glorious and inspiring mission of Rome in the clearest and most specific terms. As a recent commentator

expresses it: "These words give Vergil's dream of Rome's contribution to civilization, a dream of a new age of peace and justice for all mankind".[23] After paying a noble tribute to the culture of the Greeks, Anchises says, "Remember Roman, to rule nations with imperial sway: these shall be thine arts, to engraft the law of peace, to spare the conquered and to crush the proud."[24] That is to say the real work of Rome in the world is that of empire and rule. She is destined by fate to conquer and to govern, but her militarism is to be tempered with mercy. Her mission is not only regere imperio populos, but paci imponere morem; to establish peace as the habit and usage of the world. This is her greatest art and the sole justification for her foreign wars. To bring her civilizing gifts to barbarous lands she must first conquer, then compel order and obedience, and thus establish a lasting reign of peace and humanity throughout the world. "Memento," says Anchises, "Bear it in mind." It is not a mere privilege to be assumed or rejected at will; it is a vocation to which you are called. Throughout the Aeneid Vergil shows how this revelation is being fulfilled in Augustus whom he sets before mankind as the vindicator of Roman majesty and the restorer of the golden age.

Less obviously, but with deliberate intention, the whole career of Aeneas, as described by Vergil, conforms to the ideal indicated in the more specific prophecies of Rome's mission, and in the general and courtier-like references to

Augustus. Aeneas is the legendary or fictitious counterpart of Augustus. He is his prototype. In his drawing of the character of his hero and that hero's exploits, the poet can both compliment his august patron and delicately point the way by example to the more complete fulfilment of his imperial destiny. If the prophecies and definitions of Rome's mission leave any point obscure, the picture of the divine plan can be filled in and completed from the character of the epic hero.

The vision of the distant future is again, or rather is further revealed, by the art of Vulcan in framing the "fabric of the shield surpassing all description."[25] The figures on the shield tell the story of Rome and Italy concluding with scenes from the battle of Actium and the final triumph of Augustus over Antony and Cleopatra; his temple building; and the embassies of the nations.[26] In this notable passage Vergil not only portrays the glorious achievements of Roman history, but he interprets the mission of Rome as the triumphant champion of law, order, and religion over despotism, degradation, and impiety. This he does by describing certain incidents depicted on the shield. Horatius' fight against Tarquin and Porsenna[27] illustrates the triumph of law and order over despotism. The dreadful punishments of Mettus[28] and Catiline[29] illustrate the triumph over degradation and baseness and disloyalty. The pact with religious sanctions which followed the rape of the Sabine women[30] il-

lustrates the change from the behaviour of outlaws to that of pious observers of law and religion. Finally the poet exalts Augustus, not so much as a person, but as the ideal symbol of Italian greatness and as the protagonist and promoter of law, civilization, religion, and peace.[31]

"Hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
Cum patribus populosque Penatibus et magnis dis,
Stans celsa in puppi: geminas cui tempora flammas
Laeta vomunt, patriumque aperitur vertice sidus."[32]

In these soul-stirring lines, Vergil, the poet of Italy rather than of Rome, pictures Augustus as the leader and champion not of a city nor of a party, but of a united nation, and as blessed and supported in his policies by the gods of the home and the mighty divinities of the world.

It is to be noted that the brilliance and splendor attributed to Augustus in this description of Actium is that of a mighty warrior and conqueror, the champion of the state against its old enemies, whereas in the prophecy of Jupiter his crowning glory was to be the establishment of an empire of peace as the completion of his military feats.[33] In the revelation of Anchises both his conquering and civilizing accomplishments are heralded. In weighing Vergil's interpretation of the mission of Rome the three passages should be considered together, as only thus can we hope to get a clear conception of the poet's whole intention. Taken singly they might yield the idea that war for the sake of conquest

and aggrandizement was a legitimate part of Rome's mission, but pondering them together we get the complete picture, the mission of Rome as Vergil saw it. Empire and rule is her mission, which may employ conquest as a means of bringing her civilizing gifts of law, order, and religion to barbaric lands.

When Aeneas leaves the underworld after having beheld the wondrous vision of the long line of his descendants and the glorious future of his country, he sets forward to the task of conquering Latium with renewed courage and hope. The poet, by the visit to Hades purposely stimulates this desire of achievement in his hero, but his purpose does not end there. He aims to arouse in his Roman readers an eager passion to complete worthily that new era of peace and progress which Augustus had inaugurated. Just as Aeneas in the first part of the epic is discouraged by his long wanderings over land and sea, so too the Romans of Vergil's day were dismayed by the conflicts, toils, and struggles of the foregoing century, and like Aeneas they had a troubled future before them, rendered uncertain by the ravages of civil war. For these Romans, the prophecies which foretell the destiny and the mission of Rome, were intended to do what they did for Aeneas; to renew their courage and hope, awaken them to new ambition, and stimulate them to accomplish noble deeds which would make Rome worthy of her divinely appointed mission. These prophecies expressed to the Romans the ideals of the greatest days of Roman history, and Vergil in presenting them was assisting

the Emperor in his endeavor to revive in the Romans of his day these same ideals exemplified in the lives and deeds of old Roman heroes.

That Vergil believed Rome's destined mission to be the diffusion of her civilizing gifts of law and peace is shown elsewhere in various passages scattered throughout the Aeneid. The first oracle given to Aeneas in the course of his wanderings contains the assurance of Rome's universal dominion. "There the sons of Aeneas shall rule over every coast, and his sons' sons, and the race to be."[34] The images of the gods make a similar announcement.[35] Misunderstanding the utterance of the Oracle at Delos, the Trojans have gone to Crete, instead of Italy. There a pestilence and blight destroy their people and crops and they are about to return to Delos for further guidance[36] when the Penates appear to Aeneas in sleep with the words, "We, too, will exalt thy future race to heaven and give imperial power to the city."[37]

Again in the Fourth Book, while Aeneas dallies in Carthage with Dido, Jupiter, becoming concerned over the hero's conduct and the future course of affairs, recalls that Aeneas "should be one to rule over Italy, the mother of empire, echoing with the roar of war, who should transmit a race from the high line of Troy and bring the whole world beneath his laws."[38] In the Seventh Book, the great future which awaited the race destined to arise from the union of Trojans and Italians is foretold. King Latinus, disturbed by certain

omens which seem to forbid the marriage of his daughter to Prince Turnus, seeks oracles from Faunus, his father.[39] The latter foretells of a mighty prince who will wed Latinus' daughter and a glorious race to result from the union. "Strangers shall come as thy sons-inlaw, destined by mingling their blood with ours, to exalt our race to the stars, whose descendants shall see all things overthrown beneath their feet and ruled by their sway, where the revolving sun visits either ocean."[40]

The outstanding thought in these passages seems indeed to be one of conquest and dominion, but this is only a part of the prophecy and finds its completion in other statements[41] which express the loftier and more noble belief that the ultimate mission of Rome is to give peace and prosperity to the world. Taken together they yield the same thought as the three great passages already dealt with. Conquest must of necessity come first, but were that all the poet would hardly be justified in his pride in Rome. Militarism is to be tempered with mercy; conquest is to be followed by the giving of law and the maintaining of peace; the conquered lands are to be free to enjoy the arts of civilization. Passages are not wanting in the Aeneid to prove that this is Vergil's conception of the complete mission of Rome. Thus when Iulus first tries his hand at war, Apollo praises him with these words; "Rightly shall all the wars destined to come hereafter subside in peace beneath the line of Assaracus."[42] Vergil clearly wishes to represent the Roman Empire, not so much as the

conqueror, but as the civilizing agency of the ancient world, and as the medium of transmission of that civilization to the world of the future.[43]

It is rather significant that the highest glory which Vergil ascribes to the Roman people is the _pietas_ inherited from their Trojan ancestors. In the last scene on Olympus, Jupiter secures the final appeasement of Juno's wrath by declaring that "The race that mixed with Ausonian blood shall arise from them, thou shalt see transcend men, nay even gods in piety; nor shall any people equally pay homage to thee."[44] The term _pietas_ used so frequently throughout the _Aeneid_ to characterize Aeneas has been explained in a variety of ways. A thorough understanding of what Vergil intended it to mean would lead to a clearer comprehension of what he considered Rome's mission to be, especially as he makes _pietas_ not conquest, the crowning glory of her people. In the Roman sense the term involves not merely piety, but the full performance of one's duty to family, fellow-men, and the gods.[45] In spite of the numerous different mis-translations of the word into English, we must be careful to remember the full Vergilian and Roman connotation of the expression, and we must not forget this important clue to the poet's vision of the lofty standard of public and private responsibility and duty which he set as the objective of the great ruling race of his own and future generations.

Let it be remarked in conclusion that the imperialism of Vergil is not that vulgar, self-sufficient imperialism which claims all the talents for the master race. On the contrary he is careful to point out that there are fields in which others surpass the Romans.[46] Nor is it a vulgar lust of conquest. Rather, it is a noble pride and supreme confidence in the civilizing and pacifying power of Rome. Her great contribution is law ; her special genius is to govern. In a sense she is to be the servant of others; she is to provide the framework within which others may display their accomplishments.[47] A noble and inspiring mission indeed!

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CHAPTER IX

THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE

Thus far we have indicated that Vergil's whole nature was on the side of peace. Inconsistent as it may appear at first sight his very craving for peace induces him to write of war. So we have the Aeneid with its many battles. Vergil draws these battle-scenes not because he loves them, but because he must draw them, and his lack of enthusiasm as he does so is all too evident. He is writing of something foreign to his nature. How different are the picture he draws illustrating the blessings of peace. Eager, vibrant, buoyant, the reader is caught up in the bubbling enthusiasm of the poet. The difference? Vergil is describing what is closest to his heart, what he desires all men to know about, the blessings which come from peace. To portray these blessings was a task for which he was peculiarly suited. His love of nature was deep and impassioned. He was familiar from childhood with rural life and so his pictures are born of intimate knowledge and loving observation. To him, peace meant freedom to commune with Nature, to enjoy her many and varied delights, and to partake of her bountiful gifts.

The Georgics are a picture of a life at peace and it is in them principally that Vergil sings of the blessings of peace. Here, in exquisite poetry, he embodies an ideal, an imaginative vision of a life at peace with itself and in

harmony with nature. Here he gives a living picture of a world of simplicity and industry, of hard work and true happiness.[1] However before examining this picture in more detail, let us look at one drawn earlier, where the poet's ideal of peace is forming, and where we see it as something dimly described and mystically imagined. This is the fourth *Eclogue*, commonly known as the Messianic *Eclogue*, in which the poet envisions the return of the golden age. The poem sets forth the hopes of a world weary of struggle and the poet's faith in the return of justice. In it he becomes the mouthpiece of the Cumaean Sibyl[2] and with hopeful expectancy predicts a new era of peace and prosperity.[3] The new age is to be inaugurated by the birth of a child[4] who is to be the glory of his time.[5] To Vergil a *gens aurea*[6] meant an age free from the curse of war, an age that knew no fear, an age of peace.

> " Si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
> Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras."[7]

Sidgwick translates *sceleris nostri* as "the wickedness of our age" and says that Vergil is here thinking of the civil wars, assassinations, proscriptions and horrors, to which he hoped that the new era would put an end.[8] In this new age the ravages of civil war, social corruption, and moral decay, shall give place to perfect peace and innocence.

The child associated with the commencement and development of the new era is destined hereafter to partake of the

life of the gods[9] and "to rule the world in peace with the virtues of his father."[10] The words "to rule the world in peace" are highly significant because they make it clear that before listing the blessings of this wondrous age, Vergil wishes to stress the fact that its chief characteristic is peace. Its coming will be gradual, paralleling the life of the boy, from childhood,[11] to youth,[12] and manhood.[13] At his birth and during his childhood the earth, uncultivated, will pour forth flowers;[14] lions shall cease to destroy;[15] and all evil things shall perish.[16] As the child grows to youth, corn, wine, and honey will come unbidden and there will be the glory of adventure.[17] When he is become a man, even commerce shall cease,[18] for "all lands shall bear all things,"[19] and wool shall naturally take all hues that art now produces,[20] that is, nature will supply the place of both industry and artificial civilization.

The rural and pastoral images depicted here are like those given in the first Georgic in the description of the early world before the age of Jove.[21] It is all very fanciful and Vergil is doubtless using figurative language, but in reality he is foretelling what he earnestly hoped for and confidently expected, the advent of an age of peace and rural felicity such as every Roman heart may well have longed for. His high hopes and confident expectations were based on the truce which had just been concluded between Antony and Octavian

in 40 B.C.,[22] and which seemed at long last to assure the peace of Italy. To the poet, after so many years of war and bloodshed, this treaty appeared as the beginning of wonderful things to come, the threshold of a returning golden age. The whole poem breathes the spirit of joyous and hopeful expectancy of a regenerated people and a re-invigorated morale under the leadership of Augustus.

In the Georgics, the prophetic vision of the fourth Eclogue has taken a more definite shape and a clearer outline. The golden age is now a reality. It is the poet's own Italy, just as it is, if the Italian people would but realize it, sua si bona norint.[23] The Georgics make of Italy an earthly paradise.[24] The subject of the poem is said to have been suggested to Vergil by Maecenas.[25] As minister of Augustus he was doubtless assisting him in his desire of restoring a national spirit, the old feeling of Italian unity and patriotism. We know that one of the chief aims of the new government was to reinstate agriculture, to anchor the nation anew on the motherland. It is not hard to believe that Vergil must have been more than willing to employ his art as an instrument of government, not only because he considered the subject one suited to his genius, but also because he so thoroughly understood the desolation caused in the rural districts by the civil wars, and the moral worth of that old class of farmers who had suffered from them, and the untold loss to Italy arising from the

diminution of their number and influence. Because of his past life and early associations, his broad education and his passionate love for Italy as Motherland and Mother-country, no one was better suited than he to recommend the principles of ancient Romans, their love of home, of labour, of piety and order; to make men proud of their country on better grounds than the glory of arms and the extent of conquest. All this he does in the Georgics and in so doing portrays the blessings of peace.

To Vergil country life typifies peace...a peace more highly valued and more deeply appreciated since it is in such sharp contrast with the evil conflicts which have so disrupted the nation. The picture he paints of rural bliss is "The picture of a golden age attainable in the actual world, the ideal of a life at peace with itself, with mankind, and with nature. It is a life of hard work, of pious faith, of simple pleasures; subject to sorrows and disappointments, shadowed by death, yet presented, like the Italy which Vergil loved so passionately, as loaded with enrichment by the bounty of heaven and earth."[26] In writing of country life Vergil shows a love for his subject in all its details. Here he is following the bent of his own genius and giving expression to his lifelong belief in the charm and worth of the life he had himself known in boyhood and early youth. Whether he realized it or not, country life as he depicted it had become his ideal of

peace, and he desired to make others see as he did, its attraction and beauty.

Just what the happiness and delights of rustic life consist in, Vergil brings out especially in the oft-quoted eulogy of the farmers and the supreme felicity of their lives.[27] In this passage "Vergil creates a new ideal of happiness for the contemplation of his countrymen by combining the old realistic delight in the husbandman's life with the imaginative longing for the peace and innocence of a Saturnian age."[28] He emphasizes the happiness of this life by contrasting it with the pomp and magnificence of life in the city.[29] In place of the luxury and bustle which the city offers, the country affords secure peace, a life ignorant of guile, and rich in varied wealth; peaceful retreats there are, cool grottoes, living lakes and flowery meadows; the gentle lowing of the kine invites soft slumber in the shady grove.[30] It is a picture of a life of pure and tranquil happiness, remote from the clash of arms[31] and the pride and passions of the world.

In this very pointed contrast between the qualities of city and country life, Vergil makes it plain that he discovered the true elements of Roman greatness in close affinity with nature and in the practice of the virtues of the home:[32]

"Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,

Hanc Remus et frater, sic fortis Etruria crevit

Scilicet, et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma."[33]

It was the simple life of the Italian peasant which provided the security and peace, <u>secura quies</u>,[34] which Vergil held to be the principal <u>desideratum</u> of the contemporary world. It was in the country that the last footprints of Justice could be found,[35] and the country and its justice, <u>justissima tellus</u>,[36] were likewise farthest and safest from the bane of civil war:

"...ipsa procul discordibus armis "[37]

The sturdy rustic was least likely to fall under the influence of faction and sedition:

"Illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum
Flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres."[38]

He too was his country's strongest bulwark against the Dacian[39] and other foreign enemies of Rome. Agricultural prosperity is not the least of the safeguards against war.

Work there is to be sure in this ideal life of happiness and simplicity.[40] Vergil does not attempt to hide the fact, but rather makes this work one of the chief sources of contentment.[41] Labour in the <u>Georgics</u> is inculcated as a duty, as the condition appointed by providence for attaining peace, abundance, security, and the other worth-while things of life. Idleness begets discontent and is one of the basic causes of war. Vergil makes man's greatest pleasure to be the drawing into actual existence the glory and beauty of

the land by means of honest toil. The reward of the hard and incessant struggle, labor improbus,[42] is the delight of success, the joy supreme of contemplating the new beauty and richness created by the might of his arm.[43] Living such a life man secures not only peace for himself, but broadens his outlook to include others and so contributes to the well-being of his country, his family, and even the animals associated with his toil. "Hence he supports his country and his humble home, hence his herds of cattle and his well-deserving steers."[44] So inviting does the author make his picture of country life. and so delectable the blessings attached to a life of peace, that many a Roman weary of warfare and disgusted with the vices and excesses which war engenders, must have longed to return to the rural districts and start life anew amid her tranquil joys.

Not least among the blessings of a peaceful life surrounded by the beauties of nature, is the stimulus which it provides for practicing the simple but solid virtues which the exemplars of earlier Roman history had possessed and by means of which they had made Rome supreme.[45] It is a life hardy, healthy and pure. There youth, the mainstay of the future empire, is trained to be patient of toil and is inured to hardship;[46] the gods, under whose special protection Rome has always been, are worshipped with simplicity and sincerity;[47] fathers, the rightful heads of families are held in veneration.[48] Such virtue brings its own reward in the

settled content, the freedom from want as each season yields its produce,[49] the happiness of honest married life and children,[50] the wholesome pleasures indulged in on the village green.[51] No wonder Justice when she left the world took her last steps among such scenes.[52]

After painting this picture of supreme happiness, Vergil brings home his point by reminding his readers that this life, which had made Rome the mistress of the world, was led on earth before "mankind had heard the warlike trumpets blow,"[53] before "the swords laid on the hard anvils clatter."[54] It is war which has changed the world and introduced those vices, which now in Vergil's time are endangering the permanence of Roman power. The thought which naturally occurs and which the poet must have wished to leave in the minds of his readers is, do away with wars and once again be free to enjoy the blessings which so peculiarly belong to peace. Without peace even country life cannot afford these blessings, since it too, may be disrupted by war as Vergil has shown in the first and ninth Eclogues.

"...en quo discordia cives
Produxit miseros,"[55]

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CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

In bringing this study to a close we shall attempt to weigh and appraise the various factors which influenced Vergil in his writings and thus discover what, if any, personal convictions are responsible for the ideas on war and peace brought to light in the preceding chapters. While fully admitting the poet's concessions to epic tradition, his debt to Homer, and the powerful influences which impelled him to use his pen in the service of the state, we yet feel that the writing of an Italian epic enabled him to give expression to his own thought on many topics, not least among which may be noted his thoughts on war. The very patriotism which prompted him to sing "The praises of Italy" in the _Georgics_, and in the _Aeneid_ to proclaim the greatness of the destinies of Rome, must of necessity have compelled him to condemn that scourge which for one hundred years had wrought such havoc both on the one and on the other.

Let us consider first the force of epic tradition. It cannot and need not ever be denied that Vergil owes much to Homer for the expansion and enrichment of the legend of Aeneas. An examination of the general attitude towards literature in the Augustan age shows that this was not in any way remarkable. Vergil had a message to give

and to ensure its being received, it was of prime importance that his poetry should reach a large audience. The works of Homer were known and loved by all educated Italians, and so the best way of assuring a favorable reception for the Aeneid was to reproduce for the Romans, in stately and melodious Latin verse, the qualities which charmed them so much in the Greek epic. This Vergil did by bringing before his countrymen in national dress the glorious themes of Homer. Today we may disapprove of the writer who borrows the thoughts and phrases of another without acknowledgment, but in the Augustan age the matter was viewed quite differently. The Greeks were regarded as having set the standard of the highest possible achievement in literature,[1] and hence it became the aim of every writer to be faithful not only to the spirit, but even to the letter of his great exemplars.[2] It was only natural that when Vergil attempted the stupendous task of writing the national epic of his country, he should be careful to embody in his work all that was best in Greek epic poetry. Far from being ashamed of any lack of originality, he gloried in being the Roman Homer.

But to suppose that this detracts in any way from the quality of his work is a gross mistake. Though he turns to Greek epics for the general framework and many of the details of his poem, he always remains master of his materials and stamps them with the impress of his own genius. We feel that

his work is saturated with the personality and emotions of the author. This fact is of the first importance in the present study where we are attempting to assess the poet's own thought. To this effect, we give the testimony of Mackail: "With all its debt to both Illiad and Odyssey, the Aeneid is no less than these an organic whole and a masterpiece of original creative art,"[3] and Sellar: "Though Vergil may be the most imitative he is at the same time one of the most original poets of antiquity."[4] Prescott has treated this whole subject in a most enlightening and interesting manner.[5] Maintaining that neither the poet's dependence nor his power of refashioning the substance which he borrowed can be appreciated without some knowledge of the Greek epics, he has given an extended comparison of Vergil's poem with the Greek epics, thereby illustrating the special nature and extent of Vergil's originality in transforming Homeric material. The original motives of the two great epic writers are essentially different. Homer's poem has its origin in the pure epic impulse. It is told simply for the sake of the story. The Aeneid, on the other hand, is a literary epic, written by a great poet in an advanced age of culture, with a definite aim in view. Its main purpose, which is to impress men's minds with the dignity and greatness of Rome, her significant history, her national unbroken life and growth, and the divine protection which guided her fate, is never for a

moment forgotten.[6]

Vergil's imitation of, and dependence upon, Homer in the battle scenes of the last four books is undeniable. The Iliad had furnished the type of heroic battles and had exhausted almost all conceivable phases of the type. Any attempt on Vergil's part to evolve new forms must have resulted in eccentricities, hence he drew upon the Iliad freely for his general framework.[7] But this need not blind us to his originality in the dramatic organization of material and in the psychological explanation of the action. In the unique figure of the young Amazon, Camilla, he departs altogether from his Homeric model.[8] Perhaps she is the counterpart of the Amazon queen in the Greek, but Vergil's treatment of her is much more romantic than any Greek Amazon except, of course, Medea in the Argonautica. Then too, the descriptions and pathetic situations woven into the battle scenes, are at all times thoroughly Vergilian. From these scenes we get considerable insight into Vergil's own attitude to war.

It is generally admitted that in his battle scenes Vergil has failed to catch the enthusiasm which permeates and invigorates these scenes in the Iliad.[9] This is understandable when we realize that Vergil draws these pictures of battles not because he loves them, but first because war in Italy was a principal part of the plan of his poem, and secondly because the requirements of epic poetry demanded some demonstration of military prowess. It should also be

remembered that Vergil's experience with war had brought home to him, not its exhilaration, but its untold sufferings. He makes us feel that each blow dealt brings to his mind all that it involves of suffering, destruction, and loss of life.[10] He turns from the battle field to behold untilled fields,[11] funeral pyres and nameless graves,[12] lonely parents at their prayers,[13] and mothers heartbroken at the bloody sacrifice of their sons.[14] His pictures seem to be drawn with reluctance, even with pain, and we wonder if he too may not have become weary of the succession of battle scenes--"eadem horrida bella"[15]--which necessity and a moral purpose rather than impulse made him depict.

Whether he does so intentionally or not, through these battles Vergil does succeed in conveying his own sentiments. By stirring the emotions of his readers with pity and sympathy, horror and awe, he arouses a hatred and a fear of war. As noted previously, in the delineation of his youthful characters he is entirely original, and yet nowhere does he make war less attractive than in the pictures of these young men cut off from life at the dawn of manhood as a result of ruthless bloodshed. At the conclusion of each episode we can almost hear his anguished cry, "Who would want war at such a price?" There is too the telling evidence of the weariness of war felt by the women of Aeneas' company. After the years of fighting at Troy, they have wandered for seven

years enduring all the hardships of unknown lands and stormy seas. Still they have no settled home.[16]

" 'Heu, tot vada fessis,

Et tantum superesse maris!' vox omnibus una.

Urbem orant; taedet pelagi perferre laborem."[17]

The psychological state of these women had become so aggravated by war and flight that it broke out into violent form and led them, at the suggestion of Iris, to set fire to part of the fleet.[18] Time and again in the Aeneid we sense this feeling of utter war weariness and always the sentiment of Vergil is evident in the words or gestures he gives to his characters.[19]

In the musical and memorable epithets which he applies to war Vergil is certainly original and is following no tradition. Here too, we may consider him to be expressing his own thought. We may recall by way of illustration the lacrimabile bellum[20] and scelerata insania belli[21] of Book VII; the deep sigh of utter weariness and disgust, eadem horrida bella,[22] which summons him in Book XI to other scenes of woe. In numerous other passages the echo recurs of impia arma,[23] which have plunged many into the abyss of Hell, or pestem belli[24], duri belli,[25] rabies belli[26]. There is the poignant dirum bellum[27] which has left in its wake sorrowing mothers, forlorn daughters-in-law, fond hearts of mourning sisters, and boys bereaved of parents. Never do we find Vergil speaking of war itself as glorious or noble or inspiring. In

accordance with the true Roman nature he does extol the virtues which war begets, courage, bravery, and deeds of valor, and the love and pathos which he has thrown into his delineation of Pallas, Lausus, and Camilla, reveal his sympathies with the Itala virtus. He realizes the value of these virtues which have made Rome great in the past, and his ideal is to use them now in a nobler warfare than that of mere conquest. He would have men use them to fight against their personal enemies of pride, selfishness, and vain ambition, and thus pave the way for the great need of the time, peace, reconciliation, the restoration of law, order and piety, and reverence for human affections.[28]

In some ways imperial propaganda may be said to have influenced Vergil's writing even more than did epic tradition. In the Augustan age poetic art was employed as it had never been before as an instrument of government,[29] and Vergil is recognized as the representative of the imperial idea. In his national epic we find a conscious co-operation on his part with the government in its noble endeavor to regenerate the Roman people. "A great crisis, a great leader, a national need prompted Vergil to exercise a high function of the poet, service to the state."[30] To comprehend the extent of this influence we must first understand something of the relation of the poet and Emperor.[31] Vergil was indebted to Augustus, perhaps for the restoration of his farm, certainly for encouragement and aid in his literary endeavors;

he was on terms of familiarity with him, and he admired his qualities as a statesman. In addition to this he was fully in sympathy with his political changes. Neither hereditary nor personal ties bound him to the old republican institutions. The spectacle of a great people governing itself was a thing foreign to him. His own people had been governed for centuries; they had been given no share in the inner workings of political life. To them Republican government had meant constant strife, war, bloodshed and confiscations. It was not until this party was driven out of Italy and finally crushed, that the land began to recover itself, wars ceased, and the people began to know a settled life. Hence it is not remarkable that the new order of Augustus which re-established peace and order and meant such real gains for the world and for Italy, should kindle the imagination and arouse the enthusiasm of the patriotic, peace-loving poet. His submissive nature, his personal attachments and tastes, his longing for peace and an ordered life made him a strong and sincere supporter of the idea of Empire in opposition to that of the Republic.

Because of this we can imagine how readily the poet must have acquiesced in the request of the Emperor that he use his literary gift to impress on the minds of his people the idea of himself as the saviour of the state and their own benefactor, and at the same time to glorify the actual successes of his reign, to further his policies of religious,

social and national regeneration, and to cause men to feel the security of a divinely sanctioned government.[32] There can be little doubt that the *Aeneid* was written at the request of Augustus who was quick to avail himself of the enthusiasm and willing service of the poet. Still throughout the writing of it Vergil kept his spirit free and unfettered. We feel that he is impelled not so much by personal attachment to the Emperor, as by what he stands for. Patriotism, pride in Rome and love of Italy, were deeply rooted in the poet's nature.[33] His conscious endeavor throughout the *Aeneid* is to make his readers believe in the mission of Rome as appointed by divine decree for the ultimate peace and good government of the world. To do this he combines in his poem the splendors of past history, the dignity of the actual Empire, and the glorious future prophesied and decreed for it. The whole poem is made to turn on Augustus. Vergil shows how the imperial idea has found its fulfilment in him. He is the chosen instrument by means of which destiny accomplishes its divine purpose in the world. This is his title to rule--his fulfilment of Rome's destiny and his embodiment of the great ideals of the race. Thus we see that though much in the national epic is prompted by imperial propaganda--the conscious desire to recommend the rule of Augustus to the sentiment of his countrymen--still the motive was the highest and left the poet abundant scope for expressing his own thought and convictions. He sincerely

believed that Augustus was the man appointed by divine decree to establish an empire of peace as the explanation[34] and completion of his warlike triumphs.

More potent than either of the motives just discussed, and in no way weakened by them, is the personal feeling and conviction of the poet. It pervades the whole poem. The hero embodies many of the characteristics of the author and frequently reveals the latter's sentiments and emotions by his words and actions. The very evident reluctance with which he goes into battle indicates the poet's strong aversion to war. His longing for peace is likewise an expression of Vergil's own yearning for peace, order and a settled life, lived in the midst of nature's bounty.

Had Vergil approved of war and gloried in it, epic tradition would have given him a wonderful opportunity to extol it. By means of the battle-scenes he might have filled his readers with an enthusiasm for it and aroused in them a desire to take up arms and fight for the very thrill of the battle. But did he? In one sense his battle-scenes are a failure. The exhilaration and enthusiasm which a real lover of conflict can excite in his readers are entirely wanting. They merely inspire the determination to avoid wars at any cost. It is sometimes said, "You cannot give what you haven't got." Vergil had no love for war, therefore he could not inspire it. He did possess a hatred and a fear of it and this he passes on to his readers. Whether

he did this intentionally or not is a moot question, but war and the disturbances resulting from it were so repugnant to his gentle nature, that in the very midst of his account of a great battle, modelled on those of the Iliad, when enthusiasm should be roused to the highest peak, a word, a thought, a sigh creeps in, which reveal the poet's personal sentiments, and convince us of his abhorrence for anything that violates the peace.

"Ne vero, ne me ad tales inpellite pugnas."[35]

Again in his eulogistic support of the power and the policies of Augustus, Vergil had a subject and a hero whose preference and whose genius was in keeping with his own desires. Unlike Julius, Augustus was not a brilliant soldier nor general. The victories of his reign were mostly won by trusted lieutenants like Agrippa.[36] The Emperor's genius shone most splendidly in the field of diplomacy and negotiation. We may reasonably suppose that Vergil appreciated this fact and rejoiced in it. Where he praises Augustus, he is careful to praise him for his services to mankind; he praises the achievements of peace, not the victories of war. Augustus is great, not because of his martial conquests, but because, as the organizer of empire and the restorer of peace, order and religion, he has rendered better service to mankind than any of the heroes of old, who have been raised to the company of the gods for their great deeds.[37] Were mere conquest the object of Vergil's

praise, Antony too, might have deserved some recognition. In this poem he is in fact described as "Conqueror from the races of the East and the Red Sea."[38] But in him Vergil makes us realize what a futile thing is victory when to obtain it the nobler things of life have been sacrificed. Antony has abandoned the ideals of Rome. Self-indulgence, personal ambition, and indifference to his country's claims have made him unworthy, and so by the decree of heaven the world passes from his grasp to one who puts the needs of his country first and so will rule with greater loyalty to the ideals of his race.[39] Augustus represents and upholds the sterling old Roman *mores* and conquers the world in virtue of it. As notoriously as Antony neglects everything but personal pleasure and ambition, so truly Augustus defends the best interests of his people and the Empire, and the verdict given by the gods at Actium is profoundly significant. Here Augustus emerges the victor because his final goal is peace and concord for all the dominions of Rome. Under him Rome sheathes the sword and closes the portals of the temple of Janus. His conquests have simply been the means of disseminating the arts of peace. Vergil justifies war in this one case--if it be a means of serving humanity, of replacing barbarism with civilization, of teaching men how to live together in harmony and peace. And so in a noble couplet in his idealized description of the great and decisive crisis of Actium, he describes Bellona

scourging and chasing from the imperial stage forever the sorry, dishevelled figure Discord which has caused most of the sorrows of Rome.

"Et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla,
Quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello."[40]

As Aeneas had a mission among men, so Rome had a mission among peoples. Her task was to bring order out of confusion, to establish peace, and to secure the supremacy of law. Just as Aeneas was forced to fight in order to accomplish his mission among men, so too Augustus, under whom Rome was to fulfil her mission, must reach his triumph through the tribulation of war.

As our final comment upon Vergil's magnificent epic, we may well recall that it begins with the words:

"Arma virumque cano"[41]

In what sense is arms the subject of the poem, if not in the sense that it has been the bitter school of the hero's experience, an experience that has taught him to like war less and to love peace more? The lesson was not learned all at once. In the bitterest hour of his tragedy he confessed:

"Arma amens capio nec sat rationis in armis."[42]

There are times when a man cannot draw back from the combat, as Aeneas found again when he sought to establish his followers in their new home, but he never again used his arms madly. He preferred to arm his men with olive, the symbol of peace.

"Ire iubet, ramis velatos Palladis omnes."[43]

The principle did not always lend itself to practical application even in Aeneas' experience, but for Vergil its spiritual and ideal truth stands without question.

The personal sentiments of Vergil regarding war and peace are revealed not only in the _Aeneid_, but also, as we have seen, in the _Eclogues_ and _Georgics_. In the former we are told in an intimate way by one who had experienced them of the disastrous effects of war and the cruel suffering it entails;[44] in the latter we are charmed in contrast by a vivid picture of life far from discordant arms, a life lived at peace with one's self, one's neighbor, and in perfect harmony with nature.[45] In such an environment, as we have said before, Vergil is perfectly at home, and reveals himself and his sentiments as nowhere else in his writings. He speaks of _secura quies_, and _vita nescia fallere_,[46] and we sense the yearning and desire behind the words. In lines of ineffable beauty and enduring quality he vindicates for all time the true glory of the ploughshare in opposition to the vain glory of the sword.

Having thus appraised the various factors which influenced Vergil in his writings we feel that there is sufficient personal thought and conviction indicated or expressed to warrant the conclusion that he hated bloodshed and had no joy in battle; that he longed for peace and an ordered life; that his final verdict was, _nulla salus bello_.[47]

Vergil's epic emphasizes universal truths and just as it contained a message for the world of Augustus' time, so, we believe, our war-torn world of today can glean from its pages many a valuable lesson. The remarkable similarity between our own times and the days of the poet should assist us to grasp more readily his message which literally vibrates with significance and power for us. We stand, even more than he did, amid the wreckage of a world. He can give light and guidance to us in the foundation of a new world upon its ruins. He is a man of spiritual vision, and his ideals and principles, interpreted in the light of Christianity, might well be applied to the solution of many of our modern world problems. His deep and abiding faith in the ultimate goodness of God is well expressed in the noble line:

"O passi graviora, dabit Deus his quoque finem."[48]

The world today is sorely in need of a return to this faith. Vergil has shown that this is a world in which divine intervention is to be expected; that we are all creatures of destiny, used for purposes beyond our guessing, if only we would play our part. The ruin of the attempt to build human society apart from God now lies patent around us, and there is no remedy save in the abandonment of secularism, in the re-emergence of the old religious man to take the place of the new secularist man. This seems to be the great lesson of Vergil, a lesson of protest against the wickedness of a

godless age. Were he to take his place in the world today as a Christian, might not his advice be:-

> "Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito
> Quam tua te fortuna vocat."[49]

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5. Prescott, H.W., The Development of Virgil's Art, 169-226.

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14. Vergil, Aeneid IX, 475-503.

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