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Aeneas: A Study in Character Development

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By THERESE FUHRER

Within the last fifty years, there has been a dispute among scholars as to whether or not Aeneas' character undergoes development. Did Aeneas learn anything during his trip to Italy and then change his attitude and behaviour or did he already have, from the beginning of the *Aeneid*, the same character and personality as he has at the end?

Richard Heinze seems to be the first to point out clearly that Aeneas is not the same man in the first part of the *Aeneid* as he is in the books which deal with him after his arrival in Italy.¹ Aeneas is, as Heinze suggests, certainly not the ideal hero in the first five books that he is in the remaining part of the poem. In his discussion of this contrast, Heinze uses the word 'Charakterentwicklung'.² He argues that there is a turning-point at the end of book five, where Anchises' ghost reassures Aeneas that now finally Jupiter 'caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est' (5.727), reinforcing Nautes' advice to obey the fates. This makes Aeneas change his mind at once and become firm and resolute from this point on (746, 'extemplo . . .'). What follows would then be the realization of this new strength of mind: Aeneas' deeds are now noble and wise; and he himself is ready to be led by fate, instead of being dragged.

Many other scholars have recognized a similar change.³ George Howe stresses the idea of a real development, but disagrees with Heinze as to its nature.⁴ In spite of the term 'Charakterentwicklung', Heinze speaks of a sudden change, which suggests that Aeneas went through only two different stages. Howe, on the other hand, sees a gradual change of character which is completed in the sixth book, and it is there that his character is brought to its full stature. In the second part of the *Aeneid* the hero is the man which he was growing into in that earlier period. So Aeneas, according to Howe, is no longer uncontrolled, uncertain, and aimless in his actions, as he was earlier, nor does he falter or stumble as he did in the first half of the poem.⁵

Gunnar Carlsson argues for another kind of transformation which the hero undergoes.⁶ He denies that the toils and temptations of books 1 to 5 left any trace on Aeneas' character. There is no difference between the Aeneas of the first book and the one at the end of the fifth book. But Carlsson finds a turning-point, the catabasis in book 6, which transforms Aeneas from a more or less Homeric hero to a Stoic ideal. After his descent to Hades Aeneas has complete

knowledge of the future; and true virtue, according to the Stoic view, is the result of knowledge.⁷ Aeneas becomes, from then on, 'a fully willing and obedient servant to the mission for which [Fate] has selected him'. But he did not reach this state of mind as a 'vir per gradus proficiens', as Heinze emphasizes,⁸ but only through this revelation of fate, whereas before he often lost courage and hope, because he was 'oblitus fatorum'.⁹

Francis A. Sullivan adds a new point of view to the idea of Aeneas' development.¹⁰ He states that Aeneas, even after book 6, doubts and hesitates until 8.530, when a sign comes from heaven to reassure him of the role he has to play in the war against the Latins. This sudden transformation is indicated by the words 'ego poscor Olympo' (8.533). Afterwards, according to Sullivan, Aeneas '... is like one lifted out of and above his former self'.¹¹ Therefore Aeneas' spiritual formation is not completed by the end of book 6, but goes on to the end of book 8.

Brooks Otis, in his study in Vergilian poetry, points out the two contradictory terms of 'furor' and 'pietas'. His Aeneas has to struggle against both external 'furor' and 'furor' within himself.¹² He states that after Aeneas' visit to his father in the Underworld, 'he rises above his original nature to a wholly new and quasi-divine heroism', and becomes the product of inner struggle and spiritual rebirth.¹³ Thus the first six books deal with his inner struggle, and the second six with the triumph of 'pietas'. This is summarized in what Otis calls the 'plot of the *Aeneid*': the formation and victory of the Augustan hero. This opinion seems to be adopted by R. D. Williams who concludes that after the psychical and psychological trials for Aeneas in the first half of the poem, where he gradually accepts his divine destiny and comes out as able to resist the temptations of personal happiness, Aeneas' 'passive acceptance of duty' turns finally, with book 6, to a 'positive and dynamic urge'.¹⁴ At this point, there can be no more hesitation. The second half of the *Aeneid* shows, as Williams maintains, *how* Aeneas is to achieve his mission. These two scholars, therefore, like Howe in his 1930 article, hold the opinion that before and after the pivotal point of book 6, Aeneas is portrayed as a different character. In the first half he goes through an inner development, while in the second half, he is renewed, resolute, and sure of himself and his tasks.

Although there are differences among the opinions of the various scholars mentioned above, there is, nevertheless, a conception which is always the same: that there is a change in the personality of Aeneas, from a lower degree of heroism to a higher one, in the sense of morality and inner maturity. But there are scholars who deny such a development, whether it takes place step by step or at one single

turning-point. Erich Burck seems to be the first scholar who asked whether or not Vergil really wanted to show his hero growing slowly in mind and psychic strength.¹⁵ His argument, however, seems to be rather weak. He cannot imagine ancient readers recognizing the shift in time between book 1 and books 2 and 3 and thereby seeing the two different stages of development which are reversed in time.¹⁶ Later he goes into more detail when he points out, explicitly against Heinze and Otis, that Vergil did not intend us to see Aeneas' different states of mind concerning the awareness of his fate, as stages leading to a more mature and firm character. He argues that Aeneas' reaction in each different situation can always be explained by the situation itself.¹⁷

Burck gets support from Viktor Pöschl, who also does not see any inner growth on Aeneas' part to a sort of individual which might be called Stoic.¹⁸ Of course, neither Pöschl nor Burck denies that there is a plot, a development of the story itself. Burck describes the revelation of Aeneas' future goal, and his increasing certainty which is caused by different authorities – his father, the Sibyl, prophecies, visions, oracles, omens – throughout the poem.¹⁹ Pöschl too points out that Aeneas' character is tested more and more by different proofs and sufferings, and so his maturity increases and his attitude becomes more and more Roman. Nevertheless, Aeneas continues to hesitate and waver, which Pöschl calls an essential feature of this Vergilian hero. This particular view of Aeneas seems not to have found any further support.²⁰ There is just one article by Hans-Peter Stahl which touches this special problem and tends to agree with what Burck and Pöschl mean.²¹

Yet this is a point which should be explored further. Was Aeneas an un-hero in the first half of the epic, as Williams argues?²² Was he first a Homeric, i.e. barbaric, fighter, before he learned to be a civilized and self-controlled one, as Otis argues? But then what about Aeneas' behaviour after Pallas' death in book 10, which Otis labels 'somewhat excessive'?²³ Did Aeneas simply forget his lessons?²⁴ These are not the only questions which can be asked if one assumes a development of Aeneas' character. But it is appropriate to look first at the text itself, the root of this question, and ask how Aeneas is shown to us by Vergil throughout the *Aeneid*. Is he represented differently at the beginning than he is at the end? Is he represented as an un-hero at first and then imbued with the qualities of a 'true' hero?

It is necessary, first, to check in the whole poem, from the beginning to the end, to see if there are passages which depict Aeneas' personality as one which seems to some interpreters to be like that of an un-hero, or at least one which does not strictly fit the

picture of a man who does not need to be further schooled by life and struggles. As many commentators and scholars have already stated, Aeneas is introduced to us at the beginning of the story (1.92–101, the storm scene) in a way that seems to be rather strange for a traditional epic hero.²⁵ And throughout book 1 we see him sighing, crying, or being frightened which suggests a rather unhardened state of mind and a rather emotional character.²⁶ Furthermore, Aeneas is depicted in fear or sadness twice in book 2,²⁷ five times in book 3,²⁸ twice in book 4,²⁹ and twice in book 5.³⁰ In book 6, in Cumae and in the Underworld, he is often frightened or, during the encounter with Dido (450–76), weeping.³¹ Several of these passages show him doubting, hesitating, and pondering.³² In the second half of the poem there are many fewer lines dealing with Aeneas, but still he sheds tears³³ or expresses doubts and uncertainty³⁴ with similar or the same words as in the first half (8.20f. = 4. 285f.). Statistics would indicate – if one would like to rationalize poetry – that, in proportion to the scenes in which Aeneas appears in the second half (only seldom in book 7, not very often in books 8 and 11, never in book 9), he is not shown as grieving or doubting less than in the first half.

Stahl points out that Aeneas in the scene where he appears first, the storm scene (1. 92–101), is not misplaced nor is Vergil's portrayal of him merely preliminary, so that it has to be changed to a more valid portrayal as Williams implies.³⁵ According to Stahl, there is no disproportion between Aeneas' behaviour and his assigned role: like Odysseus in the model passage in the *Odyssey* (5. 297–312), Aeneas complains not about the dangerous situation itself but about the prospect of drowning in inglorious anonymity. The method of going back to the Homeric epic may provide some more solutions for understanding the image of Vergil's hero.³⁶ No one would consider Achilles to be an un-heroic hero although he too is quite often weeping and grieving. When Briseis is taken away from him, he goes to the seashore and cries until his mother asks him: τέκνον, τί κλαίεις; (*Il.* 1. 348f.). Achilles then tells her of the quarrel between Agamemnon and himself and of his hurt pride, as we would fancy that a child who tells his mother of quarrels with his comrades might behave. Furthermore, we see Achilles grieving over the death of Patroklos, and again weeping³⁷ (to say nothing of the tears of Odysseus).³⁸ Hector too, when he is fighting against Achilles, is represented as doubting,³⁹ and so frightened that he finally flees.⁴⁰ The Homeric heroes, therefore, do not feel inhibited to show their feelings even though they seem to be aware that tears are a sign of weakness.⁴¹ Thus, it should not be far-fetched to call tears and sighs a traditional feature of epic heroes. It should not seem strange

that the same Aeneas who is superior and equal to every task can also shed tears and have emotional troubles. Otherwise, we would have to say that Vergil borrowed those elements of a Homeric hero which make him human and associated them with his hero to make him weak.

Let us now examine the passages which show Aeneas playing the role of a 'pius' and 'pater'. In the first book he is the leader, the one who goes out to get information about the unknown country.⁴² In the presence of Dido he represents the king of the Trojans, as in book 4 where, in the second part, he also organizes the departure from Carthage.⁴³ In the narration of books 2 and 3 we see him as a warrior in battle scenes, then rescuing his family, founding cities, and making sacrifices as the religious head of the refugees.⁴⁴ In book 5 his main function is to supervise the games in honour of Anchises acting, as in book 6, as a kind of 'pontifex maximus'.⁴⁵ These roles – moral and political leader, high-priest – do not change in the second half of the poem⁴⁶ where, as was stated earlier, Aeneas is mentioned much less frequently.⁴⁷ It is true that in books 10 and 12 there are many scenes with Aeneas in them, but most of these are battle scenes. Yet one does not know quite for sure whether Aeneas is the superior warrior or whether he has lost control of himself when he is 'ardens' (10.514), 'viso sanguine laetus' (10.787), 'saevus' (12.107), or 'furiis accensus et ira' (12.946). He is not always what we would expect a hero who is 'pius' to be; his violent behaviour is presented in several scenes, especially at the end of the work.⁴⁸ As Stahl suggests, we should look at the problem in another way.⁴⁹ Aeneas' behaviour at the end of the poem can only be judged as negative if we are also willing to condemn him for fighting and killing in book 2. Is Aeneas' ardour at Troy blameworthy in the eyes of the poet? One should rather agree with Stahl that Vergil could not let Aeneas leave the city without any attempt at conquering the invaders. Since, when one looks at the image which ancient writers and poets besides Vergil give us of this Trojan warrior and his behaviour during the last night of Troy,⁵⁰ one can only state that the Vergilian Aeneas is depicted as being much nobler, with many more heroic traits and actions. One could even say that Vergil was anxious to show that Aeneas, the ancestor of the Romans, was no traitor to his country, as some old stories had said, but a fighter who resisted to the last. So his passionate fighting in books 10 and 12 as well cannot be counted as a moral deficiency.

But it is not appropriate here to come to any conclusion about that. Rather it is fitting to state that concerning both the role of the superior man which Aeneas has to fulfill, and the number of utterances in the poem whereby this role is defined, there is no

apparent difference between the two halves of the *Aeneid*. It is not just Aeneas' status and function, but also his superior behaviour, his level-headedness, his devotion to the gods which give the impression that his personality is already very firm from the beginning. It is true that Vergil depicts him as a man of strong feelings, but also as a person who succeeds in subordinating these feelings to his mission right from the beginning. Pöschl seems to be correct when he says that Aeneas' inner strength increases not in the sense of a gradual development, but that the stature of the hero grows with the tasks he has to fulfill.⁵¹ Vergil portrays not change of the hero's character, but rather a change of his situation and consequently of his behaviour. In the last part of the story, Aeneas is in a very different situation from that of the tired and troubled wanderer which he is at the beginning. The wanderings are over; the promised land, sought for seven years, has been reached; the vision of the future has been revealed; the favour of the gods is assured. There are still problems for Aeneas to deal with – the war against the Latins – but the situations and tasks have changed, and so do the deeds of the hero. Against warriors Aeneas has to react differently from the way in which he reacts to a woman who wants to detain him from fulfilling his duties.

As we have seen, the text itself does not suggest a development of Aeneas' personality. There are, in addition, some other facts which argue against such an assumption. First of all, a development which is, according to some scholars, already determined after the first half of the poem or after book 8 makes the rest of the story rather flat. And assuming that Vergil really had wanted to design a man who is at first weak, then becomes stronger while enduring some troubles until book 6, why did he not represent Aeneas as being distinctly weaker in the beginning?⁵² Vergil demonstrated that he could portray the transformation of a persona: Dido changes from a great queen, faithful to her dead husband, superior and sovereign, to a helpless, despairing lover.⁵³ If Vergil, therefore, had intended to draw a picture of Aeneas' psyche changing through time, he could have given him other epithets in the first half of the *Aeneid*, which would have been more appropriate to a man who still has a lot to learn. But Aeneas is, as was pointed out earlier, right from the beginning the noble 'pater', and he is always 'pius'.⁵⁴ On the other hand, what he does in the second half of the *Aeneid* is not morally better, nor is his character more consistent or mature or self-sufficient, as even Williams concedes.⁵⁵

Otis calls Vergil's way of writing 'subjective' or 'empathetic style',⁵⁶ and this Vergilian feature might be the reason why scholars are misled. The poet puts his own feelings into his characters, and he

does it so convincingly that we are tempted to forget what really happens. The fact is we are dealing not with a supersensitive and delicate youngster, but with an already matured man, a man with much responsibility, including the duties of a leader and a 'pater familias', a wise decision-maker, a warrior who kills his enemies without pity. But the way in which Vergil tells the story of this hero often makes the reader forget these features of Aeneas and rather makes the reader project his and Vergil's feelings into the personality of this character. And since the hero appears less frequently in the second half of the epic, one is attracted to his persona in books 1 to 6 much more than in books 7 to 12. This led to the anachronistic view of the 'Charakterentwicklung'. A similar mistake was made in the exegesis of Vergil's *Eclogues*: E. A. Schmidt succeeded in detecting the error of Bruno Snell and others who found the fantasy-land of Arcadia in the *Eclogues* which was in fact the creation of Sannazaro in the fifteenth-century.⁵⁷ Such a Romantic view also seems to have influenced interpreters of the *Aeneid*. We know the concept of the development of a character and learning by experience from medieval epic, from the *Parzival*, or from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century novels:⁵⁸ from Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Rolland's *Jean-Christophe*, who were all schooled by life and experience. Therefore, we measure ancient literature with modern literary presuppositions. This is illustrated by the term 'Charakterentwicklung' which is a modern concept.⁵⁹

It is, as has already been stated, especially Vergil's subjective style which causes the story of Aeneas' struggles to touch feelings in us which are very similar to those of people in the last two centuries. But if one attempts to be objective, Vergil's intentions seem to be to show his reader just what true heroism and greatness can be. Pöschl expresses what seems to be the essential plot of the *Aeneid*:⁶⁰ Aeneas' existence is shaped by 'the conflict of heroic fulfillment of duty with human sensitivity'. Vergil gives us in his poem the opportunity to watch the behaviour of Aeneas throughout a long time period, so that the reader is curious about how he reacts, and feels with him.⁶¹ His personality is portrayed in a series of tasks, perils, and challenges,⁶² and we get a picture of a hero who is humane regarding both his weakness and his magnanimity.

NOTES

1. *Virgils epische Technik* (Leipzig and Berlin, 3rd ed. 1915), pp. 271-80.
2. Heinze (n. 1), p. 277; cf. K. Büchner, 'P. Vergilius Maro', *RE* 8A, 2 (1958), 1455, who calls the *Aeneid* 'ein Drama des Sichfindens'.

3. In addition to the scholars mentioned below, cf. W. W. Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911), pp. 410–14; J. P. Poe, *TAPA* 96 (1965), 321–36, esp. 321f.: ‘Whether or not it can be said that Aeneas’ ‘character’ develops within the course of the epic, at least his attitude develops’; W.-L. Liebermann, *Studien zum antiken Epos*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 72 (1976), 173–207, esp. 184 and 195–8, sees Aeneas’ ‘Wandlung von Entfremdung und Fremdbestimmung zu Selbstfindung, Selbstverwirklichung und Engagement in Uebnahme und Aneignung der Aufgabe’ after he has left Dido.
 4. *CJ* 26 (1930–31), 182–93.
 5. Cf. Howe (n. 4), 185–9.
 6. *Eranos* 43 (1945), 111–35.
 7. Cf. Carlsson (n. 6), 121 and 128.
 8. Heinze (n. 1), pp. 278–80.
 9. Cf. also C. M. Bowra, *G&R* 3 (1933–4), 8–21. On the Stoic qualities of Aeneas, cf. also R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil’s Aeneid* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 182f.
 10. *AJP* 80 (1959), 150–61.
 11. Sullivan (n. 10), 159.
 12. *Virgil, a Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 219–23.
 13. Otis (n. 12), p. 219; cf. 311.
 14. *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, Vol. II: Latin Literature*, ed. E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 333–70, esp. 346–53.
 15. E. Burck, *Wege zu Vergil*, ed. H. Oppermann (Darmstadt, 1966), pp. 233–69.
 16. Burck (n. 15), p. 256.
 17. *Das römische Epos*, ed. E. Burck (Darmstadt, 1979), pp. 51–119, esp. 88.
 18. *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid* (Ann Arbor, 1968), pp. 54ff.
 19. Burck (n. 15), p. 255.
 20. With the exception of W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil’s Aeneid* (Oxford, 3rd edition 1982), pp. 7 and 25f.
 21. *Arethusa* 14 (1981), 157–75.
 22. *Virgil, Greece & Rome* New Surveys in the Classics No.1 (Oxford, 1967), p. 31.
 23. Otis (n. 12), p. 361; cf. Sullivan (n. 10), 160.
 24. So Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil*, vol. II (London, 2nd edition 1977), p. 320.
 25. Cf., e.g., Howe (n. 4), 187; Otis (n. 12), pp. 102 and 231; Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil*, vol. I (London, 1972), pp. 167 and 168 (ad 1. 92 and 94f.); B. Morris, *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 9 (1969–70), 21; Lyne (n. 9), p. 107; K. Quinn, *Virgil’s Aeneid, a Critical Description* (London, 1968), p. 102.
 26. Cf. ‘ingemere’ in 1. 208f. (after landing in Africa): ‘suspirare’ in 371 and ‘queri’ in 385 (complaining of his ill fortune and bewailing the loss of his companions); ‘timor’ in 450 (his fear of the unknown land is soothed); ‘lacrimare’ in 459 and ‘gemitus’ in 485 (at the sight of the pictures of the Trojan War on the temple of Juno in Carthage); ‘turbati animi’ in 515 (worried about the uncertain situation).
 27. 279–88 (Aeneas’ vision of Hector); 735–804 (the loss of Creusa).
 28. 10f. (leaving Troy); 29–48 (at the appearance of the unburied Polydorus); 172–9 (after the prophecy of the penates in Crete).
 29. 279–95 (after Mercury has told him to leave Carthage); 393–6 (when Dido appeals to him to stay).
 30. 700–20 (after the Trojan women have set fire to the Trojan ships); 867–6. 1 (after the death of Palinurus).
 31. 156–8, 175f., 185–9, 290–4, 317–20, 331f., 559–61, 695–702, 710–12.
 32. 1. 305–9 (deciding to explore the unknown country); 4. 279–95 (cf. n. 29); 5. 700–3 (cf. n. 30); 6. 185–9 (at the sight of the forest where the golden bough is hidden); 331f. (at the sight of the shades gathered by Cocytus’ stream).
 33. 10. 821–4 (after killing Lausus); 11. 2–29, 39–63, 94–99 (at the funeral of Pallas).
 34. 8. 18–30 (in fear of the Latins); 67–80 (after the instruction by Tiberinus); 520–3 (after Evander’ speech); 10. 217f. (on the way back to the battlefield); 12. 486f. (fighting against Turnus).
 35. Stahl (n. 21), 160–2; Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil* vol. I (n. 25), p. 167.
 36. On the question of similarities and differences between the Homeric heroes and Aeneas, cf. esp. L. A. MacKay, *TAPA* 88 (1957), 11–16; T. Haecker, *Virgil, a Collection of Critical*

Essays, ed. S. Commager (New Jersey, 1966), pp. 68–74; T. van Nortwick, *TAPA* 110 (1980), 303–14; Lyne (n. 9), pp. 104–13.

37. 18. 22–7, 70–126; 23. 59–61; 24. 122–40, 507–17.

38. *Od.* 5. 84, 151–9; 8. 86, 93, 531f.; 19. 204, 212; etc.

39. *Il.* 22. 90–130.

40. 22. 143–66 and 188–201.

41. This is evident from the passage at the beginning of book 16 of the *Iliad* where Achilles himself makes reproaches to Patroklos (7–11).

42. 1. 180–209 (after landing in Africa, in search of food, cheering his companions); 305–84 (going to Carthage to explore the unknown country).

43. 1. 544–78 (Aeneas in the judgement of Dido); 579–656 (during the first encounter with Dido); 4. 141–50 (the hunting party); 259–64 (superintending the building of the city); 287–95 (giving orders for the departure); 331–61 (Aeneas' attempt to make Dido understand the inescapable importance of his mission); 396 (preparing the departure of the fleet); 571–80 (awakening his men and departing).

44. 2. 302–22, 336–60, 382–401, 437–44, 458f. (fighting in Troy); 632–6, 671–804, cf. esp. 671f., 707–23, 796–804 (rescuing his family); 3. 16–18 (founding the city of Aenus in Thrace); 18–21 (making offerings to his mother); 132–4 (founding the city of Pergama in Crete); 234–7 (fighting against the Harpies); 286–9 (dedicating the shield of Abas to Apollo at Actium); 298–300 (visiting Andromache and Helenus).

45. 5. 26–31 (giving order to land in Sicily); 42–99, 129–31, 258–62, 282–92, 303–14, 348–67, 424f., 461–7, 485–9, 529–40, 545–52 (supervising the games in honour of Anchises); 755–7 (founding the city of Segesta); 770–6 (leaving Sicily); 827–9. 867f. (Aeneas as the admiral of the ship); 6. 9–11, 103–24 (visiting the Sibyl); 183–200, 210f. (searching for the golden bough); 232–6 (burying Misenus); 249–54 (making offerings to Hecate); 263 (going down to the Underworld with the Sibyl, fearless, cf. 403f.); 899f. (coming back to his comrades).

46. 7. 5–7 (burying his old nurse and leaving Cumae); 107–40 (landing in Latium); 152–9 (organizing the camp in Latium); 8. 530–53 (preparing the war against the Latins); 10. 146–62, 249–62, 287f. (asking Tarchon for help and going back to the battlefield); 11. 2–28 (dedicating Mezentius' arms to the gods); 59–84 (at the burial of Pallas); 106–19 (granting the armistice); 184f. (at the burial of those who die in the war); 282–92 (as a warrior in the judgement of Diomedes); 12. 166–94 (worshipping the gods and swearing). All the following are battle scenes: 11. 904–12; 12. 107–12, 311–23, 481–508, 525–41, 554–83, 697–724, 760–91, 887–93, 919–21, 938–52.

47. Cf. Morris (n. 25), 32. Otis (n. 12), p. 315, too, states that Aeneas is 'seemingly eclipsed by the exploits of both Trojan and Latins' but is given pre-eminence by his 'immunity from moral failure'.

48. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil* vol. II (n. 24), pp. 165–7, compares the behaviour of Aeneas after the death of Pallas to the 'wild scenes' of book 2 and then draws his conclusion that 'all the lessons of the subsequent years . . . are now forgotten as he kills indiscriminately'. As a consequence of Aeneas' conviction after book 6 that everything he does from this point on is undoubtedly right, J. R. Wilson, *G&R* 16 (1969), 72, sees in Aeneas a new state of mind which can only be called 'grim': '[Aeneas] is taking a certain illicit advantage of Pallas' death to insist on a narrow "pietas" and at the same time throw away the real moral superiority which he had previously shown over his enemies.' M. C. J. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), pp. 151–202, speaks about Aeneas as the merciless killer instead of as 'pius' Aeneas, who did not punish Turnus but killed him senselessly. Cf. also Quinn (n. 25), pp. 1–22.

49. Stahl (n. 21), 165–7.

50. Cf. M. Reinhold, *C&M* 27 (1966), 195–207; E. T. Sage, *CJ* 15 (1919–20), 350–7, esp. 353.

51. Pöschl (n. 18), p. 58; cf. Burck, *Das römische Epos* (n. 17), p. 88. There remains the question of whether or not Vergil intended the Dido episode to be a step in the development of Aeneas' personality. In this episode, the temptation of finding a home after his wanderings comes near and Aeneas runs the risk of forgetting his followers, his duty to Ascanius, and his divine mission. That Aeneas gets over these difficulties is usually regarded as proof of the progress which he makes in the process of full character development: cf. Howe (n. 4), 188f.;

Sullivan (n. 10); Otis (n. 12), pp. 90f.; Poe (n. 3), 322. But if we say that part of the plot of the *Aeneid* was the fulfillment of duty, we can also say that the Dido episode has the effect of showing Aeneas' devotion to duty.

52. Cf. Heinze (n. 1), p. 272 n. 1: 'Eine ganz andere Frage ist die, ob es Vergil gelungen ist, seine Intention [i.e. to show the development of Aeneas' personality] energisch zum Ausdruck zu bringen.'

53. The poet of the *Iliad* too made his readers clearly distinguish between the irreconcilable Achilles of the beginning of the poem and the yielding hero at the end.

54. Cf. N. Moseley, *CJ* 20 (1924-5), 387-400, esp. 391 and 394-7; J.-P. Brisson, *Latomus* 31 (1972), 379-412, esp. 389.

55. Williams, *CHLL* (n. 14), pp. 352f.; cf. n. 48 above.

56. Otis (n. 12), pp. 40ff.

57. *AG&A* 21 (1975), 36-57.

58. The German term is 'Entwicklungsroman'.

59. Cf. Pöschl (n. 18), p. 58; Burck, *Wege zu Vergil* (n. 15), p. 256. As Howe (n. 4), 182-4 points out, 'the fiction of the Greeks and Romans shows little knowledge of the development of character as a feature of portrayal'. It is true that in the Hellenistic period, under influence from works of history, biography, and the tragedians, the interests of writers shifted 'from mere deeds and happenings to the inner motives and impulses of an individual that precede and determine the action'. But this does not necessarily imply the development of a hero's personality. Therefore, according to Howe, who interprets the *Aeneid* as a poem showing the gradual development of Aeneas' character, Vergil's portrayal of Aeneas is the great exception among all other literature of his own and earlier times.

60. Pöschl (n. 18), p. 58.

61. This is pointed out by Howe (n. 4), 184f.

62. On Vergil's characterization of Aeneas, cf. Lyne (n. 9), pp. 145-202.