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Fata and Fanda: The Role of Fate in the Speech and Silence of Aeneas

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by
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Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.

- *Aen.* 1.203

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INTRODUCTION

Commissioned by Augustus to write a work honoring the Roman Empire, Virgil infuses Roman history, tradition, and culture into the *Aeneid*, the legendary tale of Aeneas and a critical part of the mythic cycle centered on the foundation of Rome.[1] Throughout the epic Aeneas endures much suffering and finds himself wandering both on land and at sea in order to reach the Italian kingdom that he is fated to establish, the future site of Rome. Every action of Aeneas is directed to the advancement of this ancient city. Virgil exercises care in his description of Aeneas, a potential precursor of Augustus, as he was writing this work in Augustan Rome, specifically for Augustus himself. He begins his epic with the following lines:

> Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
> Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit
> litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
> vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
> multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
> inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum
> Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.
> Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso
> quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus
> insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
> impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?

[1] See Hor. *Epist*. 2.1.245-7 for mention of Augustus' patronage to Virgil. This example has been noted by Don P. Fowler and Peta G. Fowler, "Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro)," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1556.

> I sing of arms and a man, who first came from the shores of Troy to Italy and the Lavinian shores, a fugitive because of fate, tossed about much both on land and on sea by the power of the gods on account of the unforgetting anger of fierce Juno, having suffered much also in war until he could found a city and bring his gods to Latium, whence came the Latin race and the Alban fathers and the walls of high Rome. Muse, recall to me the reasons, with her divine power having been harmed by what or grieving what, the queen of the gods drove a man notable for his *pietas* to undergo so many misfortunes and to undertake so many labors. Are there such angers in the minds of the gods? (*Aen*. 1.1-11).[2]

Here in his introduction and invocation to the Muse, Virgil conveys several overarching ideas and themes that appear throughout and guide the entire epic. Without explicitly naming Aeneas, Virgil proceeds to identify him through descriptions of his character. In the second line of the poem, Aeneas is defined as *fato profugus*, a "fugitive because of fate." This appositive phrase reveals a prominent theme of the epic, as fate assumes the role of a guiding force for Aeneas. He becomes a fugitive not only because of the downfall of his beloved fatherland, Troy, but also through his adherence to the dictates that fate has set before him.

Because of its many possible nuances, it is necessary to first define the concept of fate as it appears in the *Aeneid*. Denis Feeney describes *fata* as the will of Jupiter and claims that in revealing his foresight, Jupiter simultaneously reveals his will. Taken as a participle, *fata* is literally translated as "things having been said." Thus in the context of the divine, *fata* signifies that which has been said by the king of the gods.[3] In a similar interpretation, R.O.A.M Lyne understands fate to be the divine will, which is responsible for planning and guiding the events of the world. Fate can be spoken of in reference to the will itself and the one who wills it, or "the plan as well as the planner." Virgil seems to adopt both of these interpretations, identifying fate with

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[2] The text of the *Aeneid* throughout is taken from R.A.B. Mynors, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969). All translations are my own.

[3] D.C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991), 139-40.

Jupiter and with Jupiter's will.[4] As Aeneas' recognition of Jupiter's will develops, his adherence to fate, an external force, strengthens the internal forces that govern his sense of duty and piety.

These introductory lines further define the character of Aeneas with the descriptive phrase *insignem pietate virum*, a "man notable for his *pietas*." In order to glorify the state and the reign of Augustus, Virgil frequently depicts Aeneas as the embodiment of Roman virtue. There are many debates concerning Virgil's intentions in portraying the figure of Augustus through the character of Aeneas. Some scholars contend that Aeneas represents Augustus in an allegorical interpretation of Rome, while others assert that Aeneas is not meant to reflect Augustus in any political, civil, or personal aspect.[5] Although scholars continue to debate the relationship of Aeneas with Augustus, it remains clear that Aeneas does display certain Roman characteristics in his general demeanor.

The ancient Romans held very particular ideas concerning the concepts of virtue, and they strove to uphold their set of essential virtues. Among these, there is one that surpasses all others as the defining characteristic of Aeneas and as a source of thematic advancement—the virtue of *pietas*. The *Oxford Classical Dictionary* defines *pietas* as "the typical Roman attitude of dutiful respect towards gods, fatherland, and parents and other kinsmen."[6] Aeneas exemplifies this ancient virtue through his strong sense of duty and steadfast devotion to the gods, to his followers, and to

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[4] R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Further Voice in Vergil's* Aeneid (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 73.

[5] For a reading in which Aeneas is seen as a model of Augustus, see W.A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's* Aeneid (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 2. For readings in which Aeneas is seen as distinct from Augustus, see Kenneth Quinn, *Virgil's* Aeneid*: A Critical Description* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1968), 54-5, and Gordon Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the* Aeneid (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 234.

[6] William Chase Greene and John Scheid, "*Pietas*" in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1148.

his son Iulus, who will eventually found the ruling line of Augustus.[7] Continually assigned the epithet of *pius*, this epic hero displays his inherent *pietas* from the inception of his adventure, as he leads his fellow Trojans out from their burning city, carrying both his aged father and his household gods on his back. In this single action, Aeneas exhibits his concern for the three major objects of his *pietas*. His *pietas* comes to represent the relationship of his actions and his fate, as *pietas* and fate and jointly direct his course throughout the epic.[8] Because *pietas* is an expression of devotion to the gods, adherence to the divine decrees of fate can be presented as an act of piety. Aeneas adopts such loyalty to fate in book 4 following the exhortation of the divine messenger Mercury. In embracing his fated course, Aeneas recognizes that he must found a new kingdom in Italy for his people and that this endeavor must be accomplished promptly so as not to deprive his son Ascanius of his rightful position. Thus, through his heightened regard for fate, Aeneas simultaneously displays his *pietas*, as he directs his attention to the gods, his family, and his fellow Trojans.

As the epic progresses, not only do fate and *pietas* reciprocally influence each other, but these forces extend to additional themes and to further dimensions of Aeneas. The themes of speech and silence, as manifested in the character of Aeneas, are among those affected by the union of fate and *pietas*. The dialogues, monologues, and moments of silence that occur throughout are often viewed as means to advance the plot and to support separate thematic developments rather than being regarded as themes themselves. Speech, however, can be examined more closely with an emphasis on the inspiration, the intention, and the interest of the speaker as well as the final

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[7] Kenneth McLeish, "Dido, Aeneas, and the Concept of 'Pietas,'" *Greece & Rome* 19, no. 2 (Oct., 1972): 131-2, http://www.jstor.org/stable/639496 (accessed July 21, 2015).

[8] C.J. Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988), 56.

result of his words. In addition to the examination of speech, one must look to the character's receptivity to the speech of others in order to acquire a comprehensive view of this theme's role in the story. Just as speech holds great importance for the overall work, so too do the moments when speech is silenced. These moments of silence are not simply defined as a lack of verbal communication from a particular character. Rather, silence becomes thematically significant when a figure chooses not to speak in an instance in which speech would be otherwise expected.

Philologists have long been interested in the dynamics of speech in Virgil. With regard to the *Aeneid*, for example, Andrew Laird examines speech to discover the epic's role in the overall study of speech presentation in Latin literature.[9] In a more specific and in-depth analysis of each individual speech in the epic, Gilbert Highet studies speech as an instrument of character portrayal and development.[10] Denis Feeney, however, focuses on one specific character in his influential article on the speech presentation of Aeneas, examining his silences and the discrepancy between his public and private personas.[11] Susanna Braund advances this study of Aeneas' silence in an examination of his relationship with Dido. Noting Aeneas' taciturnity in comparison with Dido's loquacity, she offers the explanation that Virgil intended to portray Aeneas as a true Roman man through his silence.[12] However, I take a different approach to this topic, as I examine the ideas of

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[9] Andrew Laird, *Powers of Expression, Expressions of Power: Speech Presentation and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[10] Gilbert Highet, *The Speeches in Vergil's* Aeneid (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

[11] D. Feeney, "The Taciturnity of Aeneas," *The Classical Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (1983): 204-219, http://www.jstor.org/stable/638656 (accessed July 21, 2015).

[12] Susanna Morton Braund, "Speech, Silence and Personality: The Case of Aeneas and Dido," *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 23 (1998): 129-47, http://www.virgil.vacau.com/?p=843 (accessed July 21, 2015).

speech and silence in their relationship with fate. I argue that as Aeneas becomes increasingly aware of his duties and dedicates himself to his fated course, he adapts his manner of speech to reflect this change in character. Following the visit of the divine messenger, Aeneas begins to speak freely only in situations that are conducive to the fulfillment of his fate. He becomes reticent or even silent, however, in settings that prove to be a hindrance to his advancement on his fated path. Not only does Aeneas temper his own speech, but he restricts the words of others as well. In his adherence to fate, he listens receptively to those with whom he has been destined to speak, while he refuses the requests of those who make pleas contrary to what fate has ordained. In this way, the idea of speech and silence does not merely distinguish instances in which Aeneas is conversing with another figure from moments when he is not speaking. Rather, I regard these conventional plot devices primarily as thematic elements of the epic. In looking at the speech and silence of Aeneas, it is important to consider to whom he is choosing to speak or not speak and what he is saying or not saying. It is equally important to examine to whom he listens and to which pleas and requests he yields. The select few to whom he speaks following the appearance of Mercury in book 4 have been chosen not only by Aeneas, but by fate.

Aeneas serves as the ideal subject in such an examination of speech and silence. Throughout the epic Virgil is particularly invested in the quality of Aeneas' speeches and interactions as the principal character. In reviewing the thematic instances of speech and silence for Aeneas, one can observe that his manner of expression does not remain static throughout the epic. While he speaks with great ferocity in book 12, he is unrecognizable as the figure emitting cries of helplessness in book 1. His early encounters are infused with emotion, but as the poem progresses, another force seems to inform his mode of speaking. Aeneas' character is not consistent in each of his interactions. Rather, he becomes more loquacious in certain situations and

more reticent in others. In a similar manner, Aeneas varies in his receptivity to the speech of his fellow characters. As he undergoes a change in character over the course of the epic, he becomes increasingly impervious to the pleas of others. In looking at this development, I suggest that there is a common strand in each moment of his speech and his silence. Through a careful examination of these themes, I argue that the pervasive force of fate can be seen as a determinant factor in Aeneas' personal encounters. Following the *peripeteia* in book 4 in which Mercury admonishes Aeneas about his fated duty to establish a new kingdom, the dutiful hero allows fate to direct his speech and his silence. His concern for fate and his consequential increase in *pietas* provide great thematic import for these standard literary topics, which are enriched by their absorption into the overarching ideas of the epic. Thus, the opening lines of the *Aeneid* not only reveal the distinguishing characteristics of Aeneas, but they also introduce the forces that guide him and direct his interactions. As fate and *pietas* prevail in the description of Aeneas as *fato profugus* and *insignem pietate virum*, so too are these forces present in each instance of his speech and of his silence.

CHAPTER ONE

FATA

While presiding over the tumultuous council of the gods in book 10, Jupiter offers his divine wisdom: *fata viam invenient* ("Fate will find the way").[13] In the midst of the debate between the quarrelsome factions of Olympus, he reminds his fellow gods that fate remains the ultimately decisive factor in all matters. It is this concept of fate that holds great influence over the character of Aeneas throughout the epic. Initially attentive to his duties following the collapse of Troy, Aeneas eventually lingers in Carthage in a state of complacency, desiring the safety offered by Queen Dido. His respite comes to a sudden halt in book 4 when Mercury appears to him with a reminder of his fated course. This divine appearance alters the trajectory of the epic, as it provokes a change in Aeneas. He immediately regains a profound sense of *pietas* and directs his attention to his fate, to his promised Italian kingdoms, and to the perpetuation of the Trojan race. The significance of fate and its influence on Aeneas are essential components to the thematic development of speech and silence throughout the *Aeneid*. As Aeneas adopts fate as the central force guiding him in both word and deed, he conscientiously selects words that will advance his fated course. He begins to utter fewer words or to remain silent in instances that threaten his dutiful progress. In their peripeteian function in the epic, the arrival of Mercury and the reaction of Aeneas

[13] *Aen*. 10.110.

to this divine interference bestow significance upon Aeneas' speech and his silence, themes that are to form, guide, and reflect his character throughout the remainder of the poem.

The importance of fate in the development of Aeneas' character is illustrated in book 4 through a sequence of divine interventions. Incited to action by the prayers of King Iarbas, Jupiter finally turns his attention to Aeneas and his Carthaginian holiday.[14] Jupiter sends Mercury down from the heights of Olympus to deliver a message of great urgency to Aeneas. His address to Mercury conveys ideas of fate and duty in its explicit mention of distinguished Trojan forebears and its Italian geographical references. Jupiter attempts to revive Aeneas' dormant *pietas* through Mercury by mentioning the two peoples to whom Aeneas owes his allegiance—the Trojan race and his future Italian kingdom. He addresses Aeneas' inactivity in his command to Mercury:

> Vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pennis
> Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine qui nunc
> exspectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes,
> adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.
>
> Come on, go, son. Summon the west winds and glide on your wings and speak to the Trojan leader, who now waits in Tyrian Carthage and does not consider the cities given by the fates, and carry down my words through the swift winds (*Aen*. 4.223-6).

The prominent position of *Dardaniumque ducem* in the second line emphasizes the dependence of the entire Trojan race on Aeneas' fulfillment of his obligations. By describing Aeneas as a *Dardanium ducem* rather than as a *Troianum ducem*, Virgil is evoking Dardanus, a mythical Trojan founder, and is thus placing responsibility for the continuation of the Trojan race in the hands of Aeneas. Since *Dardaniumque ducem* and *Troianumque ducem* are metrically equivalent, Virgil could have used either. Thus, his choice of *Dardanium* appears significant. If Aeneas remains in Carthage and fails to restore Troy through the establishment of a new kingdom for his people, he

[14] *Aen*. 4.198-218.

is rendering Dardanus' labors fruitless. It remains his primary duty to ensure the future of the Trojan race by conveying the survivors of Troy's collapse to their fated haven. The metrical arrangement of 4.224 places a pronounced pause in the third foot of the line, separating the phrases *Dardaniumque ducem* and *Tyria Karthagine*. This line accentuates Aeneas' neglect of his duties through the stark contrast in the words preceding and following the principal caesura. Aeneas should be attending to his responsibilities as a faithful descendant of Dardanus, but instead he has been assisting in the establishment of Tyrian Carthage. Even the rhetoric of the line accentuates the contrast. The anastrophe of *qui* following *Tyria Karthagine* emphasizes the contrast between Aeneas' Trojan and Carthaginian identities. This delayed position of the relative pronoun juxtaposes and visually underscores the two distinct options of Aeneas: he must decide which kingdom and which race hold his undivided devotion.

Jupiter continues his attempt to rekindle the *pietas* of Aeneas in his alternation between references to Troy and to Italy:

> sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
> Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri
> proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.
>
> But it was to be he (Aeneas) who would rule Italy, pregnant with empire and roaring with war, he who would produce a race from the noble blood of Teucer and who would put the whole world under his laws (*Aen*. 4.229-31).

Aeneas carries the burden of his race's existence, which he could inadvertently destroy by adopting a Carthaginian identity. Prior to Mercury's visit, Aeneas had been neglecting his own men and the progress of the Trojan people in favor of the development of Carthage. Now, his fellow Trojans require immediate attention after he has spent the winter *in luxu* with Dido.[15] He can no longer

[15] *Aen*. 4.193.

afford to ignore his fate passively. Jupiter emphasizes the future that Aeneas must actively seek in his references to Italian regions:

> Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?
> quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur
> nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?
>
> Does the father begrudge Ascanius the Roman citadels? What is he building? Or with what hope does he stay amongst a hostile race and not care for Ausonian offspring and Lavinian soil? (*Aen*. 4.234-6).

By focusing on specific features of the Italian peninsula, Jupiter offers a reminder of the land that Aeneas will inhabit and adopt as his own. When conveyed to Aeneas by Mercury, this detailed attention to his Trojan past and his Roman future will serve as a source of motivation for him to follow his fated course.

Heeding the command of the king of the gods, Mercury accordingly descends from Mount Olympus to deliver Jupiter's message, interrupting Aeneas' sojourn in Carthage. It is this divine appearance that incites a change in the character of Aeneas. In his examination of the significance of divine intervention within epic poetry, Denis Feeney stresses the importance of Mercury in book 4. In classical mythology, Mercury is known for his role as the mediator and interpreter of divine messages. Feeney argues for the necessity of such an external force to serve as the agent of Aeneas' departure from Carthage. The appearance and warning of Mercury is not merely a plot device included to advance the progress of the epic. It is a way for Vigil to demonstrate the struggle of his protagonist between his personal inclinations and his fated commitment to the future of his race.[16] Mercury's appearance proves to be a necessary corrective to Aeneas' neglect of his duties.[17]

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[16] Feeney, *Gods in Epic*, 174-5.

[17] Eve Adler, *Vergil's Empire: Political Thought in the* Aeneid (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 285.

Mercury, like Jupiter before him, infuses his exhortation with references to Aeneas' Trojan past and Italian future. He echoes the ideas imparted by Jupiter at 4.243-246, as he directs his speech to Aeneas' conscience, culminating in a dramatic appeal to his strong paternal devotion:

> Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
> respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
> debetur.
>
> Consider rising Ascanius and the hope of the heir Iulus to whom the kingdom of Italy and the Roman land is owed (*Aen*. 4.274-6).

The position of *debetur* as both the final word of this speech and its enjambment in the subsequent line emphasize the nature of Aeneas' duties.[18] He is driven to seek a home in Italy not for his own advantage, but for the interests of his young son. As the use of *debetur* signifies, Aeneas owes Ascanius his fated kingdom. By staying in Carthage, he is depriving his son of his promised rule.

Virgil identifies this scene as a decisive moment for Aeneas in his choice of narrative style. The significance of this divine encounter and its profound effect on the character of Aeneas can be seen in his immediate response to Mercury's counsel. He reveals the instability of Aeneas' thoughts following the visit of Mercury:

> heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem
> audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?
>
> Alas, what should he do? Now with what address should he dare to visit the raving queen? What first introduction should he begin? (*Aen*. 4.283-4).

Here Virgil uses the style of third-person narration known as free indirect discourse, which serves to reflect the internal hopes, fears, and worries of individual characters. In an exhaustive examination of speech presentation within Latin literature, Andrew Laird discusses the significance of this style of discourse in the *Aeneid*. Laird states that there are no previous "decisive

[18] Keith Maclennan, ed., *Virgil: Aeneid IV* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2007), ad 276.

and unambiguous" examples of free indirect discourse in Latin poetry before Virgil incorporated it into his work, and this scene marks its first appearance in the epic.[19] Deborah Beck argues that a precursor to the Virgilian style of free indirect discourse can be found in Homeric epic. She cites Odysseus' speech to the Phaeacians as an example of this primitive form of narration:

> αὐτὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους κελόμην ἐρίηρας ἑταίρους
> σπερχομένους νηῶν ἐπιβαινέμεν ὠκειάων,
> μή πώς τις λωτοῖο φαγὼν νόστοιο λάθηται.[20]
>
> I ordered my other faithful companions, set in motion, to board the swift ships, lest in any way someone, having eaten of the lotus, forget the return home (*Od*. 9.100-2).

Odysseus' report of the directives given to his men and the use of a purpose clause reveals his thought process and his intentions that guided his actions in a particular moment.[21] Following Homer, Virgil modifies the form of free indirect discourse to provide even greater insight into the minds of his characters. The use of this particular and rare style of narration in book 4 of the *Aeneid* indicates the importance and singularity of this event. In most subsequent works of Latin poetic narrative, examples of free indirect discourse are found in "fright or flight" situations in which a character must react and make an immediate decision in a frenzied state of mind.[22] Virgil assigns narrative significance to this style of discourse as he uses it to mark crucial moments in the epic. He discloses the anxious and frantic musings of his principal characters in order to signify

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[19] Laird, *Powers of Expression, Expressions of Power*, 167-8.

[20] All text of the *Odyssey* is taken from Thomas W. Allen, *Homeri Opera Tomus III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917).

[21] Deborah Beck, *Speech Presentation in Homeric Epic* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 59.

[22] Important examples include Ovid. *Met*. 8.42-8, V. Fl. 7.338-46, and Apul. *Met*. 3.9. Laird, *Powers of Expression, Expressions of Power*, 97-8, 107.

emotional trauma.[23] A similar instance occurs in book 9; here Virgil gives voice to the psychological turmoil of Turnus:

> ignescunt irae, duris dolor ossibus ardet.
> qua temptet ratione aditus, et quae via clausos
> excutiat Teucros vallo atque effundat in aequum?
>
> His anger becomes inflamed. His grief burns in his hard bones. With what plan should he test the approaches? And what way should he cast out the closed-in Trojans from his wall and pour them out into the plain? (*Aen.* 9.66-8).[24]

Here, Virgil reveals Turnus' frenzied state of mind and his uncertainty as to how he should expel the Trojans from his country. As soon as Turnus formulates his plan of attack, he will initiate the fated war between the Rutulians and the Trojans. This passage of free indirect discourse marks another crucial moment of transition in the epic. In its appearance in book 4, this narrative style indicates a similar sense of panic in Aeneas as he becomes aware of his duties to fate.

Understanding fate and its prominent role in book 4 is crucial in understanding Aeneas' development and his application of speech and silence. The arrival of Mercury, while necessary to the progress of the plot, serves a greater thematic purpose. The messenger of the gods rekindles Aeneas' awareness of fate and his resurgence of *pietas*, which will become the guiding factors in his subsequent interactions. Mercury's interference remains significant for the remainder of the epic, as Aeneas undergoes a considerable transition following this encounter. Immediately after Mercury vanishes, Aeneas begins to panic as he realizes that he has jeopardized the future of the Trojan race by lingering in Carthage. The first example of his change in mindset is his sudden desire to depart from Carthage:

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[23] Laird, *Powers of Expression, Expressions of Power*, 181.

[24] This is among the examples collected by Laird. Found in Laird, *Powers of Expression, Expressions of Power*, 170.

> ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,
> attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.
>
> He burns to depart in flight and to leave behind the sweet lands, astonished by so great a warning and by the command of the gods (*Aen.* 4.281-2).

Aeneas does not merely wish to leave Carthage, but he "burns" to flee. His renewed passion is made manifest by Virgil's wording. J.D. Reed identifies *ardet* as the strongest word for "desire" in Virgilian vocabulary.[25] For example, *ardet* also appears at 4.101 to describe Dido's divinely inspired, and thus unnaturally strong, love for Aeneas. The intensity of the verb is reflective of the fervor that Aeneas possesses to follow his fated course. The strength of his desire becomes correlative to the result of his interactions as the epic progresses. From this moment onwards, fated encounters, or instances in which Aeneas speaks or remains silent as a means to adhering to his fate, merit robust conversation, while irrelevant speech is stifled.

The marked change in Aeneas becomes clear when he approaches Dido and attempts to justify his sudden transformation. He denies full responsibility for his departure and claims that he is merely following the dictates of fate:

> sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
> Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes
>
> But now great Italy Grynean Apollo and the Lycian lots have ordered me to strive for, Italy (*Aen.* 4.345-6).

He reveals his deep sense of *pietas* in this speech through his repetition of *Italiam*, his fated future home. Aeneas knows that he must not devote himself to Carthage but rather to Italy, and he displays this awareness in repeating the name of his future kingdom. Although he has no prior allegiance to this territory, he fully adopts it as his new homeland in his effort to follow divine

[25] J.D. Reed, *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the* Aeneid (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 202.

orders. Aeneas' apologia to Dido in this scene reflects that of Jason to Hypsipyle upon his departure from Lemnos in an earlier Greek epic:

> ἐξείπω κατὰ κόσμον. ἀνακτορίη δὲ μελέσθω
> σοίγ᾽αὐτῇ καὶ νῆσος· ἔγωγε μὲν οὐκ ἀθερίζων
> χάζομαι, ἀλλά με λυγροὶ ἐπισπέρχουσιν ἄεθλοι.[26]
>
> But let the royal island be a care for you. I do not give way, slighting it, but my baneful struggles urge me onwards (*Argo*. 1.839-41).

Much like Aeneas, Jason is a dutiful leader who has been given the task of retrieving the Golden Fleece from Colchis and delivering it to King Pelias. As Aeneas unexpectedly extends his stay in Carthage because of his romance with Queen Dido, so too does Jason impede the progress of his journey through his affair with Queen Hypsipyle on the island of Lemnos. In the *Aeneid*, Mercury ultimately sets Aeneas back on his fated course by reminding him of his duties, while it is Heracles who reminds Jason of his purpose and inspires him to continue his voyage in the *Argonautica*. Both men place their duties over their desires in their respective farewell addresses. Aeneas and Jason attempt to console their grieving companions by explaining their departures as the inevitable results of external commands.

Aeneas manifests his new determination to adhere to fate in his words. He makes it clear that it is not possible, just, or acceptable for him to remain in Carthage while his future awaits him on foreign shores:

> hic amor, haec patria est. si te Karthaginis arces
> Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,
> quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considere terra
> invidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna.

[26] The text of the *Argonautica* is taken from Hermann Fränkel, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961). Quote cited in Highet, *The Speeches in Vergil's* Aeneid, 199.

> Here [Italy] is my love. This is my homeland. If the citadels of Carthage and the sight of your Libyan city hold you, a Phoenician, why is there grudge for the Trojans to settle in their Ausoian land at last? It is right for us too to seek a foreign kingdom (*Aen.* 4.347-50).

The adverbial *hic*, here in the stressed initial position of the line, emphasizes his commitment to Italy. One might expect the use of *illic* rather than *hic* at this point, since Aeneas has not yet departed from Carthage. In conflating these expectations, he reveals that while he is physically present in Carthage, his mind has already advanced to Italy. Aeneas does not regard Italy as a distant realm, but as his current reality. His use of the demonstrative pronoun *haec* in asyndeton following *hic* emphasizes his acceptance of his new kingdom. In contrast to *ille* ("that"), which implies a separation between the speaker and the subject, *hic* ("this") connotes a certain proximity to the entity being discussed. Aeneas utters a similar phrase when he realizes that he has landed in the fated region of Latium: *hic domus, haec patria est. genitor mihi talia namque* (Here is my home. This is my homeland).[27] The use of *hic* and *haec* as suggestions of Aeneas' propinquity to Italy further emphasizes his allegiance to this new land and suggests the realization of his fate. At 4.347, Aeneas can only imagine his future, but here, in book 7, he uses similar phrases to announce that he has now finally arrived in Italy. In this instance, he substitutes *domus* for the *amor* that appears in 4.347. This dramatic use of *amor* is particularly noteworthy, as *domus* seems the more likely choice to precede *patria*. Virgil, however, counters these expectations by choosing *amor* to denote the displacement of Aeneas' passion. Aeneas adopts such strong vocabulary in order to justify his sudden departure from Dido. No longer do Dido and her kingdom receive his undivided devotion, as he has transferred all of his affection to the promises of fate.[28] Virgil's choice of *amor*

[27] *Aen*. 7.122.

[28] Highet, *Speeches in Vergil's* Aeneid, 77.

further proves to be fitting in its function as an anagram of *Roma*. This subtle verbal manipulation precisely describes the feeling of Aeneas, as his amorous love for Dido has been replaced by patriotic love for his Italian future.[29] Aeneas has begun to direct each thought and action to the progress of his fate, and he will allow this devotion to influence his future interactions. Mercury's interference has provided the impetus for the change in Aeneas' patterns of speech and silence. Following this visit from messenger of the gods, Aeneas exercises reticence in his encounters with Dido, an obstruction to the fulfillment of his duties, while he becomes loquacious amidst those who are integral in his fated plans.

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[29] J.D. Reed, "Vergil's Roman," in *A Companion to Vergil's* Aeneid *and Its Tradition*, ed. Joseph Farrell and Michael C.J. Putnam (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 73.

CHAPTER TWO

FANDA

The appearance of Mercury in book 4 brings great significance to the themes of speech and silence throughout the remainder of the epic, as Aeneas' motivations change following this divine encounter. A general examination of his character over the course of the poem might suggest that Aeneas is defined by taciturnity. Although he is brief in his expression and often stoic in his response to misfortune, Aeneas is not presented as a callous or dispassionate figure. Rather, his calculated form of expression stems from his loyal adherence to fate. As Aeneas becomes aware of his responsibilities to lead the Trojan race and to found a new kingdom, he adopts a manner of speaking conducive to the course laid out for him by fate.

Aeneas does not begin to align his speech with the mandates of fate until the arrival of Mercury. Prior to this pivotal juncture, Aeneas had allowed himself to vocalize his emotions. As he meets challenges and misfortunes in the early stages of his journey, Aeneas frequently exhibits his susceptibility to the power of emotion. In his first appearance in the epic, Aeneas is terrified by a divinely produced storm that threatens the safety of the seaborne Trojans. It has been long observed that Aeneas' first words are a cry of despair:

> talia voce refert: 'o terque quaterque beati,
> quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
> contigit oppetere! O Danaum fortissime gentis…'
>
> He says such things with his voice: "O three and four times blessed are those who happened to meet their end under the high walls of Troy before the faces of their fathers!" (*Aen*. 1.94-6).

Emotionally battered by the loss of his homeland and the trials he has faced at sea, Aeneas overtly displays a complex mixture of grief, anger, and despondence in his desperate call into the storm. Virgil models his speech on the words of Odysseus in book 5 of the *Odyssey:*

> τρισμάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις οἳ τότ᾽ ὄλοντο
> Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ, χάριν Ἀτρεΐδῃσι φέροντες.
> ὡς δὴ ἐγώ γ᾽ ὄφελον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν
> ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μοι πλεῖστοι χαλκήρεα δοῦρα
> Τρῶες ἐπέρριψαν περὶ Πλείωνι θανόντι.
>
> Three and four times blessed are the Danaans who died then in wide Troy, bringing favor to the sons of Atreus. I should have died and sought out my fate on the day when the greatest number of Trojans cast their bronze-tipped spears around the dead Achilles (*Od*. 5.306-10).

Odysseus is in a predicament comparable to that of Aeneas, as he finds himself in the midst of a storm produced by Poseidon. The two heroes vocalize their distress in similar exclamations. Highet remarks that this form of expression is common among Homeric figures who reveal every emotion in their speech as it arises, but it is atypical of Aeneas who tends to refrain from such demonstrations of emotion and instead remains silent when a Greek hero would be speaking.[30] While Highet's description of Aeneas accords with his later taciturnity, his mode of expression more closely resembles the unrestrained loquacity of Odysseus when the reader first encounters him. Through the shifting nature of Aeneas' speech, he can be said to transition from a figure reminiscent of the earlier Greeks to a proper Roman hero.

Although Aeneas occasionally expresses his current state of mind, he also experiences moments of crisis early in the epic in which his emotions render him speechless. The first of these occurs in book 2 when the shade of his wife Creusa, who has recently died in their frenzied departure from Troy, briefly appears to deliver her final farewell. In his narration to the

[30] Highet, *Speeches in Vergil's* Aeneid, 194.

Carthaginian court, Aeneas describes his reaction to this tragic sight: *obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit*. ("I was amazed, and my hairs stood, and my voice stuck in my throat.")[31] Here, Aeneas' silence results from an excess of emotion. His astonishment at seeing his deceased wife and his grief over her death leave him quite literally speechless. The phrase *vox faucibus haesit* is a recurring formula that appears when Aeneas is startled or astonished. The same phrase occurs in book 3 when Aeneas is horrified to see that a fellow Trojan, Polydorus, has been transformed into a myrtle plant.[32] His alarm at this discovery and his distress over the abnormal plight of his friend leave him struggling to find words. Throughout the opening of the epic, Aeneas reveals his emotions not only through words, but also through his silence. His response to traumatic events is formulated as a physical reaction with his voice described as being literally stuck within his throat.

Virgil's early use of the formulaic *vox faucibus haesit* informs its final appearance in the epic in a description of Aeneas' reaction to the unexpected visit of Mercury in Carthage:

> At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,
> arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit.
>
> But Aeneas, out of his mind, lost his speech at the sight, and his hairs stood upright in horror, and his voice stuck in his throat (*Aen*. 4.279-80).

The final occurrence of this phrase represents the turning point in the trajectory of the epic. The sight of Mercury causes particular terror for Aeneas, as he recognizes the truth of this divine message.[33] This episode marks the moment when Aeneas becomes aware of his folly and begins

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[31] *Aen*. 2.774.

[32] *Aen*. 3.48. This line is identical to 2.774.

[33] E.L. Harrison, "Vergil's Mercury," in *Vergilian Bimillenary Lectures 1982*, Vergilius Supplementary Volume 2, ed. Alexander G. McKay (College Park, MD: The Vergilian Society, 1982), 22.

to align his own course with that of fate. Until this moment, he had been moved, inspired, and distressed by personal matters. His expression of agony in the storm reflects his desire to return to his beloved homeland, and his deep sorrow over the traumatic deaths of his kith and kin manifests itself in physical speechlessness. Throughout the opening books of the epic, Aeneas is fixated on what has already happened instead of what must now happen. In book 4, Aeneas no longer regards his search for "home" as a personal quest, and he begins to view this pursuit of Italy, rather than Troy, as a public obligation.[34] When Mercury appears to him in Carthage to remind him of his duties and his destined kingdom, he renews Aeneas' devotion to the course of fate.

This final occurrence of *vox faucibus haesit* denotes a shift in the nature of Aeneas' reactions. Virgil begins to signal this sudden change in the preceding line (*At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens*, 4.279). Here *at vero* introduces a strong contrast.[35] For the first time in the epic, Aeneas' speechlessness arises from pangs of conscience rather than from pure emotion. *At vero* occurs again later in the epic to signal another shift in the character of Aeneas. Although he has been engaged in fierce battle with the Etruscans, he immediately regrets killing young Lausus, who has replaced his wounded father Mezentius. Aeneas perceives the filial piety of Lausus, reminiscent of his own devotion to Anchises, and begins to lament the loss of such a noble youth:

> At vero ut vultum vidit morientis et ora,
> ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,
> ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit,
> et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago.
>
> But when the son of Anchises saw the expression and the face of the dying one [Lausus], the face made pale in its astonishing end, he groaned, lamenting heavily and stretched out his right hand, and an image of paternal loyalty came to his mind (*Aen*. 10.821-4).

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[34] Susan Ford Wiltshire, *Public and Private in Vergil's* Aeneid (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 77.

[35] R.G. Austin, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), ad 279.

Just as the appearance of *at vero* at 4.279 denotes a change in Aeneas' disposition, so too does it suggest a similar transformation at 10.821. Richard Heinze discusses the change in Aeneas' demeanor throughout his travels and his misfortunes. He cites Aeneas' dramatic outburst to Venus (1.372-85) and his impulsive decision to rush into battle in the midst of Troy's collapse (2.314-7) as examples of his early emotional inclinations.[36] Although Aeneas is generally regarded as a hero, he allows his human, rather than heroic, instincts to guide him initially. Only as the epic progresses does he learn to align his desires with the rulings of fate.[37] Following his encounter with Mercury, Aeneas modifies not only his desires, but also his uses of speech and silence. In an effort to follow the commands conveyed by the messenger of Jupiter, he chooses to speak only in circumstances congruent with his fated course.

Silence on the Shores of Carthage

The themes of speech and silence, although applicable to each individual in the epic, are most prominent in the character of Aeneas. As he becomes cognizant of his relationship with fate and firmly rooted in his *pietas*, his moments of loquacity and taciturnity are increasingly controlled by these factors. Whereas his silence at the sight of Creusa in book 2 resulted from excessive emotion, his silence in book 4 results from a suppression of emotion. Aeneas no longer speaks freely, and he restrains all spontaneous and visceral reactions. His personal interactions become carefully calculated encounters, as he first considers their potential relevance to his own fate when determining whether he should speak or remain silent and what he should say or not say. Aeneas

[36] Richard Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, trans. Hazel and David Harvey and Fred Robertson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 223.

[37] Ibid., 223-4.

consistently chooses whichever option seems more conducive to the advancement of his fated course.

As Mercury is responsible for Aeneas' newly acquired dedication to fate, his appearance in book 4 further marks the moment in which Aeneas begins to alter his patterns of speech. Dido is the first to experience this modified form of interaction directly. In the midst of his pleasant and comfortable stay in Carthage, Aeneas immediately desists from all activities and adopts the qualities of reticence and reservation in his speech. Following the instance of free indirect discourse at 4.283-284 where Aeneas debates his course of action, the hero formulates a clandestine plan:

> Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,
> classem parent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,
> arma parent et quae rebus sit causa novandis
> dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
>
> He calls Mnestheus and Sergestus and strong Serestus, that they, silent, prepare the fleet and round up their companions at the shores, that they prepare the arms and conceal what the cause is for the necessity of these new developments (*Aen*. 4.288-91).

When Aeneas decides to leave Carthage, he does not divulge his plans to Dido; he and his companions prepare their fleet *taciti*. The enjambment of *dissimulent* at 4.291 emphasizes the deliberate efforts of Aeneas to conceal his departure. He is aware that that his clandestine actions will cause anguish for Dido:

> heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem
> audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?
>
> Alas, what should he do? Now with what address should he dare to visit the raving queen? What first introduction should he begin? (*Aen*. 4.283-4).

In his desire to avoid a dramatic spectacle and thus expedite his departure, Aeneas leaves her ignorant of his intentions. His plan ultimately falters as malevolent Fama spreads reports of his flight throughout the Carthaginian kingdom. Virgil describes Fama as the divine personification

of rumor, possessing a great number of eyes, tongues, and ears and to spread a mixture of truth and lies in her extensive travels. Here in book 4, Aeneas' actions are distinctly heard through the words of Fama, while he himself remains silent.[38] Dido's acquisition of such knowledge from a third party rather than from the direct source emphasizes Aeneas' taciturnity as he prepares to leave Carthage in search of his own fate:

> omnia tuta timens. eadem impia Fama furenti
> detulit armari classem cursumque parari.
>
> The same impious Rumor reported that the fleet is being equipped and that the course is being prepared (*Aen*. 4.298-9).

Virgil draws a sharp contrast between the force of Fama, here emphatically *impia*, and *pius* Aeneas himself. Aeneas chooses not to disclose his plan for departure to Dido because he is *pius* in his pursuit of fate. *Impia Fama*, however, unreservedly disseminates news of the Trojans' exodus from Dido's shores. An irreverent speaker, insensitive to the conditions of both Dido and Aeneas, has now usurped the role of Aeneas. In uttering falsehoods, Fama also appears to stand in opposition to fate, as she seeks to disturb its natural progress and to create chaos rather than order. Fama's speech brings much pain to Dido not only because it reveals Aeneas' clandestine project, but also because it draws attention to his silence and distorts his actions and motivations.

The conventional interpretation of Aeneas as a quiet and dispassionate figure is primarily inspired by his behavior in book 4. This book provides the clearest example of Aeneas' newly adopted restraint in speech, as it specifically stages a confrontation between his desires and his duties. Exhorted by Mercury to seek his fated future home, Aeneas is impatient to begin his journey. Driven by these factors, he offers only two speeches throughout the entirety of book 4,

[38] Braund, "Speech, Silence and Personality: The Case of Aeneas and Dido," 132-4.

one of which is addressed to Dido.[39] This speech is a measured response to Dido's twenty-six-line diatribe in which she censures him for attempting to depart surreptitiously (4.305-6) and accuses him of provoking the enmity of both the Numidian tribes and her own Carthaginian subjects (4.320-1). In his reply, Aeneas reminds Dido that he must pursue the course deemed necessary by fate. He expresses his esteem for Dido, but claims that he never entered into a marriage bond with her (4.338-9). Although his speech is lengthy, his words still lack emotional sensitivity. It would be reasonable for him to deliver an impassioned reply to Dido's harangue; however, he speaks with composure and remains steadfast in his plan. In this scene, Aeneas is bidding farewell to someone with whom he had shared a deep personal relationship. What he does say to Dido greatly differs from what he would have said if he had allowed himself to succumb to the raw force of his emotions.[40] He is subdued even in his expression of praise:

> tandem pauca refert: 'ego te, quae plurima fando
> enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo
> promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae
> dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus…'
>
> At last he says a few things: "I will never deny, queen, that you deserved the most which you are able to count out by speaking, nor will it pain me to remember Elissa (Dido) while my memory itself is mine and while breath rules these limbs…" (*Aen*. 4.333-6).

Although Aeneas admits that Dido is worthy of his affection, he does not manifest this emotion in his words. The phrase *tandem pauca refert* indicates his hesitancy to speak, as he attempts to maintain an air of equanimity.[41] The appearance of *pauca* and *plurima* in the same line emphasizes the contrast between the speech of Dido and Aeneas. In her emotional state, Dido has much to say,

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[39] The other example is found at 4.572-9. Aeneas commands his men to prepare the Trojan fleet for departure.

[40] Feeney, "The Taciturnity of Aeneas," 205.

[41] Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, 320.

while Aeneas prefers to be controlled in his speaking. Douglas J. Stewart attributes Aeneas' silence and lack of emotional expression to his evolution as a ruler and politician, arguing that "the Dido story is a metaphor for what every politician must be prepared to do: to sacrifice every last personal tie, if necessary, to help keep the political enterprise going, to maintain the quest."[42] In this way, Aeneas develops not only in his speech, but also in his status as a Roman leader. After Aeneas is made aware of his new role by the appearance of Mercury, he begins to place his personal desires behind the demands of his public duties. Despite his affection for Dido, he does not surrender to dramatic expression and maintains his reticence. Because she represents a future contrary to that which is fated for him, Dido becomes the first character in the epic to experience Aeneas' restraint in speech.

Speaking to Creusa, Speaking to Dido

The transformation in Aeneas' approach to speech can best be illustrated through the examination of two episodes that resemble each other in design but deviate in result. In the first few books of the epic, Virgil portrays Aeneas in several emotional scenes prior to his encounter with Mercury. In the hero's own narration of the events leading him to the shores of Carthage, Aeneas reveals himself to have been overtaken by emotion during the collapse of Troy. One misfortune that particularly affected Aeneas was the death of his wife Creusa. After he loses her in their frantic flight from burning Troy, her ghost appears and attempts to assuage his grief with promises of a favorable future. Creusa's words, however, do not provide relief to Aeneas:

[42] Douglas J. Stewart, "Morality, Mortality, and the Public Life: Aeneas the Politician," *The Antioch Review* 32, no. 4 (Winter 1972): 660, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4637604 (accessed July 23, 2015).

> quid tantum insano iuvat indulgere dolori,
> o dulcis coniunx? non haec sine numine divum
> eveniunt; nec te comitem hinc portare Creusam
> fas, aut ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.
> longa tibi exsilia et vastum maris aequor arandum,
> et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
> inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris.
>
> What does it help, o sweet husband, to indulge so greatly in mad grief? These things do not happen without the divine will of the gods. And it is not right for you to bring Creusa from here as your companion, nor does the king of high Olympus allow it. The exile will be long for you, and the vast surface of the sea must be plowed, and you will come to the Hesperian land, where the Lydian Tiber flows in a gentle stream amongst the rich fields of men (*Aen*. 2.776-82).

Creusa explicitly states that her separation from Aeneas can be wholly attributed to the will of the gods. In addition to her report of this divine interference, Creusa offers a glimpse of the peace and prosperity that Aeneas' future will bring. She emphasizes the relief awaiting Aeneas in Italy with the words *leni* ("gentle") and *opima* ("rich"), but Aeneas is only concerned with his present loss. He wishes for Creusa to remain with him and openly expresses his grief when she departs:

> haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volentem
> dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras.
>
> When she gave these words, she left [me] weeping and wishing to say much, and she retreated into thin air (*Aen*. 2.790-1).

Without Creusa, thoughts of his own fated future offer no consolation. It is solely her presence that is capable of bringing comfort to him. Although he is now cut off from further speech, Aeneas had found himself at a loss for words at the sight of his wife only sixteen lines previously: *obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit*. (I was amazed, and my hairs stood, and my voice stuck in my throat).[43]

[43] *Aen*. 2.774.

He is incapable of speaking to his wife when he encounters her initially, but he is soon left wishing only to speak more. Rather than continue his journey, Aeneas tries to hang on to Creusa quite literally: *ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum* (There I tried to put my arms around her neck three times).[44] Prior to his encounter with Mercury, Aeneas in unconcerned with matters of the future. He acts in opposition to fate in his attempt to elongate Creusa's time on earth. Her promises of future prosperity offer no hope to Aeneas, as he is not yet capable of imagining a course beyond his hearth and homeland. The Italian future does not hold the same appeal for Aeneas as the Trojan present now does.

This scene of separation between Aeneas and Creusa is in stark contrast to that of Aeneas and Dido in book 4. After the furious Dido rebukes Aeneas for his decision to leave without warning, he nevertheless continues his preparations for departure:

> At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
> solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
> multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore
> iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit.
>
> But *pius* Aeneas, although he wishes to soften her grief by consoling her and to turn away her cares with words, groaning much and shaken in his mind by his great love, he nevertheless follows the orders of the gods and returns to his fleet (*Aen*. 4.393-6).

Aeneas wishes to speak to Dido and to assuage her grief, but his *pietas*, which appears here before his name in adjectival form, does not allow it. The use of the epithet *pius* at this particular moment suggests the mindset and the response of Aeneas that will be explicitly revealed in the next lines. Line 393 marks the only occurrence of *pius* in book 4. Virgil had introduced the word previously in book 1 to describe Aeneas in moments when he is most attentive to his duties. The first

[44] *Aen*. 2.792.

appearance occurs after Aeneas delivers a speech of encouragement to his men despite his own suffering and incertitude:

> praecipue pius Aeneas nunc acris Oronti,
> nunc Amyci casum gemit et crudelia secum
> fata Lyci fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum.
>
> Now *pius* Aeneas especially laments within himself the fall of fierce Orontes, now the fall of Amycus and the cruel fates of Lycus, and he laments strong Gyas and strong Cloanthus (*Aen*. 1.220-2).

His restraint corresponds to his overall devotion to duty, as he exemplifies an effective commander through this instance of encouragement and unification.[45] Similarly at 4.393, Aeneas must once again conceal his natural reactions in favor of an assumed composure in his parting scene with Dido. W.A. Camps contends that Aeneas is not forced to withdraw from Dido but rather has the option to stay in Carthage and to share the city with its founder and queen.[46] Aeneas could have chosen to ignore the warnings of Mercury, but instead, he chooses the course of fate and duty through his silent farewell. This exercise of restraint and denial correlates to his *pietas* for the gods and for the Trojan race. Virgil does not use the epithet of *pius* gratuitously but reserves it for certain significant situations in which Aeneas is most cognizant of his duties. Nicholas Moseley notes that nine of the fifteen occurrences of *pius* appear in connection with prayer, sacrifice, the commands of the gods, and religious rites.[47] The passage at 4.393 merits the usage of *pius* in its function as a point of crisis for Aeneas. He must choose between what he is fated to love and what he has already

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[45] Highet, *Speeches in Vergil's* Aeneid, 30.

[46] Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's* Aeneid, 23.

[47] Nicholas Moseley, "Pius Aeneas," *The Classical Journal* 20, no. 7 (Apr., 1925): 394, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3288939 (accessed December 28, 2015).

loved.[48] As he displays his reverence for the gods, his family, and his Trojan people in his departure from Carthage for a land unknown to him, Aeneas proves himself to be deserving of this designation.

These passages describing Aeneas' reactions to Creusa and to Dido serve as concrete evidence of the profound change in his character following Mercury's visit. In his encounter with Creusa's ghost in book 2, natural human emotion guides Aeneas' response. He does not hide his grief and even actively opposes fate, lamenting and protesting her departure. Aeneas conducts himself in a very different manner when he must part with Dido. He sheds no tears and exhibits self-control in his words and display of emotions. At 2.790-791, Aeneas is literally forced into silence by the departure of Creusa. Here, as Aeneas is left wishing to speak to his wife's ghost, Creusa is the subject of the verbs *dedit*, *deseruit*, and *recessit*. She exercises control over the conversation, delivering her message and then leaving when she chooses. While Creusa is commanding the scene, Aeneas is described as *lacrimantem et multa volentem*. In his position as the object of *dedit*, *deseruit*, and *recessit*, Aeneas is the one who must endure the short appearance and sudden departure of Creusa. As Aeneas wishes and wants and weeps, Creusa forces silence upon him by disappearing. Fate also necessitates his silence, as this misfortune proved requisite for the attainment of his ultimate destiny. Because Aeneas can only establish his future kingdom with the Latin princess Lavinia as his bride, he must accept the death of Creusa as a fated necessity. Aeneas' position is reversed in his encounter with Dido. At 4.393-396, Aeneas is the subject of *lenire…cupit*, *exsequitur*, and *revisit*. Now it is Dido who becomes the direct object of these actions and to whom *dolentem* is assigned. Virgil includes *cupit* to demonstrate the difference between Aeneas' wishes and his realities. He wants to provide comfort to her, but he does not take

[48] Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*, ad 393.

any measures to ease her suffering. His chosen silence brings an end to their dialogue and permanently concludes their relationship.[49] Aeneas recognizes that in order to carry out his fated duties, he must devote his attention and his words only to what he deems relevant to the attainment of his future kingdom. His silence is chosen, not forced, when leaving Dido. In this decision, he is the enforcer of silence for both himself and for Dido, as he now cooperates with fate rather than opposes it. As Dido represents an impediment to Aeneas' search for his own destined home, she must be relinquished by Aeneas both in presence and in speech.

Aeneas' emotional restraint and his desire to adhere to the decrees of fate seem to indicate that he chooses to leave Dido and Carthage behind in an act of free will. Feeney, however, offers a different interpretation of Aeneas' reticence.[50] Feeney anchors his argument in the final parting scene of Aeneas and Dido:

> his medium dictis sermonem abrumpit et auras
> aegra fugit seque ex oculis avertit et aufert
>
> She (Dido) breaks off her speech in the middle of these words, and sick, she flees the air, and she turns herself away from his eyes and carries herself away (*Aen*. 4.388-9).

Feeney contends that Aeneas' silence is made necessary by Dido's abrupt departure. This argument implies that Aeneas did not freely choose his taciturnity. Feeney is correct in his observation that Dido's physical withdrawal from the scene necessitates Aeneas' temporary silence. This reading of the text, however, does not allow for the possible thematic overtones of such a scene. In focusing on details of movement and location, it does not acknowledge Aeneas' devotion to fate as a potential cause of his verbal restraint. Dido's retreat to her chamber does not

[49] Although Aeneas encounters Dido once more in the Underworld at 6.450-476, she remains silent. Therefore, book 4 is truly the end of their dialogue.

[50] Feeney, "The Taciturnity of Aeneas," 210.

necessarily preclude further speech by Aeneas. If he truly desired to speak to her and to calm her mind, he could have followed her, or suspended or altogether abandoned his plans for departure. No violent force drives him back to his fleet. Rather, he freely chooses this course of action with his fate in mind.

It could be argued that this decision was not truly his own because of the divine intervention of Mercury, but there is more substantial evidence given in support of the argument that Aeneas exercises free will in his decision to remain silent. R.O.A.M. Lyne explains that individuals in the *Aeneid* ultimately bear the responsibility for their actions despite occasions of divine interference.[51] He describes the behavior and speech of Aeneas as "those of a man who has responded to a moral dilemma (love versus duty), exercised moral strength, and come, albeit belatedly, to a dutiful and painful conclusion."[52] Aeneas does not blindly accept commands given by the gods, but rather decides his own actions after careful consideration. The text itself suggests Aeneas' freedom in forming his decisions:

> ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat
> lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.
>
> With the warnings of Jupiter, he was holding his eyes unmoved, and resolute, he was pressing his care under his heart (*Aen*. 4.331-2).

Here *Iovis monitis* suggests Aeneas' status as a free agent.[53] The *OLD* defines *monere* as "to bring to the notice of, remind, tell (of)" and "to suggest a course of action to, advise, recommend, warn, tell." These definitions of the verb convey a sense of voluntary cooperation rather than one of obligation. Aeneas is able to accept and act upon the advice of the gods only when he so chooses.

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[51] Lyne, *Further Voice in Vergil's* Aeneid, 75.

[52] Ibid., 166.

[53] Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*, ad 331.

It is in this exercise of free will that Aeneas demonstrates his staunch devotion to fate. In contrast, the language used in his encounter with Creusa reveals that Aeneas did not choose to leave her. The phrase *lacrimantem et multa volentem dicere deseruit* at 2.790-791 depicts Aeneas as an unwilling participant in the predetermined plans of fate. He is silenced by her sudden disappearance despite his desire to continue speaking with her. As he does not yet fully understand his fate, Aeneas does not exercise restraint in speech and only wishes to prolong his conversation with Creusa.

Freedom and Fellowship in Pallanteum

Aeneas' silence in his encounter with Dido differs considerably from his unrestrained speech with King Evander in book 8. As he fulfills a part of his fate through an alliance with the Arcadian people, he engages in fruitful conversation with their king. In his assessment of the character of Aeneas, C.J. Mackie describes book 8 as "the most Roman of all the books in the *Aeneid*," as it depicts Aeneas' *pietas* in his willingness to follow fate.[54] Virgil's reference to landmarks that would have been recognizable to his contemporary Romans makes book 8 unique in its inclusion of several *aitia*.[55] In Pallanteum, Aeneas sees the Asylum Grove on the Capitoline, the Lupercal, the Tarpeian Rock, the Forum, and the Carinae.[56] Virgil combines historical and mythological elements in his narrative as he designates the Greek figure Evander as the founder

[54] Mackie, *Characterisation of Aeneas*, 148, 153.

[55] Sophia Papaioannou, "Founder, Civilizer and Leader: Vergil's Evander and His Role in the Origins of Rome," *Mnemosyne* 56, no. 6 (2003): 689, 696, http://www.jstor.org/stable.4433507 (accessed October 4, 2015).

[56] *Aen*. 8.342, 8.343, 8.347, and 8.361. These examples are noted by Papaioannou, "Founder, Civilizer and Leader," 689.

of the site of Rome.[57] Through these evocations of the Roman past, he establishes Evander as a source of support for the fate of Aeneas. Mercury has reminded Aeneas of his future *regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus* ("kingdom of Italy and the Roman land," 4.278). Virgil's description of Evander as *Romanae conditor arcis* ("founder of the Roman citadel," 8.313) affirms that Aeneas has correctly chosen Pallanteum as his destination.[58] As Evander's Arcadian kingdom stands in the future location of Rome, Aeneas' arrival stands in accordance with fate.

Aeneas is destined to form an alliance with the Aracdians against the Rutulians, whom he must conquer in order to secure his Italian kingdom. As he acts in cooperation with his fate, he is able to speak freely and comfortably. Aware of his negligence to his duties, Aeneas ceased all conversation with Dido in book 4 in order to follow the prescriptions of fate. In book 8, however, Aeneas' confidence in his pursuit of fate allows him to speak freely to his allies in Pallanteum:

> Tum regem Aeneas dictis adfatur amicis:
> 'optime Graiugenum, cui me Fortuna precari
> et vitta comptos voluit praetendere ramos,
> non equidem extimui Danaum quod ductor et Arcas
> quodque a stirpe fores geminis coniunctus Atridis;
> sed mea me virtus et sancta oracula divum
> cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama,
> coniunxere tibi et fatis egere volentem.'
>
> Then Aeneas speaks to the king [Evander] with friendly words: "Best of the sons of Greece, whom Fortune willed that I beseech and offer branches adorned with ribbons, I was not frightened that you were a leader of the Greeks and an Arcadian and that you were joined to twin sons of Atreus by race. But my virtue, and the sacred oracles of the gods, and our related fathers, and your fame spread throughout the lands have joined me to you and have driven me willingly to you by the fates (*Aen*. 8.126-33).

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[57] Papaioannou, "Founder, Civilizer and Leader," 688.

[58] Anthony J. Boyle, "*Aeneid* 8: Images of Rome," in *Reading Vergil's* Aeneid*: An Interpretive Guide*, ed. Christine Perkell (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 152.

Virgil conveys the good nature of this relationship from its inception with his use of *dictis…amicis*. The themes of friendship and of fate pervade Aeneas' entire speech to Evander, as he discusses their kinship and the plans of fate that have brought him to Pallanteum. Aeneas explicitly acknowledges fate's role in this encounter through his mention of *Fortuna* and *fatis*. It is this cooperation with fate that allows Aeneas to pursue this friendship and to speak to Evander at length for a total of twenty-four lines. Susan Ford Wiltshire cites these lines as one of Aeneas' "longest and most civil speeches" in the epic. In this scene, Aeneas expresses his deference to Evander by delineating their familial bonds and identifying himself as a suppliant.[59] Confident in the workings of *Fortuna* and the *sancta oracula divum*, Aeneas abandons his reticence and adopts a manner of loquacity in his conversation with Evander. Throughout his stay in Pallanteum, his interactions prove to be beneficial to both Trojans and Arcadians:

> congressi iungunt dextras mediisque residunt
> aedibus et licito tandem sermone fruuntur.
> rex prior haec:
> 'maxime Teucrorum ductor, quo sospite numquam
> res equidem Troiae victas aut regna fatebor,
> nobis ad belli auxilium pro nomine tanto
> exiguae vires; hinc Tusco claudimur amni,
> hinc Rutulus premit et murum circumsonat armis.
> sed tibi ego ingentis populos opulentaque regnis
> iungere castra paro, quam fors inopina salutem
> ostentat: fatis huc te poscentibus adfers.'
>
> They, having met, join their right hands and sit down in the middle of the house, and at last they enjoy permitted conversation. The old king says these things: "Very great leader of the Trojans, with whom, safe and sound, I will never admit that the wealth or the kingdoms of Troy are conquered, our strength to aid in war is small for such a great name. On one side, we are blockaded by the Tuscan River. On the other side, the Rutulian presses and rattles around our walls with arms. But I am preparing to join to you mighty peoples and camps rich in power, the safety which unexpected chance shows. Here you bring yourself to the demanding fates" (*Aen*. 8.467-77).

[59] Wiltshire, *Public and Private in Vergil's* Aeneid, 97.

The words used to describe this meeting imply harmony and relief. *Congressi*, *iungunt*, and *iungere* convey a sense of unity between the Arcadians and the Trojans. Because this is a fated alliance, Aeneas and Evander speak without restraint and embrace each other in an amicable bond. The words *sospite*, *ingentis*, *opulenta*, and *salutem* indicate the propitious outcome of such a pact. After enduring countless trials and tribulations in his quest for a new kingdom, Aeneas is pursuing the much sought-after prospects of safety and prosperity by following his fated course to Pallanteum.

The force of fate pervades his stay in Pallanteum and his encounter with Evander. Virgil uses the phrase *licito…sermone* to describe this meeting in order to convey the nature of the dialogue between Aeneas and Evander. They are not merely engaged in a conversation, but they are engaged in a conversation that has been *permitted*. This distinction explains the role of fate in Aeneas' interaction. The verb *licet* often appears in association with the gods and with fate elsewhere in the epic. For example, Jupiter uses this term in book 10 to assert his authority as the chief divinity of Olympus:

> abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris.
> quae contra vetitum discordia? quis metus aut hos
> aut hos arma sequi ferrumque lacessere suasit?
> adveniet iustum pugnae (ne arcessite) tempus,
> cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim
> exitium magnum atque Alpis immittet apertas:
> tum certare odiis, tum res rapuisse licebit.
>
> I had rejected that Italy fight with the Trojans. What is this dissension against what I have forbidden? What fear has persuaded either the one side or the other [lit. these men or these men] to pursue arms and to provoke iron? The right time for war will come (do not summon it!), when wild Carthage will send in great destruction at once to the Roman citadels and go into the uncovered Alps. Then it will be permitted to compete in hatred and to seize things (*Aen*. 10.8-14).

Jupiter reminds his fellow gods, who have become involved in the war between the Trojans and the Rutulians, that the right moment for battle will arrive in the future. Because Jupiter has already

determined a time for the inception of war, Juno and Venus are not permitted to intervene prematurely. His decision, made as the king of the gods, has become an irrevocable mandate of fate. Here, Virgil's use of *licebit* implies the significance of fate in both the divine and the earthly realm. The actions of mortals can only result in a favorable outcome when they have been sanctioned by a higher authority. In this way, the appearance of *licito* at 8.468 suggests that Aeneas is correctly following the will of Jupiter in Pallanteum. He speaks with Evander, forms an alliance, and enjoys a pleasant interaction, because this particular relationship appears in the plans of fate. At the end of his address, Evander explicitly characterizes their meeting as "destined" (*fatis huc te poscentibus adfers*, 8.477). The use of *poscentibus* indicates that Aeneas has been burdened with a challenging task. In accepting and following these mandates, Aeneas allows himself to speak with and listen to King Evander. The verb *posco* appears several times elsewhere in the epic in association with fate and the onerous demands of the gods. In book 8 as Aeneas hears the trumpet signaling war and calling him to battle, he recognizes his obligation:

> tum memorat: 'ne vero, hospes, ne quaere profecto
> quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor Olympo.'
>
> Then he recalls: "Indeed, guest, do not ask what fortune the omen brings. I am demanded by Olympus" (*Aen*. 8.532-3).

Aeneas does not question this dangerous task, as he knows that it has already been laid out for him. It is not merely his choice, but his duty, to fulfill the requirements of fate.

Pallanteum serves as an optimal refuge for Aeneas in its correspondence to fate and its hospitable environment. Aeneas' alliance with the Arcadians proves to be necessary for the defeat of the Rutulians and his acquisition of the Italian land. It is this combination of forces that allows Aeneas' destined kingdom to rise. Aeneas reveals that he is aware of fate's presence in this encounter at 8.126-133 and thus is able to participate in open conversation with Evander. In

addition to the practical and productive aspects of his stay in Pallanteum, Aeneas benefits from the relief offered by this sanctuary. This is reminiscent of the earlier relief experienced by Aeneas upon his arrival in Carthage. When he lands on her shores, Dido initially offers him a similar sense of safety:

> auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo.
> vultis et his mecum pariter considere regnis?
> urbem quam statuo, vestra est; subducite navis;
> Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.
>
> By my aid, I will send you forth in safety, and I will assist you with my wealth. And do you wish to settle in these kingdoms with me as equals? The city which I am setting up is yours. Draw up your ships. Trojan and Tyrian will be governed by me with no distinction (*Aen*. 1.571-4).

Following his tumultuous wanderings at sea, Aeneas is relieved to hear Dido's promise of safety (*tutos*) and her acceptance of both Trojans and Tyrians without distinction (*nullo discrimine*). Despite his attraction to the respite offered by Carthage, he ultimately severs ties with its queen in an effort to follow his fate. In Pallanteum, however, comfort and fate come together to present Aeneas with an opportunity for favorable conversation. An element of harmony pervades the description of his time with Evander:

> Exim se cuncti divinis rebus ad urbem
> perfectis referunt. ibat rex obsitus aevo,
> et comitem Aenean iuxta natumque tenebat
> ingrediens varioque viam sermone levabat.
> miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum
> Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus
> exquiritque auditque virum monimenta priorum.
>
> After the divine rites were completed, then they all return to the city. The king, covered with age, was going, and as he walked, he was keeping Aeneas as his companion nearby and his son, and he was lightening the way with various conversation. Aeneas is amazed and casts his eyes all around with ease, and he is taken hold of by the places, and he asks about everything happily and listens to the memorials of earlier men (*Aen*. 8.306-12).

It is the idea of fate that creates a receptive environment in Pallanteum. Because Aeneas is following its direction, he receives the benefits which it affords. In his study of book 8, J.R. Bacon points out that friendship is a novelty to Aeneas at this stage of the epic. After witnessing the fall of his fatherland and the deaths of many companions, Aeneas finally experiences a friendly welcome. This reception is even familial, as Evander has known Anchises and is prepared to entrust his own son to Aeneas.[60] Some scholars have characterized Aeneas' stay in Carthage as a disastrous example of *hospitium*.[61] His encounter with Evander, however, illustrates the most successful *hospes* relationship of the epic, as their attachment results in a military alliance that will secure Aeneas' acquisition of Italy.[62]

The vocabulary of this passage indicates the sense of relief that accompanies Aeneas throughout Pallanteum. The phrase *viam sermone levabat* characterizes his overall encounter with Evander. After enduring many hardships, Aeneas experiences newfound levity in his Arcadian alliance. It is especially striking that this air of comfort arises from conversation, an area that has caused previous suffering for Aeneas. Unlike his disastrous encounter with Dido in book 4, Aeneas finally experiences relief rather than anguish in his dialogue with Evander. Now that his speech corresponds to his fate, it has the ability to mitigate his hardships. It was Aeneas' attention to fate that introduced difficulty into his relationship with Dido. In his decision to leave Carthage, he wounds Dido with both his speech and his silence. When Aeneas arrives in Pallanteum, he achieves

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[60] J.R. Bacon, "Aeneas in Wonderland: A Study of *Aeneid* VIII," *The Classical Review* 53, no. 3 (July 1939): 100, http://www.jstor.org/stable/703503 (accessed October 4, 2015).

[61] See Wiltshire, *Public and Private in Vergil's* Aeneid, 90-3, and Roy K. Gibson, "Aeneas as *Hospes* in Vergil, *Aeneid* 1 and 4," *The Classical Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (1999): 196, http://www.jstor.org/stable/639496 (accessed January 3, 2016).

[62] Wiltshire, *Public and Private in Vergil's* Aeneid, 96.

momentary freedom from the pressure that fate has placed on him. Because he is forging a friendship that is required by his fate, he is able to engage in favorable conversation with Evander.

After Mercury inspires him to attend to his duties, Aeneas accepts fate as his primary concern. Those who are not included in the plan of fate for Aeneas, such as Dido, are left behind in silence, while others deemed essential to the fulfillment of fate, such as Evander, are joined in pacts of fellowship. Fate is the common guiding force in these encounters, as it directs Aeneas to speech or to silence. As Dido stands directly in the way of Aeneas' destined course, she is subject to his silence and his swift departure from her kingdom. Evander's role in his fate, however, permits Aeneas to partake in discussion with him. Aeneas allows fate to direct the commencement, duration, and conclusion of his personal encounters as he strives to act in accordance with its mandates.

CHAPTER THREE

FATE AND THE FUTILITY OF SPEECH

In addition to the influence that Mercury's message has upon Aeneas' own willingness or unwillingness to speak following their meeting in Carthage, the divine exhortation further impacts Aeneas' receptivity to the speech of other figures in the epic. As Aeneas becomes increasingly resolute in the pursuit of his own fate, his sensitivity to the pleas and appeals of others continues to diminish. His *pietas* does not allow him to satisfy requests contrary to his fate. In both personal encounters and confrontations on the battlefield, Aeneas dismisses all entreaties that do not align with his perception of Jupiter's decrees. He denies even requests made by his opponents to be spared in battle if these are not in accordance with his interpretation of fate. In his exercise of judgment, restraint, and denial, Aeneas' adherence to fate renders the speech of other characters futile when that speech is incongruent with its dictates.

Just as Dido is the first to experience Aeneas' newly adopted reticence, she too is the first figure whose speech is rendered futile in her fruitless appeals to Aeneas. Upon learning of Aeneas' imminent departure from her shores, Dido inveighs against his furtive preparations and apparent lack of concern for her. Her impassioned speech resembles a bitter attack against an enemy, as she begins it with accusations and criticisms of his character:

> 'dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum
> posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?'
>
> "Did you actually hope, faithless one, that you would be able to conceal such a great crime and depart from my land, silent?" (*Aen*. 4.305-6).

In addition to her indignation, Dido displays her pride in the first lines of her tirade. Her use of the personal pronoun *mea* indicates that she views Aeneas' departure as a personal affront. To Dido, Aeneas is not merely moving from one land to another, but he is purposefully fleeing *her* land. The combination of harsh consonants and the hissing sound created by the letters *s*, *p*, and *f* in these lines words underscore her anger.[63] Dido's words here can be contrasted with her initial speech given to Aeneas upon his arrival in Carthage:

> quare agite o tectis, iuvenes, succedite nostris.
> me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores
> iactatam hac demum volvit consistere terra;
> non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.
>
> Therefore come, young men, and enter our houses. A similar fortune has willed me too, thrown about through many labors, to settle in this land at last. Not ignorant of evil, I have learned to help the unfortunate (*Aen*. 1.627-30).

Here Dido kindly welcomes the Trojans to her kingdom and offers her protection. She even articulates the similarity between Aeneas' condition and her own. Through her simple and direct style of speech, Dido overtly conveys her sincerity.[64] She speaks to him as a friend and ally rather than a contemptible traitor. This sympathetic manner of speaking subsides in book 4 as Dido perceives Aeneas' silent retreat from her shores as a purposeful act of scorn.

As she continues her speech, Dido tempers the vituperative quality of her words and adopts a tone of helplessness. In the course of her censure of Aeneas, Dido succumbs to a moment of weakness and beseeches him to remain with her in Carthage:

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[63] Maclennan, *Virgil: Aeneid IV*, ad 305-30.

[64] R.G. Austin, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), ad 630.

> mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te
> (quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui),
> per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,
> si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
> dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,
> oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.
>
> Do you flee me? I pray by these tears and by your right hand (since I left behind nothing else now for miserable me), by our marriage, by the wedding hymns having been begun, if I well deserved anything from you, or if anything of mine was sweet to you, pity a declining house. If there is still any place for prayers, lay your intention aside (*Aen*. 4.314-9).

Her forceful words devolve into a cry of desperation to Aeneas as her pride gives way to grief. The use of *oro*, which governs her entire six-line phrase, characterizes Dido as a suppliant, and the dramatic postponement of the verb only serves to emphasize this. Her repeated use of *per* in a tricolon emphasizes the despondent nature of her entreaty, as she makes a threefold appeal to Aeneas' sense of duty. As noted by Roy Gibson, Dido first attempts to elicit an emotional response from Aeneas as a lover by speaking of her tears. She then appeals to his sense of duty as a guest with her mention of his *dextram* ("right hand"), signifying the pact of their host-guest relationship. In her reference to their supposed *conubia* ("marriage") and *hymenaeos* ("wedding hymns"), she implies his duty to her as a husband.[65] Dido also tries to gain sympathy through her repeated used of conditionals, which display both her desperation and her inability to accept the fate of Aeneas. She regards their relationship as marriage pact, suggesting that Aeneas owes something to her (*si bene quid de te merui*). Dido's use of imperatives in these phrases indicates her distraught state of mind, as she attempts to find a way in which to persuade Aeneas, even through conditional commands. She introduces her relationship with Aeneas as the focus of these phrases, hoping that memories of their time together in Carthage will alter his decision to leave. Dido has not yet learned that her words now lack the ability to influence Aeneas. Her desperate *mene fugis?* reveals that

[65] Gibson, "Aeneas as *Hospes* in Vergil, *Aeneid* 1 and 4," 196.

she does not comprehend his devotion to fate, while her preoccupation with her own personal feelings illustrates the narrow scope of her thoughts. She demonstrates this fixation through her abundant usage of personal pronouns. *Me* and *te* frame her words at 4.314, while *ego*, *mihi*, *meum*, *tuam*, *tibi*, and *nostra* also appear throughout the following lines. Not once does Dido allude to the gods or to fate in her need to regain Aeneas' love and fidelity. She can only perceive Aeneas' desire to depart from Carthage as a personal attack, not as a response to the demands of a higher authority.[66]

In her frenzied state, Dido is able to think only in individual, rather than cosmic, terms. It is this inability to understand or acknowledge the workings of fate that renders her pleas futile. In her examination of women in the *Aeneid*, S. Georgia Nugent suggests that several female figures, including Dido, are portrayed as contrasts to *pius* Aeneas in their refusal to accept the *fatum* of the gods.[67] Virgil reveals Dido's unawareness in his first mention of her in the epic:

> Haec ait et Maia genitum demittit ab alto,
> ut terrae utque novae pateant Karthaginis arces
> hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido
> finibus arceret.
>
> He [Jupiter] says these things, and he sends down the son of Maia from heaven, so that the lands and the new citadels of Carthage would lie open in hospitality to the Trojans, lest Dido, unaware of fate, keep them away from her territory (*Aen*. 1.297-300).

On a basic level, the description of Dido as *fati nescia* in this context suggests that she would not have allowed Aeneas to seek refuge on her shores if she had known that his arrival would result in her anguish and ultimately, her death. In a closer examination of the text, this designation contains

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[66] Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*, ad 314.

[67] S. Georgia Nugent, "The Women of the *Aeneid*: Vanishing Bodies, Lingering Voices," in *Reading Vergil's* Aeneid*: An Interpretive Guide*, ed. Christine Perkell (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 263.

greater thematic implications, as it also foreshadows her future failure to cooperate with Aeneas in his attention to fate. Steven Farron notes that this description of Dido appears as a typical example of a Virgilian introduction in its seemingly brief and casual manner.[68] In this particular characterization of Dido, however, Virgil conveys an attribute that will become significant later in the epic. Her ignorance of fate, although "inappropriate to its immediate context," becomes the primary source both of her own agony and of Aeneas' suffering as well in book 4.[69] When Dido discovers that Aeneas has been preparing to leave her kingdom, she cannot propose any explanation for his decision beyond personal rejection. She consistently neglects the possibility of divine interference in her fixation on individual motivation.[70] Because Aeneas has now resolved to follow the orders of fate most obediently, he cannot acquiesce to the wishes of one who is *fati nescia*.

Dido's speech is ultimately made futile by Aeneas' immediate denial of her petitions. He explicitly states Mercury's interference as the reason for his yearning to set sail:

> nunc etiam interpres divum Iove missus ab ipso
> (testor utrumque caput) celeris mandata per auras
> detulit: ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi
> intrantem muros vocemque his auribus hausi.
> desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis;
> Italiam non sponte sequor.

[68] S. Farron, "The Introduction of Characters in the *Aeneid*," *Acta Classica* 32 (1989): 107-8, http://www.casa-kvsa.org.za/1989/AC32-11-Farron.pdf (accessed January 2, 2015). Other examples given by Farron include Virgil's description of Juno at 1.4 and that of Creusa at 2.562.

[69] Ibid., 108.

[70] Denis Feeney, "Leaving Dido: The Appearance(s) of Mercury and the Motivations of Aeneas," in *A Woman Scorn'd: Responses to the Dido Myth*, ed. Michael Burden (London: Faber and Faber, 1998), 117.

> Now furthermore, the messenger of the gods, having been sent by Jupiter himself, (I give each head as a witness) has carried down orders through the swift airs. I myself saw the god entering the walls in plain light, and I drank up his voice with these ears. Stop inflaming me and yourself with your grievances. I follow Italy not by my own will (*Aen*. 4.356-61).

In this reply to Dido's pleas, Aeneas admits that his decisions and actions have been galvanized by Mercury. Here, *vocemque his auribus hausi* contrasts with the earlier formula *vox faucibus haesit*. The latter phrase repeated throughout books 2, 3, and 4 serves as an example of Aeneas' emotional tendencies, and its final usage at 4.280 marks the moment in which Aeneas begins to alter his manner of speaking. Now as he adopts an attitude of deference to fate, he reacts with confidence rather than with opposition, and the voice of Mercury (*vocemque*) becomes more important than his own *(vox*). Aeneas' development is made manifest through the uses of *haesit* and *hausi*. Although these verbs are similar in appearance, *haesit* signifies Aeneas' emotional fragility in the early stages of the epic, while *hausi* reveals his newly adopted adherence to his fated course. He is no longer "stuck" in a pattern of inaction by his emotions, but now, he "drinks up" the words of Mercury and is compelled to act upon his commands immediately. This shift in demeanor anticipates an additional change in Aeneas' receptivity to speech. Because he has committed himself to following the orders of the divine messenger, he cannot follow those of Dido as well. Her words have proved to offer no substantial appeal to Aeneas, as he is eager to conclude his stay in Carthage in favor of his fated course. In her opposition to the decrees of fate, Dido's attempt to divert the course of Aeneas is futile.

Aeneas initially proves the futility of speech discordant with fate when he refuses to submit to Dido's wishes. Likewise, as he denies the appeals made by Dido's sister Anna, Aeneas continues to exhibit his selective receptivity to speech. After Dido unavailingly pleads with Aeneas to remain in Carthage, Anna also attempts to dissuade him from departing on Dido's behalf:

> Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus
> fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur
> fletibus aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;
> fata obstant placidasque viri deus obstruit auris.
> ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum
> Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
> eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
> consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
> ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras
> aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:
> haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
> tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
> mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.
>
> She [Dido] was begging with such [words], and her very miserable sister reports such tears. But he [Aeneas] is moved by no tears, nor does he, yielding, hear any words. Fate obstructs, and the god blocks up the gentle ears of the man. And just as when the Alpine north winds compete amongst themselves to uproot a strong oak tree with an aged trunk, blowing from here, now from there, a hissing sound is made, and the lofty leaves cover the earth after the trunk has been shaken. It clings to the rocks, and as much as its peaks stretch into the heavenly sky, so do its roots stretch into Tartarus. Not otherwise is the hero beaten with constant voices from here and from here, and he feels concern all throughout his great heart. His mind remains unmoved, and vain tears fall (*Aen*. 4.437-49).

Although Anna confronts Aeneas with her words, just as the icy gusts of wind buffet the leaves of an oak, Aeneas remains obstinate in his decision, as the tree remains firmly rooted in the ground. The theme of ineffectuality despite effort pervades this passage, especially through the appearance of the adjectives *immota* and *inanes* at 4.449. Aeneas' unwavering determination indicates that Anna has spoken in vain. Many scholars have debated over whose *lacrimae…inanes* are being shed at the conclusion of this extended simile. In his commentary on book 4, Keith Maclennan does not offer a decisive answer to this question but presents three possible options: Aeneas, Anna, or Dido. Aeneas' lack of authentic emotional response to Anna's words would cause such a reaction in any of the three characters. If these tears belong to Aeneas, then *inanes* could be interpreted to mean that his emotions are not evoking a change in his course of action. According to this reading of the text, Aeneas has become attentive to his fate to such an extent that he does

not even allow his personal desires or sorrows to alter his decisions. If it is Anna or Dido who is crying, *inanes* could signify the ineffectuality of their tears.[71] The ambiguity of this line does not detract from the idea of futility in speech. In fact, Virgil may have chosen to take an enigmatic approach to this description in order to emphasize the pervasive futility in book 4. Nothing, whether it be words, prayers, or emotions, can deter Aeneas from pursuing his fated course once he has become fully cognizant of his duties.

This metaphorical passage provides an explanation for Aeneas' inexorability, as it explicitly refers to the divine sources of his change in character. Line 4.440 offers the reason why Aeneas does not yield to the pleas of Dido and Anna: *fata obstant placidasque viri deus obstruit auris* ("Fate opposes, and the god blocks up the gentle ears of the man"). Aeneas' adherence to fate and the interference of Mercury are assigned direct responsibility for the futility of Anna's words. Virgil describes Aeneas as not *tractabilis* ("yielding") at 4.439 to illustrate his lack of receptivity to Anna's persuasive attempts. The particular sense of the word in this context suggests that Aeneas is not susceptible to manipulation or any sort of management because of his dedication to his fated course. The only other use of this word in all of Virgil appears at 4.53, when Anna convinces Dido to allow Aeneas to remain in Carthage while the storms are too violent to sail.[72] Here, the sky (*caelum*) is characterized as *tractabile* rather than Aeneas. The *OLD* lists the third definition of *tractabilis* as "(of persons) tractable, amenable." This word appears only once in extant Latin literature prior to Virgil in a description of a human being. Cicero applies it to his son in his *Epistulae ad Atticum*: *Ego meum facile teneo; nihil est enim eo tractabilius* ("I hold my own

[71] Maclennan, *Virgil: Aeneid IV*, ad 449.

[72] *quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum*. Noted in Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*, ad 439.

son easily. For there is no one more amenable than he is."[73] Cicero uses *tractabilis* to explain the control he exercises over his own son, a nuance of the word that reflects its meaning in Virgil. The use of this adjective to describe both inanimate objects and subjects under a higher authority makes Aeneas' obduracy more notable, as he does not allow himself to become a mere pliant object of Dido's desires and Anna's entreaties. Anna's final attempt to deter Aeneas from his migration fails because it requires that he dwell in Carthage rather than in his fated Italian kingdom. Instead, he readily obeys the words of Mercury when the divine messenger urges him to remember his duties. His sudden desire to depart from Carthage can be fully attributed to his submission to fate. In this new state of determination Aeneas only complies with demands that are in accordance with his fated plans. As Aeneas adopts a strong devotion to fate, his change in character engenders a further change in his susceptibility to pleas and requests.

***Pius* Aeneas, Relentless in War**

Aeneas' adherence to fate and the rigidity of his plan for action only intensify as he progresses in his course. In the first half of the epic, in which he undergoes a change in character and begins to align his *pietas* with his fate, Aeneas inhibits his emotions and chooses to sever personal connections that do not correlate to his fate. In the latter half of the epic, the majority of Aeneas' interactions occur on the battlefield. Although his concern for fate initially leads to an increase in his *pietas*, the internal influence of *furor* becomes more prominent in Aeneas as he advances towards the end of his course. These two forces are typically thought to be in opposition

[73] Cic. *Att*. 10.11.3. Text taken from D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae Vol. II*: *Epistulae ad Atticum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

with each other. Michael Putnam even describes them as "irreconcilable forces."[74] In the character of Aeneas, however, it seems to be his *pietas* that evokes such a torrent of *furor* in him. After Turnus kills King Evander's son Pallas, Aeneas becomes unrelenting in combat against the Rutulians and their allies. At the same time, he renders the words of his opponents futile, denying their requests to be spared. In his *furor*, provoked by his loyalty to his race and to his future kingdom, he does not surrender to the pleas of his enemies.

After Allecto calls the Trojans and Rutulians to battle with the sounding of a horn in book 7, war ravages the plains of Latium for the remainder of the epic.[75] Turnus initiates an attack and causes widespread carnage on the Trojan camp. Pallas cannot withstand the force of Turnus in single combat and dies as one of his many victims. This loss is especially devastating for Aeneas who had promised Evander that he would return his son to him safely. His *pietas* to his Arcadian allies and to Pallas as a filial figure ignites a surge of *furor* in him. Seeking revenge for the death of Pallas, Aeneas launches into a particularly violent attack against the enemy. As he charges along the battlefield in a murderous rage, his opponents attempt to win their lives with words rather than swords:

> inde Mago procul infensam contenderat hastam:
> ille astu subit, at tremibunda supervolat hasta,
> et genua amplectens effatur talia supplex:
> 'per patrios manis et spes surgentis Iuli
> te precor, hanc animam serves gnatoque patrique.
> est domus alta, iacent penitus defossa talenta
> caelati argenti, sunt auri pondera facti
> infectique mihi. non hic victoria Teucrum
> vertitur aut anima una dabit discrimina tanta.'

[74] Michael C.J. Putnam, *Virgil's* Aeneid*: Interpretation and Influence* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 185.

[75] *Aen*. 7.511-22.

> From here, he [Aeneas] had hurled a hostile spear at Magus from far off. He went under adroitly, but the quivering spear flies over him, and as a suppliant, embracing his knees, he utters such things: "I beg you by your paternal shades and the hopes of rising Iulus that you preserve my soul for my son and my father. There is a lofty house. Within it lie buried talents of embossed silver. There are weights of gold wrought and unwrought for me. Not here is the victory of the Trojans turned nor will one soul give such great differences" (*Aen*. 10.521-9).

Magus abandons the prospect of overpowering Aeneas in battle and humbles himself to the status of a suppliant. He invokes the name of Aeneas' own son in his attempt to secure pity, and he promises a pecuniary reward in return for his life. Magus even offers military rationale, arguing that one solider will not determine the final outcome of the war. His rhetorical strategies reveal his desperation. His use of *per* and the enjambment of *te precor* at 10.525 accentuate his submissive role in the hierarchy of power. These entreaties and appeals to Aeneas' *pietas*, however, are not strong enough to counter his desire of vengeance for the death of Pallas.

In this scene of supplication, Aeneas controls the fate of Magus. Although he has appeared as a kind and beneficent leader previously in the epic, his *pietas* and his *furor* together render Magus' words inconsequential:

> dixerat. Aeneas contra cui talia reddit:
> 'argenti atque auri memoras quae multa talenta
> gnatis parce tuis. belli commercia Turnus
> sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto.
> hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus.'
> sic fatus galeam laeva tenet atque reflexa
> cervice orantis capulo tenus applicat ensem.
>
> He [Magus] had spoken. Aeneas returned such words to him in reply: "Spare the many talents of silver and gold, which you relate, for your sons. Turnus already then removed those exchanges earlier with Pallas having been killed. The shades of my father Anchises perceive this, Iulus perceives this." Having spoken thus, he holds his helmet in his left hand, and with the neck of the one begging having been bent back, he brings the sword into contact as far as the hilt (*Aen*. 10.530-6).

Magus' words have no effect on Aeneas in his fervent desire for vengeance. Aeneas overtly assigns responsibility for his hostility to Turnus' slaughter of Pallas. Magus' appeal to the shades of

Anchises and to Iulus results in actions contrary to his intentions. Rather than saving himself by invoking these names, Magus inflames the filial devotion of Aeneas. Because Aeneas had regarded Pallas as his own son, Magus' reference to his family produces increased rage in Aeneas and solidifies his determination to kill. The repetition of *hoc* at 10.534 indicates Aeneas' intention in denying Magus' wish to be spared. *Hoc*, referring to Aeneas' killing of Magus, is the object of Anchises' and Iulus' perception. In response to Magus' plea *per patrios manis et spes surgentis Iuli*, Aeneas also mentions his father and son to demonstrate that his decision to kill Magus arises from his sense of duty. He is devoted to his Trojan race and to his Arcadian allies and thus must ignore the pleas of the enemy in his dual exercise of *pietas* and *furor*. The anaphora of *hoc* and the asyndeton in this line create a visual depiction of Aeneas' revenge. As he violently casts these words upon Magus, *hoc* and *hoc* materialize as thrusts of his sword. The memory of Anchises delivers the first strike, and the future of Iulus delivers the second. Fate has provoked the sense of duty in the character of Aeneas. It is this devotion to family and to fatherland that inspires Aeneas to kill Magus with the thought of Pallas' death clear in his mind.

After Aeneas refuses to spare Magus, he soon experiences a similar encounter as he meets the brothers Liger and Lucagus on the battlefield. When Liger attempts to challenge Aeneas in combat, Aeneas thrusts his spear into him without hesitation. Witnessing the death of his brother, Lucagus implores Aeneas to show mercy to him:

> 'per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes,
> vir Troiane, sine hanc animam et miserere precantis.'
>
> "By you, by the parents who bore you so great, Trojan man, spare my life and pity those praying" (*Aen*. 10.597-8).

The use of *per* in this passage denotes Lucagus' desperation as a suppliant to Aeneas, as it also appears in the earlier petitions of Dido and of Magus. Just as Dido and Magus do not achieve the

responses desired from Aeneas, so too is Lucagus' plea uttered in vain. Lucagus adds a personal element to his entreaty just as Magus had done, asking Aeneas to think of his own parents before inflicting any fatal wounds. Once again, the references to his family do not deflect his intention to kill:

> pluribus oranti Aeneas: 'haud talia dudum
> dicta dabas. morere et fratrem ne desere frater.'
> tum latebras animae pectus mucrone recludit.
>
> To him [Lucagus] begging with many [words], Aeneas [says]: "You were not giving such words a little while ago. Die, and as a brother, do not leave your brother." Then he opens his chest with a sword, the hiding places of the soul (*Aen*. 10.599-601).

Not only does Aeneas deny Lucagus' request for his life, but he also mocks his fraternal devotion. Having killed Liger, he orders Lucagus to join his brother in death. Lucagus' words are not capable of influencing Aeneas in his state of resolve.

These two deaths, only sixty lines apart, display the futility of speech as Aeneas becomes fixated on avenging the death of Pallas. Because Aeneas has been distinguished for his *pietas* throughout the preceding books of the epic, his furious rampage may seem irreconcilable with his previous temperament. Putnam argues that *pietas* and his anger are identified as "incompatible entities" throughout the epic.[76] He cites the simile at 1.148-53, which compares Neptune, in his act of calming the seas, to a man of great *pietas* calming a seditious mob:

> ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
> seditio saevitque animis ignobile vulgus
> iamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat;
> tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
> conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus adstant;
>
> And just as when a rebellion has often arisen in a great crowd, and the common crowd rages in their minds, and now torches and rocks fly—madness supplies arms. Then, if by

[76] Putnam, *Virgil's* Aeneid, 185.

> chance they see some man serious in his *pietas* and important for his merits, they are silent, and they stand still with their ears raised (*Aen*. 1.148-53).

Here, the *virum* ("man") who is *pietate gravem* ("serious in his *pietas*") is placed in stark contrast with the *ignobile vulgus* ("common crowd"), characterized by its *furor* ("madness").[77] The perceived opposition between *pietas* and *furor* is obscured, as these forces seem to come together in the character of Aeneas. Despite his earlier reverence for familial bonds, Aeneas now extinguishes Liger and Lucagus, symbols of fraternal unity, and denies appeals made to his own paternal devotion.[78] Although Aeneas' purposeful slaughter of Magus, Liger, and Lucagus in spite of their protests does seem to contrast with earlier representations of his character, it is not altogether incongruous with his previous actions. As his perception of fate influenced Aeneas to disregard the requests of Dido and Anna, so too does this interpretation lead him to ignore the pleas of Magus and Lucagus.

In his quest to follow his fated course, Aeneas demonstrates his *pietas* through his attention his family and his future kingdom. Aeneas' *pietas* is usually noted in moments in which he is displaying his devotion to the gods or to his fellow Trojans. However, a jarring example of the epithet *pius Aeneas* arises in the midst of Aeneas' rampage against Liger and Lucagus:

> quem pius Aeneas dictis adfatur amaris:
> 'Lucage, nulla tuos currus fuga segnis equorum
> prodidit aut vanae vertere ex hostibus umbrae:
> ipse rotis saliens iuga deseris.' haec ita fatus
>
> *Pius* Aeneas speaks to him with bitter words: "Lucagus, no slow flight of horses betrayed your chariot nor did the empty shadows from the enemy turn it. You yourself let the yoke down, leaping from the wheels (*Aen*. 10.591-4).

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[77] Putnam, *Virgil's* Aeneid*: Interpretation and Influence*, 197 n. 33.

[78] Michael C.J. Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes: Studies in the Conclusion of Virgil's* Aeneid (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 43.

Pius may initially seem inappropriate in the midst of fierce battle, but this appellation only serves as a reminder of Aeneas' loyalty to Pallas and Evander.[79] Since Aeneas regards Pallas as a son and has joined in a fated alliance with his father, he is guided by his fate to believe that it is his duty to avenge Pallas' death. C.J. Mackie argues that Virgil, in his striking use of *pius* here, seeks to emphasize the consistent *pietas* of Aeneas despite the brutality of his actions. In his slaughter of Magus, Liger, and Lucagus, Aeneas neither acts in a way contrary to fate nor does he bring harm to his family and fellow Trojans. Rather, he furthers the progress of his fate by killing the perceived enemy.[80] Without the deaths of the Rutulians and their allies, Aeneas would not be able to found his kingdom at Latium.

His response to his fate in book 10 differs from his initial reactions following his meeting with Mercury in book 4. In addition to his devotion to fate and his increased sense of *pietas*, Aeneas has also become susceptible to the force of *furor*. This *furor* is not inconsistent with his *pietas* but comes as a consequence of it. Although his denial of Dido's and Anna's requests is driven primarily by his *pietas*, while his disregard for the pleas of Magus and Lucagus can be attributed to his *furor*, Aeneas' attention to fate causes all of these attempts at persuasion to fail.

***Pietas*, *Furor*, and *Fata* in the Final Scene**

The theme of futile speech reaches its culmination in the final scene of the epic. The meeting of Aeneas and Turnus on the battlefield provides the ultimate example of ineffectual supplication. After five books filled with combat, carnage, and mourning in the war between the

[79] Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, 43.

[80] Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas*, 172.

Trojans and the Rutulians, the leaders of each camp finally arrive at their fated encounter. As Aeneas prepares to strike Turnus with his spear, Turnus reduces himself to a suppliant:

> ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem
> protendens 'equidem merui nec deprecor' inquit;
> 'utere sorte tua. miseri te si qua parentis
> tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
> Anchises genitor) Dauni miserere senectae
> et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis,
> redde meis. vicisti et victum tendere palmas
> Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx,
> ulterius ne tende odiis.' stetit acer in armis
>
> He (Turnus), extending his eyes low and his right hand begging as a suppliant, says, "Indeed I deserved this, and I do not beg. Make use of your fate. If any concern for my miserable father is able to touch you, I pray (and your father Anchises was such to you), pity old Daunus and return me to my people, of if you prefer, my body robbed of light. You have conquered, and the Ausonians have seen me, conquered, stretch out my palms. Lavinia is your wife. Do no extend hatred further (*Aen*. 12.930-8).

Virgil explicitly defines Turnus as a suppliant in the first line of this passage with the use of the words *humilis*, *supplex*, and *precantem*. Although he claims that he is not begging, Turnus reveals his intention to preserve his life in this final speech by inserting the verb *oro* amidst the imperatives directed at Aeneas. In an approach similar to that of Magus and of Lucagus, Turnus makes an appeal to Aeneas' devotion to family. Not only does Turnus ask Aeneas to think of Anchises, but he also requests pity for his own father Daunus. Subdued in his desperation, Turnus ultimately diminishes his request: he will accept death at the hands of Aeneas if Aeneas will return his body to his father.

At these pathetic words of Turnus, Aeneas' rage begins to subside, and it seems as if he will decide to spare the life of the Rutulian leader. When Aeneas is reminded of Pallas' death a moment later, however, his desire for vengeance is rekindled:

stetit acer in armis
Aeneas volvens oculos dextramque repressit;
et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri, victum quem vulnere Turnus
straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris
exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
terribilis: 'tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'
hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
fervidus; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

> Aeneas stood fierce in his arms, rolling his eyes, and he restrained his right hand. And now the speech began to bend him, now more hesitant, when the unfortunate belt appeared on his high shoulder and the sword-belt of the boy Pallas flashed with the well-known studs, whom, conquered, Turnus had laid out with a wound, and he was wearing the hostile emblem on his shoulders. After he [Aeneas] drank in the reminders of his fierce grief and the spoils with his eyes, kindled with madness and frightening with anger, he says, "Clothed in the spoils of my people, should you rescue yourself from me from here? Pallas sacrifices you with this wound, Pallas sacrifices you, and he takes up the penalty from your wicked blood." Saying this, fiery, he buries his sword under his [Turnus'] hostile breast. But his limbs are loosened with cold, and his life flees furiously under the shades with groaning (*Aen*. 12.938-52).

Although Turnus' supplication has a greater effect on Aeneas than those of his previous victims did, the sight of Pallas' sword-belt draped across Turnus' shoulder precludes any potential act of mercy. Aeneas' own words here reveal a dramatic change in his character from his earlier speeches. In book 1, he is introduced in his opening speech of despair, and his words are reminiscent of the hopeless cries of Odysseus.[81] Now, in his final words in book 12, Aeneas resembles a different Homeric figure, the wrathful Achilles. His initial despondence has long since

[81] *Aen*. 1.94-6, *Od*. 5.306-10.

subsided and has been replaced by ruthlessness.[82] He speaks to Turnus here as Achilles spoke to dying Hector:

> "Ἕκτορ, ἀτάρ που ἔφης Πατροκλῆ᾽ ἐξεναρίζων
> σῶς ἔσσεσθ᾽, ἐμὲ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ὀπίζεο νόσφιν ἐόντα,
> νήπιε· τοῖο δ᾽ ἄνευθεν ἀοσσητὴρ μέγ᾽ ἀμείνων
> νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῇσιν ἐγὼ μετόπισθε λελείμμην,
> ὅς τοι γούνατ᾽ ἔλυσα· σὲ μὲν κύνες ἠδ᾽ οἰωνοὶ
> ἑλκήσουσ᾽ ἀϊκῶς, τὸν δὲ κτεριοῦσιν Ἀχαιοί."[83]
>
> But Hector, perhaps you thought that you would be safe while stripping Patroclus, and you did not regard me with awe at all since I was away, fool. But far away from him I had been left behind at the hollow ships as a better helper who has killed you. The dogs and birds will tear you apart shamelessly, but the Achaeans will bury him (*Il*. 22.331-6).

Aeneas alters his tone of speech, as Virgil has transitioned from an Odyssean to an Achillaean model. Both Aeneas and Achilles have lost their dear companions and now seek retribution for these deaths through the killing of their respective opponents. While he delivers his final words in his confrontation with Turnus, Aeneas embodies the wrath of Achilles and exudes a similar rage. In his progression of speech throughout the epic, Aeneas has evolved from the expressive and emotional Odysseus to the vengeful and irascible Achilles. Unlike the speeches of Achilles, however, the harsh words of Aeneas do not stem only from his anger, but also from his sense of duty. His *pietas* and *furor*, invoked by the death of Pallas, jointly rise in him as he stands over Pallas' killer. In thrusting his spear into Turnus, Aeneas achieves the dual result of avenging Pallas and surmounting the final obstacle in the way of his Italian kingdom.

This final scene has been the source of much debate concerning Aeneas' reasons for killing Turnus. A surge of *pietas* and a surge of *furor* have individually served as explanations for his

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[82] Highet, *Speeches in Vergil's* Aeneid, 187-8.

[83] The text of the *Iliad* is taken from David B. Morno and Thomas W. Allen, *Homeri Opera Tomus II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920).

reaction. These forces examined collectively, however, bear equal responsibility for the death of Turnus. With fate guiding him, Aeneas displays his *pietas* in his final words to Turnus. Just as he used the demonstrative pronoun *hoc* to signify the fatal injury that he inflicts on Magus at 10.534, Aeneas repeats this word in the same context to Turnus at 12.948. The repetition of Pallas' name in this line explains Aeneas' vengeful motives in killing Turnus.[84] He believes that Pallas deserves to be avenged of his premature death. His use of the verb *immolat* ("to sacrifice") at 12.950 provides further evidence of his *pietas*. Gordon Williams argues that this verb denotes Aeneas' sense of duty towards Pallas and cites additional appearances in book 10 as further proof for his claim. Forms of *immolare* occur at 10.519 as Aeneas captures four Latin youths for sacrifice and again at 10.541 as he kills Haemonides. Appearing after the death of Pallas, this verb seems to reflect Aeneas' dutiful desire to avenge his young companion.[85] Putnam, however, contends that *immolat* at 12.950 serves as a reminder of Aeneas' rage in these earlier appearances of the verb in book 10.[86] The idea that Virgil's use of *immolat* reinforces the concept *furor* in this passage can be supported by specific references to the text. Virgil does not describe the sword-belt of Pallas at 12.945-946 merely as *exuvias* ("spoils"), but as *saevi monimenta doloris* ("monuments of fierce grief"). The intense feelings provoked in Aeneas by the sight of Pallas' sword-belt indicate the fervid influence of *furor* on his subsequent actions. Immediately following this sight, Aeneas is described as *furiis accensus et ira terribilis* ("kindled with madness and frightful with anger").[87]

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[84] R. Deryck Williams, ed., *Virgil: Aeneid Books VII-XII* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1973), ad 12.948.

[85] Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the* Aeneid, 223.

[86] Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, 113.

[87] *Aen*. 12.946-7.

This characterization demonstrates the power of the *furor* within Aeneas during his final encounter with Turnus.

Although some scholars argue that *pietas* is the leading factor in Aeneas' action while others would cite *furor*, these forces need not be considered antagonistic. Because Aeneas refuses to acquiesce to the pleas of Turnus and kills him instead, he can be seen in a state of *furor*, but this act of vengeance also serves to advance the progress of his fate. This *furor* only complements his *pietas* as he continues to conform his actions to divine will.[88] Aeneas' *pietas* is not a one-dimensional force used only to attain favorable outcomes. His exercise of *pietas* is a source of great pain throughout much of the epic, and it often appears in Aeneas' patterns of speech and silence. Aeneas' departure from Carthage and his dismissal of Dido's pleas both stem from his *pietas*. His behavior in war and his disregard for the supplication of Magus and of Lucagus can also be attributed to this same force. These instances do not all arise from the same definitive form of *pietas* as a strictly benign and constructive virtue, but rather from variations of it. In book 12, Aeneas displays his *pietas* once more in a complex and unprecedented form. Putnam describes this particular force as the *pietas* of vengeance.[89] Vengeance might be initially attributed to the force of *furor*, but the concordance of *pietas* and *furor* necessitates that it be considered as an element of both forces.

Aeneas' behavior in the final scene of the epic has long been a source of contention, as scholars have offered many different arguments about the roles of *pietas* and *furor* in his killing of Turnus. Brooks Otis contends that Aeneas upholds his *pietas* in the battle against the Rutulians

[88] Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas*, 172-3.

[89] Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes*, 20.

by acting chiefly with *humanitas*, regarding war as an unfortunate necessity for peace.[90] This assertion, however, separates *pietas* and *furor*, forces that should be considered conjointly within Aeneas. Williams comes closer to uniting these two forces, as he claims that Aeneas' desire to kill Turnus is both political and personal. Politically, Aeneas must slay Turnus in order to establish his own kingdom in Latium. Personally, Aeneas perceives it as his responsibility to avenge the death of Pallas because of his alliance with Evander.[91] This view allows for the interplay of *pietas* and *furor*. In striving to kill Turnus, a perceived act of *furor*, Aeneas is concurrently acting in accordance with his fate and fulfilling the promise he has made to Evander.[92] After Evander learns of the death of his son Pallas, he reminds the Trojans that it is their duty to avenge him by killing Turnus.[93] Mackie advances this view in his argument that Aeneas is able to act in a state of simultaneous *pietas* and *furor* as he directs his rage towards the fulfillment of his fate. In this instance, Aeneas' *pietas*, although distinct from the sheer brutality of his killing, is nevertheless integrated into the force of *furor* in his desire to avenge Pallas.[94] It is this interpretation that most accurately describes the operation of *pietas* and *furor* within the character of Aeneas. Mackie argues that these multi-faceted forces are able both to adapt their function according to circumstance and to work cooperatively in one person. Following this idea, Aeneas' adherence to fate in his killing of Turnus signifies the *pietas* inherent in his *furor* as well as his lack of *impius*

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[90] Brooks Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 315.

[91] Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the* Aeneid, 224.

[92] Ibid., 202.

[93] *Aen*. 11.176-81.

[94] Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas*, 212-3.

furor.[95] Mackie makes a distinction between *pius* and *impius furor*, noting that *furor* can be *pius* when it is aligned with the course of fate and with the interests of the family, the country, and the gods. *Furor* is deemed *impius*, however, when it conflicts with these elements.[96] Aeneas displays his *pius furor* in observing this necessary, albeit destructive, duty. Although they seem to be intrinsically opposed to each other, *pietas* and *furor* must be recognized jointly in examining the actions and motives of Aeneas.

Aeneas' *pius furor* in this final scene can be seen in contrast with Turnus' earlier *impius furor*. Aeneas' actions, although violent, retain a sense of *pietas*, as he has been commanded by the gods to follow this course to his new home in Italy. Turnus has only been driven to battle by the sound of Allecto's horn. His furor is *impius*, because he is attempting to hinder the course of fate rather than promote it in his opposition to the Trojans.[97] It is both the source and the direction of these actions in war that determine whether they are *pius* or *impius*. Aeneas experiences a moment of *impius furor* earlier in the epic as he sees Helen in the midst of Troy's downfall in book 2:

> exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
> ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas (*Aen*. 2.575-6).
>
> Fire blazed in my mind; anger came up to avenge my falling fatherland and to exact punishment for her wickedness.

Recognizing the harm that she has caused his homeland and his people, Aeneas has a natural inclination to bring about the death of Helen at the first sight of her. Just as he regards his attack against Turnus as a necessary act of vengeance, so too does he see the killing of Helen as a just

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[95] Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas*, 190.

[96] Ibid., 55-6.

[97] Ibid., 202.

punishment. This impulse, however, is prevented by the interference of Venus, as it is directed by *impius*, rather than *pius*, *furor*. Aeneas is *impius* in this instance because he would be acting in opposition to fate and to the immediate needs of his fellow Trojans by killing Helen.[98] Venus reminds him that it is his duty to ensure the safety of his family and to lead his people out of burning Troy, not to squander his time in preparing an attack against Helen. In book 12, however, the source and direction of Aeneas' actions are both divinely inspired. By acting in accordance with fate, Aeneas exhibits *pius furor* as he slays Turnus in the final scene of battle.

Apart from his display of *pietas* and *furor* in this final scene, Aeneas remains loyal to his fate through his repudiation of Turnus' entreaty. The futility of Turnus' speech leads to his death at the hands of Aeneas. This event proves to be necessary for Aeneas' fulfillment of his fate, as he could not found his Italian kingdom with the leader of the Rutulian army present. Virgil's ambiguous phrasing at 12.950 suggests the twofold achievement of Aeneas in his victory over Turnus: *hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit* ("Saying this, he [Aeneas] buries his sword under his [Turnus'] hostile heart"). Although the verb *condere* can be translated as "to bury," it also regularly means "to establish."[99] In light of this dual meaning, it is suggested that Aeneas is burying his sword inside the body of Turnus and is simultaneously establishing his fated kingdom. Putnam points to *condere* to reveal the circular direction of the epic. This verb occurs twice in the opening lines of book 1 to discuss the establishment of Rome and of the Roman race. In its reemergence in the final lines of book 12, *condit* may have been chosen by Virgil to signify the

[98] Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas*, 212.

[99] See *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "*condere*."

removal of opposition and the birth of a new kingdom through the death of Turnus.[100] In his examination of Aeneas' character in the final books of the epic, Karl Galinsky affirms that the divine will and the inclinations of Aeneas come together in harmony as he ends the life of Turnus.[101] Aeneas continues his pursuit of fate in his natural response to Turnus. Rather than grant his wishes, Aeneas ends his life, mindful of the harm that Turnus has caused him, his troops, and his ally King Evander through the death of Pallas. His *pietas* and *furor* come together as he denies life to Turnus and thus fulfills the course laid out for him by fate.

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[100] Michael C.J. Putnam, "*Aeneid* 12: Unity in Closure," in *Reading Vergil's* Aeneid*: An Interpretive Guide*, ed. Christine Perkell (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 226.

[101] Karl Galinksy, "The Anger of Aeneas," *The American Journal of Philology* 109, no. 3 (Autumn 1988): 344, http://www.jstor.org/stable/294888 (accessed November 27, 2015).

CONCLUSION

As the first eleven lines of the *Aeneid* offer an appropriate introduction to its prominent themes and to the chief traits of its principal character, so too does a subsequent line in book 1 encapsulate the fundamental message of the entire epic: *Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem!* (It was of such great difficulty to found the Roman race!).[102] This line offers an early indication of the difficulties that Aeneas will endure in his quest to establish his fated Italian kingdom. The foundation of the Roman race was made difficult for Aeneas not only by the labors assigned to him but also by his required change of identity. Philip Hardie discusses the theme of metamorphosis in the overall epic and applies it specifically to the birth of Rome. He notes the shift in ethnic focus from Trojan to Italian and eventually, to Roman in the story of Aeneas.[103] Many scholars have noted Aeneas' own transition from Trojan leader to Roman ruler. Williams extends this idea even further, characterizing Aeneas as both a "Homeric hero" and a "proto-Roman."[104] Aeneas, initially portrayed as a highly sensitive figure overcome with emotion, ultimately develops into a composed leader whose regard for duty surpasses all other matters. This change in character can be seen clearly in examining the many commentaries and critiques that

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[102] *Aen*. 1.33.

[103] Philip Hardie, "Augustan Poets and the Mutability of Rome," in *Roman Poetry & Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*, ed. Anton Powell (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992), 62.

[104] Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the* Aeneid, 235.

have been written about the character of Aeneas. He has not been identified over time in commentaries and critiques by his emotional sensitivity or his initial loquacity. Rather, he is assigned the Roman virtue of *pietas* as his lasting legacy.[105]

Aeneas' transition from Trojan to Roman is significant to my overall argument, as I see the change in his speech throughout the epic as a result of his change in identity. As Aeneas becomes increasingly attentive to his fate and his future, which consist of his migration to Italian land, he becomes more Roman in his manner of expression. He abandons his "passionate and unruly" tendencies in favor of "rational and self-possessed" behavior, characteristic of Roman ideals.[106] In his silence to Dido, Aeneas demonstrates that family, nation, and the gods hold higher importance for him than do love and leisure. His amicable encounter with Evander, on the other hand, reveals his attention to duty, as he forms an alliance with the Arcadians in order to ensure the defeat of the Rutulians and to secure his settlement in Latium. In contrast with his early outpourings of emotion, these instances of Aeneas' selective speech and silence depict him as a champion of *pietas* who has aligned his manner of speaking with his fated future.

There has been much debate amongst scholars concerning Virgil's representation of the emperor Augustus in the figure of Aeneas. Aeneas' evolution as a Roman leader over the course of the epic can lead to an allegorical interpretation in which he is seen as the fictional embodiment of the historical Augustus. The majority of scholarship denies this idea, however. Critics of this view argue that certain aspects of Augustus can be seen within Aeneas but that Aeneas' rise to Roman heroism does not definitively symbolize the rule of the emperor. Williams contends that Aeneas would lose some of his appeal if he were to be regarded solely in relation to Augustus.

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[105] Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the* Aeneid, 143.

[106] Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's* Aeneid, 166.

Aeneas gains depth in his liminal position between the Trojan and the future Roman worlds.[107] Richard Thomas takes a more balanced position, arguing that Aeneas is seeking to build an empire that resembles the very project of Augustus. He asserts that there must be some relationship, however general, between Aeneas and Augustus, owing to Virgil's awareness of his surroundings if to nothing else.[108] Because of this ambiguity regarding Virgil's intention, Aeneas can best be viewed as an embodiment of Roman virtue rather than strictly as an instrument in the political program of Augustus.

Although Aeneas may not represent Augustus unequivocally, he nevertheless can be said to possess the distinctive characteristics of a Roman leader. Douglas J. Stewart argues that the underlying subject of the entire epic is not Rome itself, but rather the "education" and rise of Aeneas as a political leader. As he begins to accept this vocation, Aeneas must abandon all attributes that had initially designated him as an epic hero.[109] His reliance on personal feelings and his propensity for emotive expression are among the first of these qualities to be discarded. In his emergence into the public realm, all remnants of the private are dissolved. Stewart notes that Virgil's portrayal of fate differs from the more common interpretation of this theme as an individualized force. Aeneas' political status necessitates that fate be considered in terms of its association with a larger group and with the individual acting as its agent.[110] This idea supports my own arguments about Aeneas' relationship with fate. If he is to become a true leader, he must

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[107] Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the* Aeneid, 235-6.

[108] Richard F. Thomas, "Tree Violation and Ambivalence in Virgil," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118 (1988): 261, http://www.jstor.org/stable/284171 (accessed February 27, 2016).

[109] Stewart, "Morality, Mortality, and the Public Life: Aeneas the Politician," 650-1.

[110] Ibid., 651.

act according to his own fate, the fate of his fellow Trojans, and the fate of the future Italians and Romans. Taken in the overall context of this onerous responsibility, Aeneas' taciturnity in his interactions with Dido becomes more understandable and even justifiable. His expressions extend beyond the personal level and into a wider political and national sphere in which his response to fate, rather than to human emotion, is most important.

Despite the existence of some parallels between the two figures, it may be more fitting to say that Virgil did not intend to depict Aeneas as an allegorical reflection of Augustus nor did he compose the *Aeneid* as a piece of propaganda for the Augustan political program. In fact, Aeneas even appears more rigid than Augustus in some aspects. Highet claims that "Augustus was far more sociable and far less lonely than Aeneas," and goes on to identify Aeneas' silence as a "deliberate choice" of Virgil.[111] In order to convey the dramatic change in Aeneas following the appearance of Mercury, it was necessary for Virgil to emphasize his adopted reticence. The way in which Aeneas approaches his interactions after this divine encounter reflects not only his adherence to fate, but also his rise as a Roman. His transition from passionate expression to calculated discourse and imposed silence lead him from the Trojan shores to the Italian kingdom, and ultimately, to the future citadels of Rome. This is not accomplished without difficulty, however, as we are reminded at 1.33. Not only would Aeneas be met with adversity in the form of an inconsolable Carthaginian queen and combative Rutulians, but he would also be required to confront warring forces within his own character. Led from a state of emotion to a grave recognition of responsibility by the appearance of Mercury, Aeneas adopts fate as his primary concern and undergoes changes in his *pietas* and his *furor*. As he embraces his fated course, Aeneas acts in consideration of the gods, his family, and his fellow Trojans and thus embodies the ideals

[111] Highet, *Speeches in Vergil's* Aeneid, 42-3.

of Roman virtue through his devotion to fate, his *pietas* and *furor*, and through his speech and his silence.

Ventum ad supremum est.

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