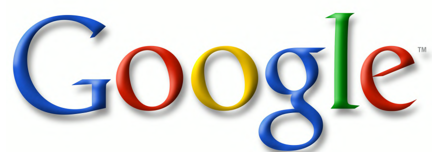

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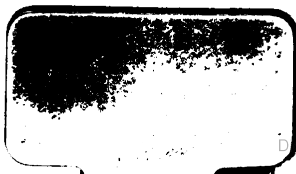

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SUGGESTIONS

INTRODUCTORY TO

A STUDY OF THE AENEID

BY

H. NETTLESHIP, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

'VIRTUTES EIUS INTELLECTU SEQUI'

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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PREFACE.

The following remarks are offered as a contribution to the interpretation of a poem to which a great deal of recent criticism has, I venture to think, been unjust. Much has been said of the artificial and borrowed element in the Aeneid, very little of the original element; and yet it is clear that a poet who won the ear of his nation so soon as Vergil, and became at once one of the most popular poets and the most classical poet of Rome, could not have gained this position without great original power. Because Vergil chose a vast and multitudinous material to work upon some critics have supposed that he showed no creative power in handling it; as if he had not created a new kind of epic and a new poetical language; as if any other Roman poet before him had attempted so vast and so difficult a problem, and as if any epic poet of his nation after him had succeeded in anything like the same way in holding the attention of mankind. Mere rhetorical skill has never made and can never make a work immortal. When therefore Bernhardy [1], whose careful and appreciative criticism on the Aeneid I wish to mention with great respect, refuses to allow that Vergil had any creative power; when Teuffel [2], after pronouncing the same verdict, refuses him any original gifts but those of tender sympathy and minute psychological insight, asserting that all his characters 'show a mild and humane temper, without asperity and roughness, but at the same time without energy;' when Mr. Gladstone [3] says

[1] Grundriss der Römischen Litteratur, 2te Abtheilung, pp. 489, 496.
[2] Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, vol. ii. p. 442 foll.
[3] Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age, vol. iii. pp. 510, 512.

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that 'with rare exceptions the reader of Vergil finds himself utterly at a loss to see at any point the soul of the poet reflected in his work,' and charges him with allowing his mind to become so warped by artificial influences that he becomes 'reckless alike in major and in minor matters as to all the inner harmonies of his work,' and, in deviating from the Homeric tradition, commits such gross errors as can only be ascribed 'to torpor in the faculties, or defect in the habit of mind by which Homer should be appreciated;'—one cannot but feel that, if all this be true, Vergil's position in literature is a phenomenon difficult to be accounted for.

It is a great misfortune that Keble, who as a poet had a soul to understand a poet, did not give to the Aeneid the same careful study which he gave to the Georgics. I have always found his lectures on Lucretius and Vergil fuller of poetical insight than any other modern criticisms which I have read on those writers, and though, as the following pages will show, I am not able to agree with his judgment on the Aeneid, which was in the main, with characteristic differences[1], the same as that of Niebuhr, still, as the 'Praelectiones Academicae' is now, I fear, as far as students are concerned, an almost forgotten book, I am anxious to express my deep gratitude for the many new lights in poetical criticism which it has opened to me. I know of no book where Vergil's love of nature is dealt with with so much real sympathy and insight. As for the Aeneid, Conington has, I think, indicated in his Introduction the true line which criticism ought

[1] After passing some not wholly undeserved strictures on Vergil's treatment of the character of Aeneas, Keble (Prael. Acad. vol. ii. p. 722 foll.) says, 'Verum ut ea mittamus quae propria sunt Aeneae; neque in illius neque in Turni persona neque in alio quovis eorum qui in scenam prodeunt Virgilianam illud video quod praecipuum habet Homerus: eventus scilicet ac summam cujusque rei verti penitus in eorum qui agunt motibus et affectu . . . Virgilius . . . ipsorum qui dimicant personis vel minorem impendit curam vel certe non adeo felicem; unum modo alterumque excipias.' Niebuhr thought that Vergil's real merit lay in his erudition; Keble (who goes so far as to say 'fluminum ac sylvarum gratia ponit fata moresque hominum') that his natural bent was towards sympathetic description of natural scenery: both critics however agree that he made a mistake in attempting to write an epic.

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to take, especially in regard to the relation between the Aeneid and the Greek drama. Of his views on this matter much of what I have said is only a development, παντὸς γὰρ προσθεῖναι τὸ ἐλλεῖπον.

Recent French criticism has been more sympathetic with Vergil than German. Besides Legris, who has been followed by Merivale in the forty-first chapter of his 'History of the Romans under the Empire,' MM. Sainte-Beuve, Patin, and Gaston Boissier have contributed valuable matter to the criticism of the Augustan poets. The author last mentioned, in his work on the 'Religion of the Romans from Augustus to the Antonines,' has a most ingenious and instructive chapter on the Aeneid, which he maintains to be, in its main intention, a religious poem. Most of the following pages were written before I had seen M. Boissier's work, but I find myself in substantial agreement with his views, supposing the phrase 'religious poem' to be used in the only sense in which it can be used of any work of classical antiquity.

H. N.

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SUGGESTIONS INTRODUCTORY TO A STUDY OF THE AENEID.

The Aeneid has been so often criticised from different points of view that it may seem presumptuous in any one who professes merely to study and interpret, to attempt anything fresh in the way of generally elucidating the thoughts of Vergil. It may happen, on the other hand, that a great work of imagination sometimes presents such difficulties to the ordinary understanding, that, although its power and beauty are instinctively recognised by succeeding generations of men, the main thoughts which have inspired it and which are the real strength of its author are not clearly grasped, and criticism, favourable or unfavourable, lingers over details with praise, blame, explanation, or apology, while it misses the great intention which lies beneath and is the foundation of the whole. This happens chiefly in the case of those works of art which are not the products of simple and elementary forces and passions easily comprehended, but which represent a complex and manifold surrounding of speculation and fancy; an atmosphere filled with a number of ideas which the creative power of the artist finds it difficult to harmonize into a complete whole; a literary tradition rich with the gathered thoughts and forms of past generations, and claiming attention with such force as to render absolute spontaneity impossible; a society whose every form of existence is reflected and artificial, and in which the conflict of new and old elements is realized without approaching any apparent solution. In such a state of things a poet of true force and insight

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finds it difficult to find expression for great and far-reaching thoughts. The reverence for previously existing forms of poetry and the gathered stores of thought and imagination lying in the works of his predecessors—a reverence of which every true artist has always been full—makes reflection and reminiscence a duty as imperative as fresh creation: and while it deepens and purifies the poet's conception, exalts and widens the range of his vision, and makes him careful to embody every thought in the finest expression, it makes difficult, if not impossible, for him the clear forward look which is the privilege of a simpler age. The Aeneid, standing as it does at the end of one great period of history and the beginning of another, summing up in a poetical form the ideas political, moral, mythological, and religious which had been the creation or the inheritance of republican Rome, is an instance among several of a great work produced under the conditions which I have been endeavouring to describe. The following remarks are offered as a contribution to the interpretation of the main ideas which seem to have inspired it. In dealing with such a work our first business is to interpret, our second to judge; all criticism is shallow and misleading which attempts to pronounce a verdict upon details before the main principles of the work have been fully mastered. I should not approach the subject at all were it not that, as it seems to me, the difficulties presented by the Aeneid have, as a whole, hardly been grappled with by modern criticism. They have been noticed, apologized for, or left on one side: the question whether there is any main idea underlying the poem, which may to any extent account for them, can hardly be said to have obtained a thorough consideration. It is evident indeed that on a first reading the Aeneid seems to teem with anomalies. The epic framework is out of harmony with the spirit of Vergil's time, and with the comparatively modern cast of the characters and ideas; we have all the detail natural in a primitive poem, but instead of primitive simplicity in presenting it, we find an elaboration of language which disdains or is unable to say a plain thing in a plain way; realities of nature are sometimes disregarded for the sake of literary effect; the character of the hero himself is but dimly realized; the whole aim and scope of the poem seems thwarted,

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obscured, or lost in masses of detail and cunning workmanship. All these and similar defects are easily noticeable and have been forcibly dwelt upon by those critics who are mostly content with comparing Vergil (as the phrase is) with Homer. It is not so commonly asked whether a poet whose genius could absorb the admiration of Dante, and whose influence probably contributed more than any other towards informing the poetical spirit and the verse of Milton, must not have had some qualities and quickening principles of wider reach than the tenderness, delicacy, purity, exquisite sensibility, elevation of tone, and dignity of expression, which all allow to have inspired the music of Vergil's numbers.

The following remarks will be directed to the consideration of two points: *First*, what is the main conception which the story of the Aeneid was intended to work out; *Second*, what were the chief influences, literary, ethical, and religious, which determined Vergil in his cast of the form, and in the treatment of the details, of his story. The two questions, concerning as they do respectively the form and the spirit of the poem, represent in reality two sides of the same problem, though for clearness' sake it may be well to consider them separately.

The main purpose of the Aeneid, as has been seen by several critics, is to celebrate the growth, under Providence, of the Roman empire and Roman civilization[1]. This theme was a great one, yet in one sense of the word hardly poetical, if it be true that poetry in its highest efforts deals with great characters in great situations. For in a story dealing with such matter the element of personal interest, which plays so great a part in the Greek epic and tragedy, must to a considerable extent be wanting. It was a subject likely rather to impose upon the imagination than to stimulate invention: the idea as a whole is more impressive than the parts can be made attractive in the working out: the grandeur of the outline is vague and stationary, leaving apparently but little room for the movement and proportion of life. Yet it would have been strange had not the imagination of Roman poets been struck by such a

[1] Aen. I. 7: 'Genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.'

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theme[1]. And Vergil, who[2] before he wrote the Aeneid had fully realized the poetical side of the glories of the Roman empire and their apparent culmination under the first Caesars, would have been but an unworthy successor to Naevius and Ennius had he contented himself with merely producing, according to their example, a series of annals in verse. To Vergil's mind it evidently appeared that the adequate poetical treatment of his great subject required a mythical setting; the present must not be barely exhibited in the forms of its actual existence (this would be a retrogression in poetry), but must be idealized by the foreshadowings of prophecy, regarded as the issue and outcome of a heroic antiquity in which the lineaments of the present are clearly discernible. The centre of the mythical background was naturally Aeneas, as Caesar was the centre of the present magnificence of the Roman empire. The religious aspect of the whole was naturally present to Vergil, as to any Roman. 'We surpass all other nations,' says Cicero, 'in holding fast the belief that all things are ordered by a divine Providence[3].' The theme of the Aeneid is the building up of the Roman empire under this Providence. Aeneas is the son of a goddess, and his life the working out of the divine decrees. The opposition to these decrees is, as we shall see in detail below, the work of inferior deities and the baser human passions.

[1] Hor. Carm. 4. 15. 25:

'Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
Inter iocosi munera Liberi,
Cum prole, matronisque nostris,
Rite deos prius apprecati,
Virtute functos more patrum duces,
Lydis remixto carmine tibiis,
Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
Progeniem Veneris canemus.'

Propertius and Ovid, it need hardly be observed, paid considerable attention to Roman antiquities.

[2] Georgic 2. 167 foll., 3. 16 foll.

[3] Cicero N. D. 2. 4. 8: 'Si conferre volumus nostra cum externis: ceteris rebus aut pares aut etiam inferiores reperiemur, religione, id est, cultu deorum, multo superiores.' De Haruspicum Responsis, 9. 19: 'Quam volumus licet, patres conscripti, ipsi nos amemus: tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Poenos, nec artibus Graecos, nec denique hoc ipso huius gentis ac terrae domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos ac Latinos, sed pietate et religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.'

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Aeneas is conceived by Vergil as embodying in his character the qualities of a warrior, a ruler, and a civilizer of men, the legendary impersonation of all that was great in the achievements of Rome. His mission is to carry on a contest in Italy, to crush the resistance of its warlike tribes, to give them customs and build them cities[1]. It is instructive to observe the similarity of language in which Aeneas is spoken of in the first and the Roman nation in the sixth book[2]. In his character of lawgiver and civilizer he is great as Alcides and Theseus[3] whom he resembles in his mission: like theirs, his must be a life of struggle, of heroic endurance, and of great difficulties overcome. Like Hercules, he encounters and prevails over the anger of the queen of heaven; like him, and like Ulysses, he is permitted to lift the veil which parts the living from the dead, lest anything should be wanting to the full stature of his character as priest, king, and lawgiver. His distinguishing epithet (*pius*) suggests not one heroic quality merely, but the character of the son who loves his father, of the king who loves his subjects, of the worshipper who reverences the gods[4]. It will be worth while to follow the narrative in detail, with the view of seeing how this conception is borne out.

The first six books of the poem contain the preparation of the hero for his great achievement, the conquering and civilizing of the rude tribes of Italy. Of these books, three only, the first, the fourth, and the sixth, nearly concern us here, as the second, third, and fifth are episodical. The first and the fourth books form the opening act of the great drama. In these books we

[1] Aen. 1. 263:

'Bellum ingens geret Italia, populosque ferocis
Contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet.'

[2] Ib. 6. 851:

'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
Hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem.'

[3] Ib. 122:

'Quid Thesea magnum,
Quid memorem Alciden? Et mi genus ab Iove summo.'

[4] To have confined his idea of Aeneas to the outlines given of his character in the Iliad, as Mr. Gladstone thinks he ought to have done, would have been impossible to Vergil. Even were we sure that we have all the traditions bearing on the matter, which is far from being the case, we could not deny to Vergil the poet's privilege of conceiving and developing his own characters in his own way.

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are taken at once into a scene which foreshadows, in legendary form, the greatest event of Roman history, the conflict of Rome with Carthage[1]. Aeneas, the future lawgiver of Italy[2], is brought face to face with the great city rising under the sceptre of Dido. Admiration for the queen and her work touches his imagination, love for the woman his heart[3]: as Caesar was half won by Cleopatra, Aeneas is half won by Dido: the king and the queen alike forget their mission, the half-built walls are left unfinished, the works of war and defence are abandoned[4]. But the commands of Heaven are clear, the founder of Rome must not be united to an Eastern queen: in this as in all things he must represent the idea of a true Roman. He crushes his love, follows the express commands of Jupiter and of his father's spirit[5], and leaves the queen to her fate. The fifth book forms some relief to the strain and intense passion of the fourth, of which we shall have more to say below: perhaps Vergil was not unwilling to dwell on the outward signs of the *pietas* which in the sequel leads his hero to seek the embraces of his father in the world of spirits. In the sixth book Aeneas, like Odysseus and Heracles, has the mysteries of death revealed to him, and as

[1] Aen. 1. 19:

> 'Progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci
> Audierat, Tyrias olim quae verteret arces;
> Hinc populum late regem belloque superbum
> Venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas.'

[2] Ib. 4. 229:

> 'Sed fore, qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
> Italiam regeret.'

Ib. 232: 'Si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum.'
Ib. 267: 'Regni rerumque oblite tuarum.'

[3] Ib. 1. 437: 'O fortunati quorum iam moenia surgunt.'
Ib. 4. 332: 'Obnixus curam sub corde premebat.'
Ib. 395: 'Magnoque animum labefactus amore.'
Ib. 448: 'Magno persentit pectore curas.'

[4] Ib. 86, 194.

[5] Ib. 351:

> 'Me patris Anchisae, quotiens humentibus umbris
> Nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
> Admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;
> Me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,
> Quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.
> Nunc etiam interpres divom, Iove missus ab ipso—
> Testor utrumque caput—celeris mandata per auras
> Detulit; ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi
> Intrantem muros, vocemque his auribus hausi.'

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Heracles was said[1] to have been initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis before his descent into Hades, so the language and imagery of the sixth book more than once suggest[2] that Vergil intended to embody in his picture the poetical view of that inner side of ancient religion which the mysteries may be supposed to have presented. As a son Aeneas goes to meet his father's spirit: as a king and a lawgiver he is initiated into all that could be given of the deepest ideas respecting the future life which were at Vergil's command. All the treasures of current mythology and philosophy are turned to account by the poet in the sixth book, his greatest effort, nor is the main purpose of the epic clearer in any part of it. The world of spirits is shown as sanctioning, by its examples of reward and punishment for the deeds done in this life, Roman ideas of law and morals[3], and the doctrine of transmigration is employed for the purpose of introducing a prophetic celebration of Roman heroes[4].

The work of Aeneas, prepared by wandering, error, trial, and divine communings, now begins in Italy. It is at this point that I should wish to call attention to a fact which I think has not been sufficiently dwelt upon, but which is of the utmost importance to the right understanding of the Aeneid, the idea, namely, which Vergil puts before us of the primitive condition of Italy and of the characters with whom Aeneas is brought into contact. The detail given us in the seventh book fully bears out the conception of which hints were thrown out in

[1] Diodorus 4. 24: *μέτεσχεν* (Ἡρακλῆς) *τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι μυστηρίων*, Μουσαίου τοῦ *Ὀρφέως υἱοῦ τότε προεστηκότος τῆς τελετῆς*. See also Apollodorus 2. 5. 12, and Heyne's note.

[2] Aen. 6. 258: 'Procul o, procul este, profani.' Possibly the words 'sit mihi fas audita loqui,' ib. 266, (they recall Plato's words in the Gorgias, c. 80, *ἃ ἐγὼ ἀκηκοὼς πιστεύω ἀληθῆ εἶναι*), may have a similar reference. See also the passages quoted from the Ranae of Aristophanes by Conington on Aen. 6. 637 foll., to which may perhaps be added, as a parallel to 'solemque suum, sua sidera norunt,' v. 423 of the same play, where the *χόρος μυστῶν* says *μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος καὶ φέγγος ἱλαρόν ἐστιν*. On the general relation of the Sixth Aeneid to the side of ancient religion represented in the mysteries see below, p. 41 foll. See also Conington's introduction to the Sixth Aeneid.

[3] Ib. 608:

> 'Hic, quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat
> Pulsatusve parens, et fraus innexa clienti,' etc.

[4] Ib. 756 foll.

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earlier parts of the work[1]. Before the coming of the Arcadian Evander, Italy, according to the legend adopted by Vergil, was (like ancient Greece in Thucydides) subject to constant changes of inhabitants and of name, infested by monsters[2], peopled by rude tribes led by savage warriors. When Aeneas arrives the state of things is more settled, Latinus is governing Latium and Evander his Arcadian colony in peace[3]. There are, however, relics of the older state of things; the Rutulian Turnus especially, and his ally the Etruscan Mezentius, show traces enough of the ancient barbarity. More must be said below in detail on the character of Turnus: at present it is only important to remark that his alliance with Mezentius[4], the 'contemptor divum,' the leader of the robber bands whose custom it is to tie living bodies to corpses[5], is a trait significant enough of the conception which, as we shall presently see, Vergil intended us to form of the Rutulian hero. And who besides Mezentius are Turnus' chief allies? 'Ductores primi Messapus et Ufens[6],' Messapus who towards the end of the story is one of the first and most eager to break the treaty solemnly sworn to Aeneas[7], Ufens the leader of the Aequi[8], the hunter and robber tribe of the mountains, rugged above all others, who never lay aside their arms even to cultivate the ground. Besides these Vergil's story makes incidental mention of other warriors of a like type in alliance with Turnus. Remulus[9],

[1] Aen. 1. 263: 'Bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis
Contundet.'
Ib. 5. 730: 'Gens dura atque aspera cultu
Debellanda tibi Latio est.'

[2] Ib. 8. 328: 'Tum manus Ausonia et gentes venere Sicanae,
Saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus;
Tum reges asperque inmani corpore Thybris,' etc.
Other monsters are Cacus (8. 185 foll.) and Erulus (ib. 563).

[3] Ib. 7. 45. [4] Ib. 8. 493. [5] Ib. 483. [6] Ib. 6.

[7] Ib. 12. 289: 'Messapus . . . avidus confundere foedus.'

[8] Ib. 7. 745 foll.: 'Et te montosae misere in proelia Nersae,
Ufens, insignem fama et felicibus armis;
Horrida praecipue cui gens, adsuetaque multo
Venatu nemorum, duris Aequicula glaebis.
Armati terram exercent, semperque recentis
Convectare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto.'

[9] Ib. 9. 603–613:
'Durum ab stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum

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Turnus' brother-in-law, is the leader of a tribe closely resembling the Aequi, and described by Vergil in very similar language. From their infancy their training is that of hunters and warriors, their delight is in plunder and the life of robbers. Cisseus and Gyas[1] ('Cissea durum immanemque Gyan') with their clubs, Caeculus the son of Vulcan[2], Metabus[3] the rude father of Camilla, the tyrant who, like Mezentius, has been expelled from his own city for his deeds of violence,—all these are characters of the same kind, minor characters it is true, and introduced incidentally only, but giving, in their general outline, a clear indication of Vergil's intention. Even Camilla, the warrior virgin, the Amazon[4] as Vergil calls her, who takes in the Aeneid the part played by Penthesilea in the Epic cycle, seems intended as a model of rude hardihood at least as much as of romantic daring.

Having said so much briefly, and as an indication of what I think the main purport of the Aeneid, the idea of the subjugation of semi-barbarous tribes under a higher civilization and religion, I will endeavour to justify my remarks in detail by a continuous examination of the story, and of the development of action and character which it produces. When Aeneas lands in Latium to seek the alliance of Latinus and to found his city[5], divine oracles, widely known throughout the Italian cities, had spoken of a stranger who was to wed Latinus' daughter and to lay the foundation of a world-wide empire. Aeneas, through his ambassador, announces his landing and asks for a simple alliance with Latinus: Latinus offers this and the hand of his daughter besides. The king can, in any case, bestow his

Deferimus saevoque gelu duramus et undis;
Venatu invigilant pueri, silvasque fatigant;
Flectere ludus equos et spicula tendere cornu.
At patiens operum parvoque adsueta iuventus
Aut rastris terram domat, aut quatit oppida bello.
Omne aevum ferro teritur, versaque iuvencum
Terga fatigamus hasta; nec tarda senectus
Debilitat viris animi mutatque vigorem:
Canitiem galea premimus; semperque recentis
Comportare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto.'

[1] Aen. 10. 317. [2] Ib. 7. 678. [3] Ib. 11. 539, 567.
[4] Ib. 11. 648. [5] Ib. 7. 58, 104.

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daughter as he chooses, and in reading Vergil it must be remembered always that Lavinia is never really betrothed to Turnus, who is only a suitor among other suitors, and differing from the rest in nothing but his ancestry and his beauty, and in having the favour of the queen-mother[1] on his side. To stir up a war for the sake of mere personal inclination against a cause manifestly favoured by the will of the gods would, from the point of view of the ancient religions, as surely have been thought impious and perverse, as, from a modern point of view, it appears natural to centre our interest on the adventurous warrior who is ready to sacrifice his life for his love. But Vergil is not to be read as if he were a modern writer of romance, but to be interpreted according to the ideas of his time. We find in the Aeneid no genuine trace of sympathy either for Turnus or for the cause which he represents[2]; such sympathy is a feeling induced by the spirit and associations of modern literature. When the treaty between Latinus and Aeneas is apparently concluded it is the element of obstinate female passion, represented among the gods by Juno and among men by the queen Amata, joined to the headstrong violence of Turnus, which confounds the peace and embroils all in a long series of discord. The queen of heaven[3], unable to bend the gods above, stoops to move the powers of hell. The Fury Allecto, summoned from Tartarus, first visits the queen Amata, already distracted by the new turn of events and infatuated in favour of Turnus. Driven wild by the opposition of the king, the queen[4] passes from one

[1] Aen. 7. 55.

[2] Mr. Gladstone (Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age, 3. p. 512), speaks of 'the superior character and attractions of Turnus,' and of the poet being 'now for once upon true national ground: he was an Italian minstrel singing to Italians, whether truly or mythically is of less consequence, about an Italian hero.' I cannot think that a careful study of the Aeneid will be found to bear out either part of this statement.

[3] Aen. 7 286 foll.

[4] Ib. 7. 376 foll.:

'Tum vero infelix, ingentibus excita monstris,
Immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem:

. . . . . .

Per medias urbes agitur populosque ferocis.
Quin etiam in silvas, simulato numine Bacchi,
Maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem,' etc.

The description of the queen, and more particularly the *ingens coluber* in which

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city, from one warlike tribe to another, calling on the people to redress her wrongs: then, in a feigned Bacchanalian frenzy, the frenzy, be it observed, of all most hateful to the genuine religious feeling of the Romans, hides her daughter in the mountains, and summons the matrons to join with her in her orgies. Meanwhile Turnus himself is visited by Allecto[1], who, in the guise of an aged priestess of Juno, exhorts him at once to force his will upon Latinus at the sword's point. And here let us observe the first touch, by no means, I venture to think, an insignificant one, in Vergil's sketch of Turnus' character. He receives the supposed priestess not, as might have been expected, with reverence, but with jeers. 'Past bearing the truth, and palsied by dull inaction, thy dotage troubles thee in vain; leave thy soothsayings and go back to tend the images and temple, thy proper care[2].' These are the first words of the man whose violence (and he is the only character to whom Vergil applies the bad word *violentia*) we shall have occasion to notice many instances hereafter. Turnus is in fact a barbarian[4], a soldier, it is true,

the frenzy is embodied (v. 352) recalls Plutarch's description of the Bacchanalian celebrations of Olympias the mother of Alexander (Alex. 2) *ἡ δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς μᾶλλον ἑτέρων ζηλώσασα τὰς κατοχὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐνθουσιασμοὺς ἐξάγουσα βαρβαρικώτερον ὄφεις μεγάλους χειροήθεις ἐφείλκετο τοῖς θιάσοις, οἳ πολλάκις ἐκ τοῦ κιττοῦ καὶ τῶν μυστικῶν λίκνων παραναδυόμενοι καὶ περιελιττόμενοι τοῖς θύρσοις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τοῖς στεφάνοις ἐξέπληττον τοὺς ἄνδρας.*

[1] Aen. 7. 406 foll.

[2] Ib. 440:
'Sed te victa situ verique effeta senectus,
O mater, curis nequiquam exercet, et arma
Regum inter falsa vatem formidine ludit,' etc.

[3] Ib. 10. 151, 11. 354, 376, 12. 9, 45.

[4] Tibullus, 2. 5. 39 foll., has some verses which are worth quoting, as showing that a contemporary poet took the same view of the general scope of the story of Aeneas as that which I suppose to have been Vergil's own (if indeed the lines do not directly refer to the Aeneid):

'Impiger Aenea, volitantis frater Amoris
Troica qui profugis sacra vehis ratibus,
Iam tibi Laurentes adsignat Iupiter agros,
Iam vocat errantes hospita terra Lares.
Illic sanctus eris, cum te veneranda Numici
Unda deum caelo miserit Indigetem.
Ecce super fessas volitat Victoria puppes:
Tandem ad Troianos diva superba venit:
Ecce mihi lucent Rutulis incendia castris:
Iam tibi praedico, *barbare Turne*, necem.
Ante oculos Laurens castrum murusque Lavinist
Albaque ab Ascanio condita Longa duce.'

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but still a barbarian, in but few of his words and acts free from boasting and arrogance. His taunt to the supposed priestess is terribly answered; in an agony of terror he shakes off his sleep, and then, changing fear for fury, sends at once to Latinus to break his peace with him, and takes the leadership of the new war into his own hands. He will be a match, he says, for Trojans and Latins alike[1]. His rude Rutulians follow him, and the wild country folk are, by the agency of the Fury, stirred up to the quarrel. Iulus in hunting chances to kill a stag belonging to Tyrrheus, the master of Latinus' flocks and herds. At the voice of their sister Silvia the sons of Tyrrheus and the stubborn rustics flock together with any rude weapon they can seize; the Trojan youth are ready to meet them, and the battle becomes general. Only one voice is raised in favour of peace, that of the aged Galaesus, the most righteous in the Ausonian fields, who is slain in the attempt at mediation[2].

Then Juno[3] brings matters to a head, and the violence of Turnus joins with the Bacchanalian frenzy of Amata and the other matrons to call for the accursed strife which the omens and the oracles of the gods have forbidden. Latinus, unmoved by their clamour as a rock by the tumult of the waves, is nevertheless powerless to resist the course of events. Overcome by despair, he retires into the palace and resigns the reins of government.

At this point[4] the poet takes the opportunity of mustering before the eye of the reader the forces which come to the aid of Turnus. The catalogue in the seventh book is not merely a piece of artistic workmanship, intended to exhibit the rhetorical skill of Vergil. It is a tribute to the greatness of Italy in her early days; to the land which even of old was the mother of armies and of heroic leaders[5]. Considered from this point of view, this episode is singularly in place, and the fineness and

[1] Aen. 7. 467 foll. [2] Ib. 535. [3] Ib. 577 foll.

[4] Gladstone, l. c., p. 504 says, 'Virgil in his imitation of the Homeric Catalogue . . . with vast and indeed rather painful effort, carries us through his long list at a laboriously sustained elevation.' The catalogue is tedious enough, no doubt, if it be regarded as a mere imitation of Homer: but it is not just to consider it in this light.

[5] Aen. 7. 643: 'Quibus Italia iam tum
Floruerit terra alma viris, quibus arserit armis.'

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beauty of the details are enhanced (as always) by the appropriateness of the setting.

The seventh book has introduced us to the rude tribes of Italy and their barbarous chiefs: the eighth book opens with the tumult of war and the wild fierceness of the maddened Italian youth. The opening scene over, we are presented with another picture: that of Aeneas communing with the river-god Tiber[1], and, in obedience to the omen pointed out to him, rowing his quiet way up the stream among the boughs of trees, and presenting himself before Evander, the king of the Arcadian settlement. Evander, when he receives Aeneas, is celebrating a festival in honour of Hercules[2]. More will be said below on the fitness of the episode now introduced by Vergil; it will be sufficient to observe here that its general purport is doubtless twofold: on the one hand to suggest the parallel between the exploits of Alcides and those of the mythical founder of Rome, and on the other, to give a poetical colouring to the actually existing worship of Hercules, the special god of conquerors and of successful men generally, which was a main element in the Roman religion. After the majestic story of Hercules' exploits, happily put by Vergil into the mouth of Evander, is finished, the Arcadian king describes to his guest the former condition of the land which he has come to govern[3], and guides him over the spots hereafter to become famous in the Rome of history. But this is not enough for Vergil, who wishes not merely to throw an antiquarian interest around the early state of Italy and the places which fable or religion had hallowed in Rome, but to give a foreshadowing of the greater glories of actual Roman history, culminating before his poetic imagination in the newly-founded empire of the Caesars. We are prepared accordingly for the episode of the shield of Aeneas. In trouble for her son's safety, Venus asks Vulcan for divine armour to shield him[4]; we are introduced for a moment to the forges of the Cyclopes and the moulding of the divine weapons, and then brought back again to

Comp. G. 2. 173: 'Salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
Magna virum.'

In the sixth Aeneid (v. 784) similar language is applied to Rome, which in Vergil's view had absorbed the manhood and strength of Italy.

[1] Aen. 8. 31 foll. [2] Ib. 102 foll. [3] Ib. 306 foll. [4] Ib. 369.

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the danger of the hero in the new country of his hopes, surrounded by enemies, and without an ally except Evander. Aeneas sets out, on the advice of Evander, to ask the aid of the Etruscans of Caere, long in revolt against their savage king Mezentius. Arrived there, he is visited by his goddess mother, bearing the divinely-fashioned armour, and above all the shield, on which the hand of the god has engraved the story of the future destinies and glories of Rome [1].

It is perhaps hardly necessary to dwell on the ninth book, the absence of Aeneas, the siege of his camp, the episode of Nisus and Euryalus. Vergil's handling of the story in this case is not an instance of his happier manner: the incidents are contrived with too rigid an adherence to the outline given in the Iliad, and, in spite of great beauties of detail, the reader is sensible throughout of a certain awkwardness and pointlessness in the whole. This fact has been dwelt upon by critics, as it is indeed obvious; but I must not leave the ninth book without remarking upon the light which it throws upon the character of Turnus as conceived by Vergil. The picture of him, as he comes before the beleaguered walls, is no doubt the picture of a bold warrior [2]; but there are touches of something besides bravery. There is the old wildness [3] in his air; like Amata, as described in her frenzy [4] in the seventh book, he is on fire, like the blazing pine-torch which he carries. When the Trojan ships are saved from his attack, by the interposition of Cybele, he is ready with an application of the omen to the Trojans; for the oracles which they carry with them he cares nothing [5]. Forgetting that Lavinia has never even been betrothed to him, he accuses Aeneas of repeating the offence of Paris. The narrative of his exploits in the ninth book need not detain us longer, but the development of the story in the later books brings out more clearly than ever the contrast between Aeneas and the rude warrior who is

[1] Aen. 8. 731: 'Attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.'
[2] Ib. 9. 47 foll.
[3] Ib. 57: 'Huc turbidus atque huc
Lustrat equo muros.'
[4] Ib. 72: 'Atque manum pinu flagranti fervidus implet.'
Comp. 7. 397 (of Amata): 'Ipsa inter medias flagrantem fervida pinum sustinet.'
[5] Ib. 9. 128 foll.

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opposed to him. The tenth book brings Aeneas back to his soldiers from the embassy in which he has instructed the Etruscan king of Caere of the resources of Mezentius and the violent passions of Turnus[1]. The conflicts which ensue lead up to the death of Pallas at the hand of Turnus, and that of Lausus and his father Mezentius at the hand of Aeneas. Let us look for a moment at the way in which the two warriors respectively behave at the moment of their triumph. Turnus approaches Pallas with the savage wish that his father Evander were there to see him fall[2]. In the combat that follows Pallas is slain; Turnus sends him back, he says, as Evander deserved to see him. 'Whatever honour there be in a mound of earth[3], whatever consolation in covering him with the ground, I freely grant.' Unchecked by the thought that a day of vengeance will one day be at hand, Turnus allows free play to his arrogant thoughts: he robs the belt of the fallen youth, and wears it exulting on his own shoulders, triumphing insolently in the slaughter which he has just dealt[4]. Aeneas, infuriated, seizes eight youths as an offering to the Manes of Pallas[5], and the battle proceeds with renewed

[1] Aen. 10. 151: 'Violentaque pectora Turni
Edocet.'

[2] Ib. 442.

[3] Ib. 492: 'Qualem meruit, Pallanta remitto:
Quisquis honos tumuli, quidquid solamen humandi est,
Largior.'

[4] Ib. 513: 'Te, Turne, superbum
Caede nova quaerens.'

[5] The 'barbara atque immanis consuetudo hominum immolandorum' (Cicero pro Fonteio 10. 31) had ceased to form a part of the regular Roman state-religion. But the practice of getting rid of a political enemy on the pretext of sacrificing him to the Manes of a slain opponent was not unknown to the passions of the last century of the republic. It is thus that Lucan describes the brutal murder of Marius Gratidianus at the hands of Catiline (2. 173):

'Quid sanguine Manes
Placatos Catuli referam? cui victima tristes
Inferias Marius, forsan nolentibus umbris,
Pendit, inexpleto non fanda piacula busto.'

Comp. Cic. in Pisonem, 7. 16: 'a me quidem etiam poenas expetistis quibus coniuratorum manes mortuorum expiaretis . . . Quorum ego furori nisi cessissem, in Catilinae busto vobis ducibus mactatus essem.' Suetonius says of Augustus himself (Aug. 15): 'Scribunt quidam trecentos ex dediticiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Iulio exstructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos.' The mere possibility that such an act could be imputed to Augustus is characteristic of the times, and may perhaps partly explain why Vergil attributes to Aeneas an act which seems at first sight so alien to the character of his hero, however suitable it may appear to that of the Homeric Achilles.

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ardour. The book ends with the exploits of Mezentius and his son Lausus, and the death of the latter at the hand of Aeneas. The narrative of Lausus' death must detain us a moment as an instance both of the general pathos of Vergil's manner and of his conception of Aeneas' character, as throughout the foil and contrast to that of Turnus. Lausus, seeing his father Mezentius in danger[1], wards off from him the blow of Aeneas' sword, and turns the whole brunt of the battle against the Trojan hero. Aeneas warns him of his certain fate, but in vain; Lausus rushes impetuously against his stronger enemy. His end is upon him, he falls; Aeneas, touched at the example of a son's devotion, takes him by the hand, and in words full of dignity and compassion refuses to take from him the armour which he loved. It is worth while to attend to the difference between Aeneas' conduct in the case of Lausus and that of Turnus in the case of Pallas, and especially to the language in which each addresses his fallen enemy. 'Whatever honour there may be in a mound of earth, whatever consolation in covering him with the ground, I freely grant.' 'What worthy reward can Aeneas give thee now, poor boy; Aeneas who loved his father, for deeds such as thine, for such nobility of soul? Keep as thine own the arms that have been thy joy, and I send thee back to the spirits and ashes of thy fathers, if they have any care for such things[2].'

The book ends with the death of Mezentius, the last quieting of the savage violence of his soul[3]. Vergil has been censured for calling Mezentius a disdainer of the gods and a tyrant to his people, and yet attributing to him the love for his son and affection for his horse, which add so much pathos to the closing scenes of the tenth book. I venture to think that had the harsher features of Mezentius' character been dwelt upon at length, all the human interest which now attends his fate would have vanished. His cruelty and impiety, now things of the past, were sufficiently indicated before, and it is enough for the poet

[1] Aen. 10. 796 foll.

[2] Ib. 825: 'Quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,
Quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?
Arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua; teque parentum
Manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto."

[3] Ib. 897: 'Ubi nunc Mezentius acer, et illa
Effera vis animi?'

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to mark his character in this context by comparing his furious entrance on the field to the march of the terrible storm-god Orion through the ocean[1]. But Mezentius, though a barbarian and a tyrant, has the feelings of a man; his passionate love of his son is in reality one of the most natural traits in such a character. Who would care to read Herodotus' story of Periander, the son of Cypselus, were his fierceness unredeemed by his love for his son Lycophron? We ought not to deny to Vergil the praise which he deserves for having refused to stain his pages by the coarse portraiture of a monster.

With the death of Pallas on one hand, and that of Lausus and Mezentius on the other, a break naturally occurs in the story of the war. Aeneas has no tenderness for Mezentius as he had for his son: he strips him of his armour, with which he raises a trophy to the god of war[2]. Both sides pause to bury their dead, and at no point in the course of the story, except perhaps at the beginning of the sixth book, does the heroic outline in which Vergil evidently intended to draw the character of Aeneas become more apparent. If confirmation of this view be needed, a careful study of the first hundred and fifty lines of the eleventh book will amply supply it. After the burial scenes we are introduced to the discords long previously existing, and now more openly showing themselves, in the camp of the Latins[3]. Drances especially heads a cry that it is on Turnus' head alone that the responsibility of the war ought to fall, that he should meet Aeneas in single combat if he claim for himself the first honours of the Italian kingdom. Meanwhile, the ambassadors previously sent to ask aid against the Trojans from Diomede return with the gloomy message that their labour has been in vain[4]. Latinus assembles a council, in which he proposes to come to terms with Aeneas and to give the Trojans

[1] Aen. 10. 763:

'Turbidus ingreditur campo. Quam magnus Orion,' etc.

[2] Ib. 11. 5 foll.

[3] Ib. 217 foll.:

'Dirum exsecrantur bellum Turnique hymenaeos;
Ipsum armis, ipsumque iubent decernere ferro,
Qui regnum Italiae et primos sibi poscat honores.
. . . . . .
Multa simul contra variis sententia dictis
Pro Turno,' etc.

[4] Ib. 11. 225 foll.

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a tract of land to settle upon, and to take them into perpetual alliance. The proposal is supported by Drances, to whom Turnus replies in a speech of splendid spirit and eloquence, but full also, as Vergil clearly intends to imply, of the infatuate presumption which is to prove his ruin. He will meet Aeneas, he says, even if he come in the guise of the great Achilles, and, like him, clad in divine armour[1]. The sequel will show how the promise is fulfilled. Meanwhile a panic and confusion arise in the assembly at the reported approach of the Trojan army. Turnus seizes the moment[2] to make further deliberation impossible, and without consultation with his peers hurries from the council and makes his dispositions for a battle. As before, his rude followers are eager for war; as before, Latinus is helpless and compelled to abandon his designs for peace; as before, the war is undertaken without a thought of anything but the desires and ambition of Turnus. The interest of the battle which ensues centres chiefly in the heroic deeds and the death of the virgin Camilla, just as Mezentius was made the central figure in the events described at the end of the tenth book. Camilla slain, the last hope of the Rutulians, Turnus excepted, is gone, and the daring Rutulian leader is compelled at last to consent to meet Aeneas alone, to take the burden of the war on his own shoulders, and to grant peace to his people and to the party opposed to him[3]. His mien is distracted[4], his consent is expressed in language bitter, arrogant, and disdainful. The attempt of Latinus, —who represents that, for love of Turnus and for the tears of Amata, he has broken all bonds of duty, has disobeyed the command of the gods, violated his covenant with Aeneas, and taken

[1] Aen. 11. 438:

> 'Ibo animis contra, vel magnum praestet Achillem
> Factaque Volcani manibus paria induat arma
> Ille licet.'

Like so many other words of Turnus, these recall the words of Hector: in this instance Vergil is probably adapting Il. 20. 371:

> Τοῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀντίος εἶμι καὶ εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικεν,
> Εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικε, μένος δ' αἴθωνι σιδήρῳ.

[2] Ib. 459.

[3] Ib. 12. 1 foll.

[4] Ib. 9:

> 'Haud secus accenso gliscit violentia Turno.
> Tum sic adfatur regem, atque ita turbidus infit:
> Nulla mora in Turno; nihil est, quod dicta retractent
> Ignavi Aeneadae, nec, quae pepigere, recusent.
> Congredior. Fer sacra, pater, et concipe foedus,' etc.

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up arms for impiety,—to dissuade Turnus from entering on the unequal conflict, are in vain[1]. The violence of Turnus increases[2], the disease grows under the attempt to heal it. The queen Amata, terrified at last into submission, follows her husband in the endeavour to persuade Turnus, threatening to die by her own hand[3] if Aeneas (as she too plainly forebodes) prove victorious. But Turnus is on fire with love and rage, and insists, as he cannot but insist, on the agreement being carried out. The arrangements for the treaty are concluded, Aeneas and Latinus ratify it with a solemn oath, and the single combat is about to begin.

But again the wild Rutulians[4] and the leaders friendly to Turnus show that they will be bound by no treaty. When the solemn covenant is concluded they refuse to abide by it; even the Latins, lately so eager for peace, change their minds, and with the help of the nymph Juturna, Turnus' sister, the rude multitude is excited to raise a fresh quarrel. The augur Tolumnius, falsely interpreting an omen which is in reality adverse to him, leads the way in a direct attack upon the Trojans[5]. The battle becomes general, Messapus showing himself conspicuous among the covenant-breakers, and Latinus flies with the gods whose presence has hallowed the treaty. Aeneas acts as becomes him, with bared head and outstretched hand calling to his men to keep the peace[6]. At this moment he is wounded by an unseen hand, and then Turnus, seeing him retreating from the ranks, comes forward not as a peacemaker, but to take advantage of the absence of Aeneas in order to lead a more violent attack upon the Trojans. This is the end of his boasting and his promises, to act as Paris acts in the Iliad when Menelaus is wounded[7]. The battle rages on, till at length Aeneas threatens to destroy the faithless city of Latinus itself. The instincts of

[1] Aen. 12. 29:
'Victus amore tui, cognato sanguine victus,
Coniugis et maestae lacrimis, vincla omnia rupi:
Promissam eripui genero; arma impia sumpsi.'

[2] Ib. 45: 'Haudquaquam dictis violentia Turni
Flectitur; exsuperat magis, aegrescitque medendo.
Ut primum fari potuit,' etc.

[3] Ib. 55: 'Ardentem generum moritura tenebat.'

[4] Ib. 216 foll. [5] Ib. 258 foll. [6] Ib. 311 foll.

[7] Yet Mr. Gladstone (Studies, etc., vol. iii. p. 508) speaks of 'the genuine and

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a soldier awake in Turnus' breast; he resolves at least to go down to the spirits of his ancestors a soul unstained by cowardice[1]. A messenger comes to him to tell him of the coming doom of the city, and to reproach him for his absence from the scene of danger[2]. Turnus is confounded by the distracting view brought before him; shame, madness, love, and conscious manhood shake his bosom with the surging of conflicting passion. At length the shadows break and light returns to his mind; he looks towards the city and sees a tower, which he himself had built, in flames; his resolve is at length made up, the stain of dishonour is to rest upon him no longer, he goes to meet his doom.

II.

Having tried so far to trace the main thread of idea and intention which runs through the Aeneid, I propose to offer a few remarks upon a far harder question, the question, namely, what influence mainly determined Vergil in the treatment of his materials. This part of the subject falls naturally into two heads, the first of which embraces the consideration of the form of the poem, and the second that of the main literary, ethical, and religious conceptions which determined the cast of Vergil's characters and the whole inner side (so to speak) of the story in its development.

First, then, what determined the form in which the Aeneid is written? Vergil is thought of generally as one of the most imitative, perhaps the most imitative, of poets ancient or modern. This is an easy and obvious criticism: it is not however so often asked how this fact came about, whether it is due to Vergil's fault or want of original power, or whether it was an inevitable accident of his time and his general literary surroundings, an accident too which has befallen other poets besides him. I have little hesitation in expressing my opinion that of the two alterna-

manly character of Turnus,' in whom 'we do not find a single trait feeble in itself or unworthy of the masculine idea and intention of the portrait.'

[1] Aen. 12. 646: 'Vos o mihi Manes
Este boni, quoniam Superis aversa voluntas.
Sancta ad vos anima, atque istius inscia culpae
Descendam, magnorum haud unquam indignus avorum.'

[2] Ib. 650 foll.

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tives the latter is the true one. It was impossible for any ancient poet, as it is for any poet or indeed any artist at all, to start with a clear field, to leave the works of his predecessors out of count altogether. An artist, be he poet, painter, architect, or musician must, if he is to be great, have in him the vital power of creation, the spirit of life; but he cannot any the more for this, except at his own peril, disengage himself from the antecedents of his art. This would be to disown the continuity of thought, to reject the glorious inheritance left to him, to waste his labour in perishable and abortive effort. This is especially true, I venture to think, of the two most inward and spiritual of the arts, poetry and music. No one blames Milton for absorbing into his poetry the forms and spirit of classical and Italian writings, or Beethoven for absorbing into his music the forms and spirit of Haydn and Mozart. If Vergil was imitative, he shares that quality with other great artists, and the fact, so far as it goes, is not his reproach but his highest praise. What however strikes and often offends a modern reader in Vergil is not so much that he imitates other poets, but that his imitations seem crude, obvious, and often inappropriate. In numberless instances he gives not merely subtle reminiscences (such as we find in Dante and Milton of Vergil himself) but direct translations from Greek poetry, especially from the Homeric poems, and whole phrases directly transferred from his Roman predecessors, Ennius, Lucretius, and Catullus. Incidents not seldom find a place in Vergil's narrative for no other apparent reason than because they or something like them have occurred in Homer; his similes are often either directly copied with more or less adornment from Homer, or worked up from Homeric material; his very characters seem suggested by those of the Greek Epic cycle, Aeneas representing Achilles; Dido, Calypso; Camilla, Penthesileia; Turnus, Hector and Paris together. Two books in the Aeneid are given to Aeneas' narrative of the fall of Troy, because a considerable space is given in the Odyssey to narratives in like manner incidentally inserted; one book is given to the games held in honour of Anchises, because a book of the Iliad is given to the games held in honour of Patroclus; the descent of Aeneas into Hades recalls the journey of Odysseus to the land of shadows. It is impossible for us now to estimate accurately the amount

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of Vergil's debt to the lost writers of the Epic cycle[1], but several indications seem to show that it was considerable. The relation of parts of the Aeneid to the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius has been admirably discussed in Conington's Introduction to the Aeneid. But it is not only these broad features of the narrative

[1] As far as we can make out from the very scanty materials now existing, Vergil seems to have followed Arctinus more than any other of the cyclic poets. The Aethiopis of that poet contained the arrival of the Amazon Penthesileia, which doubtless suggested to Vergil the introduction of Camilla. See the analysis of Proclus, ap. Welcker, Epischer Cyclus, 2. p. 521, Ἀμαζὼν Πενθεσίλεια παραγίνεται Τρωσὶ συμμαχήσουσα, Ἄρεως μὲν θυγατὴρ Θρᾷσσα δὲ τὸ γένος . . . . Μέμνων δὲ ὁ Ἠοῦς υἱὸς ἔχων ἡφαιστότευκτον πανοπλίαν παραγίνεται τοῖς Τρωσὶ βοηθήσων. The last lines of the description of the picture seen by Aeneas in the temple at Carthage seem a condensed representation of the subjects of the Aethiopis:

'Eoasque acies et nigri Memnonis *arma*.
Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens, mediisque in milibus ardet,' etc.
(Aen. 1. 489).

Dido's question, 'Quibus Aurorae venisset filius *armis?*' (Aen. 1. 751), doubtless refers to the ἡφαιστότευκτος πανοπλία of Memnon. It may perhaps be worth while to notice that Arctinus in the same poem represented Ajax as slaying himself περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον. (Schol. Pind. Isthm. 4. 58, ap. Welcker l. c. p. 525). The same is the case with Dido in the fourth Aeneid (v. 585 foll.), a parallel which would not be worth pressing were it not that the acts and words of Vergil's Dido so often recall those of the Ajax of Sophocles, who would probably use the story of Arctinus as material for his tragedy.

The Ἰλίου πέρσις of Arctinus, so far as we can judge from the bare analysis of Proclus, must have been followed pretty closely in its main outline by Vergil in the second Aeneid. In his account of the debate about the wooden horse Vergil keeps nearer to Arctinus (if Proclus' analysis is to be trusted) than to the Odyssey. Τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖ κατακρημνίσαι αὐτὸν, τοῖς δὲ καταφλέγειν, οἱ δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτὸν ἀνατεθῆναι. The order in which the proposals are mentioned is the same as that given in the second Aeneid (v. 36), and the proposal, mentioned both by Arctinus and Vergil, to burn the horse, is an addition to the account given in Homer. The story of Laocoon as we have it in the second Aeneid, that of Sinon, and that of the murder of Priam by Pyrrhus at the altar of Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος, were all contained in the Ἰλίου πέρσις of Arctinus: and so was that of the death of Deiphobus at the hand of Menelaus, which would well agree with the account supposed to be given by the shade of Deiphobus to Aeneas (Aen. 6. 525). If Welcker be right (Ep. Cycl. 2. p. 235) in saying that the works of Arctinus appear to have been the most considerable among the poems of the Trojan cycle after the Iliad and Odyssey, Vergil may be supposed to have followed him from poetical preference. From the story of the capture of Troy and the Little Iliad of Lesches, Vergil does not seem to have borrowed much: indeed in details, as far as our evidence goes, he seems to have followed an altogether different tradition from that adopted by Lesches, who represented the murder of Priam as occurring not at the altar of Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος, but at the door of his palace: who made Aeneas' wife not Creusa but Eurydice, and who gave Aeneas himself as a captive to Neoptolemus. (Welcker, l. c. p. 538). Pausanias (10. 25 foll.) describes some pictures of the night-battle in Troy at Delphi by Polygnotus, who, he thinks, followed the account given by Lesches. The details of

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which are copied; the spirit of imitation pervades the minutest details of Vergil's execution. To pursue this subject into all its *minutiae* is the duty of a commentator: in considering it generally we need only glance at the literary conditions which made such a state of things not only possible but inevitable. The kind of crude and external imitation which we find in Vergil is characteristic of all the serious Roman poetry: Ennius imitates Homer; Lucretius, Ennius; few pages of Ovid (to say nothing of later poets) are free from imitations of Vergil. Even the Greek poets, free and spontaneous as they are, draw largely upon Homeric ideas and even upon Homeric phrases; a Roman poet, who owed to Greece the whole awakening of his spiritual life, would have considered it little short of madness to desert the Greek models. The only great presentment of heroic times open to Vergil was that of the Homeric poems; it would have seemed impossible for him to cast his epic in any mould but in that of the Iliad and Odyssey. To reproduce their form in Roman outline, use their details, absorb their spirit, surpass if possible their effect, would be his first and most natural ambition[1]. It would not strike a poet of his time as it would a poet of our own that an imitation should be rather suggested than paraded. Complex and (as the phrase is) modern as were the circumstances of Roman society and ideas in Vergil's time, the Roman poets were still simple enough to think that open imitation was rather a grace than a defect. The nobler carrying out of the spirit of imitation, which is now the birthright of every true poet, and which consists in inward reminiscences of the spirit rather than open reproduction of the forms of past poetry, though by no means unknown to Vergil, as we shall see below in the case of his treatment of Lucretius, had not in his time worked its way to exclusive predominance.

these pictures cannot be brought into harmony with Vergil's account of the night-battle in the second Aeneid, nor do the names of the fighters, as a rule, occur there. The love of Coroebus for Cassandra is mentioned (10. 27. 1), so that Conington is probably wrong (on 2. 341) in attributing this part of the story to a mere imitation of Il. 13. 363 foll.

Whether the sixth Aeneid was at all influenced by the account of Hades and its terrors which, according to Pausanias (10. 28. 4), was contained in the *Minyas* and the Νόστοι, cannot be ascertained.

[1] See the beginning of the third Georgic, especially the lines—

'Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas.'

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If, then, Vergil constructed his Aeneid upon the lines of the Greek epic, he did what no Roman poet who wished to rise above the rank of an annalist could have helped doing. As little could he help using to the full the stores of genuine Roman poetry that lay ready to his hand in the works of Ennius and Lucretius. In all this he was acting in strict accordance with the spirit of his age, and indeed of classical antiquity generally; nor is it necessary to dwell longer upon this head. I pass therefore to the consideration of the second point, the main moral and religious conceptions which seem to have determined the cast of the characters and the whole inner side of the development of the story. The form of the Aeneid is that of the Greek epic; not so, however, the cast of the principal thoughts which underlie it. These are partly Greek, partly Roman; but when Greek represent rather the traditions of the Attic stage and (I venture to think in some cases) of the writings called Orphic than of the Homeric poems.

We have seen that the main conception of the Aeneid is that of the conquering and civilizing power of Rome directed by a divine providence: resistance to this divinely-ordered course of events being represented as the work of inferior deities, rude races, and the baser human passions. It may be said that to a great extent Vergil works out this theme in accordance with the ideas which inspired the great masters of the Athenian stage. The deeper and more religious view of the conflict of individual inclination with the divine will which is presented, according to their different manners, by Aeschylus and Sophocles, and though in a less marked manner by Euripides, was impossible to the simplicity of the Homeric times. The reign of mythology was, in the age of the Attic drama, past, and that of thought had begun, or, in other words, mythology gave the form and thought the matter to the creative power of the poet. This is precisely the case with the mythology of the Aeneid in its relation to the inner ideas of the poem. Imitations and reminiscences of the great Greek tragedians may be noticed by any one who reads Vergil with a good commentary, nor can I do better than refer anyone who wishes for a text, from which to work out this subject, to Conington's note on Aen. 4. 469 [1],

[1] 'Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus
Et solem geminum et duplicis se ostendere Thebas;

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where Vergil, with the utmost beauty and delicacy of his manner, expresses the sense of his debt to the Athenian drama. I wish, however, to call attention to a broader fact than this; to the fact, namely, which I think becomes abundantly clear to the student of Vergil, that the spirit of the whole action and play of character in the Aeneid is very like the spirit which animates the action and play of character with which the Greek tragedy has made us familiar. The plot involves the resistance of individual passion and inclination to the more widely-reaching divine purpose; human passion bent on its own fulfilment in contempt of the gods, and ending, as it can only end, in infatuation and ruin. This main idea is in the strict sense of the word tragic, and Vergil has worked it out with all the dignity and purity of Sophocles.

To illustrate these remarks I must dwell for a few moments on the episode of Dido. The Carthaginian queen is brought

Aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes
Armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris
Cum fugit, ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.'

I quote the following remarks from Conington's admirable note on this passage: 'Virgil must be judged by his own standard; and there is nothing inconsistent with that standard in supposing that the Pentheus of his thoughts was the Pentheus of Euripides, the Orestes of Aeschylus. He doubtless felt that it was to the stage that he owed the glorious vision of their madness, and he was glad to make the acknowledgment. It is this feeling which dictates the presents, "videt," "fugit," "sedent." The frenzy of the Theban and the Argive is not a thing of the past, embalmed in legend; it is constantly repeating itself; it is present as often as the Bacchae or the Eumenides are acted, read, or remembered.'

Mr. Gladstone (Studies, etc., vol. iii. p. 516 foll.) censures Vergil for confusing the Hellenes with the Pelasgi and the Dorians, the Trojans with the Dardanians and Phrygians, the Simois with the Scamander, and other departures from the nomenclature of the Iliad. Most of these confusions, if they are such, find parallels in the works of the Greek tragedians, which, considering how much these poets drew upon the traditions of the Epic cycle, may point to variations of nomenclature earlier than the age of the Attic drama. An instance or two may be quoted. The epithet Δωρὶς stands for Greek in general in Euripides, Troades 233, *δοῦλαι γὰρ δὴ Δωρίδος ἐσμὲν χθονὸς ἤδη*, comp. Hecuba 450: *Πελασγικὸν στράτευμα* for the Greek army in Euripides, Phoenissae 106: *Δαρδάνιος* for Trojan in the Troades 534, 816, 840, comp. Helena 1493: *Φρύγες* is applied by Sophocles to the Trojans, Ajax 1054, and in a fragment of the *Λάκαιναι* (338 in Nauck's fragments of the Greek tragedians: see also the references given by Nauck on fragm. 336); by Euripides, Hecuba 4 and elsewhere, sometimes, as in Vergil, with the implication of effeminacy. As to the Simois and the Scamander, it may be observed that Aeschylus and Sophocles never mention the Simois, but that in Euripides this river is oftener mentioned than the Scamander. Other details of this kind have been dealt with by Conington in his commentary.

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before us in the first book. From the first her character and lineaments have the mark of true royalty[1]. Beautiful as Diana she appears passing through the midst of her people, her thoughts bent eagerly on her kingdom that is to be[2], and sitting down in the midst of her armed body-guard to give laws and ordinances to her subjects. The ambassadors of Aeneas appear asking for her protection from fire and sword: with queenly generosity she at once acknowledges the greatness of the Trojan leader, and offers his followers either a safe escort to Sicily or a share in her own city and kingdom. Aeneas appears: his mien, his kingly expression of gratitude[3], and the greatness of his misfortune move her to the noble avowal, 'I too have been hurried hither and thither by a like Fortune through many struggles, before she willed that I should at length settle on this land: I know what evil is and learn to succour the miserable[4].' An interchange of magnificent presents follows, after the fashion of the heroic ages; then, by the agency of Juno and Venus, the queen is devoted to a deeper passion; woman-like, she is moved by the gifts of Aeneas and the beauty of his supposed son[5], whose form Cupid has assumed. But leaving Cupid and his mythology, Vergil soon returns to nature. It is the exploits of Aeneas and the dangers he has passed which move the queen[6]. She asks again and again of Paris and Hector and the heroic story, the divinely-fashioned arms of Memnon, the horses of Diomede, the stature of Achilles; nor is she content until Aeneas has told her at length the story of the fall of Troy and his wanderings that followed.

The tale of heroic suffering and achievement does its work, the queen is no longer herself[7], the constancy of her mind is shaken. She sees before her eyes the possibility of a falling away from her first love; the thought is like madness to her, and she invokes the curse of Heaven upon her head if she forget her

[1] Aen. 1. 496: 'Regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,
Incessit.'
[2] Ib. 504: 'Instans operi regnisque futuris.'
[3] Ib. 597.
[4] Ib. 628: 'Me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores
Iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra.
Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.'
[5] Ib. 714. [6] Ib. 749. [7] Ib. 4. 8: 'Male sana.'

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honour and her truth[1]. Her sister dispels her doubts by a plea which Dido, as a queen, cannot resist. She has not yielded, and perhaps would not yield, to mere personal passion; but when Anna represents to her that a union with Aeneas will mean the union of the Tyrian and Trojan empires, and the great increase of the glory of Carthage[2], she gives way, and her fate is sealed from that moment. In the true spirit of tragic irony Vergil represents Dido and her sister as sacrificing to win the favour of Heaven, from which she has just invoked a curse on her faithlessness; and to what gods does she sacrifice? To Ceres, Apollo, and Lyaeus, the deities presiding over the foundation of cities and the giving of laws, when she is forgetting her duty as a queen; to Juno the goddess of marriage, when she is forgetting her faith to her husband[3]. The passion works until the queen forgets her people and the defence of her kingdom; the well-known story unfolds itself, until at length Aeneas is awakened from his dream by the express message of Heaven, and remembers that his mission is not to help in the foundation of Carthage. The commands of the gods and the spectral appearances of his father Anchises recall him to his high purpose; he conquers the love which has hitherto mastered him, and prepares to start on his now unwelcome mission[4]. One end only is possible for the devoted queen. Her entreaties, her reproaches against Aeneas and the gods are in vain; Aeneas is unmoved and stands firm in his obedience. The last stages of the story

[1] Aen. 4. 24:
'Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
Vel Pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
Pallentis umbras Erebi noctemque profundam,
Ante, Pudor, quam te violo, aut tua iura resolvo.'

[2] Ib. 47:
'Quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna
Coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis
Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!'

[3] I cannot but regard this as the most natural explanation of the lines (Aen. 4. 57):
'Mactant lectas de more bidentis
Legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo.'
The materials for the interpretation are given in Conington's note, though he has not himself adopted it. As he points out, 'legiferae' is a translation of θεσμοφόρος, a title of Demeter (Hdt. 6. 91, etc.): 'Apollo again is known to have been celebrated as the founder of cities . . . . and Dionysus, like Demeter, was called θεσμοφόρος (Orph. H. 41. 1).'

[4] See notes on p. 12.

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are like a working out of the ἄτη of the Greek tragedy. The gods themselves lend their aid in bringing about the ruin of the victim of guilt. Omens and dreams[1] warn the unhappy queen; the sacrificial wine turns to blood, the consciousness of her falling away from husband and country images itself in visions of the night, when she seems to hear the voice of Sychaeus calling her, to be fleeing before Aeneas in savage guise, to be looking for her people in a desert land, pursued by furies and madness, like Orestes by the image of his mother. Then, bent upon death, she deceives her sister by the pretence that she will have recourse to magic arts. Nothing is more touching and life-like than the speech[2] in which she announces this intention, dwelling, as a relief from the cruel tension of her thoughts, on every detail of the witch's power, the stopping of rivers, the turning of the stars in their courses, the raising of the dead, the bellowing of the earthquake, and the descending of trees from the mountains. We pass over the departure of Aeneas, the agony of the queen, and the curse uttered by her which is fulfilled in the great struggle between Rome and Carthage, to notice, before leaving this part of the story, one more touch of Vergil's genius. Before the moment of her death Dido casts off the pangs and distractions of her last days and returns upon the great thoughts by which she has lived. 'I have built a glorious city, I have seen the walls that my hands have raised, I have avenged my husband and exacted the penalty which my brother's hate deserved[3].'

The episode of Dido is worked out very much in the spirit of the Greek tragedy, the confused moral conflicts of which it thoroughly recalls[4]. It is the struggle of individual passion against the will of Heaven that Vergil intends to represent;

[1] Aen. 4. 450 foll. [2] Ib. 478 foll.

[3] Ib. 653 foll.:

'Vixi, et, quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi;
Et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
Urbem praeclaram statui; mea moenia vidi;
Ulta virum, poenas inimico a fratre recepi,' etc.

[4] Among the external points of resemblance between the fourth Aeneid and the Greek drama may be noticed, v. 607, 'Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,' which recalls the great speech of Ajax in Sophocles: the phrase, 'Di morientis Elissae,' v. 610, with which we may perhaps compare αὐτὴ τὸν αὑτῆς δαίμον' ἀνακαλουμένη, said of Deianira in the Trachiniae 910; the fatal use of the sword of Aeneas, which reminds us of the ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα of Sophocles.

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the kind of struggle represented in the Ajax and the Trachiniae of Sophocles, where the loser loses and the winner wins without any end being served except the assertion of superior power. The real difficulty which a modern reader finds in realizing such situations is that we are accustomed and expect to see the right prevail and the wrong beaten; but this is not the spirit of the Greek tragedy, where it seems as if the natural moral feelings were playing blindly around undiscovered centres, where the powers at work are not commensurate with our ideas of the powers of right and the reverse, and where the righteous issue, as we understand it, is only dimly discerned, if discerned at all, by the straining eye. Dido falls, like Ajax or Heracles, for no offence commensurate in our eyes with the punishment which comes upon her. Yet I think it is clear that Vergil has no intention of exciting such a sympathy with her fate as a modern reader necessarily feels, and as a modern writer, were he handling the story, would wish to excite. Aeneas sins, not by leaving her, but by staying with her: the will of the gods once clear, he has, according to ancient ideas, no alternative. Dido has indeed fallen away from the first love to which she has devoted herself; this fact is never lost sight of in the course of the narrative, and so far Vergil has perhaps gone beyond the ordinary limits of the Greek tragedy in the direction of modern ideas; some sort of justification for the event, in the modern sense, may be said to be offered. But the impression left by the fourth Aeneid as a whole is that Vergil, though the general treatment of the story is adapted to the requirements of the epic, is at the same time using, and sympathetically using, the great ideas of the Greek drama in the advantage of the Roman story. The gods have determined on the foundation of the Roman power in Italy by the hand of Aeneas; resistance to this from the side of human passion leads only to infatuation and death. The fact that the story harrows the feelings and rivets the attention of a modern reader does not prove that the poet had any idea of condemning the conduct of Aeneas, except in so far as he forgets his mission by allying himself, against the oracles, with a foreign queen.

That such an act as the desertion of Dido should be attributed to a hero of the cast of Aeneas is quite in keeping with the spirit of the post-Homeric legend, in which the element of

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passion and the part played by women is generally prominent[1]. Vergil indeed could hardly have absorbed the spirit of the Greek drama as he wished to absorb it had the Aeneid lacked some such episode as that of Dido. It may be readily admitted that his execution, whether owing to the fact that the Aeneid remained unfinished, or to the excessive bent of the poet's mind towards detail, appears to a modern reader, who brings his own critical canons to the consideration of an ancient work, imperfect; the heroic conception of Aeneas which Vergil evidently intended to realize is, at least to our ideas, not fully realized. Yet we must remember that our canons of criticism are not those of the Augustan age. I do not recollect any passage in the writings of any author contemporary with Vergil, or even in Quintilian, where there is even a hint of the kind of censures which modern criticism is fond of passing on the 'character of Aeneas.' The primary purpose of the Aeneid, like that of the other great works of imagination in whose mould it is cast, is in truth not so much to delineate 'character' as to exhibit the conflict of forces. The drawing of character is with Vergil, as with the Greek tragedians, a secondary matter, in however masterly a way it may incidentally be executed.

The same conception, that of unmastered passion, in opposition to the fixed ordaining of Heaven, first vainly beating against its bars and then ending in distraction and madness, is apparent again in Vergil's treatment of two other subordinate characters, Turnus and Amata. In the last half of the Aeneid these play a part in the economy of the story somewhat similar to that played by Dido in the first half, representing the elements of contradiction to the divine economy. The character of Amata and her fate recall the spirit of the Greek tragedy as vividly as anything in the poem; with Amata, as with Dido, uncontrolled passion ends in mere distraction[2]. Of Turnus so much has already been said that I need only add a word here upon the

[1] It is sufficient to refer to the cases of Theseus, Jason, Heracles, and Agamemnon.

[2] Aen. 7. 376: 'Tum vero infelix, ingentibus excita monstris,
Immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem.'
Compare the description of Dido 4. 300. There are other verbal resemblances in Vergil's description of the two characters, as between 4. 308, 'Nec *moritura tenet* crudeli funere Dido,' and 12. 55, 'ardentem generum *moritura tenebat*.'

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inner side of Vergil's delineation. Turnus is 'violent' in his outward dealings: and as his ruin draws near the growth of inner discord of mind and the maddening agency of the gods working upon this become more and more apparent, till at length his manhood and presence of mind seem to desert him. From the beginning of the twelfth book this progress may be clearly traced. 'Turbidus,' 'violentia,' 'furiae,' these are the words applied to him [1] when he is preparing for his last conflict: when the treaty is broken and his cause again defeated madness and infatuation begin [2]. His final determination to meet Aeneas is announced with an appearance of boldness, but he is no sooner unsuccessful than he is altogether mastered by fear. 'Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat;' a terrible messenger is sent by Jupiter to end the matter. It is not the words of Aeneas, he says, that move him, but the gods and the enmity of Jupiter [3]. Now he does not know himself as he runs or walks, his arms refuse to obey him, he is like a man trying to move and speak in a dream, his limbs and tongue fail, his bodily strength is gone, his thoughts turn wildly in his brain, he gazes now on the Rutulians, now on the city, hesitating from fear and trembling at the approaching stroke. Again the feelings of the reader are moved with pity: again however I venture to think that Vergil has no intention but to show, with all the resources of his poetical power, the effects of a wilful resistance to the commands of Heaven. It is the story of ἄτη in a Roman form.

I have endeavoured, however imperfectly, to indicate the main ethical conception underlying the story of the Aeneid as developed by Vergil, if indeed this conception of human life is not rather to be termed religious. Certain other religious

[1] Aen. 12. 9, 10, 102. 'Furiae' might stand sometimes as a translation of ἄτη, sometimes of οἶστρος or λύσσα.

[2] Ib. 622: 'Sic ait, adductisque amens subsistit habenis.'

Compare 665: 'Obstupuit varia confusus imagine rerum
Turnus, et obtutu tacito stetit; aestuat amens
Uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
Et furiis agitatus amor, et conscia virtus.
Ut primum discussae umbrae et lux reddita menti,
Ardentis oculorum orbis ad moenia torsit
Turbidus.'

[3] Ib. 894 foll.

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ideas, Roman and Greek, which appear to have had a hold on the imagination of Vergil, may now be mentioned.

Whether from conviction, or from an undefined feeling that the symbolisms offered by the positive aspects of religion were fitter for poetical treatment than the bare rationalizings of the Epicureans, or from both causes, there can be little doubt that the bent of Vergil's mind was towards a sensible object of worship, whether embodied in mythology or in the Roman state-religion. 'If he is happy who has cast all religious fears and the howl of greedy Acheron under his feet, so is he too blessed by fortune who can commune with the country gods, Pan and Silvanus and the sister nymphs[1].' And as Vergil in this passage showed, in his poetical way, that his fancy refused to be bound in the prison and darkened by the shadows of the gloom which the soul of Lucretius had chosen as its companions, so in the Aeneid we may, I think, trace a reaction against the negation of all positive religious observance (I do not say creed, for the Greek and Roman religion was far more an observance than a creed) which was the natural outcome of the Epicurean philosophy. If the Georgics give a poetical colouring to the primitive nature-worship which was the foundation of the Greek and the Roman religion alike; if to Vergil the country is the abode of Pan, Ceres, and the Nymphs, and every implement, every process of cultivation, has its tutelary deity; if the first duty of the husbandman is to venerate the country gods, his kindly protectors; so in the Aeneid we find a poetical treatment of the broader religious conceptions embodied outwardly in the ritual of the Roman state. In the eyes of men of letters, like Varro and Cicero, this public religion was the outward representation of the belief that a Providence governed the progress of the Roman empire. This essentially Roman idea, to which allusion has been made above, was in fact the mainspring of the Aeneid: no wonder then if we find abundant indications that the revival of the Roman state-religion under Augustus was dear to the heart of Vergil. At his time, the forms of the old republic were breaking up and melting into the uniform outline of a monarchical system, and *pari passu* the multitudinous floating religious ideas, Greek,

[1] G. 2. 490 foll.

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Roman, and Eastern, which filled the atmosphere of thought, were moving to a definite centre in the worship of the Caesars. It is a mistake of modern interpretation to attribute to a spirit of mere flattery the passages in Vergil and Horace which encourage this new form of religious observance. However difficult it may be to explain the origin of the *cultus* of the Caesars[1], there can be little doubt that it arose from a genuine popular sentiment[2]. What seems to modern sentiment a tasteless falsehood seemed, apparently, to the religious or superstitious temper of the congeries of nations then forming the Roman world, a not unnatural development; the exclusive religion of the Roman republic, which refused, so long as it could, an entrance to foreign worships, and the spirit of which was directly opposed to the deification of a man[3], was dissolving, and the worship of Divus Julius once called into life in popular feeling and observance, the

[1] I quote on this point an interesting passage from an article by H. Jordan in the Hermes, vol. ix. part 3, on the temple of Divus Julius: 'Wir haben die Weihung des Tempel und Bild als einen aus der Initiative des Octavian (und seinen Collegen im Triumvirat) hervorgegangenen ausserordentlichen Act kennen gelernt. Undenkbar ist es, dass er—es handelt sich hier um die Consecrirung des *locus publicus*—ohne Mitwirkung des Pontificalcollegiums vollzogen wurde, welchem Octavian bereits zu Lebzeiten Cäsars angehörte. Auch muss man im Schosse derselben erwogen haben, welcher Klasse der neue Gott angehöre: die Bestimmung der Opfer, die ganze *lex templi* forderte das. Über alles das schweigt die Geschichte, nur dass sie die Aufnahme der griechischen Asylie in die *lex* nicht undeutlich bezeugt. Es genügt aber nicht, die Anknüpfung an den griechischen Heroencultus hervorzuheben, und es ist falsch den Genius herbeizuziehen. Der Genius des Lebenden, nicht des Todten wird verehrt, und die vorkommenden Fälle der Verehrung der Genien der verstorbenen Kaiser gehören in die ganz eigene Lehre von dem Cultus der Genien der Götter, der *αἰεὶ ζῶοντες*. Nun hatte man schon einmal, vermuthlich um den zweiten Punischen Krieg, den Fall gehabt: dem Romulus widerfuhr die Ehre der Tempeldedication, also der Aufnahme unter die Götter. Erwägt man den Parallelismus des Asylum auf dem Capitol und im Tempel des Caesars, die Neigung der Machthaber seit Sulla sich dem Stadtgründer zu vergleichen, so mag es wahrscheinlich erscheinen, dass der vergötterte Romulus an dem vergötterten Cäsar seinen nächsten Genossen im himmlischen Reich erhielt.'

[2] See for instance Suetonius Julius 85: 'Plebs . . . solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit scripsitque *Parenti Patriae.* Apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere perseveravit.'

[3] See for instance Cicero (Philippics I. 6. 13) expressing the old republican sentiment: 'Fuerit ille Brutus, qui et ipse regio dominatu rempublicam liberavit, et ad similem virtutem et simile factum stirpem iam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit, adduci tamen non possem ut quemquam mortuum coniungerem cum immortalium religione.'

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flexible servility of Greek paganism[1], which found it easy and natural to invest any benefactor of mankind with divine or quasi-divine honours, united with Oriental extravagance and Roman devotion in offering homage to the visible centre of Roman greatness, and thus virtually bowing to the spirit of the Roman religion in its new embodiment. In this point of view it is also interesting to trace how Vergil throws a poetic lustre in the eighth Aeneid round the Roman worship of Hercules, the god whom the Stoics, now the supporters of Roman orthodoxy, delighted to honour[2], and whose merits Lucretius[3], on the other hand, postpones to those of Epicurus; how he mentions the wild Bacchanalian frenzy and the arts of magic in contests which imply distinct censure[4]; how the one foreign deity whom the genuine Roman religion admitted, Cybele, the mother of the gods and the friend of flourishing cities, is made the friend and protector of Aeneas[5]; how the poet represents it as one of the chief parts of Aeneas' mission to revive in Italy the lawful Roman religion, the worship of the Penates of Troy, Italian, according to the legend adopted by Vergil, in their origin[6]; how the battle of Antonius with Augustus is represented on the shield of Aeneas as the battle also of Roman against barbarian deities[7]; how prophetic allusions are made to the restorations of temples by Augustus; how the climax of the prophecy is reached in the conquest by Rome of the nations of the earth, and the dedication of their spoils at the temple of the Palatine Apollo[8].

But the state-religion of Rome, imposing as were its conception and its embodiment, was not alone sufficient to satisfy the

[1] Cicero 2 Verr. 2. 65. 158: 'Apud omnes Graecos hic mos est, ut honorem hominibus habitum in monumentis eiusmodi (statues, etc.) nonnulla religione deorum consecrari arbitrentur.'

[2] On this point see Bernays, Die Heraklitischen Briefe, p. 45.

[3] Lucretius 5. 22 foll. Contrast Verg. Aen. 8. 185:

'Non haec sollemnia nobis,
. . . . .
Vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum
Imposuit.'

[4] Aen. 4. 300, 492; 7. 385. [5] Ib. 9. 80; 10. 251. [6] Ib. 3. 167; 7. 240. [7] Ib. 8. 698. [8] Ib. 6. 69; 8. 720; 12. 840.

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aspirations of the higher and more poetical minds in the age of Augustus. The condition of man after death was a problem which had occupied the fears, hopes, and imaginations of mankind since the simple conceptions of the Homeric poems had expanded and deepened with the centuries into the more serious ethical ideas of later speculation [1]. The popular religion of the Greeks and Romans acknowledged a future life; the mysteries of Eleusis, if they taught no ascertainable doctrine, must at least, by the spectacles shown to the initiated, have awakened or kept alive the fears and hopes of their votaries on this subject [2]; the traditions which go under the name of Orphic, whatever their origin, appear to have contained ideas which took root both in poetry and in philosophy.

[1] See for instance Plautus Captivi 5. 421, where the slave says—

> 'Vidi ego multa saepe picta, quae Acherunti fierent
> Cruciamenta.'

The fierce invective of the third book of Lucretius is really evidence for, not against, a widely-spread belief in immortality among his countrymen. The ordinary funeral rites and the cultus of the Manes point the same way.

[2] The theory that any definite doctrine was communicated at the Eleusinia has, I suppose, been generally given up since the appearance of Lobeck's Aglaophamus. The passages however which Lobeck quotes, and others have quoted, from Pindar, Sophocles, and Isocrates seem to me to justify the assertion made in the text, and to show that the *θέα* or spectacle which, as far as our evidence reaches, seems to have formed the main element in the Eleusinia, included some reference to the future life. I give the passages from Lobeck, Aglaophamus, p. 69.

Pindar fragm. (*Θρῆνοι* 8 (102) Dissen):

> *Ὄλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν ἐκεῖνα κοίλαν εἶσιν ὑπὸ χθόνα·*
> *οἶδεν μὲν βιότου τελευτὰν,*
> *οἶδεν δὲ διόσδοτον ἀρχάν.*

Sophocles fragm. (753 Nauck):

> *ὦ τρισόλβιοι*
> *κεῖνοι βροτῶν, οἳ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη*
> *μόλωσ' ἐς Ἅιδου· τοῖσδε γὰρ μόνοις ἐκεῖ*
> *ζῆν ἐστί· τοῖς δ' ἄλλοισι πάντ' ἐκεῖ κακά.*

Isocrates Panegyr. p. 48 (*τελετὴ*) *ἧς οἱ μετέχοντες περί τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι.* Cicero Legg. 2. 14. 36, translates this last passage: 'Nam mihi cum multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenae tuae peperisse, tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus. Initiaque ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitae cognovimus, neque solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi.' I quote this passage merely as showing that the way in which literary men viewed the Eleusinia did not alter from the time of Isocrates to that of Cicero. 'Die Eleusinien,' says Zeller, 'waren . . . von wesentlicher Bedeutung für den Zustand nach dem Tode' (Philosophie d. Griechen, i. p. 54).

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Philosophers, if we except the Epicureans and the schools which they represented, gave encouragement on the whole to one or other of the popular forms in which a belief in the future world was manifested, and by the time which we are now considering the air was full of fancies and theories, some crude and popular, others in various degrees philosophical, on the state of mankind after death. Popular, as apart from philosophical speculation, appears to have taken two distinct lines in this matter from a very early time. On the one hand, we find the simple idea of a retribution in another world for the course of life, good or evil, pursued in this. This idea is not developed, indeed we hardly find the germs of it, in the Homeric poems, but by the time of Plato it had assumed considerable clearness and consistency, and was from thenceforward the common inheritance of literature. Side by side with this idea was another less popular and simple, the origin of which in Greece is obscure, but which was old enough to have enchained the imagination of Pindar and Empedocles, —the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. This theory was capable of a popular form (if indeed it was not, as Lobeck and Zeller think, derived from the hierophants of the Orphic mysteries[1]), but it was capable also of filiation from the philosophical doctrine of the *anima mundi*, or the unity of spirit pervading all forms of existence. Taken strictly, the doctrine of

[1] See the chapter *De migratione Animarum* in Lobeck's Aglaophamus (p. 795 foll.), and for a general treatment of this question Zeller, Philosophie der Griechen, i. p. 53–61.

The following passages from the fragments of the *Θρῆνοι* of Pindar are worth quoting as throwing light on the sixth Aeneid. The references are to Dissen's edition.

Fragm. 2 (96):

Ὀλβίᾳ δ' ἅπαντες αἴσᾳ λυσίπονον [μετανίσσονται] τελευτάν.
καὶ σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἕπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ,
ζωὸν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἴδωλον· τὸ γάρ ἐστι μόνον
ἐκ θεῶν.

Fragm. 4 (98):

Οἷσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος
δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὕπερθεν ἅλιον κείνων ἐνάτῳ ἔτεϊ
ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν.
ἐκ τᾶν βασιλῆες ἀγαυοὶ καὶ σθένει κραιπνοὶ σοφίᾳ τε μέγιστοι
ἄνδρες αὔξοντ'· ἐς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥρωες ἁγνοὶ πρὸς ἀν-
θρώπων καλεῦνται.

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transmigration was incommensurate with, if not contradictory to, the theory of eternal rewards and punishments and a localized Elysium and Tartarus, which we find, taken probably from the popular beliefs among which he lived, in the myths with which Plato concludes his Gorgias, Phaedo, and Republic. Yet we find that not only Pindar, from whom, as a poet, consistency cannot be exacted, but Plato, in his expositions on this subject, unite the two theories without seriously attempting any reconciliation of them[1]. The inconsistency recurs in an embarrassing shape in Vergil's sixth Aeneid; but to blame the poet for it would be to ignore the whole of his literary antecedents. The two lines of thought were ready to his hand, each far-reaching and profound, irreconcilable only as definite propositions on such matters are apt to become, because starting each from acknowledged facts they find their meeting beyond the point where our vision can follow them; one based on the unity of existence, the other on the separation of individual beings; each requiring a moral completion which could be supplied by the other; each sublime and capable of raising the poetic fancy. That Vergil should have embodied both in his sixth Aeneid is only what we should have expected of him. More than any other poet, Vergil was careful to let no idea escape him which is capable of poetic treatment. Accordingly, we find the first part of the sixth Aeneid taken up with the mythological form of the popular beliefs; the neutral region assigned to those whose life had been cut off, without fault of their own, before its time[2]; the region of eternal punishment

[1] For instance in the Phaedo and at the end of the Republic. It is worth while to quote here what Zeller says of Empedocles (Philosophie, etc. i. p. 653): 'Anders verhält es sich mit gewissen religiösen Lehren und Vorschriften, welche theils dem dritten Buche des physikalischen Lehrgedichts, theils und besonders den Katharmen entnommen, mit den wissenschaftlichen Grundsätzen unseres Physikers in keiner sichtbaren Verbindung stehen . . . Liegen aber auch seine religiösen und seine physikalischen Lehren in Einer Richtung, so hat es doch unser Philosoph unterlassen, einen wissenschaftlichen Zusammenhang zwischen ihnen herzustellen, oder auch nur ihre Vereinbarkeit nachzuweisen.' (p. 657), 'Es bleibt mithin nur die Annahme übrig, er habe die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung, und was damit zusammenhängt, aus der orphisch-pythagoräischen Überlieferung aufgenommen, ohne diese Glaubensartikel mit seinen an einem andern Ort und in einem anderen Zusammenhang vorgetragenen philosophischen Überzeugungen wissenschaftlich zu verknüpfen.'

[2] This seems the simplest explanation of the fact that the souls of infants are represented in Vergil as on the threshold of Orcus, succeeded next by those of suicides,

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and the abode of the blessed. Then Anchises is introduced[1] expounding the sublime doctrine that one spirit pervades all existence and all forms of life, that individual lives derive from this their separate being, that the body is a prison-house, death the liberation from it, that guilt is purged after death until the flame of heavenly aether is left pure, that after this purgation the emancipated soul returns again to its embodiment on earth. The whole picture is unfinished, but it is impossible not to recognize that in its main outlines the conception is that embodied in the myths of Plato. The ordinary popular mythology is put side by side with the doctrine of transmigration, and the reader is left to harmonize them as he can. His logical instincts may not be satisfied, but more than satisfaction is given to his imagination.

The introduction of the doctrines of transmigration and purification suggest at once a relation between the sixth Aeneid and the traditions which went in Greece by the name of Orphic; a relation which may be shown to exist, I think, by other details. It has been noticed as a strange fact that Vergil makes no mention of Homer either in the sixth Aeneid, where he well might have done so (as Silius in his thirteenth book afterwards did) or elsewhere. The difficulty may, I think, be partly explained by the consideration that Vergil evidently felt him-

of the unjustly condemned, of the victims of unrequited love, and of warriors fallen in battle. (Aen. 6. 425 foll.) There are traces of a notion that a full term of life ended by a natural or honourable or happy death was a necessary condition of a complete admission into the under-world. The ghost in Plautus' Mostellaria (2. 2. 67) says: 'Nam me Acheruntem recipere Orcus noluit, Quia praemature vita careo.' Compare Vergil's language about Dido at the end of the fourth book: 'Nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat, Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem Abstulerat,' etc. Tertullian de Anima (56) says: 'Aiunt et immatura morte praeventas eo usque vagari istic, donec reliquatio compleatur aetatum quas tum pervixissent si non intempestive obiissent.' Vergil seems to have been influenced by some idea of this kind. The lines 6. 431–434,—

> 'Nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes:
> Quaesitor Minos urnam movet; ille silentum
> Conciliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit,'—

stand in no intelligible relation to the context in which our tradition has placed them. They would be far better in place after v. 627.

[1] Aen. 6. 724 foll. Lobeck in the chapter above quoted has noticed the Orphic character of this passage: the word *rota* for circle of time (v. 748) seems, although Servius says 'rotam volvere' is 'sermo Ennianus,' to recall the use of the Greek *κύκλος* or *τρόχος* in the same sense, as Lobeck observes.

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self more indebted to the Orphic than to the Homeric poems. From the Homeric poems indeed he borrowed an infinite mass of detail and outward adornment; but for those deeper ideas which gave fuller satisfaction to his contemplative and religious temper he would search them in vain. The two bards whom he mentions by name in the sixth Aeneid are Orpheus and Musaeus[1]. The story of Orpheus had fascinated his imagination before he wrote the sixth Aeneid[2]; but the motive, so to speak, of his mentioning them there seems to have been their connection with the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries. Athenian tradition commonly spoke of the two priestly poets together, and though the Orphic mysteries were distinct from those of Eleusis, the later Greek representations of the underworld constantly exhibit points of association with both. To these mysteries then the sixth Aeneid may be said to stand in a poetical relation. The story of the initiation of Heracles (see note on p. 13) at Eleusis may well have been present to Vergil's thoughts, as there can be no doubt that in more than one point he represents Aeneas here as Heracles' counterpart[3]. In general

[1] Aen. 6. 645, 667. In Plato's Apology, 41, Socrates wishes *Ὀρφεῖ ξυγγενέσθαι καὶ Μουσαίῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ*. For the connection of the names of Orpheus and Musaeus with the under-world see Plato Republic, 2. p. 364 E. In his tenth book (c. 28) Pausanias describes a picture which he saw at Delphi by Polygnotus, representing the descent of Odysseus into Hades. It is hardly possible to make out any minute resemblance between the scenes given in this picture and those of the sixth Aeneid, especially as from Pausanias' description it is difficult to gather the arrangement of the different departments of the picture. It is clear however that the painter combined elements of the Eleusinian and Orphic traditions with the mythology of the eleventh Odyssey. Parricide and sacrilege are represented as punished; among the figures described are Orpheus (with other poets, but not Homer) and a maiden Cleoboea, who *ἔχει ἐν τοῖς γόνασι κιβωτὸν ὁποίας ποιεῖσθαι νομίζουσι Δημητρί*. Among the figures represented as suffering punishment are some whom Pausanias conjectured to be *τῶν τὰ δρώμενα Ἐλευσῖνι ἐν οὐδενὸς θεμένων λόγῳ· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαιότεροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελετὴν τὴν Ἐλευσινίαν πάντων, ὁπόσα ἐς εὐσέβειαν ἥκει, τοσούτῳ ἦγον ἐντιμότερον ὅσῳ καὶ θεοὺς ἔμπροσθεν ἡρώων*. Musaeus was 'ein vorzüglich attischer und eleusinischer Dichter, sowohl was den Inhalt der ihm zugeschriebenen Orakel betrifft als hinsichtlich der übrigen Poesieen und Traditionen' (Preller, Griechische Mythologie, vol. ii. p. 294). Teuffel's assertion (Geschichte der Röm. Litteratur, 2. p. 494), that the sixth Aeneid is a mere copy of the eleventh Odyssey, is surprising.

[2] See the end of the fourth Georgic.

[3] Thus Heracles was represented as wishing to strike the ghosts with his sword, as Aeneas is, Aen. 6. 293.

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it may be said the sixth Aeneid reflects in a poetry rare, exquisite, luminous, majestic, the tangled growth of ideas, mythical, mystical, and philosophical, which had sprung up between the times represented by the Odyssey and those of Vergil, and that it would have been quite impossible for a poet of the Augustan age to have returned to the simpler notions of the Homeric period.

Before bringing these remarks to a close it may be observed that the sixth Aeneid shows signs of the tacit protest against Lucretius of which the great passage in the second Georgic gives, as it were, the keynote. In several points of form Vergil, in the book which we are now considering, draws his materials from the third book of Lucretius, and it is instructive to observe how he has used them. Lucretius, writing with fierce vehemence against the current notions of immortality, reduces the terrors of the unseen world to the tortures of conscience felt in this world; the restless passions and alarms of life, the diseases of the mind, have their origin, says he, in the fear of death, and with that fear they can be extirpated. Vergil adopts the expressions of Lucretius[1], but personifies his ideas: the gates of hell, which to Lucretius are a metaphor, are to Vergil a reality, the diseases of the mind, the pangs of conscience, described by Lucretius in simple and natural terms, are for Vergil's imagination shapes resting before the threshold of Orcus. In this manner does Vergil here, as in other cases, pay, as a poet, his tribute of homage to the greatest of his predecessors in Latin poetry.

The sum of what has been said is that the main thread of ideas running through the Aeneid is Roman, but that its form is that of the Greek epic, and much of the spirit of its action is that of the Greek tragedy: that the Aeneid reflects in a poetical form the multitude of beliefs which thronged the literary atmosphere of Rome at the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire, and is in this way the most complete and classical monument of its age. Roman poetry before Vergil had been either comparatively rude, as in the case of Ennius, or, where it had attained real beauty of form, had been comparatively personal; for Catullus is a poet of lyric and lampoon, and Lucretius

[1] See Conington's commentary on the sixth book, and compare further Lucretius 3. 459 foll. with Aen. 6. 273 foll.

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the prophet of a particular school. In Vergil (as, though in a less degree, in Horace) there is a note of universality which we look for in vain in the works of his predecessors. The elements with which he had to work were floating and discordant, but his was the harmonious soul which by its own influence was powerful to charm chaos into order and the forms of beauty. Hence the popularity of Vergil at his own time[1], and his influence on so many of the great poets who have succeeded him.

[1] Tacitus Dialogus 13: 'Testis ipse populus, qui auditis in theatro versibus Vergilii surrexit universus, et forte praesentem spectantemque Vergilium veneratus est tanquam Augustum.'

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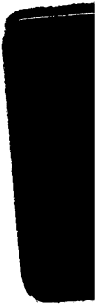

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