

Why No Mercy? A Study of *Clementia* in the *Aeneid*

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Masteroppgave i Latin - Høsten 2012

Monikae et condiscipulis

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Introduction

The role of *clementia* in the *Aeneid* has never been the subject of a major scholarly work. It has been discussed by several scholars, but not extensively and always in conjunction with related concepts such as *ira* and *furor*. Commentators have brought up the term in connection with Aeneas' actions in books 10 and 12, but their analyses have been limited by their genre and have rarely included thorough examination of both Iliadic models and political context. Considering the importance of the term in the late civil wars as well as for the general characterisation of Aeneas, the lack of scholarly work is indeed odd.

First of all it should be noted that *clementia* is not one of Vergil's favourite words. Its stem appears only once in the *Aeneid*, and then – unsurprisingly perhaps – in the form *inclementia* at 2.602-3: “Divum inclementia, divum, / has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam,” which are Venus' words to her son during the fall of Troy.¹ One possible explanation is that *clementia* was too embedded in the political discourse and carried with it un-epic connotations of contemporary history and Realpolitik. The idea of sparing someone for the sake of political gain was hardly consistent with the heroic world of the epic genre. On the other hand, Vergil had no qualms about making *pietas*, another highly ignescent word, the central virtue of his hero. It should be noted that the word *clementia* fits into the metre only in the nominative and the accusative. Still, this is no reason why we should not find the adverb *clementer* or the adjective *clemens*, both of which fit nicely in all cases. Neither *mansuetudo*, *lenitas*, nor *miseriordia* fit into the metre, so it should come as no surprise that none of those are mentioned. However, the verbs *miserere*, *orare*, *parcere*, and *precari* appear regularly. It is therefore not the word *clementia* that will be under scrutiny, but the virtue. I will look at acts which can be grouped under its heading, battlefield supplication in particular.²

¹ *Inclementia* seems to have been coined by Vergil at *G.* 3.68. Michael C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1995), 169. The word *clementia* was not much in vogue before Cicero started praising Caesar for it in his Caesarian speeches, and considering the short distance of time between Cicero and Vergil, it would be natural to assume that *inclementia* is indeed a Vergilian coinage. Austin (R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos: Liber Secundus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 233-234) points out that Vergil might have been inspired by Priam's words to Helen at *Hom. Il.* 3.164-165: “Ὅ τῖ μοι αἰτῖη ἐσσί, θεοὶ νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν / οἳ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρον Ἀχαιῶν.”

² There are suppliants in the *Aeneid* about whom I will say nothing or only very little, as their supplications does not involve *clementia*. Iarbas, for instance, is pointedly designated as *supplex* at 4.205, but the purpose of his prayer to Jupiter is hardly to arouse pity and ask for clemency.

Although there has been no thorough discussion of the concept of *clementia* in the *Aeneid*, the question of whether or not this virtue is possessed by Aeneas has been touched upon by many scholars. The most extensive discussion is probably found in Francis Cairns' *Virgil's Augustan Epic*, published in 1989. Cairns presents Aeneas as a personification of the ideal king, and makes a decent effort to bestow on him the virtue of *clementia*. Only three years later J. A. S. Evans published an article in which, while agreeing with Cairns that Aeneas can indeed lay claim to many royal virtues, he argued convincingly that *clementia* is not one of them. However, due to the fact that *clementia* was only one of many topics addressed, Evans did not consider the Iliadic models nor did he discuss *clementia* in relation to the political context of the *Aeneid*, and, perhaps most important of all, he did not grapple with the question of why Aeneas lacks this virtue. The aim of this paper is, as its title suggests, to do all three of these things. Following in the footsteps of Cairns and Evans, Aeneas' *clementia* will be my primary theme, and the battlefield supplications in books 10 and 12 my primary objects of investigation. However, I will also examine the *clementia* of other characters, including the gods. Hopefully this will widen our understanding of how Vergil combined his literary *aemulatio* of Homer with his meditations on, and evaluation of, contemporary political events, namely the civil wars.

I will start by looking at the historical background and political context. In section two I will examine the word *clementia*, and in section three track its history from the Early Republic to the battle of Actium. In section four I will give some preliminary remarks on mercy and the epic genre. In section five I will examine the acts for which Aeneas is most often lauded for his *clementia*. In section six I will look at the episodes in books 10 and 12 in which Aeneas has most often been accused of acting mercilessly, and present the strategies that have been used to vindicate his behaviour. In section seven I will pose some questions that challenges the assumptions on which this scholarship is based. In section eight I will attempt to answer these questions by looking at passages from Caesar, Cicero, Homer, and other ancient sources. In section nine I will look at the relationship between *clementia* and the gods, focusing on Jupiter, *Amor*, and the Underworld. Finally, in section ten I will examine Aeneas' pity and compassion. Translations of Greek and Latin passages can be found in the appendix.³

³ It should be noted that this master-thesis draws on an essay written and submitted as an exam in the course "LAT4403" – Vergil spring 2012 at the University of Oslo. The chapters most heavily influenced are I, IV, V, VI, VII, and parts of VIII.

I: Historical Background and Political Context

On the occasion of the restoration of the republic and the assignment to Octavian of the honorary title of Augustus in 27 BC, a shield was set up in the senate house inscribed with four virtues; *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas*. Octavian himself mentions the event proudly in his *Res Gestae*, and the implicit assertion is that by exercising these four virtues he had restored the republic.⁴ “These were,” writes Evans, “clearly the virtues he advertised.”⁵ Of the four virtues presented on the shield, few would deny that *virtus*, *iustitia*, and *pietas* are all held by Aeneas. Regarding *clementia*, however, the jury is still out.

Although distancing myself considerably from the rather infamous allegory of D. L. Drew,⁶ I agree with scholars like Christopher Nappa and Anton Powell that “it would be surprising if a poet of Vergil’s generation did not return to this [the civil wars] often,”⁷ and that “in trying to understand Virgil a wish not to think much about civil war may be crippling.”⁸ *Clementia* will always be a natural subject for poets in wartime, and even more so during a civil war. R. D. Williams is certainly right to conclude that “Virgil’s contemporaries would have been well aware of the relevance to their own times of this dilemma between mercy and vengeance.”⁹ Indeed, ever since I first encountered the *Aeneid*, I have been struck by how deeply it is affected by its contemporary history; of how it stands as an example of civil war poetry. The themes of the epic are themes of civil war; the pain of exile, the struggle to create a future for oneself and one’s people, the incomprehensibility of the will of the gods, the impiety of an unnecessary war between brothers, the precarious position of traditional Roman values such as *pietas* and *fides* in a world without rules, the failure of reason in the face of madness, and the choice between clemency and revenge.

Numerous, if not mightily reliable, ancient sources tell of Octavian’s lack of clemency. Suetonius presents the young triumvir as haughty and vicious, and the *princeps* as righteous and merciful, but then consistency in portraying his characters was hardly a virtue to which

⁴ Aug. *Anc.* 34.

⁵ J. A. S. Evans, “The *Aeneid* and the Concept of the Ideal King – The Modification of an Archetype”, in Robert M. Wilhelm and Howard Jones (eds.) *The Two Worlds of the Poet* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 150.

⁶ D. L. Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1927)

⁷ Christopher Nappa, *Reading after Actium – Vergil’s Georgics, Octavian, and Rome* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 19.

⁸ Anton Powell, *Virgil the Partisan* (Oxford: The Classical Press of Wales, 2008), 124.

⁹ R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil – Books 7-12* (London: Macmillan, 1973), 503.

Suetonius could lay much claim.¹⁰ In his meditations on anger Seneca presents the same contrast between bloodthirsty triumvir and mild *princeps*.¹¹ Dio Cassius' account of the civil wars also contains merciful as well as merciless acts committed by Octavian.¹² I will not consider the reliability of the ancient sources as the stories they present need not be true in order to be relevant for this discussion. As long as they circulated as rumours they were possible sources of inspiration for Vergil. I agree with Egil Kraggerud that the story of Octavian sacrificing some three hundred Perusinian magistrates to the shades of Caesar is unlikely to be true¹³ – as it makes no political sense – but the rumour might still have existed, and certainly so if some executions were carried out.¹⁴ It comes as no surprise that Octavian himself claims that he did in fact act mercifully: “Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi, victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci.”¹⁵ His treatment of foreign enemies was, according to himself, somewhat more severe: “Externas gentes, quibus tuto ignosci potuit, conservare quam excidere malui.”¹⁶ When victorious, he spared all citizens who asked for mercy, but foreigners were only spared if he thought it safe to do so. Although the merciless revolutionary leader immortalized by Ronald Syme is no longer fashionable, most historians today seem to agree with the ancients that the young Octavian was not a merciful man.¹⁷ It is therefore intriguing that a flaw has been perceived in the character of Aeneas regarding this same virtue.

II: Definitions – Placing *Clementia* on the Map

I will not attempt to establish any hair-splitting boundaries between concepts such as *clementia*, *miseriordia*, *lenitas*, and *mansuetudo*, as I believe that the Roman literary ideal of *variatio* will leave us perplexed at the results. In his speech in defence of Quintus Ligarius, Cicero declares that “quidquid dixi, ad unam summam referri uolo uel humanitatis uel

¹⁰ Suet. *Aug.* 13, 15, 17.5, 27, 70 (vicious triumvir), 51 (gentle *princeps*).

¹¹ Sen. *Ira.* 1.9. See also *Cl.* 1.11.1.

¹² Dio Cassius. 51.2.4-6.

¹³ Egil Kraggerud, “Perusia and the Aeneid”, in *Symbolae Osloenses* (62.1, 1987), 77-87. Suet. *Aug.* 15.

¹⁴ Richard Tarrant, *Virgil – Aeneid: Book XII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 26.

¹⁵ *Aug. Anc.* 3.1.

¹⁶ *Aug. Anc.* 3.2.

¹⁷ Barbara Levick, *Augustus – Image and Substance* (Great Britain: Longman, 2010), 227. Alison E. Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 117-118. According to Syme, “Caesar had invoked and practiced the virtue of clemency to extenuate the guilt of civil war. Likewise did his heir, when murder could serve no useful purpose.” Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), 299.

clementiae uel misericordiae tuae.”¹⁸ He claims to be at a loss over which word to use in order to describe Caesar’s policy. “In ordinary language,” writes David Konstan, “clemency and pity are all but synonyms.”¹⁹ Matters would be further complicated by the fact that some of the texts cited are separated in time by several hundred years. However, some major lines still have to be drawn. For although the words are often used interchangeably, that does not mean that the Romans recognized no difference between the central concepts as acted out in real life.

First of all it needs to be stated that pity (often called *miser cordia*) and *clementia* belong to fundamentally different categories. While pity is an emotion, uncontrolled, spontaneous, and quick to appear as well as to disappear, *clementia* is a disposition, a permanent character-trait. Seneca stresses the difference by claiming that “*miser cordia non causam sed fortunam spectat; clementia rationi accedit.*”²⁰ For Seneca pity is unmanly and irreconcilable with wisdom; it is a sickness of the mind – “*aegritudo animi*”²¹ – and the mind of the wise man is never sick. However, *clementia* is still exercised by the wise man. Indeed, the wise man will do whatever the pitiful man does, but “*tranquilla mente.*”²² Their acts are the same, but their states of mind are different. The difference can be illustrated by how the words are used syntactically. *Clementia* is exercised (*uti clementia*) or exhibited (*ostendere clementiam*), and one may experience it in another (*experiri clementiam*) or entrust one’s self to it (*se committere clementiae*); one can possess it (*habere clementiam*) as a trait. *Miser cordia*, however, is stimulated (*moveri*), one elicits it (*elicere misericordiam*) and can be led to it (*adduci*). It surges up inside us (*oriri*), and one can sink into it (*labi in misericordiam*), be diverted by it (*flecti*) and forced to it (*cogi*).²³ *Clementia* is always controlled by the mind; when feeling pity, one is a passive recipient.

Melissa Barden Dowling too has some interesting remarks on the nature of the word *clementia*. Supported by the testimonies of Cicero and Seneca, she points out that the opposite

¹⁸ Cic. *Lig.* 29.

¹⁹ David Konstan, *Pity Transformed* (London: Duckworth, 2001), 97.

²⁰ Sen. *Cl.* 2.5.1.

²¹ Sen. *Cl.* 2.5.4.

²² Sen. *Cl.* 2.6.2.

²³ Konstan, *Pity Transformed*, 101-102.

of *clementia* is not *severitas*, but rather *saevitia* and *crudelitas*.²⁴ *Saevitia* is opposed to *clementia* by Cicero in *Partitiones Oratoriae* 11, and *crudelitas* is opposed to *clementia* by Seneca in *De clementia* and by Cicero in his *Verrines*.²⁵ The line between *saevitia* and *severitas* could obviously be slim, and depended largely on point of view. Cicero, who had been eager to praise and to ask for the *clementia* of Caesar, urged his lead assassin, Brutus, to show none. However, in response to Brutus' wish to be *clemens*, Cicero did obviously not advise him to be *crudelis*, but rather to be *severus*: “Vehementer a te, Brute, dissentio nec clementiae tuae concedo; sed salutaris severitas vincit inanem speciem clementiae; quod si clementes esse volumus, numquam deerunt bella civilia.”²⁶

Seneca, in spite of having written a philosophical treatise on *clementia*, will not play a major part in this text. His discussion is too influenced by the time and place of its composition; its preoccupation with the relationship between emperor and aristocracy embeds it in the political discourse of empire. Although a line such as “nam si quos pares aliquando habuit infra se videt, satis vindicatus est”²⁷ could at first seem applicable to the ending of the *Aeneid*, any relevance quickly evaporates when one keeps in mind the function of the text as a *Fürstenspiegel* for the young emperor Nero. Still, some of his more general observations are of interest. After having proposed several flimsy definitions of *clementia*, he concludes that “atqui hoc omnes intellegunt clementiam esse, quae se flectit citra id quod merito constitui posset.”²⁸ *Merito* is a crucial word, as it shows that *iustitia* and *clementia* can be at odds; indeed *clementia* consists of pulling back from what – according to the law – should be imposed. Seneca circumvents this problem by arguing that “*clementia* liberum arbitrium habet; non sub formula sed ex aequo et bono iudicat.”²⁹ One is left with the uncomfortable feeling that *clementia* is needed only when the laws are flawed or there are no laws at all. One such time would be during the one-man rule of the emperor, another during civil war.

²⁴ Melissa Barden Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World* (USA: The University of Michigan Press, 2006), 7-8. She notes that *saevitia* is “applied with the same scope as *clementia* to human conduct, to the actions of beasts, to circumstances, and to atmospheric usages such as savagery of the weather or the sea.”

²⁵ Sen. Cl. 2.4.1. Cic. Ver. 2.4.86.

²⁶ Cic. ad Brut. 1.2a. Brutus seems to have wanted to emulate the policy of the man he had assassinated. The pronoun “*tuae*” brings Caesar’s use of “*sua clementia*” to mind.

²⁷ Sen. Cl. 1.21.1.

²⁸ Sen. Cl. 2.3.2.

²⁹ Sen. Cl. 2.7.3.

III: A Very Short History of *Clementia*

In the Early and Middle Republics *clementia* was a virtue primarily demonstrated in wartime against foreign enemies, and in courts of law towards those who acknowledged guilt. It also had a role to play inside the household, being practiced by the *pater familias* towards family and slaves alike. Because of its hierarchic connotations, it could not be practiced among equals, and it was therefore not a virtue one could exercise towards fellow aristocrats.³⁰ In the context of war, *clementia* belonged entirely to the senate and people of Rome; that is, to the state.

Caesar was the one responsible for expanding the arena in which *clementia* could be exhibited. While his merciful treatment of the Gauls was in perfect accordance with normal Roman policy,³¹ his use of *clementia* as a political slogan during the civil wars was a radical novelty, and one not completed without friction. Considering its original usage, one can easily understand why; wielding *clementia* towards one's fellow aristocrats implied that they were no better than foreign enemies, guilty litigants, disobedient family members, or slaves. Caesar uses the word four times in *De Bello Gallico*, but never in *De Bello Civili*, presumably because of its hierarchical overtones. *Lenitas* and *misericordia* seem to serve as replacements; the former appears twice, the latter six times in *De Bello Civili*.³² In contrast, the authors of *De Bello Africo* and *De Bello Hispaniensi*, presumably officers of Caesar, do use the word *clementia*;³³ they were apparently not as skilled as their master in navigating the cruel currents of political propriety. Dowling, however, has shown how Caesar, without actually using the word *clementia* in *De Bello Civili*, nonetheless highlights his own clemency by contrasting his own merciful acts with the cruel acts of the Pompeians.³⁴ Caesar also mentions his *clementia* in a letter to Cicero,³⁵ and Cicero himself speaks of it on several occasions.³⁶

³⁰ Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, 15-18.

³¹ Caes. *Gal.* 2.13-15.

³² *Lenitas*: Caes. *Civ.* 1.74.7. et 3.98. *Misericordia*: Caes. *Civ.* 1.72, 84, 85. et 3.12, 13, 44. They appear also in *De Bello Gallico*, but less frequently: *Lenitas* twice, but only once in the sense of "leniency", at 8.44; *misericordia* four times, but only once in connection with Caesar, at 2.28.

³³ B. Afr. 86, 88, 92. B. Hisp. 17. *Lenitas* is used three times, all in *De Bello Africo*, at 54, 86, and 92 (at 86 and 92 in conjunction with *clementia*). *Misericordia* does not appear at all.

³⁴ Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, 21.

³⁵ Cic. *Att.* 9.16.

³⁶ *Fam.* 6.6.8. (To Caecina). *Deiot.* 8, 34, 38 40, 43. *Lig.* 6, 10, 15, 19, 29, 30. *Marc.* 1, 12, 18.

Whether or not Caesar's claim that "movebatur etiam misericordia civium,"³⁷ is true, there can be no doubt that for Caesar, *clementia* was primarily a political tool. This is evident when one looks at a letter he sent to Gaius Oppius and Lucius Cornelius Balbus, preserved in Cicero's correspondence: "Temptemus hoc modo si possimus omnium voluntates recipere et diuturna victoria uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere praeter unum L. Sullam quem imitaturus non sum. Haec nova sit ratio vincendi ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Id quem ad modum fieri possit non nulla mi in mentem veniunt et multa reperiri possunt. De his rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis."³⁸ Cicero, at least, seems to have seen through Caesar's policy. In his second Philippic he summarizes the strategies of the late dictator: "Muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperitam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae specie devinerat."³⁹ Likewise, when Caesar was still alive, Cicero tried to call forth his clemency by reminding him that it is a virtue popular with the masses: "Nihil est tam populare quam bonitas; nulla de uirtutibus tuis plurimis nec admirabilior nec gratior misericordia est."⁴⁰ Caesar himself admits that his main reason for showing mercy to the Nervii was "ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur."⁴¹ Sallust seems to imply the same in his comparison between Caesar and Cato in the *Bellum Catilinae*. He writes that Cato, presumably in contrast to Caesar, "esse quam videri bonus malebat."⁴² Dowling's splendid definition of *clementia* fits Caesar particularly well: "Clemency in Roman thought was the deliberate forgiveness of a punishment that was deserved, a leniency in which the strict requirements of justice were put aside for reasons of humanity or political advantage."⁴³

Caesar's *clementia* proved to be a valuable tool for reintegrating into the state those who had been defeated in the civil war; it helped minimize the losses among Roman citizens and most likely shortened the war considerably. It won him many supporters, but also brought him some tenacious enemies. Those who could not accept the hierarchic significance implied by receiving mercy either committed suicide or bided their time. In the final analysis, Caesar's

³⁷ Caes. *Civ.* 1.72.

³⁸ Cic. *Att.* 9.7c.

³⁹ Cic. *Phil.* 2.116.

⁴⁰ Cic. *Lig.* 37.

⁴¹ Caes. *Gal.* 2.28.

⁴² Sal. *Cat.* 54. Monika Asztalos, "Caesars litterära strategier", in Arne Jönsson and Anders Piltz (eds.) *Språkets speglingar* (Lund: Skåneforlaget, 2000), 111-114.

⁴³ Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, 27.

clementia lead to his own death. The eventual failure of Caesar's *clementia* seems to have made Cicero lose faith in it. As civil war broke out again after Caesar's murder, the man who in several speeches had lauded Caesar's *clementia* and encouraged him to use it generously now urged his lead assassin to show none.⁴⁴ In retrospect it is easy to get the feeling that he wanted his friends to be merciless and his enemies to be merciful. Another man who apparently had no faith in *clementia* was Caesar's adoptive son. Octavian, as the self-appointed avenger, and relying on the vengeful legions of his late adoptive father, could obviously not present himself as a man of compromise when dealing with his father's assassins.⁴⁵ He certainly did not spurn all opportunities to show clemency, but his bid for power was too tightly interconnected with his role as *ultor* for there to be any large-scale policy of *clementia*. If he wanted his *pietas* to be seen as genuine, he could not exhibit *clementia*. As Dowling dryly comments: "After Caesar's death, a hiatus occurs in the advertisement of clemency by Rome's leaders."⁴⁶ *Clementia* died with Caesar, and was not revitalized until after the battle of Actium.

This short history of *clementia* has unveiled some interesting nuances of its meaning. In the Early and Middle Republics it was employed by the state towards defeated foreign enemies, in court towards guilty litigants, and in the household towards family and slaves. It was a virtue exercised by the powerful; inequality of power is a prerequisite for its usage. Caesar continued to use it in this way, but introduced it also into the world of internal power politics. This was not necessarily a tactical choice; it was rather an expression of the fact that an individual had become as powerful as the state itself. Caesar found himself in a position where he enjoyed near total control of the republic. He had supplanted the state, and the adoption of its vocabulary of power followed naturally. After the assassination of Caesar there was no one powerful enough – no one with the necessary *auctoritas* – to wield *clementia*. Only after Octavian had defeated all major rivals – and had acquired the necessary *auctoritas* – was the word, and the virtue, revitalized.⁴⁷ During the Roman Empire, when the emperor was the incontestable leader, *clementia* became a much propagated virtue. While *iustitia* is a

⁴⁴ Cic. *ad Brut.* 1.2a.

⁴⁵ Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, 30

⁴⁶ Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, 28. A comment worthy of Ronald Syme.

⁴⁷ "Post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri, qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt." Aug. *Anc.* 34.3.

virtue exercised among equals, *clementia* is a virtue fit for the all-powerful leader. The word's history testifies to this.

IV: Mercy and the Epic Genre – Preliminary Remarks and Some Statistics

Six warriors beg to be spared in the *Iliad*, and all of them are killed; Adrastus, Dolon, Pisander, Hippolochus, Tros, and Lycaeon.⁴⁸ As the *Iliad* consists of 24 books of more or less constant fighting, that is not too impressive a number. It should also be noted that the occurrences are spread out over many books; no book features more than one failed supplication.⁴⁹ There is no Iliadic, or even Greek, term equivalent to *clementia*. It is, in the words of Susanna Morton Braund, “a peculiarly Roman concept.”⁵⁰ As in the *Aeneid*, supplication is expressed by verbs, namely ζωγρέω and ἐλεαίρω.

The supplications of Adrastus, Dolon, and Pisander and Hippolochus all follow the same formula. They beg to be taken alive, and promise that they will be ransomed. They do not address the *clementia* of their enemies, but their avarice. Tros on the other hand, directs his plea towards Achilles' mercy, or he at least plans to do so; he seems to be killed before he can begin his supplication. He hopes that his adversary will show pity on him as he is of the same age and therefore, in theory at least, susceptible to the same misfortune.⁵¹ Although it might be argued that it is implicit in the verb λαμβάνω, there is no mention of money or ransom. The supplication of Lycaeon is the most verbose of the five, and also the most pathetic (and Vergilian). He begs Achilles to respect and pity him, mentions that he has been taken alive and sold by Achilles earlier in the war, and points to the fact that he is, after all, only the half-brother of Hector. By recalling for Achilles that he has brought him a lot of money once already, he not only hints that he could do so again, but also, and more crucially, gets the chance to describe the horrors of his last capture; that he was led far away from father and friends and suffered many ills. His story is first and foremost designed to arouse Achilles'

⁴⁸ Adrastus: 6.37-65. Dolon: 10.332-457. Pisander and Hippolochus: 11.122-148. Tros: 20.463-472. Lycaeon: 21.34-135.

⁴⁹ Pisander and Hippolochus plead and are killed as a pair.

⁵⁰ Susanna Morton Braund, “The Anger of Tyrants and the Forgiveness of Kings”, in Charles L. Griswold and David Konstan (eds) *Ancient Forgiveness* (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 85.

⁵¹ On the commonplace that susceptibility to like misfortune is a prerequisite for pity, see Arist. *Rh.* 2.8.2. and Konstan, *Pity Transformed*, 17, 49-51.

pity.⁵² In the *Odyssey* the chances of survival for suppliants are somewhat better. In the aftermath of the battle against the suitors, Odysseus is approached by three survivors. He kills Leodes, the priest, asserting that he too was after Penelope, but the minstrel Phemius and the herald Medon are spared at the behest of Telemachus.⁵³ They were, after all, only the suitors' unwilling assistants.

Six suppliants are killed also in the *Aeneid*; Magus, Tarquitus, Liger, Orsilochus, Aulestes, and Turnus.⁵⁴ As only books 2 and 9-12 contain battle narratives, the ratio is much higher than in the *Iliad*. In addition, the three first occurrences are grouped closely together in book 10 (521-601) and the last holds the place of honour at the poem's end. The six suppliants killed in the *Aeneid* loom somewhat larger when seen in this perspective. Neither in the *Iliad* nor the *Aeneid* does anyone ever make a successful supplication in the context of battle. However, in the *Iliad* successful supplications made earlier in the war are mentioned by both Lycaeon, Achilles, and Hecuba, as well as by the author himself.⁵⁵

Interestingly, while all suppliants in the *Iliad* are Trojans, in the *Aeneid* four out of six are Italians, all of whom address Aeneas. Moreover, the supplications of Orsilochus and Aulestes – the former a Trojan warrior slain by Camilla, the latter an Etruscan king killed by Messapus – are mentioned only in passing; they are not dwelt upon, as are those directed to Aeneas. It is the *clementia* of Aeneas that is invoked by both characters and poet. He is, perhaps, the only one we believe might actually listen.

V: Some Views – Aeneas Clemens?

There are two possible strategies for those who would argue that Aeneas is a merciful man; the better is obviously to give examples of episodes in which he acts mercifully.

Alternatively, one can vindicate his behaviour when he is accused of acting mercilessly, and show that mercy would not have been the appropriate action in this particular situation. This

⁵² Priam's prayer to Achilles that he may bring his son's body home for burial is undoubtedly the most famous supplication in the history of epic. The scene is, however, concerned with pity rather than mercy; Hector is already dead and the prayer can at best result in the conciliation of Priam and Achilles and the appeasement of Achilles' anger. It cannot save anyone, and I will therefore mention it only briefly in conjunction with Turnus' plea.

⁵³ Hom. *Od.* 22.310-377.

⁵⁴ Magus: 10.521-536. Tarquitus: 10.550-560. Liger: 10.575-601. Orsilochus: 11.694-697. Aulestes: 12.289-296. Turnus: 12.930-952.

⁵⁵ Lycaeon, 21.74-9. Achilles, 21.99-102. Hecuba, 24.751-3. Homer, 11.101-6. Whether or not these supplications were made in a context of battle is not clear.

second option can of course not make Aeneas merciful; it can at best establish him as neither merciful nor merciless. In this section I will examine the episodes in which he is most often praised for his *clementia*.

Karl Galinsky has put forth two episodes as examples of *clementia* in Aeneas, 10.825-30 and 11.105-7. Both are dubious. Aeneas is indeed full of pity for Lausus in book 10, but only after the young man lies dead at his feet. His pity did not make him spare the enemy; it did not produce an act of clemency. That he accepts the temporary truce offered by the Latins in book 11 is certainly to his credit, but hardly an act of *clementia*; granting burial to the dead is a courteous act to be sure, but the Latin envoy Drances does not answer by praising Aeneas for his *clementia*, but rather for his *iustitia*. The uneasiness of scholars regarding Aeneas' *clementia* is in fact well illustrated by Galinsky's treatment of it. He has no qualms about asserting that "Vergil singles Aeneas out for his *virtus*, *iustitia*, and *pietas*," but that he is actually quite the merciful person as well is mentioned only in a footnote.⁵⁶

There are in fact no episodes in the *Aeneid* in which Aeneas is specifically said to be exercising the virtue of *clementia*, nor is he ever lauded by anyone for being *clemens*. This last point can be illustrated by looking at the incidents where he is spoken of by others. The Trojan envoy Ilioneus describes him for Dido in these words: "Rex erat Aeneas nobis quo iustior alter / nec pietate fuit nec bello maior in armis."⁵⁷ Of the four virtues on the *clipeus virtutis*, *iustitia*, *pietas*, and *virtus* are all mentioned, but there is no sign of *clementia*. Upon entering the Underworld the Sibyl presents him to Charon as "Troius Aeneas pietate insignis et armis."⁵⁸ *Virtus* and *pietas* appear again, but not *clementia*. When he agrees to the temporary truce proposed by the Latins in book 11, he is praised thus by the envoy Drances: "O fama ingens, ingentior armis, / vir Troiane, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem? / iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborum?"⁵⁹ *Virtus* and *iustitia* are both present, but *clementia* is still missing. It is hardly surprising, though, as Aeneas' merciless acts in the battle are still fresh in the minds of both characters and readers. Aeneas is spoken of again during the debate of the Italians in book 11, when Diomedes' reply to a proposal of an alliance is read aloud in the senate house. Diomedes compares Hector and Aeneas and asserts that "ambo animis, ambo

⁵⁶ Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 89, 405 (note 27).

⁵⁷ Verg. A. 1.544-545.

⁵⁸ Verg. A. 6.403.

⁵⁹ Verg. A. 11.124-126.

insignes praestantibus armis; / hic pietate prior.”⁶⁰ Yet again *clementia* is absent; it is simply not a virtue for which Aeneas is known to his contemporaries. An interesting parallel can be found in Anchises’ lamentation over Marcellus, descendant of both Aeneas and Augustus. The lament reaches its highest pitch as he simply cries out the virtues that will be lost with the young man’s premature death: ”Heu pietas! Heu prisca fides, invictaque bello / dextera!”⁶¹ Marcellus’ virtues are the same as those of his ancestor and grandfather. That virtues, and vices, were transmitted through the generations in aristocratic families was common knowledge in the Roman world.⁶² Vergil seems to be deliberately avoiding the fourth virtue engraved on the *clipeus virtutis*. One is tempted to use the term “emphasis by omission,” which I have gratefully borrowed from Richard Thomas: “When what is expected is omitted,” writes Thomas, “the result may be emphasis rather than omission; our surprise accentuates what is not there.”⁶³ As shown by Thomas’ analysis of Georgics 1.237-238, emphasis by omission was a literary device known to and practiced by Vergil.

Ovid seems to have grasped the point, and makes his Sibyl address Aeneas as “vir factis maxime cuius / dextera per ferrum, pietas spectata per ignes.”⁶⁴ More surprising perhaps, is Horace’s mention of Aeneas in Ode 4.6. The poem is an invocation of Apollo, and the god is praised for having punished Niobe, Tityos, and Achilles for their impious behaviour. Achilles gets most of the attention, and Horace focuses on his cruelty: ”Sed palam captis gravis, heu nefas, heu!”⁶⁵ So far so good, but four lines later Aeneas is mentioned, another warrior known for sacrificing prisoners. No further connection is made between the two – Aeneas is not incriminated in any explicit way – but the context makes it hard not to think about the sons of Sulmo and Ufens, captured and sacrificed by Aeneas after the death of Pallas.⁶⁶ The fourth book of odes was published after the *Aeneid*, and Horace might have picked up on the Sibyl’s mention of an *alius Achilles*.⁶⁷ Aeneas is also an important character in Livy’s monumental narrative of Roman history; the fall of Troy and his journey is the starting-point of the work. However, Livy’s version, although interesting in many aspects – especially for its two

⁶⁰ Verg. A. 11.291-292.

⁶¹ Verg. A. 6.878-880.

⁶² Anton Powell, *Virgil the Partisan* (Oxford: The Classical Press of Wales, 2008), 42. See also Suet. *Nero* 1.2.

⁶³ Richard Thomas, *Virgil Georgics – Volume 1: Books I-II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 109.

⁶⁴ Ov. *Met.* 14.108-9.

⁶⁵ Hor. *Carm.* 4.6.17.

⁶⁶ Verg. A. 10.517-520.

⁶⁷ Verg. A. 6.89.

contradictory accounts of the first encounter between Aeneas and Latinus – has little to offer on the subject of *clementia*.⁶⁸ Suffice it to say that he does not single Aeneas out for his clemency.

Two people are shown mercy in the aftermath of war in the *Aeneid*, Sinon and Achaemenides, but none of these decisions are made by Aeneas. Priam is the one who grants mercy to Sinon, and Anchises is still alive when Achaemenides is brought on board and presumably holds the highest authority. Therefore, they cannot be manifestations of any *clementia* on Aeneas' part.

VI: Aeneas *Inclemens*?

The Episodes

In this section I will look at the episodes in which Aeneas seems to lack the virtue of *clementia*, and then present four different arguments that have been used to vindicate his behaviour. There are mainly two episodes in which Aeneas seems to lack *clementia*; firstly in his indiscriminate killing following Pallas' death in book 10, and secondly in his refusal to grant mercy to Turnus at the very end of the last book. Vergil leaves no doubt that Aeneas' rage in book 10 is a consequence of the killing of Pallas: "Pallas, Evander in ipsis / omnia sunt oculis mensae quas advena primas / tunc adiit dextraeque datae."⁶⁹ Likewise in book 12 it is the sight of Pallas' baldric that makes him "furiis accensus et ira / terribilis."⁷⁰

In discussing the clemency of Aeneas, too much emphasis has in my view been put on the Turnus-episode. Although the question between clemency and revenge is certainly posed most conspicuously in book 12, it is in book 10 that Vergil has gathered most of his suppliants. The first to ask for mercy in book 10 is the wealthy Magus.

Et genua amplectens effatur talia supplex:
'Per patrios manis et spes surgentis Iuli
te precor, hanc animam serues gnatoque patrique.
Est domus alta, iacent penitus defossa talenta
caelati argenti, sunt auri pondera facti
infectique mihi. Non hic uictoria Teucrum
uertitur aut anima una dabit discrimina tanta.'
Dixerat. Aeneas contra cui talia reddit:

⁶⁸ Liv. 1.1-2.

⁶⁹ Verg. A. 10.515-517.

⁷⁰ Verg. A. 12.946-947.

'Argenti atque auri memoras quae multa talenta
gnatis parce tuis. Belli commercia Turnus
sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto.
Hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus.'
Sic fatus galeam laeua tenet atque reflexa
ceruice orantis capulo tenus applicat ensem.⁷¹

Magus beseeches Aeneas by his father's shade and the hope he bears for his son to show mercy on a man who is also both a father and a son, promises riches in exchange for his life, and adds that one life is irrelevant for the outcome of the war. Aeneas replies that he ought to save his money for his sons, claims that Turnus, by killing Pallas, has removed the possibility for ransoming enemies, and buries his sword up to the hilt in the hapless Magus.⁷² The same words are used of Neoptolemus' slaying of Priam at 2.553. Perhaps the parting gift of Helenus to Aeneas at 3.369 – the weapons of Neoptolemus – was not so inappropriate after all.

After Magus' failed supplication Aeneas hunts down and kills a priest of Apollo, reminding us of another character – the Trojan Panthus – who also perished in spite of bearing the *infula Apollinis*.⁷³ Thereafter he lops off the warrior Anxur's left arm, and then follows the second failed suppliant, Tarquitus. His plea is ostensibly cut short by Aeneas' sword, and we are not told his final words. What Vergil does leave us is Aeneas' pitiless reply, in which he mocks his adversary and refuses him burial.

Tum caput orantis nequiquam et multa parantis
dicere deturbat terrae, truncumque tepentem
prouoluens super haec inimico pectore fatur:
'Istic nunc, metuende, iace. Non te optima mater
condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulcro:
Alitibus linquere feris, aut gurgite mersum
unda feret piscesque impasti uulnera lambent.'⁷⁴

Four killings later Aeneas is likened to the giant Aegaeon. Although possibly an example of deviant focalization – it describes Aeneas as seen by his enemies, not as he really is – it is hardly a flattering comparison.⁷⁵ Niphaeus' chariot is frightened into retreat by the mere sight of him, and he is then attacked by the brothers Liger and Lucagus. Liger challenges Aeneas,

⁷¹ Verg. A. 10.523-536.

⁷² Verg. A. 10.535-536.

⁷³ 2.429-430: "Nec te tua plurima, Panthu / labentem pietas nec Apollonis infula textit."

⁷⁴ Verg. A. 10.554-560.

⁷⁵ S. J. Harrison, *Vergil – Aeneid 10* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 215.

who answers by hurling his spear at Lucagus. While the dying Lucagus writhes on the ground, Aeneas mocks him. Liger, no longer *superbus*, begs Aeneas by his parents to spare him, but his supplication is interrupted as Aeneas insults him and cuts him open.

'Per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes,
uir Troiane, sine hanc animam et miserere precantis.'
Pluribus oranti Aeneas: 'Haud talia dudum
dicta dabas. Morere et fratrem ne desere frater.'
Tum latebras animae pectus mucrone recludit.⁷⁶

The scene ends with the Trojans breaking the siege and bursting forth from the beleaguered camp. Aeneas' brutal *aristeia* is a turning point in the war; from now on the Trojans are on the offensive.

Orsilochus and Aulestes are the only non-Italian suppliants in the war. The former is killed by Camilla "oranti et multa precanti" during her *aristeia* in book 11.⁷⁷ The latter is the first to be slain after the breaking of the treaty in book 12. He tumbles backwards over the altar in the general confusion and Turnus' friend Messapus dispatches him "orantem multa."⁷⁸ As noted earlier their supplications are short and given little emphasis.

The killing of Turnus concludes the epic, leaving it, in the memorable words of Michael Putnam, "both finished and incomplete."⁷⁹ Turnus, wounded in the thigh by Aeneas' spear, goes down on his knee and takes on the role of a suppliant.

Ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem
protendens, 'equidem merui nec deprecor' inquit:
'Utere sorte tua. Miseri te si qua parentis
tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
Anchises genitor) Dauni miserere senectae
et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine maui,
redde meis. Vicisti et uictum tendere palmas
Ausonii uidere; tua est Lauinia coniunx;
ulterius ne tende odiis.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Verg. A. 10.597-601.

⁷⁷ Verg. A. 11.697.

⁷⁸ Verg. A. 12.294.

⁷⁹ Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, 46.

⁸⁰ Verg. A. 12.930-938.

Turnus says that he has earned it, that he does not beg, and that Aeneas should use the chance he has been given; he will not pray to be spared for his own sake. He will, however, pray for the sake of his father. Vergil follows up on Homer's father-son theme at the end of the *Iliad*, but, by letting Turnus deliver the supplication that should have been his father's, he modifies his Homeric precedent. Instead of ending the epic with a father begging for the return of his son's body, Vergil presents us with a scene in which it is the son who is begging for his father's sake that his own body be returned. Turnus asks Aeneas to pity the aged Daunus, and to give him back to him, if not alive, then at least for burial. At last, and in sight of all, he admits defeat, yields Lavinia, and implores Aeneas not to push his hatred further. Aeneas is about to be swayed when he sees the baldric on Turnus' shoulder and drinks in its "saevi monumenta doloris." Then his rage is kindled, and claiming that it is Pallas who does the deed, he kills Turnus, whose life passes indignant to the shades below.⁸¹

Strategies of Vindication

(a) As there are no successful supplications in a context of battle in either the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid*, it could be argued that *clementia* is not a virtue fit for an epic warrior. There seems to be a tacit assumption among Vergilian scholars that, in spite of his sometimes questionable behaviour, Aeneas is at least more humane than the Iliadic warriors. Wolfgang Polleichtner has argued that for the Greeks at Troy it was inconceivable to show mercy.⁸² A bold statement to be sure, and one that deserves to be questioned.

(b) The origins and genealogy of Vergil's Italians are somewhat complicated. Some, such as Latinus, Umbro, and Camilla, are native Italians, but just as the Trojan Aeneas is really an Italian, so is the Italian Turnus really a Greek. It could therefore be argued that he, as a foreigner, is not a worthy receiver of mercy. Cairns has shown that Vergil through the similes of book 12 – quite audaciously one must say – presents Aeneas as the native Italian hero, and Turnus as the foreigner.⁸³ In the two similes concerning Aeneas alone, he is compared to an Italian mountain, "pater Appenninus," and an Italian hunting dog, "vividus umber."⁸⁴ In the three similes concerning Turnus alone, Turnus is compared to a wounded Punic lion, to Mars

⁸¹ Verg. A. 12.938-952.

⁸² Wolfgang Polleichtner, *Emotional Questions – Vergil, the Emotions, and the Transformation of Epic Poetry* (Germany: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2009), 251-252.

⁸³ Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic*, 109-112.

⁸⁴ Verg. A. 12.701-703. 12.749-757.

in his Thracian homeland, and to the Edonian wind, whose home is also in Thrace.⁸⁵ I am not convinced that the simile comparing Turnus to a wounded lion severs him from his Italian ancestry so much as it equates his fate with that of Dido, and it should be noted that Aeneas is also compared to the Greek mountain of Athos and the Sicilian mountain of Eryx. Nevertheless, Cairns certainly has a point; it is surely no coincidence that Vergil has contaminated Turnus with Argive descendants.⁸⁶ According to Jupiter, it is Aeneas, not Turnus, who is the native hero, *indiges*.⁸⁷ H. P. Stahl too has stressed the Greekness of Turnus in his discussion of Aeneas' conduct.⁸⁸ The Romans were notoriously eager to hunt down and punish foreign leaders whom they deemed were responsible for causing wars. Their indefatigable pursuit of Hannibal, as described by Cornelius Nepos, is a case in point, and so is the ritual strangulation that was a part of many triumphs.

(c) In discussing Aeneas' perceived lack of *clementia*, Cairns claims that "ancient royal *φιλανθρωπία* and related virtues were not displayed in battle."⁸⁹ Although the assertion might seem somewhat curious at first sight, Cairns certainly has a point. When a war is not yet won, there is little room for generosity towards one's enemies; that would be both unpractical and detrimental to the war effort. The successful supplications of Sinon and Achaemenides are both carried out in the aftermath of war, and Octavian, mindful of Caesar's fatal *clementia*, postponed his clemency until after Actium: "Victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci."⁹⁰ Evans concludes that Aeneas is "merciless when the destiny of Rome is at stake."⁹¹

(d) Cairns, Galinsky, and Polleichtner have argued that Turnus does not deserve to be spared; that his crimes are too numerous and too gruesome. Not only is he a haughty and brutal warrior, when the treaty is broken in book 12 and Aeneas is wounded while trying to prevent a renewal of hostilities, he immediately takes advantage of Aeneas' absence from the

⁸⁵ Verg. A. 12.4-8. 12.331-336. 12.365-367.

⁸⁶ Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic*, 121-122.

⁸⁷ Verg. A. 12.794.

⁸⁸ H. P. Stahl, "The Death of Turnus: Augustan Vergil and the political rival", in K. A. Raaflaub and M. Toher (eds) *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 177.

⁸⁹ Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 81. As Cairns is discussing Aeneas' perceived lack of *clementia* in this paragraph, there is no doubt that the "related virtues" include *clementia*.

⁹⁰ Aug. *Anc.* 3.1. Note the crucial word "victor".

⁹¹ J. A. S. Evans, "The *Aeneid* and the Concept of the Ideal King – The Modification of an Archetype", in Robert M. Wilhelm and Howard Jones (eds.) *The Two Worlds of the Poet*, 153.

battlefield to wreak havoc among the Trojans. There is also his insensitive speech to Pallas prior to their duel, in which he wishes that Evander, Pallas' father, was present to witness the death of his son: "Cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset."⁹² Cairns, Galinsky, and Polleichtner appeal to Cicero as an authority on the subject, and quote a passage from *De Officiis*.⁹³ Cicero starts by establishing that the rules of war should be followed and that waging war should always be the last option, and then moves on to the question of what to do after the war is won: "Conservandi ei qui non crudeles in bello, non immanes fuerunt ut maiores nostri Tusculanos, Aequos, Volscos, Sabinos, Hernicos in civitatem etiam acceperunt, at Karthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt."⁹⁴ Cairns, Galinsky, and Polleichtner argue that, because of his savage conduct in the war, Turnus does not deserve mercy. Stahl summarizes this view well when he claims that Aeneas does the right thing when he opts "for revenge rather than for mercy."⁹⁵ For it is obviously not a question of whether or not Aeneas is merciful – he blatantly is not – but a question of whether or not he ought to be merciful. Since they believe that *clementia* would not have been the correct reaction, the acts cannot be labelled merciless, and hence they do not detract from Aeneas' *clementia*. Like Cleon in Thucydides' famous Mytilenean debate and Cato in Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*, they argue that those who are themselves responsible for the plight they are in, deserve no mercy.⁹⁶ The sentiment is found also in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*: "ἔστω δὲ ἔλεος λύπη τις ἐπὶ φαινομένῳ κακῷ φθαρτικῷ ἢ λυπηρῷ τοῦ ἀναξίου τυγχάνειν, ὃ κἂν αὐτὸς προσδοκῆσειεν."⁹⁷ It has recently been well phrased by Melissa Dowling: "Those who demonstrate no merit receive no mercy."⁹⁸ The argument is valid only in Turnus' case, however. Aeneas' victims in book 10 are neither cruel nor faithless.⁹⁹ As Seneca point out, "hostes dimittet salvos, aliquando etiam

⁹² Verg. A. 10.443. Pallas' prayer to Hercules to help him defeat Turnus is not phrased in gentle words either, but at least he keeps his adversary's family out of it: "Cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma cruenta / victoremque ferant morientis lumina Turni." Verg. A. 10.462-463.

⁹³ Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic*, 81-82. Polleichtner, *Emotional Questions – Vergil, the Emotions, and the Transformation of Epic Poetry*, 248. Karl Galinsky, "The Anger of Aeneas", in *AJP* (Vol. 109, No. 3, 1988), 323.

⁹⁴ Cic. *Off.* 1.35.

⁹⁵ Stahl "The Death of Turnus: Augustan Vergil and the political rival", in K. A. Raafaub and M. Toher (eds) *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*, 205.

⁹⁶ On Cleon: Thuc. 3.37-40. On Cato: Sal. *Cat.* 52.

⁹⁷ Arist. *Rh.* 2.8.2. Konstan, *Pity Transformed*, 34.

⁹⁸ Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, 100.

⁹⁹ Egil Kraggerud, *Vergil: Aeneiden – 9. og 10. bok* (Tangen: Suttung Forlag, 1989), 136.

laudatos, si honestis causis pro fide, pro foedere, pro libertate in bellum acciti sunt.”¹⁰⁰ This is exactly what the majority of the Latins (believe they) are fighting for.

VII: What`s in a Virtue? *Clementia* Re-examined

The arguments of Cairns, Galinsky, and Polleichtner seem to bespeak a more thorough investigation of the application of the term *clementia* to specific acts. Disagreements between scholars often seem to arise because they start out with different definitions of the vital terms or because there is ambiguity in the text. I will not attempt to give an exhaustive definition of the term *clementia*, but will put forward and examine four questions that I believe are of relevance regarding *clementia* as a virtue. Obviously, making my own definitions clear does not mean that everyone will consent to them, but at least it will disclose my prejudices and prevent misunderstandings.

- (a) Is *clementia* possible for the epic warrior?
- (b) Are Romans alone to be shown *clementia*, or foreign peoples as well?
- (c) Is *clementia* a virtue demonstrated while waging war or after the war is won?
- (d) Does the brutal or faithless enemy forfeit his claim to *clementia*?

The first question obviously begs a comparison with the Homeric epics. In order to answer the other three questions I will consult works of Cicero, including *De Officiis* and *Pro Ligario*, and Caesar, including *De Bello Gallico* and *De Bello Civili*, as they were both near contemporaries of Vergil and active participants in the civil wars. Whether or not Caesar actually lived up to his self-proclaimed ideal is irrelevant for this discussion; what interests us here is merely how the virtue of *clementia* worked in practice – what actions it was considered to include – and for this purpose Caesar is a terrific source.¹⁰¹ In contrast to his adoptive son, Julius Caesar was indeed something of an authority on the subject of *clementia*. While Octavian built a temple to Mars Ultor, a temple to Caesar’s *Clementia* was promised by

¹⁰⁰ Sen. *Cl.* 2.7.2.

¹⁰¹ Many of those who had betrayed Caesar’s trust – Domitius Ahenobarbus, Labienus, and Lentulus Spinther are obvious examples – somehow ended up dead just before he would have had the chance to forgive them. Similarly, Caesar often behaved with considerable severity in Gaul. His decision to cut off the hands of some rebels in 8.44 is a good example. However, he explicitly contrasts this action with his usual practice, and thereby shows that he is very much aware that he is not living up to his trademark virtue.

the Senate in 45 BC.¹⁰² The contrast could hardly be more striking. I will also take a look at selected stories from Sallust, Livy, Appian, and others.

VIII: Challenging the Assumptions

(a) *Clementia non virtus epica?*

It is by investigating the Iliadic models for the death of Magus that Polleichtner argues that Aeneas, as compared to the warriors of the *Iliad*, is merciful. The warrior Magus, he claims, corresponds most closely to the Iliadic Adrastus. Taken alive by Menelaos, Adrastus claims that his wealthy father will pay a splendid ransom for him. Menelaos is about to agree when Agamemnon shows up and, by reminding his brother how he was treated by the Trojans at Sparta, persuades him that enemies should be killed, not ransomed.¹⁰³ Polleichtner concludes that Vergil is here “equating the stealing of Helen with the death of Pallas,” and thereby implying that while the Greeks at Troy would never show mercy, the Trojans in Italy would, until the death of Pallas.¹⁰⁴ If Vergil had wished his audience to arrive at such a conclusion, one wonders why he did not give an example of a successful supplication earlier in the war. The parallel between Magus and Adrastus is indeed obvious – they both offer money – but what Polleichtner either chooses to disregard or simply fails to see is that in Aeneas’ reply Magus corresponds to Lycaeon rather than Adrastus. The reason given by Achilles to Lycaeon and Aeneas to Magus for their refusal to be merciful is their sorrow for a dear and dead friend, Patroclus and Pallas respectively. Vergil could hardly have made the parallel between Lycaeon and Magus any clearer. Their killers are both avengers driven by anger. It should also be noted that Magus, in contrast to Adrastus, but following Lycaeon, mentions his family in his supplication.

In fact, Polleichtner’s assertion that the Greeks never showed mercy simply does not fit the facts. Lycaeon himself says in his plea to Achilles that he had previously been taken alive by him, and Achilles, though declining to be merciful this time, concedes that earlier in the war

¹⁰² Appian (BC 2.206), Dio Cassius (44.6.4), and Plutarch (*Caes.* 57.4) all mention the senate vote, but it is not clear whether or not it was ever built. Caesar was assassinated soon after, and Octavian might have decided not to finish it. The virtue of *clementia* did not, after all, fit so well with his image as the avenger of Caesar.

¹⁰³ Hom. *Il.* 6.37-65.

¹⁰⁴ Polleichtner, *Emotional Questions – Vergil, the Emotions, and the Transformation of Epic Poetry*, 251-252. It should be noted that Polleichtner considers Mago in line 521 to be nominative, not dative, as most commentators do. The change makes him, and not Aeneas, cast the spear. This causes a rather abrupt transition from attack to supplication, and, more importantly, blurs the parallel between Magus and Lycaeon, as Lycaeon also ducks under his foeman’s spear prior to clasping his knees.

he had often taken prisoners to be ransomed. Isus and Antiphus, mentioned at *Il.* 11.105, are apparently two of these. The exchange of words between Menelaos and Agamemnon concerning the fate of Adrastus shows that mercy is indeed a realistic option for the epic warrior. Had not Agamemnon been on hand to intervene, Adrastus would have been spared instead of speared.¹⁰⁵ Polleichtner focuses exclusively on Adrastus – he does not consider Lycaeon – and his argument therefore inevitably goes off the track. The killing of Pallas has indeed removed the possibility of Aeneas showing mercy, and mercy was ostensibly possible before that event – although there are no examples – but this does not turn Aeneas into a merciful Agamemnon, instead it associates him rather uncomfortably with the *alius Achilles* spoken of by the Sibyl at the entrance to the Underworld: “*Alius Latio iam partus Achilles / natus et ipse dea.*”¹⁰⁶ It will also be recalled that the *Odyssey* does in fact include two successful supplications; after the battle against the suitors, Telemachus – in a spectacular inversion of the Adrastus-episode – intervenes and saves Phemius and Medon from his father’s wrath, proving beyond doubt that mercy is a realistic option for the epic warrior.

In his commentary on book 10 of the *Aeneid*, S. J. Harrison begins his examination of Aeneas’ killing spree by claiming that “the killing of suppliants is regular in the *Iliad*.”¹⁰⁷ Considering the statistics presented earlier, this seems to be somewhat of an exaggeration. Contrary to what many scholars seem to assume, the world of the *Aeneid* is more brutal and more lawless than that of the *Iliad*. As shown by Andreola Rossi, the battle-scenes of the *Aeneid* are generally more realistic, and less agonistic, than those of the *Iliad*. Ambushes and surprise attacks are considered cowardly in the *Iliad*; not so in the *Aeneid*.¹⁰⁸ “*Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat*” is a Vergilian line.¹⁰⁹ The strategy of vindicating Aeneas’ behaviour by dehumanizing the Iliadic warriors has little to recommend it. In fact, Aeneas comes out of a comparison with his former enemies rather poorly.

(b) *Romani et barbari*

When consulting Caesar’s commentaries it comes as no surprise that he acted with considerably more severity in his Gallic wars than in his civil wars. As mentioned earlier,

¹⁰⁵ Riggs Alden Smith, *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil’s Aeneid* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 154.

¹⁰⁶ Verg. A. 6.89-90.

¹⁰⁷ Harrison, *Vergil – Aeneid 10*, 204.

¹⁰⁸ Andreola Rossi, *Contexts of War: Manipulation of Genre in Virgilian Battle Narrative* (USA: The University of Michigan Press, 2004), 100-103.

¹⁰⁹ Verg. A. 2.390.

Octavian admits in the *Res Gestae* that his clemency too was more limited when foreigners were involved.¹¹⁰ Still, the numerous examples of Caesar referring to his clemency in the Gallic wars seem to prove that *clementia* was an established virtue also when dealing with foreign enemies.¹¹¹ It was in fact Caesar who introduced *clementia* into the world of civil conflict. Previously it had been used only when dealing with foreign enemies.¹¹² The Gallic chieftain Vercingetorix was admittedly paraded in Caesar's triumph and strangled in the Tullianum, but this was the exception rather than the rule. Mary Beard has shown that the ritual killing of enemy leaders during triumphs might not have been much of a ritual after all. In fact, "more often than not, even the most illustrious captives are said to have escaped death."¹¹³ The killing of enemy leaders was not an ancestral custom in Rome, nor was it treated as such by Roman writers.

When looking at the historical record, it seems, paradoxically, to be the other way around. Soldiers and officers were frequently pardoned during the civil wars, but major rivals nearly always ended up dead some way or another. Both sons of Pompey the Great were executed, the elder by Caesar, and the younger by Marc Antony's associate Marcus Titius. Their father died rather conveniently in Egypt, and so did Marc Antony. Most of Caesar's assassins were either killed in battle, executed, or decided to take their own lives. The Thracian chief Rhascupolis, on the other hand, was spared after Philippi.¹¹⁴ Marcus Lepidus was the biggest fish to survive, but then he was very much the junior partner of the second triumvirate. The fact that he had inherited Caesar's post as *pontifex maximus* was probably the main reason why he kept his head. One of Octavian's primary accusations against Caesar's assassins had, after all, been that they had killed a sacrosanct person, so he could hardly do the same himself.¹¹⁵ Still, that did not stop Maecenas from condemning Lepidus' son to death on a charge of treason in 30 BC.¹¹⁶

When fighting a foreign nation, even though victorious, one can easily leave the enemy with some of their original land. In a civil war one is inevitably fighting for dominion over the

¹¹⁰ Aug. *Anc.* 3.1-2.

¹¹¹ Caesar. *Gal.* 2.14, 2.28, 2.31, 8.3, 8.21.

¹¹² Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, 16-24.

¹¹³ Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (USA: The Pelknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 130.

¹¹⁴ Appian. *BC.* 4.17.136.

¹¹⁵ Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, 56-57.

¹¹⁶ Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, 63.

same area, and this makes bestowing *clementia* rather more complicated. A parallel can be found during the decline of the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. While barbarian groups were frequently left unopposed by the reigning emperor, usurpers were tracked down mercilessly. Indeed the Romans often made terms with barbarians and more or less willingly conceded territories to them, but negotiating with rival pretenders was out of the question. After all, the barbarians only wanted a strip of land; the usurpers were after your head.¹¹⁷ If Turnus is not a valid receiver of mercy then, it is not because he is a foreigner, but rather because he is an Italian. That at least was the lesson learned from the civil wars fought during Vergil's lifetime.

Indeed, I would argue that Vergil intensifies the impression of the conflict as a civil war by making the two major antagonists assume that one of them must die for the war to end. A comparison can be drawn with Andreola Rossi's work on Vergil's use of vividness, *enargeia*, and features of historiography. Rossi argues that Vergil's employment of vividness and his usage of features of historiography are aimed at disrupting the epic landscape and eliding the distance between the past and the present.¹¹⁸ In contrast to the Homeric epics, Vergilian *enargeia* "strives to create an identity between the narrated events and the experience of the 'now' and to fashion powerful connections between the Roman past and the Roman present."¹¹⁹ The present is played out in the past. The duel, a stock ingredient of the epic genre, is thus rejuvenated and infused with new meaning for the Vergilian audience. It comes to symbolize the battle between two great men for the possession of the state, an event the Romans of the Late Republic had seen played out in successive stages from the time of Sulla and Marius to the final struggle between Caesar's heirs. The epic past becomes a key to interpreting the historical present.

(c) *Clementia in bello aut post bellum?*

There are two successful supplications in the *Aeneid* that can be said to take place in a context of war, those of Sinon and Achaemenides. Cairns and Putnam consider the case of

¹¹⁷ Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire – A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 263. Guy Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 213. The so-called "year of four emperors" makes another fine parallel; Galba (assassinated), Otho (committed suicide), and Vitellius (executed) all had to die for Vespasian's position to be secured.

¹¹⁸ Rossi, *Contexts of War: Manipulation of Genre in Virgilian Battle Narrative*, 125-149. See especially 145-149.

¹¹⁹ Rossi, *Contexts of War: Manipulation of Genre in Virgilian Battle Narrative*, 148.

Achaemenides as an example of *clementia* shown by the Trojans, and Reinhold Gleis sees it as “ein typischer Fall von *parcere subiectis*.”¹²⁰ The same could be said about Sinon.

Interestingly, their supplications are not part of a context of battle; they both beg for mercy in the aftermath of war, not during war. This is especially true for Achaemenides. The one is – seemingly at least – a cast-off from an enemy who will soon be back for more, and the other is a ragged leftover abandoned by the conquering enemy. Neither seems to be in any way a threat to the Trojans. Only after the Greeks have gained entrance into the city, do the Trojans understand that Sinon’s supplication was not made in the aftermath of war.

The uncertainty of what consequences an act of mercy will produce is well illustrated by the parallel stories of Sinon and Achaemenides. Sinon repaid the mercy granted him by Priam by betraying him; Achaemenides repaid the mercy granted him by the Trojans by helping them out of a tight spot.¹²¹ Sinon’s treachery was proof that showing *clementia* could be hazardous, and jeopardizing the glorious future of Rome would go against Aeneas’ obligations – demanded by his *pietas* – towards father and fatherland. Just as Caesar’s *clementia* in the end cost him his life through the treachery of men he had once spared, so Priam ended up as a headless trunk on an eastern shore through the courtesy of a man to whom he had previously shown mercy. Although he does not swing the sword himself, Sinon is obviously an epic predecessor of Brutus. The fact that Priam’s end recalls that of Pompey invites the reader to see it as a parallel to the civil war.¹²² Appian claims that it was in fact the fate of Caesar that spurred the triumvirs to instigate the proscriptions.¹²³ The Ides of March had shown that it was not for the merciful man to be emperor of Rome.

This argument is valid for Aeneas’ actions in book 10, as the war is not yet over. In book 12 it depends on how one interprets Turnus’ final words to Aeneas; if considered truthful and honest, the killing of Turnus is not a prerequisite for final victory, but if, following Polleichtner, Turnus’ words are seen simply as a survival-strategy, and are betrayed as false by his acts – revealed by the baldrick – then Turnus must be killed for Ascanius to be safe and

¹²⁰ Cairns, *Virgil’s Augustan Epic*, 93. Putnam, *Virgil’s Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, 62-65. Reinhold Gleis, *Der Vater der Dinge – Interpretationen zur politischen, literarischen und kulturellen Dimension des Krieges bei Vergil* (Germany: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 1991), 150.

¹²¹ Verg. A. 3.690-691.

¹²² Plu. *Pomp.* 80.1.

¹²³ Appian. *BC.* 4.8.

the future of Rome secure.¹²⁴ According to Polleichtner, Aeneas cannot be sure that Turnus is sincere in acknowledging defeat and confessing his guilt; Turnus might well be bluffing.¹²⁵ Galinsky argues similarly and claims that “by the end of the epic, the reader of the *Aeneid* knows that there will be no change of spirit in Turnus.”¹²⁶ The question of whether or not Turnus is lying is obviously near impossible to answer, and I believe another approach might be useful, and for this we turn to Caesar.

Several of the men pardoned by Caesar after the siege of Corfinium early in the civil war, took up arms again and had to be defeated once more. Vibullius Rufus is a case in point as he was captured and spared twice.¹²⁷ These cases show that granting *clementia* could indeed be detrimental to one’s war-effort, but that is exactly why Caesar could parade them as examples of *sua clementia*.¹²⁸ That was why it was a virtue. The virtuous man does not take the easy way out. In books two, three, and four Aeneas shows his *pietas* by making the difficult choice of leaving what he holds dear, first his native land, then the hollow models thereof, and finally his lover. He suppresses his personal desires for the common good. In the episodes under discussion in books 10 and 12 however, he takes the easy way out. He simply mows people down indiscriminately. If Aeneas is right to deny his opponents in book 10 *clementia*, it is because his *pietas* – his obligations to the Roman future – demands it, not because *clementia* is not shown in wartime. There is a conflict of virtues.

(d) Deserving Mercy

Turnus the Cruel

As mentioned earlier, Cairns, Galinsky, and Polleichtner all refer to Cicero’s *De Officiis* in order to justify the final act of Aeneas. Although sceptical as to whether a philosophical treatise can be used “as a virtual blueprint for the last books of the *Aeneid* and its aftermath,”¹²⁹ referring to Cicero certainly has its advantages, as he was both a contemporary of Vergil and an active participant in the civil wars. However, Cairns, Galinsky, and

¹²⁴ Polleichtner, *Emotional Questions – Vergil, the Emotions, and the Transformation of Epic Poetry*, 241-244. 270-271.

¹²⁵ Polleichtner, *Emotional Questions – Vergil, the Emotions, and the Transformation of Epic Poetry*, 274.

¹²⁶ Galinsky, “The Anger of Aeneas”, in *AJP*, 343. Although I would not claim to be an especially attentive reader of the *Aeneid*, I most certainly am a reader, and I for one had never even considered the possibility that Turnus could be bluffing.

¹²⁷ *Caes. Civ.* 3.10.

¹²⁸ *Caes. Gal.* 2.14, 31. 8.21.

¹²⁹ Cairns, *Virgil’s Augustan Epic*, 82. I must confess that I am rather curious as to what the “aftermath” of the *Aeneid* is.

Polleichtner have quoted only fragments of Cicero's discussion, and what they have decided not to quote is in fact as relevant as what they have. Only two years before publication of Cairns' book, Peter Burnell published an article in which he consulted the exact same chapter of the *De Officiis*, and for the exact same purpose, namely to decide whether or not Cicero would have approved of Aeneas' conduct. Burnell admits that Cicero does indeed "make allowance for harsh punishment of exceptionally brutal enemies,"¹³⁰ but cites also the beginning of Cicero's discussion on the subject: "Sunt autem quaedam officia etiam adversus eos servanda, a quibus iniuriam acceperis. Est enim ulciscendi et puniendi modus; atque haud scio an satis sit eum, qui lacesierit, iniuriae suae paenitere, ut et ipse ne quid tale posthac et ceteri sint ad iniuriam tardiores."¹³¹ In his final address to Aeneas, Turnus seems to fit rather nicely into Cicero's mould for the defeated enemy who regrets his prior actions: "Ille humilis supplexque oculos dextramque precantem 'equidem merui.'"¹³² The exact meaning of the phrase "equidem merui" is admittedly contested, and it does not necessarily include moral guilt.¹³³ Still, there can be no doubt that he is humbled and admits defeat: "Vicisti et victum tendere palmas / Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx."¹³⁴ Note the repetition of the crucial word *vicere* in both active and passive forms. His men have seen him defeated, and he accepts that Lavinia, and with her kingship over Latium, goes to the winner. This is exactly the kind of *paenitentia* one can expect from a conquered enemy. Unless one follows Polleichtner's assertion that Turnus is lying, Cicero cannot be called upon to give a clear verdict. Moreover, as Burnell points out, it is Mezentius, not Turnus, who is the exceptionally brutal enemy.¹³⁵ In fact, Turnus is not much worse than Aeneas. Even though he does not equal Turnus in decorating his chariot with the heads of fallen enemies,¹³⁶ Aeneas is just as liable for persecution as a war criminal as Turnus. The eight youths taken for human sacrifice should suffice as an example.

¹³⁰ Peter Burnell, "The Death of Turnus and Roman Morality", in *Greece & Rome* (Second Series, Vol. 34, No. 2, 1987), 191.

¹³¹ Cic. *Off.* 1.33.

¹³² Verg. A. 12.930-931.

¹³³ Viktor Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil – Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*, translated by Gerda Seligson. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1962), 136. R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil – Books 7-12* (London: Macmillan, 1973), 507.

¹³⁴ Verg. A. 12.936-937.

¹³⁵ Burnell, "The Death of Turnus and Roman Morality", in *Greece & Rome*, 191.

¹³⁶ Verg. A. 12.511-2.

As mentioned earlier, both Thucydides and Sallust have characters express the sentiment that some people deserve neither pity nor pardon. Indeed, Cleon's opponent in the Athenian assembly, Diodotus, makes no effort to defend the Mytilenaeans' claim to pity. He is concerned solely with what is beneficial to the Athenians.¹³⁷ Cato's opponent, Caesar, also discards *miseriordia* – along with *odium*, *amicitia*, and *ira* – as irrelevant for the question of what to do with Catalina's co-conspirators.¹³⁸ Contrary to Diodotus, however, he is not – believe it or not – primarily interested in politics. He bases his argument not on what others deserve, but rather on what is fitting for a proper Roman: “Item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginenses et in pace et per indutias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere; magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos iure fieri posset quaerebant.”¹³⁹ He goes on to say that it is especially important for those who have great power to control their passions. For them, “neque studere neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet.”¹⁴⁰ For Sallust's Caesar, it is not pity, but propriety, that leads to clemency. This seems to fit nicely with what Caesar himself writes in his commentaries; only once does he claim that he “movebatur etiam misericordia civium, quos interficiendos videbat.”¹⁴¹

The historian Diodorus Siculus, who lived during the Late Republic, also has a relevant story to tell. In the aftermath of the failed Athenian expedition to Sicily, Diodorus describes the debate in the Syracusan assembly over what to do with the surviving Athenians. The old man Nicolaus, although he has lost two sons in the war, speaks in favour of granting mercy. He does not defend the Athenians, but says that the question of what they deserve is not the only matter under consideration. He argues that the Athenians have suffered enough already, that it is dishonourable to kill the humbled, that those who surrender and entrust to their enemies their very lives should not be harmed, that clemency is beneficial, that fortune is quick to change, that the end of war should also be the end of punishment, and that all Athenians are not equally guilty.¹⁴² Although primarily interested in what is beneficial to the Syracusians, he also argues for clemency on purely humane grounds. Konstan writes: “He undermines Cleon's thesis that some enemies are unalterably hostile and will never repay pity.”¹⁴³ The

¹³⁷ Konstan, *Pity Transformed*, 82. Thuc. 3.44.1-2.

¹³⁸ Sal. *Cat.* 51.1

¹³⁹ Sal. *Cat.* 51.6.

¹⁴⁰ Sal. *Cat.* 51.14.

¹⁴¹ Caes. *Civ.* 1.72.

¹⁴² Diodorus Siculus. 13.20-27.

¹⁴³ Konstan, *Pity Transformed*, 90.

Syracusians eventually decide not to be merciful, but, at the very least, the debate shows that pity and mercy towards the undeserving was a very real option. In another vein, it also shows that the themes of clemency and revenge – unsurprisingly – were considered relevant for historians who lived during the Late Republic. There is no such debate in Thucydides’ original version of the story.

Turnus the Faithless

One of the major, moral failures of Turnus is his decision to commence the fighting when the truce is violated and Aeneas is wounded.¹⁴⁴ Galinsky doggedly claims that “we know of no occurrence of *clementia* in such a case.”¹⁴⁵ Servius also connects the breaking of the treaty to Turnus’s death: “Pallas inmolat [Turnum] et ad suae mortis et ad rupti foederis ultionem.”¹⁴⁶ As an oath-breaker, surely he deserves no mercy? An interesting parallel can be found in *De Bello Civili* in the city of Massilia. In spite of recently having received aid from Caesar, its citizens decide to throw in their lot with Pompey. Caesar’s attempts to negotiate are futile, so he leaves behind three legions and instructs Gaius Trebonius to undertake a siege. As the city is about to fall, siege engines having been brought up against the crumbling walls, the Massilians admit defeat and ask for a truce. This is granted and both sides relax their defences and await the arrival and judgement of Caesar. A few days later, however, the Massilians break the truce as they make a sudden sortie and succeed in burning a large number of siege engines. Trebonius immediately starts repairing the losses, and to the great dismay of the Massilians the city is soon again on the verge of falling. When Caesar finally arrives, he nonetheless decides to spare the Massilians: “Caesar magis eos [Massilienses] pro nomine et vetustate quam pro meritis in se civitatis conservans.”¹⁴⁷ The case of Massilia shows that also the undeserving enemy can be granted *clementia*; that mercy does not necessarily have to be earned. For in contrast to *iustitia*, the virtue of *clementia* is not concerned with determining guilt. Turnus’ guilt is indeed obvious; “that record is clear.”¹⁴⁸ Guilt is not, however, an obstacle for Caesar’s *clementia*; it is a prerequisite for it.

¹⁴⁴ Egil Kraggerud, *Vergil: Aeneiden – 11. og 12. bok* (Tangen: Suttung Forlag, 1989), 137.

¹⁴⁵ Galinsky, “The Anger of Aeneas”, in *AJP*, 324. Karl Galinsky, *Augustan Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 250.

¹⁴⁶ Serv. A. 12.949.

¹⁴⁷ Caesar. *Civ.* 1.34-36. 2.12-16, 22.

¹⁴⁸ Galinsky, “The Anger of Aeneas”, in *AJP*, 327.

Cicero's *Pro Ligario* is well suited to shed light on this fact. In his defence of Ligarius, Cicero makes no attempt to deny the facts of the accusation. He certainly does try to minimize Ligarius' involvement, but, as he tediously repeats, the speech is not designed to prove Ligarius' innocence, but to ask for Caesar's forgiveness. Indeed, Cicero starts the speech by – wittily – cursing that Caesar has come to know the truth of Ligarius' whereabouts, that Ligarius was in fact in Africa, and thereby deprived him of the possibility to argue for his client's innocence. Instead, “omissaque controuersia omnis oratio ad misericordiam tuam conferenda est, qua plurimi sunt conseruati, cum a te non liberationem culpae sed errati ueniam impetrauissent.”¹⁴⁹ Cicero's admission on the point of guilt is repeated straight afterwards when he addresses the accuser, Tubero: “Habes igitur, Tubero, quod est accusatori maxime optandum, confitentem reum.”¹⁵⁰ Cicero admits that Tubero has what Aristotle deemed impossible, a defendant who pleads guilty and hopes for a pardon.¹⁵¹ In another of Cicero's Caesarian speeches, the *Pro Marcello*, the question of guilt is likewise deemed – if not irrelevant – then at least of minor importance. What matters is Caesar's clemency, not the deserts of the accused. These examples show that it is possible to ask for, and receive, mercy, even though one is blatantly guilty. The accused, just like a defeated warrior on the battlefield, acknowledges that he can seek refuge nowhere else but in the mercy of his judge.

Numerous sources attest to the fact that the Romans were not dogmatic in killing traitors. Diodorus Siculus tells the story of how Scipio pardoned the Numidian king Syphax who had earlier betrayed him by deserting to the Carthaginians.¹⁵² Livy too has also plenty of examples of Roman *clementia* shown towards faithless enemies.¹⁵³ One example is the story of the two Spanish chieftains Indibilis and Mandonius, who at 27.17 pledge their loyalty to Scipio, at 28.24 rebel against the Romans, and at 28.31-34 are defeated and pardoned.

Another story showing that clemency could be bestowed on oath-breakers can be found in Appian's treatment of the Punic Wars. After a treaty has been signed near the end of the Second Punic War, the Carthaginians steal a Roman supply ship that had been forced ashore

¹⁴⁹ Cic. *Lig.* 1.

¹⁵⁰ Cic. *Lig.* 2. For further examples of Cicero's admission of Ligarius' guilt, see 7, 29, and 30. Cicero also, I suspect, mocks Tubero by hinting that he will not be able to win his case, even though the accused has confessed.

¹⁵¹ Cicero employs the strategy of *deprecatio*. Cic. *Inv.* 2.104. *Rhet. Her.* 2.25.

¹⁵² Diodorus Siculus. 27.6.2

¹⁵³ Konstan, *Pity Transformed*, 96.

by a storm and thereafter ambush some Roman envoys.¹⁵⁴ War promptly breaks out again, and Scipio finally defeats Hannibal’s army at Zama. Soon after, two Carthaginian ambassadors arrive in Scipio’s camp to parley. The leader, Hasdrubal Eriphus, argues that only some Carthaginians were responsible for the outrages committed against the Romans, and that their actions were, after all, understandable, as they were suffering from starvation.¹⁵⁵ In Konstan’s analysis the Carthaginian ambassador is here invoking “what jurists call ‘force majeure’ or, in latin, *vis maior*. It is true that the deed is conceded, as is the definition of the act as a wrong; but responsibility is wholly denied.”¹⁵⁶ They were driven by hunger. But, as noted by Konstan, Hasdrubal Eriphus goes further: “εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀδικεῖν ὑμῖν δοκοῦμεν, οὐκ ἀτυχεῖν, ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμαρτόντων δικαιολογία, τῶν δ’ ἀμαρτόντων παράκλησις.”¹⁵⁷ Hasdrubal here puts forward a definition of pity that is opposed to that of Aristotle, Cleon, and Cato,¹⁵⁸ but similar to that of Caesar. He argues that pity can be shown towards those who are undeserving, but is obviously not convinced that Scipio will agree, so he inserts excuses for their behaviour as well, claiming that they are not undeserving of pity after all. Scipio’s reply is also of interest: “ἔστε μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιοι, πολλάκις ἐς σπονδὰς ἡμῶν ὑβρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν καὶ ἐς πρεσβείας ἀμαρτόντες οὕτω φανερώς καὶ ἀθεμίτως ὡς μήτε ἐξαρνεῖσθαι μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστὲ τιμωρίας ἄξιοι. τί δὲ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ὁμολογούντων.”¹⁵⁹ He does not accept the excuses presented by Hasdrubal Eriphus – the Carthaginians are indeed undeserving of pity – but nevertheless decides to be merciful. Scipio’s *clementia* stands in stark contrast to Aeneas’ fury at the end of the *Aeneid*. Scipio sees no point in accusing those who confess; Aeneas’ final act is to sentence and punish Turnus in spite of his admission of guilt.

A major reason why Scipio opts for mercy seems to be that he does not want to descend to the same barbaric behaviour as the Carthaginians. Warned by Hasdrubal Eriphus not to imitate the cruelty of which he accuses the Carthaginians, Scipio answers that the Romans will never

¹⁵⁴ App. Λιβυκή. 6.34-7.47.

¹⁵⁵ App. Λιβυκή. 8.49-50.

¹⁵⁶ David Konstan, “Assuaging Rage”, in Charles L. Griswold and David Konstan (eds.) *Ancient Forgiveness: Classical, Judaic, and Christian* (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 19. See also Cic. *Inv.* 2.94-98.

¹⁵⁷ App. Λιβυκή. 8.51.

¹⁵⁸ Konstan, *Pity Transformed*, 93.

¹⁵⁹ App. Λιβυκή. 8.53.

imitate their bad example.¹⁶⁰ *Clementia* is not shown for the sake of the enemy, but for the sake of oneself. Appian has made Scipio a proto-Caesar. Back in the Senate, a friend of Scipio holds that the question of whether or not to destroy Carthage is not a question of what the Carthaginians deserve, but a question of what the Romans ought to do in order to keep their good reputation among gods and men. He paraphrases Vergil's most famous line, arguing that “οἷς ἔτι μὲν φιλονεικοῦσιν ἐρίζειν ἔδει, πεσόντων δὲ φείδεσθαι.”¹⁶¹ He also goes on to mention several instances when Romans of earlier times were merciful even towards enemies who had broken treaties and betrayed trust.¹⁶² For Scipio and his friend, *clementia* is shown in order not to disgrace oneself.

What makes Appian a good source is that his example is long and comprehensive. It could, however, be argued that Appian, who wrote around 150 AD, is a poor source for unlocking the meaning of *clementia* in Vergil's time. Konstan and Dowling are surely right that the concepts of clemency and pity change over time.¹⁶³ Appian's story might well have been influenced by later developments of the concepts. Nonetheless, a closer look at some of the more contemporary sources has shown that his idea of *clementia* was exercised also during the final years of the republic, most notably by Caesar. It should also be noted that Appian was inspired by several earlier authors, including Polybius, Caesar, and Asinius Pollio. In fact, Polybius tells the same story, and regards Scipio's decision to treat the Carthaginian envoys with respect, even though the Carthaginians had attempted to murder the Roman envoys, as right and wise. According to Polybius, “ἔσκοπεῖτο παρ' αὐτῷ συλλογιζόμενος οὐχ οὕτως τί δέον παθεῖν Καρχηδονίους, ὡς τί δέον ἦν πρᾶξαι Ῥωμαίους.”¹⁶⁴

These stories do not prove that all Romans believed in showing mercy to the undeserving – there are plenty of examples of the opposite – but they do prove that different views existed, and that we therefore cannot exculpate Aeneas by referring to some vague notion of ‘Roman Thought’. The ancient sources simply – and unsurprisingly – do not agree on the question of whether or not pity and mercy has to be earned. What is certain, is that Caesar's *clementia* was shown also to those who, according to Aristotle, did not deserve pity. Cicero's use of the term in his Caesarian speeches as well as Caesar's own commentaries confirm this. For

¹⁶⁰ App. Λιβυκή. 8.52-53.

¹⁶¹ App. Λιβυκή. 8.57. Verg. A. 6.853: “Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.”

¹⁶² App. Λιβυκή. 8.58.

¹⁶³ Konstan, *Pity Transformed*, 1-2. Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, passim.

¹⁶⁴ Polyb. 15.4.10.

Caesar, however, reasons to pity were not reasons to pardon. His *clementia* was not, or at least seldom, bestowed out of pity. It was bestowed partly in order not to be seen as cruel and partly in order to win over former enemies to his side; his *clementia* was caused by political shrewdness rather than humanity. What mattered were not the deserts of the suppliant, but the personality of the person supplicated, his policy, so to speak. Mandonius and Indibilis, the two Spanish chieftains mentioned earlier, were pardoned by Scipio, but later executed by the generals Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus after another failed rebellion. They did obviously not share Scipio's belief in clemency.

In the light of these examples, Dowling's assertion that "those who demonstrate no merit receive no mercy" seems all too universalizing.¹⁶⁵ There is no such simple answer, and we would do well to stay clear of reductive conclusions.¹⁶⁶ Polleichtner, in concluding that "Turnus has done nothing to deserve to be spared," has got hold of the wrong end of the stick.¹⁶⁷ Turnus has a father, and for Vergil that is more important than his merits. It is not against Turnus that Aeneas is pitiless in the final scene, but against Daunus. For Turnus does not ask to be spared for his own sake, but for that of his parent.

A Look at the *Res Gestae*

Putting aside for a moment the question of what punishment is proper for a cruel and faithless enemy, it is essential to remember that Aeneas does not kill Turnus for any of the above-mentioned reasons. As has been convincingly argued by Michael Putnam, Aeneas kills Turnus because Turnus killed Pallas.¹⁶⁸ It is only when Aeneas catches sight of Pallas' baldric that he becomes deaf to Turnus' plea for mercy. The same holds true for his actions in book 10; it is not the thought of Rome's glorious future that drives him to kill the enemy suppliants, but his sorrow and anger over Pallas' death. A comparison with Caesar and Octavian seems mandatory. Like Caesar, Aeneas can forgive the breaking of a truce, but, like Octavian, he

¹⁶⁵ Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, 100.

¹⁶⁶ I thoroughly admire those who dare attempt broad treatments of concepts such as pity and clemency, and believe that their scholarship is of invaluable importance in presenting complex subjects in a compact and legible way. However, generalization does tend to lead to simplification. Dowling's claim (Dowling, *Clemency & Cruelty in the Roman World*, 98) that "Turnus denied clemency to Pallas, despite the young man's pleas", is patently wrong. Pallas never begged for his life.

¹⁶⁷ Polleichtner, *Emotional Questions – Vergil, the Emotions, and the Transformation of Epic Poetry*, 250.

¹⁶⁸ Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, 21, 157-158. See also Tarrant, *Virgil – Aeneid: Book XII*, 22. As mentioned in chapter VI, Vergil too makes this very clear.

cannot forgive the killing of someone close to him.¹⁶⁹ The hero, who had always stoically suppressed his personal desires for the common good, kills Turnus solely out of revenge;¹⁷⁰ unless of course one argues that public advantage and personal revenge miraculously coincide, as Octavian did in his *Res Gestae*. The most commonly printed text runs like this: “Qui parentem meum trucidaverunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie. Bella terra et mari civilia externaque toto in orbe terrarum saepe gessi, victorque omnibus veniam petentibus civibus peperci.”¹⁷¹ Those who killed his father just happened to be waging war against the state. As the text is generally written in an impersonal and official style, the words “qui parentem meum trucidaverunt” is therefore all the more striking due to their emotional connotations. Not only does the verb *trucidaverunt* evoke gruesome scenes of barbaric slaughter, but the pronoun *meum*, which is obviously not present by any demands of grammar, arouses pathos by stressing Octavian’s role as son.¹⁷² However, the text is not preserved in its entirety, and the crucial word – *trucidaverunt* – is constructed on no other basis than the two letters “VN”. *Interfecerunt*, *occiderunt*, or *necaverunt* are alternative readings, the first being the most likely according to Alison Cooley’s recently published commentary on the *Res Gestae*.¹⁷³ Interestingly, in the most recent commentary on book 12 of the *Aeneid*, Richard Tarrant quotes the *Res Gestae* and prints *trucidaverunt* without commenting on the fragmentary state of preservation of the word.¹⁷⁴ I cannot find any satisfactory arguments for preferring the highly emotive *trucidaverunt* in an otherwise unemotional text. One wonders if perhaps someone has used Vergil as an historian. The ending of the *Aeneid* combined with too

¹⁶⁹ Tacitus records in his *Annales* that not all were convinced that *pietas* was Octavian’s primary motivation for waging war against Caesar’s assassins and subjugating the state to his will (*Ann.* 1.9-10). No one, at least, can doubt that Aeneas’ passions are genuine. An attempt to determine whether Vergil thus confirms the sincerity of Octavian’s passions by stressing the genuineness of his ancestor’s, or contrasts Aeneas’ sincere passions with Octavian’s false passions would be hazardous.

¹⁷⁰ The good king kills only for the good of the state, never for personal satisfaction, at least according to Sen. *Cl.* 1.12.1.

¹⁷¹ Aug. *Anc.* 2-3.

¹⁷² Note Cooley’s interesting observation that the possessive pronoun *meus* “occurs again and again in the *RGDA*.” Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, 24-25.

¹⁷³ Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, 115. For a look at the preserved text, see John Scheid, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Hauts Faits du Divin Auguste* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2007), CXLIII. Scheid believes *trucidaverunt* is the correct reading. Theodor Mommsen printed *occiderunt* in 1865, *interfecerunt* in 1883. *Trucidaverunt* was first proposed by K. Engelhardt in 1902, followed by E. Kornemann in 1921, A. R. Premerstein in 1927, and W. Weber in 1936. Scheid, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Hauts Faits du Divin Auguste*, 5.

¹⁷⁴ Tarrant, *Virgil – Aeneid: Book XII*, 27.

allegorical an interpretation of Aeneas might well be a major reason why one has wished to see reminiscences of epic rage in the *Res Gestae*.

Regardless of which is the correct reading, Augustus says nothing about having killed, or having been forced by his *pietas*, to kill Caesar's assassins. He simply defeated them in battle. Indeed, he claims that, when victorious, he pardoned every citizen who asked for mercy. If it were not for other sources, one could – and would – be misled into believing that they were allowed to live in exile. “Killing for revenge, then, is absent, if not from Augustus' actions, at least from his claims.”¹⁷⁵ If Augustus did not think that his behaviour in the civil wars could be vindicated by the fact that he avenged his father, neither can we excuse Aeneas by referring to his obligations towards Evander and Pallas.

IX: *Clementia* and the Gods

Jupiter and the *Inclementia Divum*

Jupiter is a strange character in the *Aeneid*. On the one hand he is the caring father figure who kisses his daughter Venus “*voltu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat*” to sooth her fears and the stoical supreme ruler who comforts his son Hercules “*dictis ... amicis*” when his favourite Pallas is about to die.¹⁷⁶ On the other hand he is the relentless executor of *fatum* and the merciless king of the Furies. At the fall of Troy, he is the one who lends strength to the Greek attackers: “*Ipse pater Danais animos uirisque secundas / sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitata arma.*”¹⁷⁷ As omnipotent ruler, he is responsible for the aforementioned *inclementia divum*. He has no interest whatsoever in Aeneas except as an agent of *fatum*. At the death of Ripheus, “*iustissimus unus / qui fuit in Teucris et seruantissimus aequi,*” Aeneas adds laconically “*dis aliter visum.*”¹⁷⁸ This does not bear witness to any great faith in the fairness of the gods on the part of the hero. Aeneas questions the justice of the gods; whether or not Aeneas' sentiments are the same as those of Vergil is not for me to say. In book 2 Aeneas is caught up in events over which he has no control and which he does not understand, so it is understandable that he is quick to blame higher powers. This might be no more than Vergil's way of expressing the *topos* of ‘God works – or rather the gods work – in mysterious ways’. Still, the apparent

¹⁷⁵ Burnell, “The Death of Turnus and Roman Morality”, in *Greece & Rome*, 190. (note 109)

¹⁷⁶ Verg. A. 1.255. 10.466.

¹⁷⁷ Verg. A. 2.617-618.

¹⁷⁸ Verg. A. 2.426-428.

unfairness and arbitrariness of the gods is left for all to see. Aeneas survives, while Ripheus and Panthus, who are also just and pious, die.¹⁷⁹ The god of war does not distinguish between good and bad. The reader is left to ponder why it was exactly Aeneas who was destined to live on; why he alone was spared.

On the temple of Juno in Carthage, the *inclementia divum* is portrayed again. The Trojan women are pictured going to Pallas' temple as suppliants, but their supplications are rejected by the goddess: "Interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant / crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant / suppliciter tristes et tunsae pectora palmis; / diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat."¹⁸⁰ The fact that Dido is described similarly when confronted with Aeneas in the Underworld – line 1.482 is repeated at 6.469 with *illa* substituted for *diva* – could imply that Pallas is indeed moved by their pleas. Regardless of her feelings, there is no act of clemency towards the suppliants.

The ruthlessness of the gods is present in book 12 as well. Just as Jupiter takes part in the *inclementia divum* during the fall of Troy in book 2, he is also the driving force behind Aeneas' killing of Turnus. Both events are predestined by fate as both Troy and Turnus are obstacles standing in the way of the glorious future of Rome. Their eliminations are necessary and Jupiter carries them out mercilessly. "By the epic's end," writes Putnam "the *inclementia* of the gods against Aeneas and Troy has become the *saevitia* of Jupiter and Aeneas against Turnus."¹⁸¹ Aeneas, however, does not see that the *divum inclementia* that destroys Turnus is the same as the one that destroyed Troy, and that he is merely a pawn of the gods.

Jupiter famously ends his prophetic vision of the Roman future in book 1 with the savage and bloodstained *Furor impius* imprisoned.¹⁸² In book 12, however, it is Jupiter himself who releases one of the *Dirae* and starts a chain of events that ends with Aeneas "Furiis accensus" killing his adversary.¹⁸³ Jupiter admittedly sends only one *Dira* and Aeneas is inflamed by *Furiis*, but I do not believe that makes the argument untenable. When addressed by Juturna at

¹⁷⁹ 2.429-430. Panthus is a fascinating character. He is an Anchises without an Aeneas, but who, like Aeneas, is singled out for his *pietas* (2.430). He carries around his sacred objects, his defeated gods and his small grandchild, and attempts to escape the Greek onslaught. But because he has no strong son to protect him and his family – as Anchises had – he dies, and no more is heard of the child. Panthus' *pietas* did not save him.

¹⁸⁰ Verg. A. 1.479-482.

¹⁸¹ Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, 150.

¹⁸² "Dirae ferro et compagibus artis / claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus, / saeva sedens super arma, et centum vinctus aenis / post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento." Verg. A. 1. 293-296.

¹⁸³ Verg. A. 12.845-854, 12.946.

12.876, the single *Dira* has suddenly become several “obscenae volucres.” The exact number of Furies is apparently not that important. Another question that merits mention is whether the *Dirae* are identical with the Furies. Richard Tarrant has recently argued that they are altogether different entities, as the Furies belong in the Underworld and their primary function is to avenge crime, while the *Dirae* are here merely “harbingers of disaster.”¹⁸⁴ However, Tarrant – to his credit – presents far too persuasive counter-arguments for me to be swayed by his original assertion. Vergil calls the *Dirae* “ultrices” twice in book 4 and their effect on humans is similar to that of the Furies.¹⁸⁵ I do not find it unnatural that one of the avengers of crime is sent against the criminal Turnus, nor is it spurious to claim that Jupiter can call upon the powers of the Underworld when it suits him.

Putnam argues that since the Fury sent by Jupiter is tasked only with driving off Juturna, Jupiter holds no responsibility for Aeneas’ final act. He believes that the Furies who inflame Aeneas are “generated from within.”¹⁸⁶ Although agreeing with Putnam that the Furies at the end and the Fury sent by Jupiter are not identical, I find it hard to believe that there is no connection between these two appearances of Furies so close to each other. As Putnam himself admits, the Fury does not disappear when Juturna plunges into the river.¹⁸⁷ In fact, Juturna seems to have sensed its coming, and is gone before it arrives. The Fury, apparently in defiance of Jupiter’s orders, heads straight for Turnus instead:

Postquam acies uidet Iliacas atque agmina Turni,
 alitis in paruae subitam collecta figuram,
 quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis
 nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras.
 Hanc uersa in faciem Turni se pestis ob ora
 fertque refertque sonans clipeumque euerberat alis.
 Illi membra nouus soluit formidine torpor,
 arrectaeque horrore comae et uox faucibus haesit.¹⁸⁸

This is a turning point in the plot and the moment of enlightenment for Turnus. The next time he speaks it is with calm dignity; he replies to Aeneas’ taunts that he does not fear him, only

¹⁸⁴ Tarrant, *Virgil – Aeneid: Book XII*, 306-307.

¹⁸⁵ Verg. A. 4.473, 610. Tarrant, *Virgil – Aeneid: Book XII*, 307.

¹⁸⁶ Putnam, *Virgil’s Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, 196-197. (note 31)

¹⁸⁷ Richard Tarrant also remarks upon this, and he too lacks an adequate explanation for the Fury’s behaviour. Tarrant, *Virgil – Aeneid: Book XII*, 311-312.

¹⁸⁸ Verg. A. 12.861-868.

Jupiter. He has finally recognized his real enemy, the father of the gods: “Non me tua feruida terrent / dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis.”¹⁸⁹

But the Fury has not finished yet. When Turnus attempts to throw a ridiculously huge rock at Aeneas, he is thwarted by the “*dea dira*.”¹⁹⁰ Trembling and perplexed as a result of his failure, he makes an easy target for Aeneas’ spear. “It is really the *Dira*,” writes Brooks Otis, “not Aeneas, that defeats Turnus.”¹⁹¹ She is sent at 12.853, she makes her presence felt by Turnus at 12.865, she scares off Juturna at 12.886,¹⁹² and prevents Turnus from throwing the rock at 12.914.¹⁹³ At 12.946 Aeneas becomes “*Furiis accensus et ira / terribilis*” at the sight of Pallas’ baldric. Surely the aforementioned Fury has played a part? Whether or not this sequence of events was planned by Jupiter I dare not say, but it seems safe to assume that when the Furies are released, there is no knowing what mischief they might cause; and that, at least, Jupiter knew. Jupiter, the protector of suppliants, uses the *Dira* to make the one-time suppliant Aeneas finish off the suppliant Turnus. It is a fine paradox indeed, and one worthy of Vergil.

After Aeneas has killed a large number of innocent, or rather inconsequential, Italians in book 10, he is compared to the giant Aegaeon, enemy of Jupiter.¹⁹⁴ Jupiter, as Julius Caesar in Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, has no interest in unnecessary slaughter.¹⁹⁵ In book 12 on the other hand, Aeneas is not only not compared to an enemy of Jupiter, he is in fact likened to the supreme god himself; at 12.565 he urges on his men by claiming that “*Iuppiter hac stat*,” at 12.654 he is described by Saces as “*fulminat Aeneas armis*,” and at 12.922-923 the spear he throws against Turnus is like a thunderbolt: “*Nec fulmine tanti / dissultant crepitus*.” Turnus, in contrast to the Italians slain by Aeneas in book 10, is an obstacle to fate; he has to be removed, and Aeneas is therefore equated with Jupiter. Aeneas believes that he is avenging Pallas – “*Pallas te hoc uulnere, Pallas / immolat*,”¹⁹⁶ he cries out – but in reality he is goaded on by the Furies and by Jupiter himself. As noted by Putnam, there is something slightly ominous and disquieting about the fact that the epic, whose *telos* is the imprisonment of *furor*,

¹⁸⁹ Verg. A. 12.894-895.

¹⁹⁰ Verg. A. 12.914.

¹⁹¹ Brooks Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 380.

¹⁹² It is not clear what happens first, though; the arrival of the Fury or the flight of Juturna.

¹⁹³ Note also that Aeneas’ spear carries “*exitium dirum*” at 12.924, again reminding the reader of the Fury/*Dira*.

¹⁹⁴ Verg. A. 10.565.

¹⁹⁵ Luc. 7.728-731.

¹⁹⁶ Verg. A. 12.948-949.

ends with the release of a Fury.¹⁹⁷ The Ciceronian sentiment that “homines enim ad deos nulla re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando,”¹⁹⁸ is given a wicked twist by Vergil.

Amor Crudelis

Amor and *clementia* might seem to be altogether different animals, and indeed they are close to being opposites. However, far from being separated by this, they are in fact connected through their polarity; the presence of the one entails the absence of the other. *Saevitia* and *crudelitas*, the opposites of *clementia*, are frequently associated with *amor*. Aeneas’ mother, Venus, is not only a caring mother figure, but also the wielder of one of the most chaotic and irrational forces in the universe, love. For Vergil, *amor* seldom leads to anything good. In the second Eclogue Corydon is burned by it.¹⁹⁹ In the third Eclogue “idem amor exitium pecori pecorisque magistro.”²⁰⁰ In the sixth Eclogue the word is used to describe Pasiphae’s nefarious lust for the bull.²⁰¹ In the eighth Eclogue Medea’s ill-fated *amor* is styled *saevus*, and she is called *crudelis*, the two very antonyms of *clementia*. In the tenth Eclogue *amor* itself (or himself?) is supplied with the adjective *crudelis*. The theme of this poem is the lovesickness of Gallus, whose misery attracts both men and gods. The god Pan asks “ecquis erit modus?” inquit. ‘Amor non talia curat; / nec lacrimis crudelis amor nec gramina rivis / nec cytiso saturantur apes nec fronde capellae.’²⁰² Gallus replies rhetorically that he finds it as likely that hunting and straying in the woods will heal his sorrow as that “deus ille [Amor] malis hominum mitescere discat.”²⁰³ He has little faith in the clemency of love. Gallus ends his speech with the often quoted Vergilian one-liner “omnia vincit Amor; et nos cedamus amori.”²⁰⁴ In its original context, it is hardly a comforting thought.

Vergil’s use of the word in his *Georgics* is no less discouraging. *Amor* is absent from book 1 and appears twice in book 2, though without causing any trouble, but in book 3 Vergil has given it free rein. For the bulls and stallions to keep their strength, they need to be kept well away from their female counterparts: “Carpit enim viris paulatim uritque videndo /

¹⁹⁷ Putnam, *Virgil’s Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, 2.

¹⁹⁸ Cic. *Lig.* 38.

¹⁹⁹ Verg. *Ecl.* 2.68.

²⁰⁰ Verg. *Ecl.* 3.101.

²⁰¹ Verg. *Ecl.* 6.46.

²⁰² Verg. *Ecl.* 10.28-30.

²⁰³ Verg. *Ecl.* 10.61.

²⁰⁴ Verg. *Ecl.* 10. 69.

femina.”²⁰⁵ *Amor* drives men and animals alike to fight each other: “Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque, / et genus aequoreum, pecudes pictaeque volucres, / in furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem.”²⁰⁶ Some twenty lines later Venus appears: “Scilicet ante omnis furor est insignis equarum; / et mentem Venus ipsa dedit.”²⁰⁷ *Amor*, the domain of Aeneas’ mother, is connected with *furor* and *furiae*, the monstrous forces against which *Aeneas* is pitted in the epic that carries his name. Never is the lioness or the boar more savage, *saevus*, than when inflamed by love.²⁰⁸ In book 4 of the *Georgics* we learn that not even the bees are safe from the influence of *amor*.²⁰⁹ It can come as no surprise that the penultimate mention of *amor* in the *Georgics* connects it with Chaos himself.²¹⁰ For Vergil, love was among the chaotic powers, and is frequently connected with *saevitia* and *crudelitas*, the opposites of *clementia*. *Amor*’s record for *clementia* in Vergil’s earlier writings is poor, and does not bode well for the characters of the *Aeneid*.

The first meeting between Venus and Aeneas in the *Aeneid* happens in the forests of Libya, and here again the outcome is one of *crudelitas*. Venus conceals her true identity from Aeneas, and he does not realize that he has spoken to his mother until she flees. Aeneas reacts by accusing her of being cruel, “crudelis tu quoque.”²¹¹ The word *crudelis* appears again when love is involved. However, it is of course Dido who is the primary victim of love in the epic. Aeneas’ silvan meeting with his mother is only an insinuation of the horrors that *amor* will cause. Before the arrival of the Trojans, Dido was doing fine; she was *laeta*.²¹² It is the advent of Aeneas and *amor* that makes her *infelix*.²¹³ She is both a tool and a victim of the intrigues of the gods. “As for Dido,” writes Williams “neither goddess sees her as more than an instrument in the pursuit of their own politics.”²¹⁴ Juno and Venus use her to further their schemes, and, as noted by Austin, “there is no pity for Dido.”²¹⁵ Considering the lack of pity

²⁰⁵ Verg. *G.* 3.215-216. The word *carpere* is used twice about Dido at the beginning of book 4 of the *Aeneid*: 4.1-2: “At regina gravi iam dudum saucia cura / vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.” 4.31-32: “Anna refert: ‘O luce magis dilecta sorori, / solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa.’”

²⁰⁶ Verg. *G.* 3.242-245.

²⁰⁷ Verg. *G.* 4.266-267.

²⁰⁸ Verg. *G.* 3.245-248.

²⁰⁹ Verg. *G.* 4.197-205.

²¹⁰ Verg. *G.* 4.347.

²¹¹ Verg. *A.* 1.407.

²¹² Verg. *A.* 1.503.

²¹³ The connection between *infelix Dido* and *amor* is made explicit in line 1.749.

²¹⁴ R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil – Books 1-6* (London: Macmillan, 1972), 342.

²¹⁵ R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos: Liber Quartus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 59.

from the gods towards Dido earlier in the book, it is somewhat curious that she is pitied at the very end by Juno, who sends Iris to ease her passing.²¹⁶ Juno finally cares for Dido, when she can no longer fulfil her plans. There is room for pity only when there is nothing at stake.

As has been noted by many scholars, Vergil's narrative of Dido and Aeneas is heavily influenced by Catullus' poem 64, which recounts the abandonment of Ariadne by Theseus.²¹⁷ When Ariadne wakes up alone on the island of Naxos, she curses the faithless Theseus:

Sicine me patriis auectam, perfide, ab aris
perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu?
Sicine discedens neglecto numine diuum?
Immemor a! Deuota domum periuria portas?
Nullane res potuit crudelis flectere mentis
consilium? Tibi nulla fuit clementia praesto,
immite ut nostri uellet miserescere pectus?²¹⁸

She calls him *crudelis* and singles out his lack of *clementia* as the reason why he did not pity her. Had Theseus been *clemens*, she says, he would have stayed. The words *perfide* and *crudelis* is taken up by Vergil when Dido angrily reproaches Aeneas after she has found out that he is planning to leave her:

Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum
posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?
Nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam
nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?
Quin etiam hiberno moliri sidere classem
et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum,
crudelis?²¹⁹

Vergil does not use the word *clementia*, but the parallel is clear enough. What is of special interest here is the use to which Vergil has put his knowledge of the Catullan passage. As

²¹⁶ Verg. A. 4.693-705.

²¹⁷ Austin, P. *Vergili Maronis Aeneidos: Liber Quartus*, 98f. Kenneth Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 1996), 321. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil – Books 1-6*, 360.

²¹⁸ Catul. 64.132-138.

²¹⁹ Verg. A. 4.305-311.

mentioned earlier, the Trojan envoy at Carthage, Ilioneus, describes his leader thus: “Rex erat Aeneas nobis, quo iustior alter / nec pietate fuit nec bello maior in armis.”²²⁰ *Iustitia*, *pietas*, and *virtus* all appear, but not *clementia*. The virtue needed to take pity on lovers – at least according to Ariadne – is missing. The omission is all the more emphasized as the other three virtues of the *clipeus virtutis* are all mentioned. Emphasis by omission is here executed through the tool of intertextuality. It serves to highlight Aeneas’ lack of *clementia*. By deliberately avoiding the crucial word, Vergil gives the reader a clue as to how the relationship between Aeneas and Dido will progress and to where it will end, a hint aimed at evoking pathos. Aeneas’ reaction to Dido’s first speech also merits attention: “Ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat / lumina.”²²¹ His refusal to stay with her is likened to Athena’s refusal to grant mercy to the Trojan women as portrayed on the temple of Juno in Carthage and to Dido’s refusal to speak with him in the Underworld.²²²

After Aeneas’ initial rebuff, Dido grows desperate. She is described as a suppliant forced to subordinate her pride to love: “Cogitur et supplex animos summittere amanti.”²²³ Ten lines later she asks Anna to approach Aeneas as a suppliant: “I soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum.”²²⁴ At 4.435 she specifically asks for a respite: “Extremam hanc oro veniam.” The vocabulary stresses her desperate condition. She is like a wounded warrior lying at the feet of a haughty enemy; if Aeneas does not show mercy, she will die.

Aeneas’ lack of *clementia* towards Dido stands in stark contrast to Dido’s benevolent reception of the Trojans, as she herself remarks in her second speech.²²⁵ This speech comes to an end as she calls him *improbe*,²²⁶ a word which is taken up by the author some thirty lines later when he asks rhetorically “improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?”²²⁷ The audience is invited to recall the lines “omnia vincit amor” of the tenth Eclogue and “labor omnia vicit / improbus” of the Georgics.²²⁸ The love that has seized Dido is the relentless love

²²⁰ Verg. A. 1.544-545.

²²¹ Verg. A. 4.331-332.

²²² Verg. A. 1.479-482. 6.469.

²²³ Verg. A. 4.414.

²²⁴ Verg. A. 4.424.

²²⁵ Verg. A. 4.373-375.

²²⁶ Verg. A. 4.386.

²²⁷ Verg. A. 4.412.

²²⁸ Verg. *Ecl.* 10.69. *G.* 1.145.

that conquers all and pardons no one. Richard Thomas' translation of *improbus* as “unconscionably cruel” seems to convey the meaning well.²²⁹

Just as Dido stands as a personification of Carthage, so the relationship between Aeneas and Dido can represent the troubled history between Rome and Carthage. As noted by Egil Kraggerud, the wars between Rome and Carthage are alluded to on several occasions in book four, the climax being Dido's curse at the very end.²³⁰ The death of Dido can thus represent the destruction of Carthage in the third Punic War. Both Dido the queen and Carthage, a queen among cities, were denied *clementia* by Romans and both perished by iron and fire.

Sadly, the sources to the third Punic War are notoriously poor. Appian's second century account has survived intact, but Polybius' contemporary account only in fragments. Crucially, we have no Roman version of the story, as Livy's account survives only in the *Periochae*. There is also the first century epitomist Florus, who seems to have consulted the now lost books of Livy. If Appian is to be believed, the Romans were both deceitful and pitiless in their last war against Carthage. The outbreak of the war was characterized by deception – the Romans putting the Carthaginians in a gradually deteriorating position while still coming with new demands, culminating in their request that the entire city of Carthage be moved ten miles inland – the conclusion of the war by a lack of mercy.²³¹ Livy too, according to the *Periochae*, had to concede that the Romans “indignitate rei [the demand that the city of Carthage be moved inland] ad bellandum Carthaginienses compulerunt.”²³² Florus, even though he has a tendency to interpret “events, wherever it is possible, in a sense favourable to the Romans,”²³³ concedes that Cato was driven by “inexpiabili odio” in his demand that Carthage must be destroyed. More importantly, he also admits that “populus Romanus adgressus Carthaginem spe pacis iniecta traditam a volentibus classem sub ipso ore urbis incendit.”²³⁴ Hardly a virtuous act. Likewise, when the Carthaginians decide to stand up against the Romans, it is because of their demand that the entire city of Carthage be moved inland: “Pro rei atrocitate

²²⁹ Richard Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics – Volume 1: Books I-II*, 92.

²³⁰ Egil Kraggerud, *Virgil: Aeneiden – 4. og 5. bok* (Tangen: Suttung Forlag, 1985), 109, 115. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos: Liber Quartus*, 182-183.

²³¹ App. Διβυκί. 8.74-81.

²³² *Periochae* 49.9.

²³³ E. S. Forster and J. C. Rolfe, *Florus: Epitome of Roman History – Cornelius Nepos* (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1929), xi.

²³⁴ Flor. *Epit.* 1.31.7.

adeo movit iras.”²³⁵ The word *atrocitas* is also used by Florus to describe the proscriptions of the second triumvirate.²³⁶

Polybius mentions that in the Greek world opinions were divided in their appraisal of the Romans’ conduct in the third Punic War. Many believed that the Romans had acted unjustly and had devised a poor excuse to finally eradicate their already defeated rival.²³⁷ It would surely have been hard to believe the Roman propaganda that Carthage was still a threat. The lack of Roman sources makes it difficult to know whether or not this view was current among Romans as well, but it is certainly not impossible, at least not among those who had studied the Greek masters. Indeed, the lack of mention could well be a sign that it was something rather not talked about.

Dido twice addresses Aeneas as “perfidie” and in her second speech she cries out “nusquam tuta fides.”²³⁸ The Romans were always eager to brand the Carthaginians as faithless, but Vergil has here turned the tables by letting the Punic Dido attack the proto-Roman Aeneas for his faithlessness.²³⁹ It is a witty little paradox to be sure, but can perhaps also be understood in a more serious vein. Thus the tragedy of Dido and the sorrow of Aeneas may be Vergil’s way of expressing the sense of shame felt by some Romans for having ingloriously, and perhaps also unwittingly, destroyed something beautiful.

Love, represented by Erato, makes an infamous entry into the second half of the epic as well. The muse of lyric poetry is called upon by the author to help narrate the upcoming events, and one can well understand why; *amor* plays a crucial role in the Iliadic part of the *Aeneid*. For while Aeneas has no feelings whatsoever for Lavinia, Turnus is driven by his love for her. *Amor*, Aeneas’ half-brother, contributes to Turnus’ implacability by infusing him with love for Latinus’ daughter: “Illum [Turnum] turbat amor.”²⁴⁰ Moreover, Elaine Fantham has noticed that the account of Allecto’s assault on Amata “recalls the way which another

²³⁵ Flor. *Epit.* 1.31.8.

²³⁶ Flor. *Epit.* 2.16.3: “Nullo bono more triumviratus invaditur, oppressaque armis re publica redit Sullana proscriptio, cuius atrocitas nihil in se minus habet quam numerum centum et quadraginta senatorum.”

²³⁷ Polyb. 36.9.

²³⁸ Verg. *A.* 4.305, 366, 373. Ovid’s Dido follows suit in his *Epistulae*, repeatedly charging Aeneas with a lack of faith. *Ov. Ep.* 7.8, 18, 30, 57-58, 79, 118.

²³⁹ Livy’s legendary “perfidia plus quam punica” (21.4.9) springs to mind, but examples of Punic faithlessness are abundant in Roman literature.

²⁴⁰ Verg. *A.* 12.70.

goddess, Venus, sets out to infect Dido with another kind of mad passion.”²⁴¹ Furthermore, Richard Tarrant has observed that the description of the Dira sent by Jupiter at 12.848 resembles Propertius’ description of how *Amor* is depicted in the visual arts.²⁴² Love and madness, it would seem, are naturally related. *Amor* brings *furor* into the world and poisons human relations. Relentless and unconscionable, he knows no clemency. He is called *crudelis* so often by Vergil (and other Augustan poets) that it almost becomes a stock epithet. While *clementia* is something good one might ask for even though one strictly does not deserve it, *amor* is something bad one might get without asking for it and without deserving it.

***Clementia* in the Underworld**

Unsurprisingly, *clementia* holds no sway in the Underworld either. On the shores of Styx Aeneas and the Sibyl encounter Palinurus, former helmsman on Aeneas’ boat. He narrates how he was thrown overboard and managed to swim to Italy only to meet a pitiful end at the hand of a “*crudelis gens*.”²⁴³ He begs Aeneas to give him a proper burial or to take him across the river. Although Palinurus addresses Aeneas, it is the Sibyl who answers him, as she sternly dismisses his plea and urges him “*desine fata deum flecti sperare precando*.”²⁴⁴ While the unburied, but dead, Palinurus is brusquely rebuked when asking permission to cross the river, Aeneas, who is neither buried nor dead, is allowed to cross. There is pity to be had for Palinurus, to be sure, but no clemency. The meeting with Dido is also one of pity without clemency. Aeneas essays to speak with her, but she does not respond; “*illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*,”²⁴⁵ recalling, as previously mentioned, Pallas’ reaction to the supplications of the Trojan women on the temple to Juno in Carthage. Aeneas’ words are in vain; when she runs off and hides in the forest, he can do no more than to pity her as she flees. Next they meet the Trojan warrior Deiphobus, who during the fall of Troy had been “*crudeliter*” mutilated by the Greeks.²⁴⁶ The very heart of the *inclementia* of the Underworld is found in Tartarus. Here the *severa iustitia* of the gods is executed without mercy by Rhadamanthus.

²⁴¹ Elaine Fantham, “Allecto’s First Victim: a Study of Virgil’s Amata”, in Hans-Peter Stahl (ed.) *Vergil’s Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context* (Great Britain: Duckworth, 1998), 141.

²⁴² Prop. 2.12.5. Tarrant, *Virgil – Aeneid: Book XII*, 307.

²⁴³ Verg. A. 6.347-361.

²⁴⁴ Verg. A. 6.376.

²⁴⁵ Verg. A. 6.469.

²⁴⁶ Verg. A. 6.494-497.

After reaching Elysium, Anchises shows Aeneas the Romans to come. Lucius Junius Brutus is among those mentioned, but Vergil focuses more on his decision to execute his rebellious sons than on his successful expulsion of the last Tarquin. His *fasces* are called “*saevas securis*” and the man himself is named “*infelix*.”²⁴⁷ The combination of the name Brutus, the adjective *ultor*, and the acts of opposing a king and killing one’s kin, makes it difficult not to think about Marcus Junius Brutus, adopted son and assassin of Caesar. Curiously, he is the one given the epithet *ultor*. After all, it was Octavian who was the self-designated *ultor* of the civil war, and Brutus who was the target of his revenge. After Brutus comes Titus Manlius Torquatus, another man who denied clemency to his sons. A few lines later, Julius Caesar himself appears together with Pompey. After the two gruesome examples of stern fathers executing their sons, Anchises urges Caesar, Pompey’s father-in-law, to be the first to pardon: “*Tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo / proice tela manu, sanguis meus*.”²⁴⁸ The two are not mentioned by name, but instead by their family relationship, “*socer*” and “*gener*,”²⁴⁹ thereby making the contrast with Brutus and Torquatus clear. According to Plutarch and Dio Cassius, Caesar is said to have wept at the sight of the severed head of Pompey.²⁵⁰ No doubt he claimed that he would have shown *clementia* towards his great rival, but Pompey was already dead when he arrived in Egypt.

X: Identifying with the Conquered

Several scholars have remarked upon how Vergil stresses the similarities between Aeneas and Turnus, especially in book 12.²⁵¹ One of the most blatant examples is the repetition of the line “*arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit*,” which occurs both at 4.280, describing Aeneas after the meeting with Mercury, and at 12.868, describing Turnus facing the Dira. Another is the description of Turnus as “*ante alios pulcherrimus omnis*” at 7.55, a phrase used about Aeneas at 4.141. The equations between Aeneas and Turnus are indeed plentiful, and some scholars have even argued that Aeneas ends the epic by killing his own double.²⁵² I believe that the reason behind Aeneas’ famous hesitation at the end of book can be found

²⁴⁷ Verg. A. 6.817-823.

²⁴⁸ Verg. A. 6.834-835.

²⁴⁹ Verg. A. 6.830-831.

²⁵⁰ Plu. *Pomp.* 80.5. Dio Cassius. 42.8. Dio harbours some doubts about the sincerity of Caesar’s emotions.

²⁵¹ For some examples, see Tarrant, *Virgil – Aeneid: Book XII*, 15.

²⁵² Rossi, *Contexts of War: Manipulation of Genre in Virgilian Battle Narrative*, 163-165. Richard Thomas, “The Isolation of Turnus”, in Hans-Peter Stahl (ed.) *Virgil’s Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context* (Great Britain: Duckworth, 1998), 277. See also Tarrant, *Virgil – Aeneid: Book XII*, 15.

here. He recognizes himself in Turnus; he has been in the same situation, abandoned by all and facing the same awesome power of the gods. The equation between them culminates as identical words are used to characterize the dying Turnus at 12.951 as had been used at 1.92 to describe Aeneas during the storm sent by Juno. Pity is, in the Aristotelian sense, evoked by encountering pain that might befall oneself.²⁵³

This might help explain why Aeneas is much less receptive to the pleas of the suppliants in book 10 than to the supplication of Turnus, a question posed, and left unanswered, by Evans.²⁵⁴ Aeneas does not identify as much with them as he does with Turnus. It certainly does seem strange that the man who mercilessly butchered enemies more or less at random in book 10, pauses when he has the chance to finish off the real villain.²⁵⁵ This point is further reinforced by the Lausus-episode. Lausus is the only one of Aeneas' victims in book 10 whom he pities. After the frenzied hero has killed the young enemy warrior, his madness fades away: "At uero ut uultum uidit morientis et ora / ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris / ingemuit miserans grauius dextramque tetendit / et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago."²⁵⁶ Aeneas recognizes in Lausus the same *pietas* that is his own. He knows that he would have done the same thing; he too would have risked his life to save his father, as indeed he had during the fall of Troy. He sees in Lausus an image of himself. As has been repeatedly demonstrated in this paper, however, the emotion of pity is in the *Aeneid* seldom allowed to lead to an act of *clementia*.²⁵⁷

The same reasoning can be employed to explain why Aeneas felt so strongly about Dido. They had been through the same experience of flight, exile, and the loss of loved ones. Dido herself notes their common fate in her first speech to Aeneas: "Me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores / iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra; / non ignara mali miseris

²⁵³ Konstan, *Pity Transformed*, 17, 49-53. Arist. *Rh.* 2.8.2. Note, however, that contrary to Aristotelian thought, pity is evoked also for the undeserving.

²⁵⁴ Evans, "The *Aeneid* and the Concept of the Ideal King – The Modification of an Archetype", in Robert M. Wilhelm and Howard Jones (eds.) *The Two Worlds of the Poet*, 150.

²⁵⁵ Other possible explanations could be that the anger caused by the death of Pallas has been calmed, and that he recognizes that the war will be over no matter how he treats Turnus.

²⁵⁶ Verg. *A.* 10.821-824.

²⁵⁷ Indeed, when it comes to pity and mercy, Aeneas represents the opposite of the stoic wise man. He often pities, which the stoic wise man does not, but he never spares, which the stoic wise man does (*Sen. Cl.* 2.5.1). If then Aeneas is supposed to be a stoic hero, as has often been suggested (see e.g. Susanna Morton Braund, "Virgil and the cosmos: religious and philosophical ideas", in Charles Martindale (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 205-206), he is an extraordinary failure as such. Still, a stoic epic, complete with a stoic hero and an all-powerful and benign stoic god would have been immensely boring.

succurrere disco.”²⁵⁸ Dido felt compassion for Aeneas and his Trojans because she herself could recognize the labours they had been through. She had, after all, been through virtually the same. Witness also the similarity of their behaviour when faced by adversity, Aeneas shipwrecked on an unknown shore, Dido under the spell of a consuming passion; they both act stoically towards their people and attempt to suppress their true emotions.²⁵⁹ They suffer, but their positions of leadership do not allow them an unrestrained show of passion. At 1.496 Dido is compared to Diana, and at 4.143 Aeneas is compared to Apollo; Aeneas and Dido are obviously two of a kind.²⁶⁰ Pathos and misery are increased as Aeneas is driven, not only to end lives, but to end the lives of people who resemble himself.

Conclusions

Aeneas’ behaviour in the *Aeneid* cannot, in spite of what some scholars have argued, be considered to be in accordance with the virtue of *clementia*. Aeneas performs no merciful acts, and his conduct on the battlefield is at times both cruel and brutal. Now this does not necessarily make Aeneas *inclemens*, but it shows that he is the victim of emotions that are stronger than any inclination to be merciful. No one would argue that Aeneas is cruel by nature, but in order to claim the virtue of *clementia* one must also be able to control one’s emotions when under stress. This Aeneas is not. It does not follow inevitably that he is in the wrong when he kills Turnus – for Vergil was not a moralist – rather it shows that different virtues might stand in opposition to each other.²⁶¹ While the assertion that Aeneas is a merciful man cannot be upheld, the assertion that he acts in accordance with *pietas* might. Vergil’s Aeneas is indeed a mirror of Octavian, for better and for worse; both were merciless in pursuit of their goals. That is as far as Vergil will take us. Whether or not one or both did the right thing is not for him to say.

The examples from Roman history that I have cited show that *clementia* can be given to anyone, even to, or rather especially to, the undeserving. For receiving *clementia* implies the recognition that one has committed a crime. That was, after all, why the aristocrats were so

²⁵⁸ Verg. A. 1.628-630.

²⁵⁹ Aeneas: Verg. A. 1.198-209. Dido: Verg. A. 4.1-30.

²⁶⁰ And/or obviously not meant to marry.

²⁶¹ Moral judgements are seldom found lacking in scholarly work on the *Aeneid*. I find it very hard to accept that Vergil was at heart a moralist. Nevertheless, to assert that Vergil was not a moralist is not to assert that his work does not pose moral questions of acute relevance for his times. For Vergil does not deny that the decision between mercy and revenge faced by Aeneas is a moral conundrum.

reluctant to accept it. However, precisely because it is given in spite of what the recipient deserves, *clementia* is never mandatory. One can deny mercy to someone without acting wrongfully. It is therefore, in the end, irrelevant to ask whether or not Aeneas makes the right choice. To Vergil, what is far more important than attaching praise or blame to individual actions is to portray the tragedy of an unnecessary conflict. Although often in disagreement with Karl Galinsky, I cannot but concur with his statement that “it is not the moral ambiguity, but the humanization of this ineluctable scene [Turnus at the end] that is one of Vergil’s hallmarks here as elsewhere in the epic.”²⁶² I believe Vergil was first and foremost engaged by the tragedy of war, and nothing can better illustrate this than the good man who is driven to act savagely. Owen Lee has put it succinctly: “A man [Aeneas] who suffers greatly and is sensitive to suffering in others is constantly placed in situations where the higher considerations of duty cause him and others further suffering.”²⁶³ The Lausus-episode makes it perfectly clear that Aeneas is a compassionate man, but feeling pity and granting mercy is not the same thing. While pity is an emotion, an uncontrolled reaction, and therefore not subject to any decision-making process, clemency is a character trait, and does not exist except in pre-meditated action.

My discussion has shown that Vergil does not paint a rosy picture of Octavian’s ancestor, with all the consequences this entails regarding Vergil’s relationship to Octavian’s regime. Aeneas is not perfect; he is burdened with all too human flaws. For some decades now Vergilian scholarship has been waged in the trenches of the grand optimist-pessimist debate.²⁶⁴ I have tried to avoid entangling myself in this fruitful, yet ultimately deceptive, debate, but there is no escaping that my conclusions do undermine the pure optimist viewpoint, recently proposed by Anton Powell in *Vergil the Partisan*. In his book on the *Georgica*, *Reading after Actium*, Christopher Nappa writes that “the poet seems determined to evoke possible negative images of Octavian alongside decidedly positive ones, and it is better not to think in simplistic terms of praise or subversion.”²⁶⁵ This, I believe, is true also regarding Octavian’s ancestor in the *Aeneid*. Vergil had seen Octavian’s acts of vengeance

²⁶² Galinsky, “The Anger of Aeneas”, in *AJP*, 324.

²⁶³ M. Owen Lee, *Fathers and sons in Virgil’s Aeneid* (USA: State University of New York Press, 1979), 19.

²⁶⁴ For an introduction to the optimist-pessimist debate, see S. J. Harrison, “Some Views of the Aeneid in the Twentieth Century”, in S. J. Harrison (ed.) *Oxford Readings in Virgil’s Aeneid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 4-20.

²⁶⁵ Christopher Nappa, *Reading after Actium – Vergil’s Georgics, Octavian, and Rome* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 9.

and heard his promises of peace, but he had not yet seen the promises fully realized; nor does the reader of the *Aeneid*. The glorious future is there in words and promises, but the present consists of war and suffering. As Anton Powell has pointed out, the belief that Romans in general felt secure that there would be no new outbreak of violence after 31 BC is "an extreme instance of delusive hindsight."²⁶⁶ The fragile peace could be shattered at any moment, either if Octavian succumbed to a sickness or if he renewed the proscriptions.

So, why is there no mercy? The question can be answered on different levels. On the basic level of plot, Vergil has made it very clear in book 10 as well as 12 that it is the death of Pallas that drives Aeneas to deny mercy to his enemies.²⁶⁷ As Richard Tarrant writes, "the moral, legal, philosophical and pragmatic arguments for killing T. are ultimately beside the point."²⁶⁸ Aeneas is merciless because he is angry. However, the question can also be posed on another level: Why did Vergil choose to make his hero merciless? Now this is a more interesting as well as a more complicated question, and I would not presume to have reached an authoritative conclusion. However, I do believe that his experience of civil war is of vital importance. Vergil's time was not a time of mercy and the *Aeneid* is burdened by this fact. In fact, it stands as a powerful expression of the lack of *clementia* in Vergil's time. Vergil is a poet who, from the first *Eclogue* to the end of the *Aeneid*, presents life at its hardest and most unforgiving. There is little *clementia* to be had in the *Aeneid*, and least of all from the gods. What clemency there is to be among men, we ourselves must strive to create. That sentiment, I believe, is an essential part of the substance of the epic.

²⁶⁶ Powell, *Vergil the Partisan*, 76.

²⁶⁷ Verg. A. 10.515-517, 12.938-949.

²⁶⁸ Tarrant, *Virgil – Aeneid: Book XII*, 19.

Appendix: Translations

Due to space limitations I have collected all translations in this appendix. Translations from Latin are my own. Translations from Greek are given with references. Authors are listed alphabetically.

Appian, *Λιβυκή*: Translations from Horace White, *Appian's Roman History* (London: William Heinemann, 1964).

- 8.51: *εἰ δὲ καὶ ὧς ἀδικεῖν ὑμῖν δοκοῦμεν, οὐκ ἀτυχεῖν, ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ἁμαρτόντων δικαιολογία, τῶν δ' ἁμαρτόντων παράκλησις*: But if even so you consider us guilty, not unfortunate, we confess our fault and for this very reason entreat you. Justification belongs to the innocent, entreaty to those who have offended.
- 8.53: *ἔστε μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιοι, πολλάκις ἐς σπονδὰς ἡμῶν ὑβρίσαντες, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα νῦν καὶ ἐς πρεσβείας ἁμαρτόντες οὕτω φανερώς καὶ ἀθεμίτως ὡς μήτε ἐξαρνεῖσθαι μήτε ἀντιλέγειν ὅτι μὴ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστὲ τιμωρίας ἄξιοι. τί δὲ δεῖ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ὁμολογούντων*: You do not deserve any pardon, you who have so often violated your treaties with us, and now finally even abused our envoys in such a public and lawless manner that you cannot deny or dispute that you are worthy of the severest punishment. But what is the use of accusing those who confess?
- 8.57: *οἷς ἔτι μὲν φιλονεικοῦσιν ἐρίζειν ἔδει, πεσόντων δὲ φείδεσθαι*: While they were combative it was necessary to contend against them; now that they have fallen they should be spared.

Aristotle, *Rhetorica*: Translation from George A. Kennedy, *Aristotle – On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

- 2.8.2: *ἔστω δὴ ἔλεος λύπη τις ἐπὶ φαινομένῳ κακῷ φθαρτικῷ ἢ λυπηρῷ τοῦ ἀναξίου τυγχάνειν, ὃ κἂν αὐτὸς προσδοκῆσειεν*: Let pity be [defined as] a certain pain at an apparently destructive or painful evil happening to one who does not deserve it.

Augustus, *Res Gestae*: Text from Alison E. Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (USA: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

- 2-3: *Qui parentem meum [interfecer]un[t, eo]s in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum [fa]cin[us, e]t postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici b[is a]cie. [B]ella terra et mari c[ivilia ex]ternaque toto in orbe terrarum s[aepe gessi], victorque omnibus v[eniam petentib]us civibus peperci. Exte[rnas] gentes, quibus tuto [ignosci pot]ui[t, co]nservare quam excidere ma[lui]*: Those who killed²⁶⁹ my father I drove into exile, having avenged their foul deed through trials in the courts of law, and afterwards, when they waged war against the state, I defeated them twice in battle. I

²⁶⁹ Or "butchered", if *trucidaverunt* is preferred instead of *interfecerunt*. See Cooley's discussion in Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, 114-115.

waged many wars, both foreign and civil, and on both land and sea, in all parts of the world. As victor, I spared all citizens who asked for mercy. Foreign peoples, that could safely be forgiven, I preferred to preserve rather than destroy.

- 34.3: *Post id tem[pus a]uctoritate [omnibus praestiti, potest]atis au[tem n]ihilo ampliu[s habu]i quam cet[eri, qui m]ihi quoque in ma[gis]tra[t]u conlegae f[uerunt]:* After that time I surpassed everyone in authority, but I did not have more power than the others, who were my colleagues in office.

Caesar:

- *De Bello Gallico 2.28: ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur:* that he be seen to exercise clemency towards the wretched suppliants.
- *De Bello Civili 1.72: movebatur etiam misericordia civium, quos interficiendos videbat:* he was moved by pity for the citizens, whom he saw would have to be killed.
- *De Bello Civili 2.22: Caesar magis eos pro nomine et vetustate quam pro meritis in se civitatis conservans:* Caesar preserved them more because of their reputation and their history than because of any services they had shown him.

Catullus:

- 64.132-138: *Sicine me patriis auectam, perfide, ab aris / perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu? / Sicine discedens neglecto numine diuum? / Immemor a! Deuota domum periuria portas? / Nullane res potuit crudelis flectere mentis / consilium? Tibi nulla fuit clementia praesto, / immite ut nostri uellet miserescere pectus?:* Have you left me then, faithless Theseus, on a deserted coast, faithless I say, after having carried me away from the altars of my father? Are you departing then, disregarding the will of the gods? Unmindful, oh! Are you carrying home accursed perjury? Can nothing change the decision of your cruel mind? Have you no clemency, so that your harsh breast might pity me?

Cicero:

- *Ad Atticum 9.7c: Temptemus hoc modo si possimus omnium voluntates recipere et diuturna victoria uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere praeter unum L. Sullam quem imitaturus non sum. Haec nova sit ratio vincendi ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Id quem ad modum fieri possit non nulla mi in mentem veniunt et multa reperiri possunt. De his rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis:* Let us in this way try if we can recover the goodwill of everyone and enjoy a lasting victory, since all others, because of their cruelty, have been able to avoid hatred nor to hold on to their victory for any length of time, except Lucius Sulla, whom I do not intend to imitate. Let this be a new way of conquering, to strengthen ourselves through compassion and generosity. On how this can be achieved, many suggestions come to mind and many can be thought of. I would like you to give further thought to these things.

- *Ad Brutum 1.2a: Vehementer a te, Brute, dissentio nec clementiae tuae concedo; sed salutaris severitas vincit inanem speciem clementiae; quod si clementes esse volumus, numquam deerunt bella civilia:* I strongly disagree with you, Brutus, and I do not consent to this clemency of yours; in fact, a healthy severity is superior to an empty show of clemency; for if we wish to be merciful, the civil wars will never end.
- *De Officiis 33: Sunt autem quaedam officia etiam adversus eos servanda, a quibus iniuriam acceperis. Est enim ulciscendi et puniendi modus; atque haud scio an satis sit eum, qui lacesierit, iniuriae suae paenitere, ut et ipse ne quid tale posthac et ceteri sint ad iniuriam tardiores:* Certain obligations should be honoured also towards those from whom one has received injury. For there is a limit to vengeance and punishment; and I know not, but that it is sufficient that the aggressor repents the injury he has caused, so that he will not commit such an act again at a later time and so that others will be deterred from doing harm.
- *De Officiis 34: Conservandi ei qui non crudeles in bello, non immanes fuerunt ut maiores nostri Tusculanos, Aequos, Volscos, Sabinos, Hernicos in civitatem etiam acceperunt, at Karthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt:* Those who have not been cruel or brutal during the war should be spared, just as our forefathers spared, and even admitted into the state, the Tusculans, the Aequians, the Volscians, the Sabines, and the Hernicians, while they razed Carthage and Numantia to the ground.
- *Philippics 2.116: Muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperitam delenierat; suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae specie devinxerat:* He had softened the ignorant multitude through gifts, monuments, donations, and feasts; his own he had won over with rewards, his enemies with a show of clemency.
- *Pro Ligario 1: Omissaque controuersia omnis oratio ad misericordiam tuam conferenda est, qua plurimi sunt conseruati, cum a te non liberationem culpae sed errati ueniam impetrauissent:* And setting aside the dispute, the whole speech must direct itself towards your compassion, by which many have been saved, when they obtained from you, not a release from guilt, but a pardon for a mistake.
- *Pro Ligario 2: Habes igitur, Tubero, quod est accusatori maxime optandum, confitentem reum:* You have, Tubero, what is most desirable for a prosecutor, a defendant who confesses.
- *Pro Ligario 29: Quidquid dixi, ad unam summam referri uolo uel humanitatis uel clementiae uel misericordiae tuae:* I would like to bring all that I have said under one supreme point, either your humanity, your clemency, or your compassion.
- *Pro Ligario 38: Nihil est tam populare quam bonitas; nulla de uirtutibus tuis plurimis nec admirabilior nec gratior misericordia est:* Nothing is as popular as kindness. None of your many virtues are as admirable and as welcome as your compassion.
- *Pro Ligario 38: Homines enim ad deos nulla re propius accedunt quam salutem hominibus dando:* For nothing brings men closer to the gods that the act of saving other men.

Florus, *Epitome*.

- 1.31.7: *Populus Romanus adgressus Carthaginem spe pacis iniecta traditam a volentibus classem sub ipso ore urbis incendit*: The Roman people attacked Carthage and burned her fleet, which had been voluntarily handed over when a hope of peace had been raised, within sight of the city.
- 1.31.8: *Pro rei atrocitate adeo movit iras*: The demand, due to its harshness, kindled their rage.

Homer, *Iliad*: Translation from Jeffrey Henderson (ed.), *Homer: Iliad – Books 1-12* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999).

- 3.164-165: *Οὐ τί μοι αἰτία ἐσσί, θεοί νύ μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν / οἳ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρον Ἀχαιῶν*: You are in no way to blame in my eyes; it is the gods, surely, who are to blame, who roused against me the tearful war of the Achaeans.

Horace, *Carmina*:

- 4.6.17: *Sed palam captis gravis, heu nefas, heu!*: But openly cruel towards prisoners, alas the impiety, alas!

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*:

- 14.108-109: *Vir factis maxime cuius / dextera per ferrum, pietas spectata per ignes*: Man of great achievements, whose might has been tested by the sword, whose dutifulness by fire.

Polybius: Translation from W. R. Paton, *Polybius: The Histories – Volume 4* (London: William Heinemann, 1925).

- 15.4.10: *ἐσκοπεῖτο παρ' αὐτῶν συλλογιζόμενος οὐχ οὕτως τί δέον παθεῖν Καρχηδονίους, ὡς τί δέον ἦν πράξαι Ῥωμαίους*: He took into consideration not so much the deserts of the Carthaginians as the duty of the Romans.

Periochae:

- 49.9: *indignitate rei ad bellandum Carthaginenses compulerunt*: forced the Carthaginians to war through the indignity of this demand.

Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*:

- 51.6: *Item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe Carthaginenses et in pace et per indutias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecere; magis, quid se dignum foret, quam quid in illos iure fieri posset quaerebant*: Likewise in all the Punic wars, although the Carthaginians often, both in peacetime and during armistices, had carried out many ungodly crimes, never did they do such things when an opportunity presented itself; they inquired more about what would be worthy of themselves than about what could justifiably be done against the Carthaginians.

- 51.14: *Neque studere neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet*: It is fitting neither to be partisan nor to hate, and least of all to become angry.
- 54: *esse quam videri bonus malebat*: would rather be, than be seen as, a good man.

Seneca, *De Clementia*:

- 1.21.1: *Nam si quos pares aliquando habuit infra se videt, satis vindicatus est*: For if he sees that those whom he once regarded as equals are inferior to him, that is sufficient revenge.
- 2.3.2: *Atqui hoc omnes intellegunt clementiam esse, quae se flectit citra id quod merito constitui posset*: But everyone understands that clemency is that which turns away from what could justifiably be imposed.
- 2.5.1: *Misericordia non causam sed fortunam spectat; clementia rationi accedit*: Pity looks, not at the cause, but at the outcome; clemency submits to reason.
- 2.7.2: *Hostes dimittet salvos, aliquando etiam laudatos, si honestis causis pro fide, pro foedere, pro libertate in bellum acciti sunt*: Enemies should be spared, sometimes even praised, if they were summoned to fight for honourable causes, such as loyalty, treaty-obligations, and freedom.
- 2.7.3: *Clementia liberum arbitrium habet; non sub formula sed ex aequo et bono iudicat*: Clemency has a freedom of judgement; it judges, not dictated by the letter of the law, but according to what is right and wrong.

Servius, *In Vergilium Commentarius*:

- 12.949: *Pallas inmolat [Turnum] et ad suae mortis et ad rupti foederis ultionem*: Pallas sacrifices [Turnus] to avenge both his own death and the breaking of the treaty.

Vergil, *Aeneid*:

- 1.255: *voltu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat*: with an expression with which he brightens heaven and calms storms.
- 1.293-296: *Dirae ferro et compagibus artis / claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus, / saeva sedens super arma, et centum vinctus aënis / post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento*: With iron and tightly fastened bonds the gates of dreadful war will be closed; nefarious Fury will sit inside on savage weapons, and chained behind its back with a hundred knots of bronze it will growl horribly with bloodstained mouth.
- 1.407: *Crudelis tu quoque*: You too are cruel.
- 1.479-482: *Interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant / crinibus Iliades passis peplumque ferebant / suppliciter tristes et tunsae pectora palmis; / diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*: Meanwhile the Trojan women approach the temple of partisan Pallas with loose hair, and sorrowful, in the manner of suppliants, they carry a robe, and they beat their breasts with their hands. The goddess turns away and holds her eyes fixed on the ground.

- 1.544-545: *Rex erat Aeneas nobis quo iustior alter / nec pietate fuit nec bello maior in armis*: Aeneas was our king; none has ever been more righteous than him, none has been mightier in dutifulness or strength of arms.
- 1.628-630: *Me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores / iactatam hac demum voluit consistere terra; / non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco*: A similar fortune has driven me too through many labours until at last it willed that I settle here; not ignorant of ill fortune do I learn to aid the unlucky.
- 2.390: *Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat*: Guile or courage, who inquires about such things in a battle.
- 2.426-428: *Iustissimus unus / qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus aequi. / Dis aliter visum*: The most righteous among the Teucrians and the most observant of right and wrong. The gods thought otherwise.
- 2.429-430: *Nec te tua plurima, Panthu, / labentem pietas nec Apollonis infula texit*: Neither did all your dutifulness save you, Panthus, as you fell, nor did the headband of Apollo shield you.
- 2.602-3: *Divum inclementia, divum, / has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam*: It is the mercilessness of the gods, the gods I say, that shatters this power and throws down Troy from her pinnacle.
- 2.617-618: *Ipse pater Danais animos uirisque secundas / sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitatur arma*: The father himself supplies the Greeks with courage and favourable strength, he himself rouses the gods against Dardan arms.
- 4.1-2: *At regina gravi iam dudum saucia cura / vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni*: But the queen, wounded long since by heavy love, feeds the wound with her blood and wastes away through an unseen fire.
- 4.31-32: *Anna refert: 'O luce magis dilecta sorori, / solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa'*: Anna replies: 'O you who are more beloved to your sister than life itself, shall you, alone and unhappy, waste away in eternal youth.'
- 4.141 et 7.55: *Ante alios pulcherrimus omnis*: Most beautiful of them all.
- 4.305-311: *Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum / posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra? / Nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam / nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido? / Quin etiam hiberno moliri sidere classem / et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum, / crudelis?:* Did you actually believe, faithless one, that you could conceal so great an impiety and depart in silence from my lands? Did not our love hold you back, not the promises once made, not the fact that Dido will die a cruel death? Indeed, even though the stars of winter are on the sky you are in a hurry to set sail and to travel the depths in northern gales, cruel man!
- 4.331-332: *Ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat / lumina*: He, on Jupiter's command, did not flinch.
- 4.373: *Nusquam tuta fides*: Nowhere is honour secure.
- 4.412: *Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?*: Unconscionably cruel love, to what do you not drive mortals?
- 4.414: *Cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori*: She is driven, as a suppliant, to submit her pride to love.

- 4.424: *I soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum*: Go sister, and approach the proud enemy as a suppliant.
- 4.435: *Extremam hanc oro veniam*: For this last respite do I ask.
- 6.89-90: *Alius Latio iam partus Achilles / natus et ipse dea*: Already another Achilles has been born in (or for) Latium, he too the son of a goddess.
- 6.376: *Desine fata deum flecti sperare precando*: Stop hoping that the decrees of the gods can be moved through prayer.
- 6.403: *Troius Aeneas pietate insignis et armis*: Trojan Aeneas, famous for dutifulness and strength of arms.
- 6.469: *Illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*: She turned away and held her eyes fixed on the ground.
- 6.834-835: *Tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo / proice tela manu, sanguis meus*: Be you the first to spare, you who trace your family back to Olympus, throw down the weapons, my kinsman.
- 6.878-880: *Heu pietas! Heu prisca fides, invictaque bello / dextera!*: Alas dutifulness! Alas ancient honour and invincible might in war!
- 10.443: *Cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset*: I would have enjoyed having your father here as spectator.
- 10.462-463: *Cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma cruenta / victoremque ferant morientis lumina Turni*: May he see me strip the bloody weapons from his half-dead body, and may the eyes of the dying Turnus suffer a conqueror.
- 10.515-517: *Pallas Evander in ipsis / omnia sunt oculis mensae quas advena primas / tunc adiit dextraeque datae*: Pallas, Evander, all stand before his very eyes, the tables, the first tables to which he, as a foreigner, had then come, and the right hands clasped.
- 10.523-536: *Et genua amplectens effatur talia supplex: / 'Per patrios manis et spes surgentis Iuli / te precor, hanc animam serues gnatoque patrique. / Est domus alta, iacent penitus defossa talenta / caelati argenti, sunt auri pondera facti / infectique mihi. non hic uictoria Teucrum / uertitur aut anima una dabit discrimina tanta.' / Dixerat. Aeneas contra cui talia reddit: / 'Argenti atque auri memoras quae multa talenta / gnatis parce tuis. belli commercia Turnus / sustulit ista prior iam tum Pallante perempto. / Hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus.' / Sic fatus galeam laeua tenet atque reflexa / ceruice orantis capulo tenus applicat ensem*: And embracing his knees as a suppliant he spoke thus: 'By your father's shade and the hope you bear for the rising Iulus, I beg you to spare this life for the sake of a son and a father. I have a wealthy home, in which talents of engraved silver lie buried, and I own masses of wrought and unwrought gold. Victory for the Teucrians is not decided here, nor will one life make so great a difference.' This is what he said. But Aeneas answered him thus: 'All those talents of gold and silver, of which you speak, spare them for your sons. Turnus was the one who first brought an end to such exchange in war, when he killed Pallas. Thus judges the spirit of my father Anchises, thus Iulus.' So he spoke, and he grabs the helmet with his left hand, turns back the neck of the begging suppliant and drives in his sword up to the hilt.

- 10.554-560: *Tum caput orantis nequiquam et multa parantis / dicere deturbat terrae, truncumque tepentem / prouoluens super haec inimico pectore fatur: / 'Istic nunc, metuende, iace. Non te optima mater / condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulcro: / Alitibus linquere feris, aut gurgite mersum / unda feret piscesque impasti uulnera lambent'*: Then, as Tarquitus begs in vain and prepares to say many things, he knocks his head to the ground, and, while rolling away the trunk, still warm, from above speaks thus from a hostile breast: 'Lie now there, dreaded one. Your good mother will not bury you in the ground, nor lay down your limbs on an ancestral tomb. You will be left to wild birds, or, sunk into the sea, the wave will carry you and famished fishes will lick your wounds.'
- 10.597-601: *'Per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes, / uir Troiane, sine hanc animam et miserere precantis.'* / *Pluribus oranti Aeneas: 'Haud talia dudum / dicta dabas. Morere et fratrem ne desere frater.'* / *Tum latebras animae pectus mucrone recludit*: 'By yourself, and by the parents who begot you such as you are, Trojan hero, let this life be and pity one who begs.' To the one who kept begging Aeneas replies: 'These were not the words you spoke before. Die, and let not brother desert brother.' Then, with his sword, he cuts open his breast, life's hiding place.
- 10.821-824: *At uero ut uultum uidit morientis et ora / ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris / ingemuit miserans grauiter dextramque tetendit / et mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago*: But when the son of Anchises saw the look on the face of the dying man, a face strangely pale, he felt compassion for him, groaned heavily and stretched out his right hand, and an image of fatherly love came to his mind.
- 11.124-126: *O fama ingens, ingentior armis, / vir Troiane, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem? / iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborum?*: O Trojan hero, great in fame, even greater in strength of arms, with what praise can I raise you to the sky? Should I first admire your righteousness or your achievements in war?
- 11.291-292: *Ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis; / hic pietate prior*: Both famous for courage, both for superior strength in arms; this one was greater in dutifulness.
- 12.70: *Illum [Turnum] turbat amor*: Love agitates him.
- 12.565: *Iuppiter hac stat*: Jupiter stands here.
- 12.861-868: *Postquam acies uidet Iliacas atque agmina Turni, / alitis in paruae subitam collecta figuram, / quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis / nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras. / Hanc uersa in faciem Turni se pestis ob ora / fertque refertque sonans clipeumque euerberat alis. / Illi membra nouus soluit formidine torpor, / arrectaeque horrore comae et uox faucibus haesit*: After she [the Fury/Dira] has seen the Trojan host and the legions of Turnus, abruptly she compresses herself into the shape of a small bird, the kind that sometimes, late at night, sits on top of tombs or deserted houses and utters grim prophecies through the shadows. Turned into this shape, the shrieking pest carries herself back and forth in front of Turnus' eyes and beats his shield with her wings. An unfamiliar numbness loosens his limbs in fear, his hair is raised in horror, and his voice clings to his throat.

- 12.894-895: *Non me tua feruida terrent / dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis:* Your blazing words do not frighten me, fierce one; the gods frighten me, and having Jupiter as an enemy.
- 12.930-938: *Ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem / protendens, 'equidem merui nec deprecor' inquit: / 'Utere sorte tua. Miseri te si qua parentis / tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis / Anchises genitor) Dauni miserere senectae / et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mauis, / redde meis. Vicisti et uictum tendere palmas / Ausonii uidere; tua est Lauinia coniunx; / ulterius ne tende odiis':* He, as a lowly suppliant, reached out with pleading eyes and hands, 'I have earned it indeed, and I do not beg; use your chance. If, however, a wretched parent's sorrow can touch you, I pray (Anchises was such a father for you), pity the aged Daunus, and give me, or, if you prefer, my body, bereft of life, back to my own. You have defeated me and the Ausonians have seen me, defeated, stretch forth my hands. Lavinia is yours to marry; press not further in hatred.'
- 12.946-947: *Furiis accensus et ira / terribilis:* Inflamed by the Furies and terrible in his wrath.
- 12.654: *Fulminat Aeneas armis:* Aeneas flashes in arms.
- 12.922-923: *Nec fulmine tanti / dissultant crepitus:* Nor does the crashing of a thunderbolt burst so loud.
- 12.948-949: *Pallas te hoc uulnere, Pallas / immolat:* Pallas sacrifices you with this wound, Pallas.

Vergil, *Eclogues*:

- 3.101: *Idem amor exitium pecori pecorisque magistro:* The same love brings doom to herd and herdsman alike.
- 10.28-30: *'Ecquis erit modus?' inquit. 'Amor non talia curat; / nec lacrimis crudelis amor nec gramina rivis / nec cytiso saturantur apes nec fronde capellae':* 'Is there to be no limit?' he said. 'Love has no interest in such things; neither is cruel love sated with tears, nor the grass with small streams, nor the bees with clover, nor the goats with leaves.'
- 10.61: *Deus ille [Amor] malis hominum mitescere discat:* This god will learn how to soften the ills of men.
- 10.69: *Omnia vincit Amor; et nos cedamus amori:* Love conquers all; let us too yield to love.

Vergil, *Georgics*:

- 1.145: *Labor omnia vicit / improbus:* Immoderate labour conquered all.
- 3.215-216: *Carpit enim viris paulatim uritque videndo / femina:* For the female gradually consumes his strength and burns him, when he looks at her.
- 3.242-245: *Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque, / et genus aequoreum, pecudes pictaeque volucres, / in furias ignemque ruunt: Amor omnibus idem:* Indeed, all races on earth, both men and wild animals, and the species of the sea,

the herd-animals and the colourful birds rush into fury and fire: Love is the same for all.

- 4.266-267: *Scilicet ante omnis furor est insignis equarum; / et mentem Venus ipsa dedit*: Certainly the fury of mares is most remarkable of all; and Venus herself has bestowed on them this inclination.

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