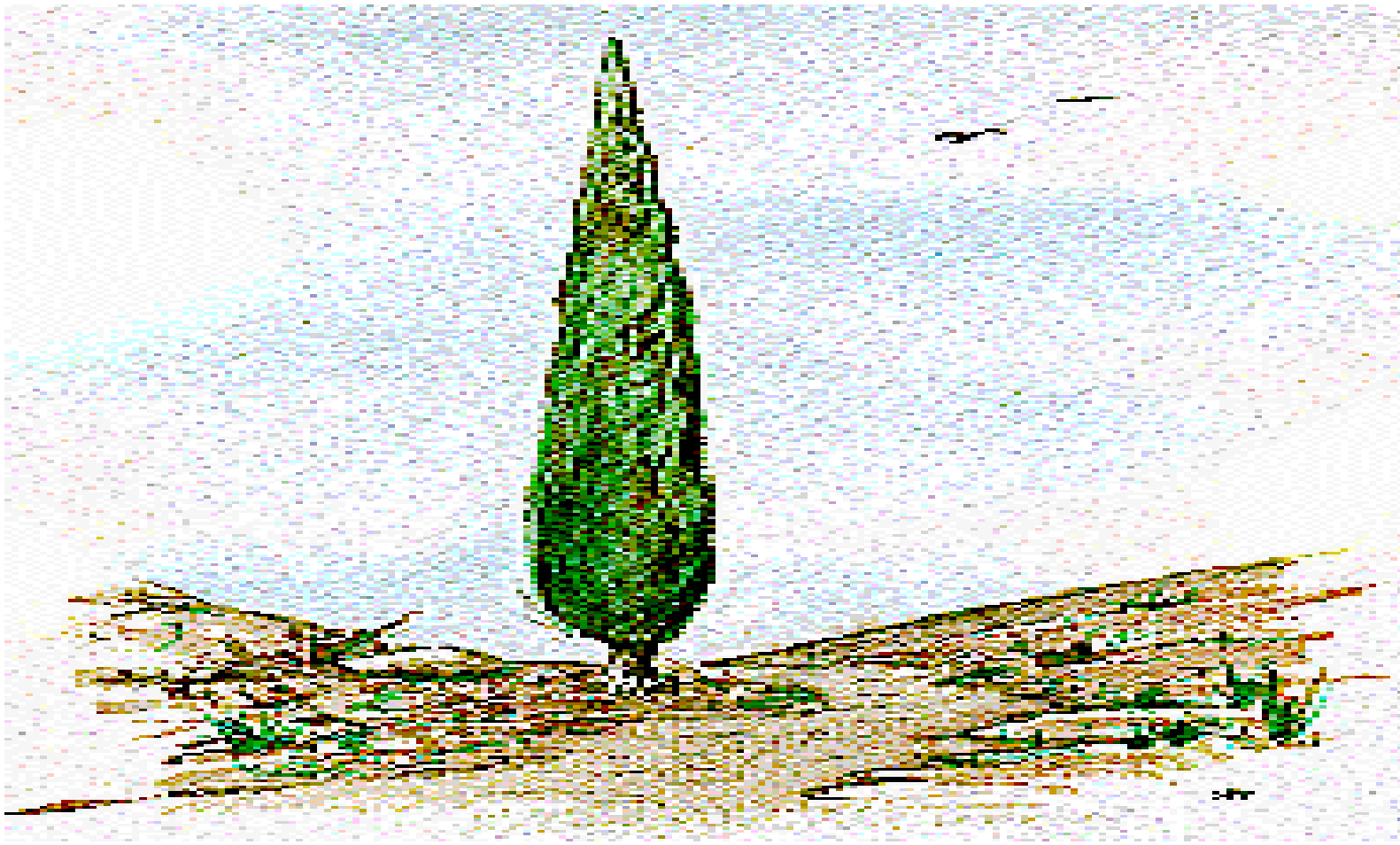
Go *Fatum* Yourself

On how Vergil's Aeneas interacts with his *fatum* and
motivates others and himself from his leadership position



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Introduction

CEOs in modern-day businesses have the sky-high expectation that the leaders (managers) within their companies are masters in generating team efficiency. The more efficient a team functions, the better end results it will achieve. Ultimately, the leader is responsible for these results. For his team he is their guide in the workplace, he controls a project's progress, and he sets the team's boundaries. However, it is easily forgotten that this leader too is, more often than not, confronted with boundaries, assignments, and limitations from his own boss[1]. This leader too is being lead. He has limited space to work with, within which he therefore needs creativity to optimize team efficiency. For generating the highest level of team efficiency, the leader needs to pay a considerable amount of attention to the dynamics between the team members. This is where the concept of motivation comes in.

Motivation is the key to success, connected to both the goals of a team and that of an individual person or team member. The word motivation is derived from the Latin verb *movēre* (to move) and can be defined as follows: "Motivations are psychological mechanisms that give purpose and direction to behavior. These inner mechanisms can be called many things – habits, beliefs, feelings, wants, instincts, compulsions, drives – but no matter what their label, they prompt people to take action."[2] The main question of motivation is why people do what they do. The complexity of its answer is proven by the overwhelming amount of theories on motivation[3]. The question of motivation becomes even more complex when taking into account the limited leeway the leader has to work with. The leader needs to find a way to motivate himself within the boundaries of his assignment and he needs to motivate his team members to accomplish the goal. This issue of leadership in the modern days we also encounter in the classic work of Vergil's *Aeneid*.

In this Latin epic, Aeneas is bound by his *fatum* to find the new homeland for the Trojans. This *fatum*, however, is not always in agreement with Aeneas' own desires and it even is a cause for dispute among the Olympian gods. Nevertheless, all have to find a way to acceptance and follow the path *fatum* directs them to. But how exactly does Aeneas feel about being submitted to his *fatum*? How does he handle and reacts to the demands that are made of him? In other words: how does Aeneas interact with his *fatum*? Related to this is that Aeneas,

[1] Adair (2009).
[2] Forsyth (2010), p. 48.
[3] Example are Adam's equity theory, Alderfer's ERG theory, and Vroom's expectancy theory. See for this subject George and Jones (2008).

as leader of the Trojans, has the responsibility to keep the other Trojans happy and motivated during their journey to their new homeland. So the other main topic of our examination will focus on the following question: how is Aeneas able to motivate himself and others while staying within the limits of his *fatum*?

Aeneas has to cope with his *fatum* and due to the different ways his *fatum* manifests itself, he is put into three different kinds of situations throughout the *Aeneid*[4]: (1) situations in which Aeneas is openly forced by his *fatum* to behave a certain way and he has no choice but to submit, (2) situations in which gods and ghosts advice Aeneas on which path to follow, but he has some room to decide for himself how to react, and (3) situations in which Aeneas is free to choose his actions with little to no interference from his *fatum*. The Latin passages chosen for these situations are some minor and major moments of crisis for Aeneas, since it is in those moments his leadership skills are most important[5].

Before we embark on our examination, we must first consider the political, cultural, and generic context the *Aeneid* was written in. This will enhance our understanding of the situation Vergil was in when he wrote this work, which would have had a certain influence on the way he allows Aeneas to act. Also, we need to understand the world Aeneas lives in regarding to religion, specifically the relationship between the gods and *fatum*, for a better appreciation of Aeneas' behaviour. After these considerations, we will start reading the chosen Latin passages closely and answer the questions on how Aeneas interacts with his *fatum* and motivates others and himself from his leadership position. In the end, we hopefully have enlarged our understanding of Aeneas' behaviour and motivation regarding his *fatum*.

1. Vergil in Augustan times

1.1 The creation of the *Aeneid*

Vergil (70 – 19 BCE) wrote his *Aeneid* between 29 BCE and his death[6]. As with any author, the political and cultural background of his time were, to use the words of Thornton, "the furniture of Vergil's mind" [7]. The creation of the *Aeneid* and its contents were without

[4] These different ways of manifestation have been a personal choice, based on my personal reading of the *Aeneid*.

[5] Here, crisis can be understood to be situations both of panic and happiness. See for the importance of effective leadership skills during moments of crisis Forsyth (2010).

[6] It is argued that Vergil never actually finished the *Aeneid*. He even requested his friends to burn this work, since he was not able to publish it himself. See Suerbaum (1999).

[7] Thornton (1976), p. 20.

question under the influence of the turbulent times Vergil lived in. So for a better appreciation of this work and its characters, a short overview of the political and cultural background of Vergil's time will be given here.

The times Vergil lived in were certainly exciting. The glory days of the Roman Republic were at an end and turmoil in the form of civil wars was causing damage throughout the Roman realm. Vergil lived to see the murder of Julius Caesar, the outcome of the battle of Actium, and the establishment of the first Roman emperor Augustus and so lived through the transitional period from Roman Republic to Roman Empire[8]. Octavian was working his way up to his reign as Emperor Augustus. After times of civil wars and overall turmoil, the Roman people were in need of liberty and security[9]. Octavian presented himself as the one who could provide this and stabilize the power of Rome by returning to the old standards of the Republic[10]. Some other major Romans, like Cicero, wanted the Republic back and actively tried to save the old values. The opinions of Vergil on these subjects are unknown to us, also due to a lost biography Varius wrote of him.

What we do know is that Vergil came into contact with Augustus through the patronage of Maecenas, who had been working for Augustus since at least 40 BCE as an assistant and adviser on cultural sensitive subjects. Maecenas, like Vergil, was highly educated and apparently had a weakness for Vergil's poetry. But how did the creation of the *Aeneid* come into existence? The ancient writers tell us that the creation of this work was a request made by Augustus[11]. They say that he requested the making of a national Roman poem with a core of praise for its ruler (Augustus himself). Apparently impressed by Vergil's talent, which Augustus was able to witness on at least one occasion, he believed a national poem suitable for his political affairs, with the ultimate objective to unite the Roman people, and have Vergil start this undertaking[12,13].

Other scholars, however, have their reasons for believing such a request by Augustus was not made. They believe it was Vergil himself who had the initiative for writing the

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[8] Augustus was the name Octavian took after 27 BCE.

[9] Lefèvre (1998).

[10] Some question whether Augustus actually had the intention to return the Roman state to the Republic. Levèfre (1998), p 112: "For at that time many people were asking for more Republican elements in Rome's political organization than Augustus claimed to offer."

[11] Ovid, *Tr*. 2. 533: et tamen ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor and Donatus, *Vita Servii* 27: ab Augusto Aeneidem propositam. See Avery (1957).

[12] In 29 BCE, Vergil read parts of his *Georgics* to him. See Kraggerud (1998).

[13] According to Gottlieb (1998), Augustus tried the unite the Roman people by focusing his politics on *consensus*, *pax*, and *pietas*. He knew that the Roman political community had to be a cult-community. If a personal identification between these two can be guaranteed, the cult can carry a political function successfully.

Aeneid. According to them, the creation of the *Aeneid* was "connected with the state of morality and religious beliefs at that time"[14]. A first explanation of this is related to what was already stated above: Augustus wanted to reform the moral standards of Rome after his victory at Actium. Augustus believed that the problems Rome was experiencing were due to moral decline in the characters of past leaders. His victory in Actium made him leader of Rome and he therefore had the power to change mentality. Importantly, he was supported by Horace on this, who had been a highly influential poet and educator[15]. Since Horace's works were used in the Roman educational system, Augustus was able to incorporate his ideas into the Roman education. The notion that Augustus used the educational system for spreading his ideas was a huge stimulus and opportunity for any writer. The works of Vergil had been used by the Roman educational system since 26 BCE and the making of the *Aeneid* could have meant an opportunity for Vergil to draw attention to Augustus' thoughts, which are sometimes said to be corresponding with those of Vergil. Schauer says about this: "[…] machte sich Vergil an ein Nationalepos, das Ocatvian oder Maecenas wenn nicht in Auftrag gegeben, so doch angeregt hatten und dessen propagandistische Absichten auf der Hand lagen."[16]

There are some issues with the idea of the *Aeneid* being a propagandic work. A big question is whether Vergil was in favor of or against the politics of Augustus. Even though they seemed to be on good terms throughout their friendship, it is questionable whether Vergil fully agreed with Augustus politics and could even be be understood as his the voice. The possibility exists that Vergil had a secret agenda writing the *Aeneid*[17]. Some argue Vergil secretly opposed Augustus and that Vergil's own thoughts on the current cultural and political climate can be read in the *Aeneid* when reading beyond the words and phrases[18]. Related to this is the question who Aeneas is supposed to represent. Is he supposed to be the same person that is portrayed in other works Aeneas plays a part?[19] Might he have represented Augustus himself or an ancestor of him?[20] Or is Aeneas to be understood as an anti-Augustus?[21] Suerbaum says about this: "Eine Spiegelung des Augustus in Gestalt des Aeneas bot reichere

[14] Thornton (1976), p. 9.
[15] Horace lived from 64 to 8 BCE.
[16] Schauer (2007), p. 15-16. He suggest an encouragement of the side of Maecenas and/or Octavian to start writing the *Aeneid*.
[17] Parry (1963) argues for two voices in the *Aeneid*: a public voice of triumph for the reign of Augustus and a private voice of regret for the loss of the old values.
[18] See for a more extensive view on this Lefèvre (1998).
[19] See Casali (2010). For example, Aeneas also is a character in Homer's *Iliad*.
[20] A direct reference to Aeneas being an ancestor of Augustus is made by Anchises in Verg. *Aen.* 6,756-807.
[21] Parry (1963).

Möglichkeiten, auch die Möglichkeit der leisen, der indirekten Distanzierung."[22] The final answers to these questions are yet to be found.

A second explanation for believing in the initiative of the writing of the *Aeneid* on the side of Vergil himself, is related to the discussion on Augustan literature. Whether "Augustan literature" is a real concept, and whether it can be seen as a literary historical era, a phenomenon and process of transition, non-classical, etc., remains unclear[23]. But all these options imply the possibility of Augustan literature being a way to talk about present situations at that time. If Augustan literature is accepted as a concept, Vergil was part of it. In that case, his *Aeneid* might have been a way to clarify and process the changes going on at the time, since Vergil was in a position to represent his time and its accompanying developments. The reason for writing the *Aeneid* would in this case be the possibility of reflecting on the situation of the Roman realm, which would have to do with his personal opinion. This could be backed up by a close reading of Vergil's *Georgics* 3.1-48, which was written between 37 and 29 BCE[24]. Here, Kraggerud argues, an announcement of the writing of the *Aeneid* can be found. He says: "One can assume that Octavian had heard, via Maecenas, that Vergil planned to write an epic poem on Aeneas […]"[25].But again, not knowing the opinion of Vergil on Rome's situation creates problems regarding the message he might have wanted to get across.

Even though the exact relation between Vergil and Augustus regarding the creation of the *Aeneid* is not clear, we do know that there was one. However, the exact and precise reason for the creation of the *Aeneid* remains questionable. All possibilities complicate the explanation of its creation in their own ways. It might be safest to accept the creation of the *Aeneid*, whether requested or not, as a way for one of the most influential writers of his time to reflect on Rome's situation. Even though we now still have no final answer, we have come to the understanding that the times Vergil lived in were of importance for its creation and existence.

1.2 The *Aeneid* as an epic poem

About the form of the *Aeneid*, Kraggerud suggests that Vergil, in the announcement of the *Aeneid* in his *Georgics*, apparently wanted his readers/listeners to believe that it was going to be a *Caesareis* initially, but in the end lets his readers/listeners know the form of the *Aeneid*

[22] Suerbaum (1999), p. 110.
[23] See for a thorough analysis on this subject Schmidt (2003).
[24] See for an thorough analysis of this passage Kraggerud (1998).
[25] Kraggerud (1998), p. 1.

will be an epic poem[26]. Why did Vergil choose the model of an epic poem to tell of the beginning of the Roman realm? Why did Vergil prefer this genre instead of the genre of history? Perhaps the answer lies with Aristotle. In his *Poetics*, he outlines his theories on different poetic genres. He believes tragedy to be the highest form of poetry, but connects it as follows with the genre of epic[27]:

παραφανείσης δὲ τῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας οἱ ἐφ᾽ ἑκατέραν τὴν ποίησιν ὁρμῶντες κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν οἱ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ἰάμβων κωμῳδοποιοὶ ἐγένοντο, οἱ δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπῶν τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλοι, διὰ τὸ μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα τὰ σχήματα εἶναι ταῦτα ἐκείνων.
When tragedy and comedy came to light, poets were drawn by their natural bent towards one or the other. Some became writers of comedies instead of lampoons, the others produced tragedies instead of epics; the reason being that the former is in each case a higher kind of art and has greater value.

So the epic genre was the predecessor of tragedy, with the main differences being length and metre.

The more important difference, however, for the current argument is this[28]:

Δεῖ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ποιεῖν τὸ θαυμαστόν, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἐνδέχεται ἐν τῇ ἐποποιίᾳ τὸ ἄλογον, δι᾽ ὃ συμβαίνει μάλιστα τὸ θαυμαστόν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁρᾶν εἰς τὸν πράττοντα:
Now the marvellous should certainly be portrayed in tragedy, but epic affords greater scope for the inexplicable (which is the chief element in what is marvelous), because we do not actually see the persons of the story.

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[26] See Kraggerud (1998) for an analysis on this.
Verg. *Georg.* 3,34-48:

> Stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa,
> Assaraci proles demissaeque ab Iove gentis
> nomina, Trosque parent et Troiae Cynthius auctor.
> Invidia infelix Furias amnemque severum
> Cocyti metuet tortosque Ixionis anguis
> immanemque rotam et non exsuperabile saxum.
> Interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur
> intactos, tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa.
> Te sine nil altum mens incohat; en age segnis
> rumpe moras; vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron
> Taygetique canes domitrixque Epidaurus equorum
> et vox adsensu nemorum ingeminata remugit.
> Mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas
> Caesaris et nomen fama tot ferre per annos,
> Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar.

Also, here is mentioned the possible influence of Maecanus. See Kraggerud (1998), p. 12.
[27] Aristot., *Poet.* 1449a. Translation by Halliwell (1995).
[28] Aristot. *Poet.* 1460a.

Aristotle here says that in the epic genre, there is more room to 'play' with events. The writer of an epic is limited only by the scope of his fantasy or that of his readers, depending on what limit appears first. In that way, the writer is not bound by actual events or real life situations in which a character has to react and so can use myth, religion and tragedy to tell his story. He can make up any situation, which can be anywhere between highly preferable or highly difficult for a character, and can exaggerate or on the contrary minimize the character's reaction. Aristotle here compared epic and tragedy, but epic and history might even be considered opposites at this point[29]:

φανερὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ὅτι οὐ τὸ τὰ γενόμενα λέγειν, τοῦτο ποιητοῦ ἔργον ἐστίν, ἀλλ᾽ οἷα ἂν γένοιτο καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον. ὁ γὰρ ἱστορικὸς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς οὐ τῷ ἢ ἔμμετρα λέγειν ἢ ἄμετρα διαφέρουσιν (εἴη γὰρ ἂν τὰ Ἡροδότου εἰς μέτρα τεθῆναι καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἂν εἴη ἱστορία τις μετὰ μέτρου ἢ ἄνευ μέτρων): ἀλλὰ τούτῳ διαφέρει, τῷ τὸν μὲν τὰ γενόμενα λέγειν, τὸν δὲ οἷα ἂν γένοιτο. διὸ καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον ποίησις ἱστορίας ἐστίν: ἡ μὲν γὰ ρ ποίησις μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἡ δ᾽ ἱστορία τὰ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον λέγει.
What we have said already makes it further clear that a poet's object is not to tell what actually happened but what could and would happen either probably or inevitably. The difference between a historian and a poet is not that one writes in prose and the other in verse (indeed the writings of Herodotus could be put into verse and yet would still be a kind of history, whether written in metre or not): the real difference is this, that one tells what happened and the other what might happen. For this reason poetry is something more scientific and serious than history, because poetry tends to give general truths while history gives particular facts.

The freedom epic creates to use myths and tradition for the purpose of praise (whether genuine or not) must have been appealing to Vergil. As Suerbaum says: "Wenn Vergil trotzdem ein Epos über Aeneas schrieb, mußte er darin trotz des alten Themas doch neue dichterische Möglichkeiten sehen, die ihm Ruhm verschaffen würden."[30]

As the above quote states, choosing the model of epic implies sticking to themes of epic. Of course, the ultimate example of epic is Homer. But the development of the epic

[29] Aristot. *Poet.* 1451a-1451b.
[30] Suerbaum (1999), p. 110. A note here on the idea that Vergil himself was also bound to the rules of epic. Vergil too, like Aeneas in this paper, is searching for room between the epic tradition and the story of Aeneas and new possibilities for the genre. Again Suerbaum explains this to us: "Wenn Vergil sich Anfang der zwanziger Jahre des 1. Jh.s v.Chr. entschlossen hatte, Aeneas zum Gegenstand seines Epos zu Machen, sah er sich in einem Spannungsfeld von Gebundenheid und Freiheit. Einerseits war er dadurch gebunden, daß seit Jahrhunderten der *Stoff*, die Aeneassage, existierte und daß die von Homer begründeten epischen Gattungstraditionen fast ebenso alt waren wie die Figur des Aeneas. Andererseits waren *Gattungstraditionen* keinen unveränderlichen Größen, sie konnten weiterenwickelt werden." p. 128.

tradition up to Vergil's time is also something to be taken into account when talking about Vergil's choice for writing the *Aeneid* as an epic. The Greeks had always admired Homer and thought of him as a moral educator[31]. The ethical values and the heroic life of the characters were its main attractions. In the early third century BCE Livius Andronicus translated the *Odyssee* into Latin[32]. So now, Homer's work was accessible to most of the Romans and it became apparent that the portrayed ethical values were comparable to the values of the Roman Republic. As said, the end of the Republic for some meant the end of the old moral values. Vergil might have seen opportunities to return to these values by writing the *Aeneid* according to the model that was the first to portray them.

Another development that took place in the third century BCE, was the development of a poetic aesthetic by the Hellenistic Greek tradition[33]. Alexandrian poets like Apollonius and Callimachus focused on "small-scale poems, esoteric subjects, and highly polished style", which was introduced into the poetry of Rome before Vergil was born[34]. Catullus was one of the poets who fully used their style and was a great example for Vergil. However, the most influential Roman writer for the *Aeneid* was Ennius, who wrote his *Annales* about 150 years before the *Aeneid*. The *Annales* was written as some sort of national historic epic and in the Republic it was seen "as the counterpart in status to Homer's *Iliad.*"[35] Vergil was aware on the status Ennius had acquired, and his reasons to write the *Aeneid* drove him to challenge this status. So, "while other poets writing in other genres might simply dismiss Ennius, in the *Aeneid*, Virgil meets Ennius on his own generic ground, where what is at stake is not just the title of 'Roman Homer' but, fundamentally, the claim to Roman antiquity and the memory of the Roman past."[36]

The reasons behind the status of Homer and Ennius might have been strong motivators for Vergil to follow the path they set out, but there is one huge difference between the world of Homer and that of Vergil: the role of religion. Even though the world of religion in the *Aeneid* will be treated in the next chapter, we can say about the connection between the choice for an epic and Vergil's view on religion is "that the Virgilian cosmos is a carefully articulated structure in which human action is set firmly into the hierarchy of divine forces *[…]*. Therefore, Virgil was bound to seek a poetic form which would be a ready vehicle for

[31] See for a thorough analysis of this subject Thornton (1976).
[32] Goldschmidt (2013).
[33] O'Hara (2011).
[34] O'Hara (2011), p. 7.
[35] Goldschmidt (2013), p. 19.
[36] Goldschmidt (2013), p. 8.

conveying both his cosmic and religious conception of the world and the moral ideas which he felt to be adequate for his time, the two being ultimately not separable."[37] So in the end, the status of epic in his time and his views on religion made Vergil choose epic as the model for the *Aeneid*[38].

2. Vergil's cosmos and the epic world of Aeneas

2.1 The hierarchy of men, gods, and *fatum*

Aeneas lives in the world of epic. As stated above, this genre has some rules to pay attention to. The most important one regards to the role of the gods. Aeneas' perception and experience of his world cannot be fully understood without taking into account the gods, the parts they play, the roles they take, the positions they find themselves in, and the hierarchy they have to uphold. Therefore, the next consideration we will have to take with us in our analysis on Aeneas' behaviour in the following chapters.

The world of Latin (and Greek) epic is the world of the Olympian gods[39]. Generally, the Olympian gods in epic can intervene in the human world in two ways: they can manipulate the external world and they can internally influence the reactions and decisions of men[40]. The gods in Vergil's *Aeneid* are capable of these interventions as well. However, unlike the gods of Homer, Vergil's gods do not actively participate themselves in the world of men. They do not fight in battles, they do not motivate men by talking to them directly, and they do not give the right speed to a men's arm to throw a spear. They only manipulate the circumstances of the moment from afar and the mind of men from within[41]. But what was the reason for Vergil to choose this kind of approach?

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[37] Thornton (1979), p. 2.

[38] Aristotle however doesn't approve for the writer to let his own voice be heard, *Poet.* 1460a: Ὅμηρος δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι μόνος τῶν ποιητῶν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ ὃ δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐλάχιστα λέγειν: οὐ γάρ ἐστι κατὰ ταῦτα μιμητής. *Homer deserves praise for many things and especially for this, that alone of all poets he does not fail to understand what he ought to do himself. The poet should speak as seldom as possible in his own character, since he is not "representing" the story in that sense*. This might be of importance for the debate on whether Vergil was in favor of or against Augustus' politics.

[39] See for an in-depth analysis of the whole of Vergil's cosmos Hardie (1986) and Lyne (1987). Here, only the most relevant aspects will be explored.

[40] Coleman (1982). Examples of manipulating the external world are sea storms, plagues, and miracles; internal influence can be accomplished by dreams and visions.

[41] Coleman (1982), p. 145: "But Vergil's gods, for all their anthropomorphic representation, are set apart from the human events that they seek to influence and are occasionally, as at 10.755-60, moved to pity from afar."

The three main gods in the *Aeneid* are Jupiter, Juno and Venus. The other deities present in the *Aeneid* can be seen as symbols of human action, symbols of psychological forces, or even as instruments of the three main gods[42]. However, all deities "are actors in the great supernatural drama interwoven with and parallel to Aeneas' struggle to fulfill his destiny."[43] They can be understood as symbolic actors in the fight for and against *fatum* or as personifications of human motives. The former half of the last statement is important here, since it implies that *fatum* differs or is separated from the Olympian hierarchy. So how does *fatum* connect to Vergil's gods[44]?

A possibility is that *fatum* is identical to Jupiter. Jupiter is the highest Olympian, and since he controls every earthen action, he decides the future. Initially, it is the text itself that suggest this. In book 1, Jupiter tells Venus she does not have to worry about Aeneas, since he is bound to fulfill his *fatum*[45]:

> "Parce metu, Cytherea, manent immota tuorum
> fata tibi; cernes urbem et promissa Lavini
> moenia, sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
> magnanimum Aenean; neque me sententia vertit."

Jupiter has not changed his mind (*neque me sentential vertit*) about this. The problem with this, is that Jupiter is practically not involved in any action of Aeneas or any other *persona*. He just sits on this throne and at the very most redirects the opinions of other deities, but he does nothing himself to make sure Aeneas' *fatum* will happen, he just knows it will. So arguably, Jupiter is a mere spectator of Aeneas' *fatum*.

Following that line of thought, it might be possible to conclude that Vergil's gods are mediators[46]. They mediate between men and the *fates*. This means that *fatum* would be a power that exceeds that of the gods and that they too are bound by its limitations.
It is clear that the *fates* have the dominant power in the *Aeneid*, but they do seem to work together with the gods. However, even an examination of the mentioning of the *fates* and the gods in the *Aeneid* results in the conclusion that "very often we get language of the greatest

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[42] Woodworth (1930).
[43] Woodworth (1930), p. 119-120.
[44] Even the exact content of *fatum* in the *Aeneid* is highly complex and debatable. For this paper, it felt best to describe Aeneas' fatum as his drive that came from beyond the human world to find a new homeland for the Trojans and build them a city. In this way, we keep a general view that could include any interpretation and addings. For a full account on all forms and interpretations of *fatum* in the *Aeneid*, see Pötscher (1977), Boyancé (1963), Carlsson (1945), and Matthaei (1917).
[45] Verg. *Aen*. 1,257-60.
[46] Woodworth (1930).

vagueness"[47]. So Vergil does not clarify the exact hierarchy of the different deities in the *Aeneid* to us. The *fates* themselves are not personally present in the *Aeneid* and we only get to know their plans by means of Jupiter's words (and on occasion those of Apollo, although his role is mostly to communicate with men). But "even Jupiter, who represents his words as destiny, admits a certain flexibility."[48] Juno, on the other hand implies an inferiority of the gods to the *fates*[49]:

> Non dabitur regis, esto, prohibere Latinis,
> atque immota manet fatis Lavinia coniunx:
> at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus,
> at licet amborum populous exscindere regnum.

She knows the *fates* cannot be changed (*immota*), but can only be delayed (*moras addere*).

As opposed to the relationship between the gods and the *fates*, the relationship between men and the *fates* is very clear: men are only able to fulfill their inevitable *fatum* and are not able to control it. The ultimate goal of men regarding their *fatum*, is "to conquer it by obedience"[50]. Importantly, Aeneas seems to have several opportunities to resist his *fatum* and disobey, but he does not because that does not fit his personality. After all, the *fates* "do not demand an automatic, mechanical obedience, but reasoned and deliberate action. They never once demand what is morally wrong, and they do not destroy needlessly or without excuse."[51] The status of men is therefore in no need for further discussion, but why did Vergil create such problems regarding the relationship between the *fates* and the Olympians? Why did he even need the Olympians, when it is *fatum* that decides ultimately?

What precise roles the gods in the *Aeneid* possibly fulfill, is states above. Vergil's need for the realm of the gods might be found in the concept of the human personality. It is argued that the Olympian gods are "a convenient dumping-ground for all those degrading notions of anthropomorphic weakness"[52]. The realm of the Olympian gods Vergil used to "keep his fates clear of the difficult notions of personality *[…]*"[53]. The complexity of this will be proven through the concept of individuality in the epic genre and the (im)possibilities of a character sketch of Aeneas.

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[47] Matthaei (1917), p. 18.
[48] Ahl (2012), p. 22.
[49] Verg. *Aen.* 7,313-6.
[50] Matthaei (1917), p. 20.
[51] Idem.
[52] Matthaei (1917), p 14.
[53] Matthaei (1917), p. 14.

2.2 The concept of individuality

Let us start with the conclusion: individualization of heroes in the epic genre is a problem[54]. Homer of course was the one who set the standards for this concept in his *Iliad*. He creates individuals by connecting certain words, short sentences, and even ways of thinking to their personalities[55]. In this way, Homer was able to mould clear characteristic for each of his *personae* that separated them from the others. However, even the *personae* in Homer's *Iliad* can be seen as mere executers of the gods' will. Their individuality could not break the boundaries of the gods and *fatum*. This problem of determinism is solved by the fact that in Homer's *Iliad* determinism and individuality coexist.

In Vergil's *Aeneid* on the other hand, they do not. Determinism is the dominant power and the question remains how a person, that is bound to act by the requirements of his *fatum*, can be an individual. In the *Aeneid*, Vergil does connect certain words to certain people, but he does not use them as frequent as Homer and he does not use them to embellish their personality. Rather, his choice of words relates to the goals of his *personae*[56]. There are two extremes between which we have to find a way to describe Aeneas: Aeneas as a puppet of his *fatum* and Aeneas as a true man that shows his own individuality. However, Gordesiani argues this quest is not relevant for the *persona* of Aeneas, since "Die Individualität von Aeneas besteht also darin, daß alles – allen Parametern entsprechend – determiniert ist: von seiner Mission bis hin zu den Mitteln ihrer sprachlichen Realisierung im Text."[57] Parry says: "His every utterance perforce contains a note of history, rather than of individuality."[58]

The idea that it is his *fatum* that characterizes Aeneas as an individual is complicated, but does not seem to grasp the complexity of it. It would be easy to ascribe everything that happens to Aeneas to his *fatum*. This paper will prove the case is much more subtle than this. Since individuality is strongly connected to personality and the latter concept can create a better understanding of Aeneas as a person, we will next look at some literature regarding Aeneas' personality.

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[54] This statement and the following are borrowed from Gordesiani (1999).

[55] Meant are of course the famous epithet ornantia, like the flashing helmet of Hektor. As to the ways of thinking: Odysseus, for example, was known for his cunning and smart way of thinking, while Ajax was more focused on his pride.

[56] *Pater* Aeneas, for example, could be seen as a reference to Aeneas being the founding father of future Rome.

[57] Gordesiani (1999), p. 130.

[58] Parry (1963), p. 76.

2.3 (Im)possibilities of a character sketch

As the previous chapter has shown, the concept of individuality in the epic genre is not that straightforward. But what are the consequences of this for the character (personality) of Aeneas? We have to constantly be aware that, in spite of ideas regarding Aeneas being based on the person he is in other stories about him or the possible inclusion of a reference to Augustus in his demeanor, it is Vergil who is ultimately responsible for the *persona* of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*. Vergil allows Aeneas to behave a certain way and he shapes his character. So, what can we say about the character of Vergil's Aeneas?

For about the last eighty years, Aeneas' character and a possible character development throughout the *Aeneid* has been a topic of discussion[59]. Some have argued for a character development, but there is disagreement on whether it is a sudden or a gradual development, the reason for the development, and in what part of the *Aeneid* the development has come to completion. Others have argued against a character development whatsoever, and some even argue that the ancient readers and writers were not yet aware of the possibilities of the concepts of character and character development. More interesting is the idea that Vergil deliberately focused on the situations, rather than his personality, Aeneas is in and how that affected his behaviour[60]. The argument is that Vergil would have been able to make Aeneas go through a development of character, but apparently did not want him to[61].

Whether or not Aeneas experiences some form of character development, the general agreement seems to be that his character itself is subject to the situational circumstances[62]. Since any description of a concept implies a necessity for some sort of consistency, this is a problem when describing Aeneas' character. Due to his *fatum* and other deities, Aeneas is forced into different roles as a man[63]. This means that Aeneas has to adopt different behaviour patterns that are required for each role he has to fulfill in a given situation. As Hardie puts it: "What is often perceived as the colourless quality of Aeneas' character is largely the result of

[59] See the article of Fuhrer (1989), where a brilliant overview is given.
[60] Fuhrer (1989), p. 68: "Vergil portrays not change of the hero's character, but rather a change of his situation and consequently of his behaviour." Schauer (2007), p. 136: "Das heißt aber, daß sein Verhalten reifen und seine Erfolge wachsen würden, nicht erkennbar ist, vielmehr sein Handeln und der Erfolg seines Handelns von den jeweiligen Situationen abhängt, für die wiederum Göttern maßgeblich verantwortlich zeichnen."
[61] Fuhrer (1989), p. 68: "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. 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."
[62] Schauer (2007).
[63] Examples are: leader of Trojans, fugitive, husband of Dido, ex-husband of Dido, funeral games overseer, etc.

the roles forced on him by the plot of the *Aeneid*: rather than being strongly driven by an internal desire or ambition, he is forced into a mission by circumstances outside his control."[64] So it seems that circumstance and situation are two forces that shape Aeneas' behaviour, but we must not forget that the overall role Aeneas has fulfill is that of the leader.

Schauer focusses on Aeneas as a leader (*dux*) and it is from Aeneas' leadership position we examine his behaviour here, Schauer's character sketch will be taken as a foundation for our analysis. A first observation that needs attention regarding Aeneas' character is that in the *Aeneid,* two perspectives are offered: one from the perspective of Aeneas himself when he describes his adventures (*casus*) and wanderings (*errores*) in book 2 and 3 and one from the outside perspective of a reader of Vergil's work[65]. This last perspective is more complicated, since no two persons will read and understand a text the same way, so let us start with Aeneas' own perspective. When Aeneas starts telling his story to Dido and the others present at the table, it takes him more than 250 lines to mention himself[66]. It is only when Hector appears to him in his sleep that he starts telling his own experiences. Before that, he has been a part of the group, not outstanding in any way: just one of many[67]. From here on out, Aeneas is the lead in his own story, but he refuses to put himself in the center of attention. Aeneas is being very modest and goes on telling his story with him being less in the center, less as a hero, and less as a leader as might have been appropriate. This he maintains throughout book 3 as well.

Even though all readers might evaluate Aeneas' character slightly different due to own interpretations, "the quality for which Aeneas is above all famous is his *pietas*, […] denoting a dutiful respect towards the gods, country and family."[68] One way to examine the importance of *pietas* is to examine the use of the epitheton *pius* for Aeneas. *Pius Aeneas* is used seventeen times in the *Aeneid* and it is likely that Vergil deliberately choose this combination for an explanation of Aeneas' behaviour in general[69]. An epithet also used nineteen times for Aeneas, is *pater*[70]. Together these two epithets are proof of Aeneas' devotion to the gods and his family, which are both important for our discussion here.

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[64] Hardie (2014), p. 77.
[65] *Casus* and *errores* are the words Dido uses at the end of book 1, 754-5.
[66] Aeneas starts talking about Troy in 2,13 and only shifts to his own experience in 2,268.
[67] Schauer (2007).
[68] Hardie (2014), p. 78.
[69] See for an intricate but intriguing account of Vergil's use of epithets and its consequenses Moseley (1926) and Gordesiani (1999).
[70] Hardie (2014), p. 79. See for a more thorough account of this use Schauer (2007), p.181-183.

However, regarding Aeneas' character as a leader, Vergil leaves a lot of gaps[71]. Vergil makes sure the daily practices of the Trojans go undescribed in the *Aeneid* and, more importantly for Aeneas' position, the assemblies with other Trojan men (and women) are not spoken of. The multiplicity of social classes represented and the anonymity of the larger group of individuals add to the lack of clarity of the exact composition, structure, and hierarchy of the group Aeneas is leading[72]. But Aeneas is not leading a group of soldiers, which often implies a competitive elite[73]. Aeneas leads the people of Troy, who are a stable team from the start and has Aeneas as its *pius* leader.

For the sake of completeness we have to take the concept of heroism into account here. However, as soon as the thought of Aeneas as a hero surfaces, multiple problems pop up immediately. Some argue for Aeneas being a perfect epic hero; some believe that Vergil wanted Aeneas to be the new Roman hero as opposed to the old heroes of Homer; others do not believe Aeneas can be regarded a hero at all[74]. Aeneas might qualify as a hero in some ways, in certain circumstances, or on some levels, but a full account of all possibilities of the hero Aeneas sadly goes beyond the scope of this paper.

But how do we regard Aeneas' character to be in this paper, regarding what has been said in the whole of this chapter? For starters, this paper presumes that Aeneas does have a character. However, since this paper is not set upt to be a chronological analysis of Aeneas' journey, it will not focus on the possibilities of character development in the *Aeneid*. Due to the complexity of the concept of individuality, Aeneas' character might not be fully his own, but, as said, is being shaped by the circumstances and situation he is put in by his *fatum*. The way he reacts and behaves towards these circumstances and situations are mainly based on his modesty and *pietas* towards the gods, his friends, and his family. He might not be a hero based on the standards of epic, but his constant searchs for the rightest way to the fulfillment of his *fatum* might qualify him as a hero of leadership. Now, let us start the examination of Aeneas' interaction with his *fatum* and the search for motivation.

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[71] Schauer (2007), p. 155: "[…] Vergils Erzählweise von vielem nur ein lückhaftes Bild gibt."

[72] The group of Trojans consists of Aeneas' friends (*comitum*), women (mothers) and men (*matresque virosque)*, and younger people (*pubem*). See Verg. *Aen.* 2, 796-8 and Schauer (2007), p.156-196.

[73] Schauer (2007).

[74] Parry (1963), p. 76: "An agent of powers once high and impersonal, he is successively denied all the attributes of a hero, and even of a man." See for the possibilities of Aeneas being a hero Williams (1973) and Hardie (2014).

3. When *fatum* decides and openly forces Aeneas' course of action

This chapter is concerned with Aeneas' behaviour and search for motivation in situations in which it is clear (to him and to us) he is being forced by his *fatum*. The path is set out for Aeneas and, as we shall see, even the way he is to follow that path is not negotiable. In the following, we will take a look at how Aeneas became leader of the Trojans, how he was forced to leave Dido and how he intereacts with the gods in times of happiness. We will examine how Aeneas interacts with the force of his *fatum* and how he finds the motivation to fulfill the demands that are made of him by it.

3.1 Aeneas, leader of Trojans

3.1.1 Hector and Aeneas

The first time Aeneas hears about his *fatum*, he immediately gets acquainted with the consequences. Aeneas is sleeping at the time the Greeks are let free from the horse and set Troy on fire. It is Hector who comes to Aeneas in his sleep and he informs him of the crisis situation in Troy[75]:

> Hostis habet muros; ruit alto a culmine Troia.
> Sat patriae Priamoque datum: si Pergama dextra
> defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.

If the city was to be saved (*defendi*), it would have happened when Hector was alive. But now, the enemies (*hostis)* are inside and Troy is falling (*ruit*). That is why Hector tells Aeneas to flee and, most importantly here, that he is the one responsible for the future of the Trojan people[76]:

> Sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia penatis;
> hoc cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere
> magna pererrato statues quae denique ponto.

Aeneas is trusted (*commendat*) with the Trojan penates and is told to find and build them a city (*moenia*). This means that Aeneas is now allotted leader of the Trojan people.

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[75] Verg. *Aen.* 2,290-2.
[76] Verg. *Aen.* 2,293-5.

Every leader has to be chosen, or at least accepted[77]. Before the fall of Troy, Aeneas was a great warrior and had the divine advantage to be the son of Venus, but he was no leader[78]. After the message of Hector, Aeneas is aware of his newfound *fatum* and the fact that he is to be the new leader of Trojans. However, the other Trojans are not aware of these happenings and now it is up to Aeneas to start his *fatum* and convince the others to follow him in that. Put differently: Aeneas has to make the other Trojans accept him as their leader[79]. So what does Aeneas do to ensure the path of his *fatum*? Before we start examining this, we have to be aware of the fact that it is Aeneas himself who is telling this story to Dido. So it is from his own perspective we learn his actions, which might be different from the 'true' events[80].

3.1.2 The first steps

When Aeneas wakes up, he first wants to see what is going on in the city with his own eyes. When he has verified the horrors Hector has told him about, his first reaction is to fight[81]:

> Arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
> sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
> cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
> praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.

He is desperate (*amens*) to take up arms, burning (*ardent animi)* to take up the fight besides his friends, and preoccupied (*furor iraque mentem praecipitat*) with dying (*mori*) in war. But when he sees his fellow Trojan Panthus, his raging madness is put on hold. He asks Panthus for an update on the situation in Troy[82]:

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[77] In our time, there are huge differences between the Western and the Asian culture when it comes to choosing a leader. One of the main differences is that in the Western culture, a leader being chosen is (often) the result of long discussions and verifications of the leader's qualifications, whereas when in the Asian culture someone stands up, speaks and presents himself as leader of a group, his status is almost automatically accepted. Both ways of selecting a leader have their advantages and disadvantages. See for this also Rowley & Ulrich (2012). It would be interesting to look at Aeneas' leadership from this point of view, since Troy was probably located on the west coast of Turkey, which can be seen as the place between the Western and Asian cultures.

[78] As the son of a divine mother, he has some sort of special status, which is not spoken of but is still important for his leadership. See for this Schauer (2007).

[79] Schauer (2007), p. 139: "Aeneas muß nicht um seine Position kämpfen, weder muß er sein Volk über zeugen, ihm zu folgen […]"

[80] 'True' is a somewhat tricky word, since the story of the *Aeneid* is made by Vergil. However, seeing the story from the perspective of one of the characters has differences with seeing it from an outside perspective. See for this Schauer (2007).

[81] Verg. *Aen.* 2,314-22.

[82] Verg. *Aen.* 2,322.

"Quo res summa loco, Panthu? Quam prendimus arcem?"

After Panthus' devastating answer, Aeneas is once again fired up to take arms, but his rage seems to have been tempered[83]. Because instead of running with his friends into the flames of Troy, Aeneas takes some time to speak to them[84]:

"Iuvenes, fortissima frustra
pectora, si vobis audentem extrema cupido
certa sequi, quae sit rebus fortuna videtis:
excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis
di quibus imperium hoc steterat; succurritis urbi
incensae. Moriamur et in media arma ruamus.
Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem."

Aeneas asks his friends to follow (*sequi*) him in times of despair, when even being the bravest of heart is futile (*frustra*), the gods have left their stations (*adytis arisque relictis)*, and death is imminent (*moriamur*). With this short speech, Aeneas creates a situation in which the others will follow him and so choose him as their leader, while at the same time assuming an equal position next to his friends since he is willing to die with them for a mutual goal. In this way, Aeneas is able to create a sense of unity within the group and he motivates them to feel that unity in their upcoming fatal, but joint, mission.

3.1.3 Deciding for the flight from Troy

In the end, the group of Trojans does not stand a chance against the Greeks and Aeneas is the only one left standing. After another moment of rage, from which his mother Venus leads him away, and some time to think about the situation during the words of his mother, he decides to go back to his family and flee from Troy[85]. Finding his father Anchises imposes a problem:

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[83] Aeneas is fired up by the words of Panthus and the gods, Verg. *Aen.* 2,336-7a:
Talibus Othryadae dictis et numine divum
in flammas et in arma feror

[84] Verg. *Aen.* 2,348b-54.

[85] This moment of rage of caused by the sight of Helena, the ultimate cause of the Trojan war, Verg, *Aen.* 2,567-620. Thornton (1976) attributes his rage and his choosing of Troy above his family to the gods, p. 90-91: "It is plain that even the memory of Anchises, Creusa, and Ascanius did not have the power to move Aeneas to go to their help. Troy is still what means most to him, even if it is only a matter of a silly vengeance taken on a mere women. He, like all around him, has been under the sway of Jupiter and the other gods bent on destroying Troy; and in the course of this he has certainly shown himself to be a heroic warrior with no fear of death and a great love for his own country."

Anchises does not want to leave. Despite the twofold advise he has been given to flee, Aeneas makes the choice to honour his father's wishes and gear up for battle[86]:

> Hinc ferro accingor rursus clipeoque sinistram
> insertabam aptans meque extra tecta ferebam.

This implies that Anchises is still the *pater familias* and Aeneas' status is subordinate to this[87].

His plan is to go back (*rursus*) into battle, however, will not be executed due to interventions of the gods. Twice Jupiter sends a signal and then, accepting them, Anchises speaks some crucial words[88]:

> "Iam iam nulla mora est; sequor et qua ducitis adsum,
> di patrii; servate domum, servate nepotem.
> Vestrum hoc augurium, vestroque in numine Troia est.
> Cedo equidem nec, nate, tibi comes ire recuso."

Anchises is willing to follow (*sequor*) and go with (*comes ire)* his son. Anchises is persuaded by Jupiter's signals (*vestrum hoc augurium*) to accept the plan of his son. So here Aeneas gets approval and authority from his father. Anchises is not yet aware of his son's *fatum*, and if the signals had not been send by Jupiter, Aeneas might, due to his commitment to his father, not have left Troy at all. However, the approval of Anchises means Aeneas is now able to step up the game of his *fatum*, as he immediately does by actively taking up the role of leader and starting organizing the next steps for the Trojans[89]:

> Vos, famuli, quae dicam, animis advertite vestris.
> Est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum
> desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus
> religione patrum multos servata per annos;
> hanc ex diverso sedem veniemus in unam.

He organizes a clear place to meet at the cypress next to the old temple of Ceres (*templumque vetustum desertae Cereris, iuxtaque antiqua cupressus*) where everyone will gather

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[86] Verg. *Aen.* 2,671-2. Both Hector and Venus have already told Aeneas he has to leave Troy. This will be describes more thorough in chapter 5.
[87] Thornton (1976).
[88] Jupiter sends a signal in Verg. *Aen*. 2,680-4 by setting Iulus', Aeneas' son, hair (safely) on fire, and in Verg. *Aen.* 2,692-8 by sending a thundering star down the heavens. The passage here is Verg. *Aen.* 2,701-4.
[89] The whole passage is Verg. *Aen.* 2,707-20. These lines are Verg. *Aen.* 2,712-6.

(*veniemus*) and from where they will flee[90]. This plan of action makes Aeneas stand out as a leader and will make the others look for him to decide what to do next later on.

When he arrives at the cypress, Aeneas is surprised to see the group of Trojans that want to follow him[91]:

> Atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse novorum
> invenio admirans numerum, matresque virosque,
> collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile vulgus.
> Undique convenere animis opibusque parati
> in quascumque velim pelago deducere terras.

He is amazed (*admirans*) that all those new companions (*comitum novorum*), mothers (*matres*), men (*viros*), and youth (*pubem*) are willing to follow him to whatever lands (*quascumque terras*) he is planning to go. His amazement is born from the realization that the Trojans have accepted him as a leader of this group. Whether this amazement is justified is questionable, since he knew that he was bound to become leader of the Trojans and clearly took some actions to secure his position, but it adds to him being *pius* Aeneas, feeling some sense of pride and endearment for his fellow Trojans. Now Aeneas is leader of the Trojans.

3.1.4 Conclusion: given steps and taking steps

So what can we say about the interaction between Aeneas and his *fatum* when Aeneas has first learned its content? To start with, there is no question of doubt, at least according to Aeneas himself, to believe the words of Hector and follow the path of his *fatum*. He immediately accepts that he is the one to carry the penates away from Troy to a new city. This immediate acceptance might have been facilitated by the fact that the severity of the crisis requires Aeneas to act on that first before asking questions regarding the words of Hector. The active way in which he takes action does help his impression of being a leader[92]. However, his awareness of the necessity for him to become the leader of the Trojans does not stop him from ragingly wanting to go to battle. It is one of his friends (and later his mother) that makes him breath for a moment. Aeneas then takes the opportunity to set some form of hierarchy: he

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[90] This cypress is represented on the cover, borrowed from http://www.ambiente-ecologico.com/revist53/muceda53.htm

[91] Let us not forget that it is Aeneas himself that tells the story, which is a flashback, in the second book of the *Aeneid*. As the I-narrator, he seems to put himself less in the center, less as a hero and less as a leader than might have been appropriate when told by someone else. This makes it harder for the reader to fully understand Aeneas' behaviour in this situation. See for this also Schauer (2007), chapter 3 and Horsfall (1995), chapter 4. The passage here is Verg. *Aen.* 2,796-800.

[92] Schauer (2007), p. 138: "Aktives Handeln is nötig, um die Männer zu gewinnen."

creates a sense of equality between him and his friends, but at the same time he positions himself as their leader. His motivating call for unity works, but his plan falls short due to the overwhelming power of the Greeks. After another episode of rage, Aeneas seems to start making decisions based on reason rather than rage. He wants to flee, but when his father does not, Aeneas consents and so places high value on the hierarchy of family. When Jupiter intervenes, the roles are switched and now it is Anchises that consents to the plans of his son. Aeneas immediately grabs this opportunity and wastes no time for organizing the next plan of action. This last step will assure him the position of leader.

So Aeneas became leader of the Trojans by "unspektakuläre Weise", although he did have some influence on it himself[93]. Aeneas clearly knows his place next to his friends and as a subordinate to his father, but there are some things he does to assure the position his *fatum* requires him to acquire. Aeneas was able to create a sense of unity among his friends and took the lead in organizing the next plan of action. These two concepts are essential ingredients of effective leadership and motivation. However, the biggest reasons for Aeneas to become leader of the Trojans were the necessity for someone to present himself as leader in this crisis situation and, of course, for him to acquire this position to be able to fulfill his *fatum*. As Schauer says: "Was ihn bei den Menschen unausgesprochen als *den* Führer erscheinen läßt, ist nicht seine Entscheidungsstärke – die hat sein Vater -, sondern sein Charisma. Seine wahre, hier noch verborgene Legitimation ist aber das Schicksal."[94]

3.2 Aeneas, leaver of Dido

3.2.1 The text

Another very obvious moment of crisis for Aeneas and an enormous trigger for internal struggle is the demand of the gods to leave Carthage in the fourth book of the *Aeneid*. Aeneas and the Trojans have been there for about a year and much has happened, at least for Dido. It might be possible to argue that it was love at first sight for Dido, but the general view is that she developed a very strong infatuation for Aeneas and this book takes us through the progress and consequences of this[95]. This book Vergil choose to write from the perspective of Dido and throughout this book it remains unclear to us how Aeneas experiences Dido's

[93] Schauer (2007), p. 138.
[94] Schauer (2007), p. 140.
[95] Quinn (1965).

burning love for him[96]. He might even be unaware of the possible existence of a marriage between them[97]. Hints of his love do appear occasionally, but the focus of this book on Dido and it is only through her that we can understand Aeneas' behaviour[98].

So, the lopsided view we get from Vergil text forces us to read beyond the lines and interpret Aeneas' behaviour from an indirect point of view[99]. What might help, is to divide the text. A possibility is a division into three parts[100]: (1) lines 1-295, that tell of the beginning of the affair between Aeneas and Dido, (2) lines 296-503, in which the alienation of the two is the central subject, and (3) lines 504-705, where the tragedies of the departure and the suicide take place. Since we are examining the behaviour of Aeneas during moments of crisis, part (1) focusses on the development of Dido's infatuation, and for the most of part (3) Aeneas has already left, we will be reading passages mainly from part (2).

3.2.2 Talking to Dido

The crisis for Aeneas begins when Mercurius tells him he has to leave at the end of the first part[101]. While Aeneas has been playing house with Dido, Mercurius blames him, he has forgotten his *fatum*. Aeneas reacts with an "Aeneas-like paralysis" before being able to prioritize[102]:

> Ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,
> attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.

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[96] Thornton (1976) argues: "Before the cave scene, he is ignorant of Dido's love like the shepherd who without knowing has inflicted a fatal wound on a doe. After the cave scene, the poets calls him, together with Dido, 'lovers forgetful of their better reputation'. He is in love with Dido and, like her, has ceased to care about his dignity as the king of his people.", p. 95.

[97] It is Dido that is aware of the marriage happening, Verg. *Aen.* 4,172:

> coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

Aeneas claims the opposite in the conversation they have when he is leaving her, Verg. *Aen.* 4,338b-9:

> nec coniugis umquam
> praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.

See for an excellent analysis of Dido's love Gutting (2006), or for a more political oriented view Monti (1981).

[98] Aeneas' love is apparent when Fama tells of them to their neighbours,. Verg. *Aen.* 4,193-4:

> nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
> regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.

[99] As Iser (1972) explains in his work, the interpretation of such passages is bound to be different for every interpreter, due to background, upbringing, education, etc.

[100] This division is borrowed from Quinn (1965), who states his reasons for this division in his article and one of the minor ones is that all these parts begin with "*at regina*". This division is also used by O'Hara (2011).

[101] The fact that Aeneas told her from the start that he is bound to leave Carthage, and therefore her, for Italy, did not stop Dido to pursue his love. The same goes for Aeneas: knowing his *fatum* would eventually urge him to move on, did not stop him to (in some sort probably) accept her pursuit.

[102] The idea of an "Aeneas-like paralysis" comes from Holoka (1999). The passage here is Verg. *Aen.* 4,281-6.

> Heu quid agat? Quo nunc reginam ambire furentem
> audeat adfatu? Quae prima exordia sumat?
> Atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc
> in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat.

It is only after his realization that he wants to leave that he thinks of Dido. But Aeneas here is in doubt. His doubt is not directed, though, towards the decision to leave, but towards the question how to approach Dido with this[103]. This is a moment of indecision for Aeneas, and these sort of moments are "opportunities for understanding"[104]. Aeneas' doubt is a hint for us in our quest to an understanding of Aeneas' behaviour when openly forced by his *fatum*. Apparently, there is an opportunity for Aeneas to take some time and decide on what terms he wants to leave. Better said, Aeneas creates room for himself to decide what kind of man he wants to be; a man that cowardly runs when opportunity first strikes or one that faces the consequences of his actions. He chooses the second[105]:

> Sese interea, quando optima Dido
> nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
> temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi
> tempora, quis rebus dexter modus.

Aeneas seems to understand Dido's point of view of not knowing what is going to happen (*nesciat*) and to prepare for the coming despair of her broken heart. He wants to find the best time (*mollissima tempora*) and way (*dexter modus*) to talk to her. In this way, he is reasonable and sensible at the same time.

The problem with this plan is that Aeneas is not fast enough in executing it. Dido discovers the plan of his departure and finds him before he has taken actual steps to see her. Her conclusion is that Aeneas was planning to leave without a word and, to make matters worse, when the winter is still upon them[106]:

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[103] Binder (2000) interprets this as follows: "In die Entscheidung zwischen Verlockung und Pflicht gestellt ist kein Zögern des Aeneas festzustellen; ein Gewissenskonflikt wird nicht deutlich, woh aber manches Zeichen eines slechten Gewissens […]", p. 126.

[104] Holoka (1999), p. 143.

[105] Verg. *Aen.* 4,291b-4a. In modern views on Aeneas behaviour at this point, the fact that he decides to go talk to Dido is often left out. It is easy to conclude Aeneas is a coward running away from Dido with his tail between his legs after the reprimands he got from Mercurius. However, (perhaps with some help of the gods) he could have easily sailed off without talking to her at all. The fact that he is willing to talk to her, I believe, proves that he is considering her feelings and maybe would even have felt guilty when leaving without a word.

[106] Verg. *Aen.* 4,305-11a.

> "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 moliris sidere classem
> et mediis properas aquilonibus ire per altum,
> crudelis?"

In the antique world, the winter was a time without navigation[107]. It is questionable whether the rush Aeneas is in is justified. He has got demands of the gods to leave, but would it have been completely disastrous to postpone the departure with two months? Dido's conclusion is that he is fleeing from her and then calls for pity by remembering him of their relationship and the negative consequences it has had for the, now neglected, relationships between Dido and her neighbours[108]:

> "Mene fugis? Per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te
> (quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui),
> per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,
> si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
> dulce meum, miserere domus labentis, et istam,
> oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.
> Te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni
> odere, infensi Tyrii;"

Dido does an appeal to Aeneas' sense of *fides*, although indirectly in this part of the speech[109]. This theme of breaking promises was founded by Euripides in his *Medea* and Vergil uses it here, but he does not more than reproducing the tradition: Vergil reforms it into the Roman concept of *fides*[110]. This means that *fides*, in the eyes of Dido, entails a reciprocity that is not up for discussion[111]. She expected Aeneas to level her generosity, which even could have been achieved with the blessing of a child[112]:

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[107] Binder (2000).
[108] Verg. *Aen.* 4,314-21a.
[109] Binder (2000), p. 39-40: "It is only in vv.373-378, in her last speech in the great scene of confrontation (*A.* 4.296-392) that *fides* is explicitly raised as an issue, but it is the unspoken standard which informs the two preceding speeches."
[110] Binder (2000).
[111] Binder (2000), p 39: "It is the trustworthiness or loyalty which is expected, according to the Roman code, in personal political relationships and which requires the requital of service with service. The obligations imposed by *fides*, as Dido sees them, are peremptory; the only right course of action for Aeneas would be to remain her consort. The motive which leads Dido to make her complaint is the same as that of the heroines of the Greek tradition – love. The object of the complaint is the same – the desertion by the lover. But the significant

"Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula
luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer."

Now Aeneas has to reply. Emotionally, he seems torn: the gods do not allow him to show anything on the outside, but inside he struggles with keeping it in[113]:

Ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat
lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.

Then, Vergil is able to create fascinating effects for our understanding of Aeneas' behaviour and character through the text. The most important message of this passage is the lack of conviction on the side of Aeneas regarding his decision to leave[114]. He tries to convince Dido that he is making the right decision, by saying that it is the gods who force him and that his family relies on him for their future[115]:

"Sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;
hic amor, haec patria est. Si te Karthaginis arces,
Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,
quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considere terra
invidia est? Et nos fas extera quaerere regna.
Me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris
nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;
me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,
quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.
Nunc etiam interpres divom, Iove missus ab ipso
(testor utrumque caput) celeris mandata per auras
Detulit: ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi
intrantem muros vocemque his auribus hausi.
Desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis;
Italiam non sponte sequor."

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difference is the title under which she makes her complaint. Dido speaks in the manner of a Roman dynast, and she censures Aeneas according to a specifically Roman criterion."

[112] Verg. *Aen.* 4, 327-30.

[113] Verg. *Aen.* 4, 331b-2.

[114] Quinn (1965).

[115] Verg. *Aen.* 4, 345-61.

However, his case is far from indisputable. With these words, Aeneas not only tries to convince Dido, but he moreover tries to convince, and therefore motivate, himself[116]. He knows he is not leaving by choice (*Italiam non sponte sequor*), but he understands the necessity of it. The question is whether he is able to convince himself completely. Probably not, but for Aeneas conviction is subordinate to his *fatum*. For the reader, this interaction between Aeneas and Dido enhances the understanding of the differences between the characters of Aeneas and Dido. Dido cannot seem to understand the idea of *fatum* before feelings and Aeneas, on the other hand, does not understand her lack of understanding[117]. With every word he says, the gap between the two grows. This might make it easier for Aeneas to distance himself from Dido.

The distance between Dido and Aeneas becomes even clearer when Dido answers his reply. She starts raging on his non-emotionality and criticizes his descent and the gods. Dido is mad and hopes Aeneas will suffer from here on out[118]. It is here, for the first time since the quarrel between the two started, that Vergil allows both Aeneas and Dido some time to breath. The text switches from dialogue to narrative and this means that our mind as well as that of the characters can reload[119]. Dido flees the situation after her second speech and Aeneas is left standing, anxious and still with much to say[120]:

> His medium dictis sermonmen abrumpit et auras
> aegra fugit seque ex oculis avertit et aufert,
> linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem
> dicere.

This again is a moment of indecision for Aeneas[121]. Knowing Dido's pains and pained by this himself, he is hesitant due to the sacrifice he knows he has to make of himself and his identity to be the hero his destiny demands of him[122]. But what are his options? Is he in doubt whether he has to go after her or not? And what does he still want to say? These questions remain

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[116] This interpretation and what follows is borrowed from Quinn (1965).
[117] This is also because Dido and Aeneas both new from the start about Aeneas' *fatum* and that Aeneas therefore was bound to leave Carthage at some point.
[118] Verg. *Aen.* 4,365-87.
[119] Quinn (1965), p. 22: "In a developing emotional situation time is needed for a character to reach, or go back on, a decision. In pure drama either the appropriate time must be filled in with dialogue or it must be suggested by an actual break in the dramatic action. Virgil, however, as we have already seen, by means of a passage of narrative can create the illusion of time passing."
[120] Verg. *Aen.* 4,388-91a.
[121] Like in Verg. *Aen.* 4,281-6.
[122] Holoka (1999).

unanswered. However, his doubt and the overthinking of the consequences are signs of Aeneas putting the demands of the gods into perspective. Apparently, the human side and human consequences of his *fatum* are of importance to him.

3.2.3 Leaving Carthage

Once Dido has gone away, Aeneas is left alone and now shows signs of emotion on the outside by sighing and on the inside he wears a heavy heart[123]:

> At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
> solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
> multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore
> iussa tandem divum exsequitur classemque revisit.

He returns to the fleet and starts preparing for departure. Dido, however, is still in great sorrow. She by now has had some time to calm down and think about a different approach. She sends her sister Anna to beg Aeneas to stay for just a little while more. But the distance between Aeneas and Dido has reached his peak and Aeneas is not able to answer her pleas[124]:

> Sed nullis ille movetur
> fletibus aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;
> Fata obstant placidasque viri deus obstruit auris.
> *[…]*
> Haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
> tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
> mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.

He is set on going and the gods do not allow (*fata obstant placidasque viri deus obstruit auris*) him to be influenced by Dido's emotions. Aeneas finds himself in the middle of a struggle between the human consequences, which Dido represents, and godly side of his *fatum*.

When night falls, and Aeneas has apparently made the decision that there is time to sleep through the night, once again Mercurius visits Aeneas, giving his message to leave Carthage "an unmistakable note of urgency"[125]. The warning of the upcoming rage Dido is

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[123] Verg. *Aen.* 4,393-6.
[124] Verg. *Aen.* 4,438-50.
[125] Quinn (1965), p.23. The referred passage is Verg. *Aen*. 4,554-70.

enough for Aeneas to jump up, wake the other Trojans, and run while they can. But this is not how Aeneas explains the sudden departure to his fellow Trojans[126]:

> "Vigilate, viri, et considite transtris;
> solvate vela citi. Deus aethere missus ab alto
> festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis
> ecce iterum instimulat. Sequimur te, sancta deorum,
> quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.
> Adsis o placidusque iuves et sidera caelo
> dextra feras."

Aeneas explains the gods have urged him to make haste (*festinare*) with the flight and at the same time, he asks the gods to help him on his way (*adsis* and *iuves*). Implicitly, he asks the Trojans to have faith in the gods and he sets the example by his request for help. So here, no time is wasted and the consequences of this for Dido become clear, although, as Quinn states, "*[...]* Dido's outburst when dawn comes and from her vantage point *[...]* she sees the Trojan fleet already under sail—and Aeneas beyond her grasp—reinforces the feeling that something has gone wrong. In some mad way that must elude us, since Aeneas' precipitated departure forestalls her, she was aiming at revenge, or vindication, as well as suicide."[127] She, having discovered that the Trojans have left, again accuses Aeneas of leaving without a word. Does this mean that, from Dido's perspective too, there still were some issues left unsaid or unanswered? Dido did expect further communication, but Aeneas and his *fatum* have already moved on. Finally, she curses the future people of Troy, so that they will forever be at war with Carthage[128].

Since Dido's utterances and despair occur without active knowledge on the part of Aeneas, the second visit of Mercurius might be seen as a form of protection of Aeneas, who accepts it without doubt. It is only from afar that Aeneas witnesses Dido's death[129]:

> Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
> certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat
> moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae
> conlucent flammis. Quae tantum accenderit ignem
> causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores

[126] Verg. *Aen.* 4,573-9.
[127] Quinn (1965), p. 24.
[128] This refers to the three Punic Wars between Rome and Carthage , 264-146 BCE.
[129] Verg. *Aen.* 5,1-7. It is probable that Aeneas is not aware at all that Dido has killed herself, but the flames of Carthage are proof of her unhappiness.

polluto, notumque furens quid femina possit,
triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.

He is looking back (*respiciens*) to the walls of Carthage and sees the reflection of flames. Surprisingly, Aeneas seems to be in the dark (*latet*) about the exact cause of it, but knowing women and love, all Trojans have a bad feeling (*triste per augurium*) about it. It seems like Aeneas is in denial by not acknowledging his responsibility for the situation he sees unfolding before him. He does feel guilty about the violation (*polluto*) of Dido's love, but does not seem able to connect the two events.

3.2.4 Conclusion: putting the situation into perspective

Ever since Mercurius has reprimanded Aeneas and has told him he needs to make his *fatum* a priority and leave Carthage, Aeneas is in a hurry to leave. Even in winter season, he wastes no time in preparing the fleet for departure. However, he does make the decision to take some time to talk to Dido, even though the circumstances do not directly require him to. The problem that Dido finds out about his plans almost as soon as he has made the decision results in a huge quarrel between the two. It results in the accusation of Aeneas leaving Dido without saying, but it also rises the issue of his *fides* towards Dido. Aeneas tries to convince Dido and at the same time tries to motivate himself that his decision is the right one. He goes over the reasons for leaving, but the question remains whether his approach works. The interaction between Aeneas and Dido reveals the gap between the two regarding their beliefs on *fatum* versus feelings. Dido cannot understand Aeneas' choice for his *fatum* over his feelings and Aeneas is not able to understand her lack of understanding.

The fact that Dido stops their quarrel, while Aeneas is left standing still wanting to say much, might have completed their separation in Aeneas' view. After this, he is not able to show any response to the pleas Dido sends him through Anna. His heart does weigh heavy on him, but their differences are irreconcilable and it is time for him to go. As with his decision to go talk to Dido, Aeneas decides there is time for the Trojans to sleep through the night before they set out to sea. But once again, his plan is not to be fulfilled. This time Mercurius warns him of the plans of Dido and urges him to go immediately. Aeneas wastes no time. He wakes the other Trojans and asks them to put faith in the gods. They set out to sea and only are able to see the flames inside the walls of Carthage from afar. Aeneas seems to understand only half of the horrors going on in Carthage, since he knows the sorrows of Dido's burning

heart, but he is not aware of the possibility of suicide and the real reason for the flames of Carthage.

So twice, Aeneas tries to create some time for himself before fulfilling the demands of his *fatum*. Twice, his plans are interrupted and he has to concede to the powers beyond his human needs. Regarding his leadership, Aeneas shows that there always is some room for own interpretations and to think of other possibilities before acting. Even though it may not always turn out the way it was planned, putting demands and assignments into perspective might help the process. Also, Aeneas is clearly capable of acting in urgent situations. After Mercurius' second warning, Aeneas immediately comes into action and stirs the other Trojans to do as told and to put their trust in the gods. In other words, Aeneas lets them know he himself is subject to superhuman forced but that he trusts the gods to guide them safely. He uses this to motivate the others to trust him as their leader in turn.

3.3 Thanking the gods in better times

3.3.1 Words of Apollo

Leaving Dido is one of the most clear examples we could have taken to examine Aeneas' behaviour when he is openly forced by the gods. This, however, is a very sad occasion and a negative internal struggle for Aeneas. There are other passages that can add on our perspective on Aeneas' behaviour when forced by his *fatum* that are examples of happy occasions and still prove to be cause for internal struggle. One of these passages is found in book 3, when Aeneas and his fellow Trojans are at Crete, thinking that is where they are supposed to be. In his sleep, Aeneas is visited by the Trojan penates, announcing the words of Apollo that Crete is the wrong place for the Trojans[130]. The Trojans are forced to leave. Once again, knowing he has just been visited by deities, Aeneas is left in some form of paralysis [131]:

> Talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum
> (nec sopor illud erat, sed coram agnoscere vultus
> velatasque comas praesentiaque ora videbar;
> tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor)

[130] Verg. *Aen.* 3,147-71.
[131] Verg. *Aen*. 3,172-5

It is what he does next that is another hint for our understanding of Aeneas behaviour regarding his *fatum*. Aeneas immediately jumps from his bed, raises his hands and voice to the sky and makes an offering[132]:

> corripio e stratis corpus tendoque supinas
> ad caelum cum voce manus et munera libo
> intemerata focis.

This dream, like the dreams Aeneas has had about Hector and Mercurius in the second and fourth book, is a motivator for action[133]. This time there is no need for panic or immediate flight, but it provides Aeneas with more specific information about the new homeland of the Trojans. He expresses his thankfulness by his gestures and the poring of wine. Even though Aeneas' status as a priest in the *Aeneid* is hard to examine, it is clear that he is thankful for the help the gods offer him on several occasions[134]. He takes the time to perform human actions, as was the case with Dido.

After his offerings, Aeneas finds Anchises and shares his experience[135]:

> Perfecto laetus honore
> Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando.

The fact that Aeneas is sharing with others what happened to him, reveals that he is aware of the need to include everyone in the group one is leading. Inclusions creates unity, which in turn creates motivation to reach a goal together. This focus on others is a strong skill of Aeneas' leadership and is very important for his character as a leader[136].

Connected to this is when the Trojans leave Buthrotum, a place where they have found and reconnected with old friends, after hearing the words Apollo through Helenus. Other Trojans who survived the Trojan war are living there and have built a new civilization. When Aeneas and his group of Trojans leave, Aeneas takes the time for a short speech. In this, he tells of the differences between the two groups, one having found their home, while the others

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[132] Verg. *Aen*. 3,176-8a.
[133] Stearns (1927).
[134] In the time of Augustus, political power was strongly connected to religious authority, so this must not be overlooked in the *Aeneid*. Schauer (2007) finds it hard to determine whether Aeneas can be seen as a priest, but Panoussi (2010) says: "Aeneas's performance of rituals throughout the epic reveals a development in his status as a figure of authority.", p. 54.
[135] Verg. *Aen*. 3,178b-9.
[136] Nelson (2008). This will be explored more closely in our final chapter.

are still searching for it. But more important is that he emphasizes their connection as Trojans and their being one[137]:

> "Si quando Thybrim vicinaque Thybridis arva
> intraro, gentique meae data moenia cernam,
> cognatas urbes olim populosque propinquos,
> Epiro, Hesperia, quibus idem Dardanus auctor
> atque idem casus, unam faciemus utramque
> Troiam animis; maneat nostros ea cura nepotes."

So once again, Aeneas' group of Trojans is forced to find another place to live. This in itself might not be a reason for joy, especially when they have to leave friends. But Aeneas is able to make a possible sad moment into a happy one. He uses the happy moment of receiving new directions to strengthen the bonds of old between the (former) Trojans. With his short speech, he again creates a sense of unity and leaves both groups with a positive view on the future. He very clearly and directly takes up his role as the leader for his group of Trojans and through this he is able to motivate his own group to finish their quest and build a future of their own.

3.3.2 Arriving at the newfound homeland

One of the happiest of moments in the *Aeneid* might be when Aeneas has realized he and his Trojans have found their new homeland. In this case, the Trojans are openly forced to stay. As usual, Aeneas is baffled for a moment, but then explains the situation to his fellow Trojans[138]:

> "Salve fatis mihi debita tellus
> vosque," ait, "O fidi Troiae salvete penates:
> hic domus, haec patria est. Genitor mihi talia namque
> (nunc repeto) Anchises fatorum arcana reliquit:
> cum te, nate, fames ignota ad litora vectum
> accisis coget dapibus consumere mensas,
> tum sperare domos defessus ibique memento
> prima locare manu molirique aggere tecta.
> Haec erat illa fames; haec nos suprema manebat,
> exiliis positura modum."

Anchises has told his son that, when the Trojans find themselves in the situation in which hunger (*fames*) forces them to eat their tables (*mensas*) after arriving at a strange coast (*ignota*

[137] Verg. *Aen.* 3,500-5.
[138] Verg. *Aen.* 7,120b-9a.

ad litora), they have found their homeland. Here, the Trojans just landed on Italy and have eaten the cakes that initially were to be used for the support of other foods[139]. The interesting part in this is that Aeneas actually received three prophecies about the Trojans finding their new homeland. Besides the one he apparently heard from his father, he also gets one from the Harpy Celaeno and one from Helenus, both in the third book of the *Aeneid*[140]. All three prophecies provide Aeneas with the fact that the Trojans will eat their tables, but the prophecies from Celaeno and Helenus also add specific topographic information, which Anchises' prophecy lacks[141]. So why did Aeneas chose to tell only of his father's prophecy? One reason might be that the other Trojans were present when Celaeno's and Helenus' prophecies were told[142]. In that case, the Trojans would probably have been satisfied with a short reminder of those experiences. The existence of a private moment between father and son regarding Aeneas' *fatum*, however, adds a personal note. Showing respect for his late father fits Aeneas' earlier behaviour and the reminder of Anchises might have proven the truthfulness of Aeneas' words to the Trojans[143].

The joy of finding their homeland must be celebrated[144]:

"Nunc pateras libate Iovi precibusque vocate
Anchisen genitorem, et vina reponite mensis."

Aeneas tells his fellow Trojans to pour (*libate*) wine to Jupiter and evoke (*vocate*) Anchises. In his view, their joy must be shared with the ones who made it possible: the gods and others from beyond the earthen world. Aeneas' first reaction to thank the gods and his fathers is once

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[139] For an explanation on the exact nature of the cakes (or perhaps bread) and its origins, see Boas (1938).
[140] Verg. *Aen.* 3,250-7 and 3,394-462, respectively.
[141] At least, that we know of. Anchises' prophecy is told to us by Aeneas in, arguably, the form of a flashback. The prophecies of the third book are also told by Aeneas, since he is telling his story to Dido, but he tells it as if it were happening live. Whereas Celaeno and Helenus have a direct line to Apollo, we do not know where or when Anchises has learnt the prophecy. Perhaps it was told to him by the Sybille in the underworld, but we do not know what situation Aeneas was in when he heard about it. Some have argued that the three prophecies are an inconsistency within the *Aeneid,* others argue that this is proof of Vergil's genius. The fact that Aeneas says that they will find out where exactly they are by first daylight, adds to the confusion, Verg *Aen.* 7,130-2:

"Quare agite et primo laeti cum lumine solis
quae loca, quive habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis,
vestigemus et a portu diversa petamus."

See for all this Boas (1938).
[142] Based on the text, this is more certain regarding Celaeno's prophecy than regarding Helenus' prophecy.
[143] "And this repeated assurance by his father made much more impression upon Aeneas of course than the threat of a furious Harpy, described to us, so that it is natural that at this serious moment he remembers the former only." Boas (1938), p. 239.
[144] Verg. *Aen.* 7,133-4.

again proof of his *pius* character towards the gods and his family. Of course, the single fact that they are finally home is a huge motivator for the Trojans to celebrate, but Aeneas makes sure they do not forget their duty to and dependence on the gods. This too is proof of Aeneas taking some time to thank the gods for their guidance immediately after he gets a sign from them and the Trojans are forced to leave, or stay.

4. Taking advice and knowledge from beyond the human world

While the previous chapter focused on situations in which Aeneas is being forced to follow a certain path, this chapter lacks the urgency of force. The situations described in this chapter do not require immediate and/or specific action. Gods and ghosts advice Aeneas on the possibilities of the situation he is in, offer options for his actions, and sometimes even provide him with a view into the future. Aeneas listens, but is free do decide for himself how to act on the situation and the advice he has been given. First, we will examine how Aeneas reacts to two superhuman deities that appear to him in his sleep: Hector and Tiberinus. This is followed by an analysis of Aeneas' abilities to include others in his decisions. Finally, we will examine Aeneas' behaviour when he directly asks a favor of Apollo.

4.1 The ghosts of sleep

4.1.1 Aeneas and Hector

This chapter is concerned with Aeneas' behaviour when he has been given advice from gods and ghosts. Advice can be defined as "guidance to action", and is therefore not as strong as force. We have already interpreted some situations in which Aeneas is forced to act a certain way. He tries to take the time to act on these forces, but the forces of his *fatum* are too strong to postpone and this time is not granted him. Luckily for Aeneas, his *fatum* does not always manifest itself through ways of force. Different situations occur in which Aeneas is offered advice for his next plan of action. Many of these do require Aeneas to follow the advice to ultimately fulfill his *fatum*, but the feel of necessary and immediate action is not there. So in these cases, Aeneas is able to hear the words of advice and then decide for himself what to do with them.

One great example of these situations for Aeneas is the passage of Hector coming to him while he is sleeping as the Greeks are entering Troy. Although this passage has already been spoken of in the previous chapter, one aspect has not been fully analyzed: the influence

of Hector's advice to flee Troy on the actions of Aeneas[145]. It is worthy to analyze and interpret this passage again and see how exactly Aeneas reacts to seeing Hector and hearing his advice to flee Troy[146]:

> "Heu fuge, nate dea, teque his" ait "eripe flammis."

Hector appears and advices Aeneas to flee (*fuge*) and extort (*eripe*) himself from the flames of Troy in the form of a dream[147]. However, Aeneas knew what message Hector was bringing him even before he spoke[148]. The sight of Hector's mutilated body alone tells Aeneas of the fall of Troy. The questions Aeneas asks Hector are proof that "gradually it becomes still more apparent that Aeneas is trying to delude himself."[149] Aeneas is trying to delay the unavoidable, but Hector does not react to this and provides Aeneas with his advice and, of course, the future of his *fatum*.

Vergil allows us to experience to way Aeneas wakes up from his dream[150]:

> et magis atque magis,
> *[…]*
> clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror.

He louder and louder (*et magis atque magis*) hears the sounds (*sonitus*) and horror of war. Then Aeneas wakes and jumps up and examines the city's situation from his house[151]:

> Stupet inscius alto
> accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.

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[145] This was of lesser importance for the chapter on the clear forces of Aeneas' *fatum*.

[146] Verg. *Aen.* 2,289.

[147] Dreams and the interpretation of them was of huge importance in Roman religion. A full account on this would be beyond the purpose of this paper. For more information on this, see for example Harrisson (2013), Ahearne-Kroll (2014), and Holowchak (1997). Also, about the physical appearance of Hector and the exact meaning of the words of both Hector and Aenas see Kragelund (1976).

[148] This is an interpretation from Kragelund (1976).

[149] Kragelund (1976), p. 36. Aeneas' questions are found in Verg. *Aen*. 2,281-6:

> "O lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum,
> quae tantae tenuere morae? Quibus Hector ab oris
> expectate venis? Ut te post multa tuorum
> funera, post varios hominumque urbisque labores
> defessi aspicimus! Quae cause indigna serenos
> foedavit vultus? Aut cur haec vulnera cerno?"

[150] Verg. *Aen.* 2,299a-301.

[151] Verg. *Aen*. 2,307b-8.

As a shepherd (*pastor*) Aeneas is baffled (*stupet inscius*) at the sight of Troy. At this moment, Hector's advice to flee the city is clearly not on his mind and all he wants to do is fight[152]:

> Arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
> sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
> cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
> praecipitant, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.

As said in the previous chapter: Aeneas is desperate (*amens*) to take up arms, burning (*ardent animi)* to take up the fight besides his friends, and preoccupied (*furor iraque mentem praecipitat*) with dying (*mori*) in war. Aeneas is completely ignoring Hector's advice and is only reminded of it and its value when his mother steps in and tells him to take care of his family[153]. In the very least, the dream of Hector is a motivator for Aeneas to get up and examine Troy's situation[154]. There is no doubt Aeneas heard the words of Hector, but he does not show a clear reaction to them without a direct sight on Troy. In his despair, Aeneas wants to get up arms and help the Trojans to preserve their beloved city. He becomes aware of the truth and value of Hector's words when reminded of them by his mother. But, as we shall see, even then it takes further supernatural signs to make him leave his homeland.

4.1.2 Aeneas and Tiberinus

Another hugely important dream of Aeneas for the plot of the *Aeneid* is when the Trojans have landed on Italy and war between the Trojan and Latin camp has started. Aeneas is aware of the land's turmoil, movements of people, and preparations for war. However, he does not know what to do[155]:

> Quae Laomedontius heros
> cuncta videns magno curarum fluctuat aestu,
> atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc
> in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat

He is subject to the fluctuation of worry (*curarum aestu*) and his mind shifts from here to there (*nunc huc nunc illuc*) and he overthinks all possibilities before he falls asleep.

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[152] Verg. *Aen.* 2,314-7.
[153] This passage is part of the next chapter.
[154] Stearns (1927).
[155] Verg. *Aen.* 8,18b-21.

In his sleep, Tiberinus, god of the Tiber, comes to Aeneas and advices him to seek an alliance with Euander[156]. Aeneas does not even have to worry about the war; Euander will prove to be a great help with the building of his new city[157]. Immediately Aeneas wakes up and prays to the sky[158]:

> nox Aenean somnusque reliquit,
> surgit et aetherii spectans orientia solis
> lumina rite cavis undam de flumine palmis
> sustinet ac talis effundit ad aethera voces:
> "Nymphae, Laurentes nymphae, genus amnibus unde est,
> tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
> accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.
> Quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
> fonte tenet, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis,
> semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis
> corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.
> Adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes."

He asks the nymphs (*Laurentes nymphae*) and the Tiber himself (*Thybri genitor*) to take him on and protect him against danger (*arcete periclis*). He promises to always honour (*semper honore meo*) his waters in return for his protection. After that, Aeneas starts preparing for departure[159]:

> sic memorat, geminasque legit de classe biremis
> remigioque aptat, socios simul instruit armis.

He chooses two biremes (*geminas biremis*) and arms (*instruit armis*) his men.

In this situation, as opposed to his dream of Hector, Aeneas reacts straightaway to the advice of a supernatural deity. As soon as the advice to befriend Euander has been heard, he jumps up and starts preparing. But why does his reaction to Tiberinus differ from his reaction to the words of Hector? It all has to do with the circumstances. Hector provides Aeneas with the choice between fight or flight regarding his homeland, while Tiberinus offers him a solution to his inner struggle of uncertainty. For Aeneas to take the advice and act on it, the former requires more evidence than 'just' the words of Hector. It is easier to respond to and act on advice in situations that will have lesser impact. Of course, how Aeneas handles war in

[156] Verg. *Aen.* 8,36-65.
[157] Stearns (1927).
[158] Verg. *Aen*. 8,71-8.
[159] Verg. *Aen.* 8,79-80.

his new homeland is very important, but might have had a lesser impact on his personal feelings that leaving his homeland. Apparently, even in the epic world of Aeneas, it takes more than one supernatural sign for a man to leave his homeland. His reaction to Tiberinus proofs he is grateful for the new plan of action and (like in chapter 3.3) he takes the time to thank the gods for this advice.

4.2 Signs of consultation

So far in this chapter we have seen that Aeneas can react to advice from a supernatural deity through an examination of the situation and by straightaway accepting a solution to an urging internal struggle. These are personal reactions and he does not actively involve other Trojans with them. However, different examples of reactions to supernatural advice-givers prove that Aeneas is very much able to include others in important decision. In one of these, Venus tells him to flee the fight and find his family[160]. It appears as if only then the full consequences of the outcome of the Trojan war for Aeneas and his family sink in[161]:

> Tum vero omne mihi visum considere in ignis
> Ilium et ex imo verti Neptunia Troia

He then for the first time truly (*vero*) sees the whole of Troy in flames (*in ignis*) and is taken by the reality of its full destruction (*ex imo verti*). He accepts his mother's advice to find his family[162]:

> Descendo ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostis
> expedior: dant tela locum flammaeque recedunt.

and with divine guidance (*ducente deo*) he makes his way through enemies (*hostis*), weapons (*tela*), and flames (*flammae*).

However, Aeneas' mind is not set on packing up his family and following the orders of the gods to leave Troy. As said before, in this situation Anchises is still the head of the family and it seems as if Aeneas has told his father of the situation and the order to leave Troy[163]:

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[160] Verg. *Aen.* 2,594-620.
[161] Verg. *Aen.* 2,624-5.
[162] Verg. *Aen*. 2,632-633.
[163] Verg. *Aen.* 2,635b-8a.

> genitor, quem tollere in altos
> optabam primum montis primumque petebam,
> abnegat excisa vitam producere Troia
> exsiliumque pati.

Anchises refuses (*abnegat*) Aeneas' plan to live on (*vitam producere*) after the fall of Troy and to live in exile (*exsilium*). The following text implies a discussion between Anchises and Aeneas[164]:

> Talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat.
> Nos contra effusi lacrimis coniunxque Creusa
> Ascaniusque omnisque domus, ne vertere secum
> cuncta pater fatoque urgenti incumbere vellet.
> Abnegat inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem.

Anchises is fixed (*fixus*) on staying and the tears of Creuse, Ascanius, and the rest of the household do not move him. He keeps refusing (*abnegat*) and stays with that (*haeret in isdem*).

As Anchises is the head of the household, Aeneas is obliged to first and foremost follow his wishes. Aeneas is aware of the conflicting orders from his father as opposed to that of the gods and mentions this to his mother[165]:

> Hoc erat, alma parent, quod me per tela, per ignis
> eripis, ut mediis hostem in penetralibus utque
> Ascanium patremque meum iuxtaque Creusam
> alterum in alterius mactatos sanguine cernam?

He asks her if this (*hoc*) was the reason she saved him from weapons and fire; to have him see (*cernam)* his son, father, and wife slaughtered (*mactatos*) by the enemy. Getting ready to go to battle, Jupiter sends two signs to their house and so convinces Anchises of the truth and value of Aeneas' original plans. So Aeneas has tried to convince Anchises by telling him what has happened to him and what signs he got, but Anchises is only convinced by seeing it for himself.

Another, more explicit, example of Aeneas' willingness to include others in his decisions is found in the fifth book of the *Aeneid*. The Trojan women are fed up with travelling and wish to stay put in Sicily. Aeneas is able to prevent them from burning all the

[164] Verg. *Aen*. 2,650-4.
[165] Verg. *Aen.* 2,664-7.

ships, but he is then faced with the decision what to do. The women have clearly stated their unhappiness about the Trojan situation and Aeneas needs to either get them on board with him again (figuratively and literally) or leave them behind. He first seeks the advice of Nautes, who has the ability to predict the will of the gods and *fatum*[166]. Nautes advices him to leave the ones tired of travelling behind with his friend Acestes[167]. Perhaps even more troubled by this, Aeneas finds himself hearing his late father advising him to take the advice of Nautes[168].

Taking all the information into account, Aeneas summons his friends and consults them about the given advice[169]:

> Extemplo socios primumque accersit Acesten
> et Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis
> edocet et quae nunc animo sententia constet.
> Haud mora consiliis, nec iussa recusat Acestes:

He summons (*accersit*) his friends and tells them (*edocet*) of Jupiter's plans (*Iovis imperium*), the advice (*praecepta*) of his father, and his decisions (*sententia*) regarding these. They all accept his plans and Acestes is willing to stay behind with the new community and lead the new city. Even though Aeneas has already decided, he still includes his friends and opens the conversation about this decision. He might have been willing to hear other opinions and deviate from his original decision, but the circumstances (his agreeing friends) allow that to be an unnecessity.

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[166] Verg. *Aen.* 5,706-7:

> Haec response dabat, vel quae portenderet ira
> magna deum vel quae fatorum posceret ordo

[167] Verg. *Aen.* 5,709-18:

> "Nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;
> quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.
> Est tibi Dardanius divinae stirpis Acestes:
> hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge volentem,
> huic trade amissis superant qui navibus et quos
> pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum est.
> longaevosque senes ac fessas aequore matres
> et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est
> delige, et his habeant terris sine moenia fessi;
> urbem appellabunt permisso nomine Acestam."

[168] Verg. *Aen.* 5,728-9a:

> Consiliis pare quae nunc pulcherrima Nautes
> dat senior;

from the passage of Nautes and Aeneas:Verg. *Aen.* 5,724-39.

[169] Verg. *Aen*. 5,746-9.

4.3 Making demands of his own

Aeneas' *fatum* requires him to do what is asked by the gods and to do it a certain way. However, on more than one occasion, Aeneas in turn asks the gods for favors. Many examples could be named, but one of the passages that stands out most is the addressing of Apollo by Aeneas in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*[170]. Anchises has told Aeneas to come and see him in the underworld to get to know all of his descendants and his future city. Aeneas cannot ignore this opportunity for insight and advice on the future and when the time is there, he asks a gifted prophet of Apollo for permission to visit the underworld[171]:

> "Phoebe, gravis Troiae semper miserate labores,
> Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque
> corpus in Aeacidae, magnas obeuntia terras
> tot maria intravi duce te penitusque repostas
> Massylum gentis praetentaque Syrtibus arva"

He first reminds Apollo of the deeds he has already done for the Trojan people. Apollo always has had pity (*miserate*) for the Trojan misery, has helped Paris to fight Achilles, and has guided (*duce*) Aeneas over lands (*terras*), seas (*maria*), through the Massylic people (*Massylum gentis*), and the Syrtic fields *(Syrtibus arva*). He asks Apollo not to stop guiding the Trojans now and to protect them in the future[172]:

> "iam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras.
> Hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta;
> vos quoque Pergameae iam fas est parcere genti,
> dique deaeque omnes, quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens
> gloria Dardaniae."

Now that they have finally touched to coast of fleeing Italy (*Italiae fugientis*), Apollo is asked to righteously help the Trojans (*Pergameae fas est parcere genti*). After this, he promises to build temples and have days of celebration in return.

As said, Aeneas asks the gods for help on multiple occasions throughout the *Aeneid*. This one, however, is the most direct since he is speaking to one of Apollo's prophets in person. It is a prayer, but it almost has the undertone of an order. He boldly asks Apollo to do

[170] Other examples of Aeneas evoking the gods for help are when he asks Jupiter for help when the women who are sick of travelling have set the ships on fire (Verg. *Aen.* 5,687-92) and when he asks help on the battlefield (Verg. *Aen.* 10,252-5).
[171] Verg. *Aen.* 6,56-60.
[172] Verg. *Aen.* 6,61-5a.

something for him and his justification is based on the fact that Apollo has helped him in the past. He does make promises in return, but the idea that a god will help Aeneas simply because he has done so before, does not seem to be right, or *pius*[173]. About the descent into the underworld, Aeneas reminds the Sibyl of the stories of Orpheus, Pollux, Theseus, and Hercules, who all successfully descended into the underworld to fulfill a task.[174]:

> **"**si potuit manis accersere coniugis Orpheus
> Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris,
> si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit
> itque reditque viam totiens. Quid Thesea, magnum
> quid memorem Alciden? Et mi genus ab Iove summo."

Aeneas basically says: "Why should I not to be able to descend into the Underworld: Orpheus and Pollux have been there too."[175] Aeneas too is a descendant of Jupiter (*genus ab Iove*) and therefore should have no trouble in visiting the underworld. This too is further proof of some boldness underlying his request to Apollo. The problem here is that boldness does not fit Aeneas' character. It seems that he has taken too much confidence from his father's words and is assuming he is going to be allowed into the underworld because he is Aeneas and because of his *fatum*. Luckily for him, Apollo does not take it the wrong way and accepts his request.

What does this all mean for our examination of Aeneas' interaction with his *fatum* and his position as a leader of the Trojans? In this chapter we have seen that Aeneas is very open to any advice and knowledge that is given from beyond the human world. He is eager to listen and to evaluate the consequences of his actions. However, he does not blindly follow any advice. It is clear that Aeneas reviews the advice or knowledge that has been offered in a very conscious manner. In different situations, Aeneas reacts differently. He hears the advice of Hector, but does not immediately react to it; he listens to the knowledge Tiberinus provides him with and decides he is going for that plan of action. Clearly, Aeneas is able to adapt his own plans to the advice that is offered him, but he also is able to adapt this advice to the plans he wants to execute.

Although a lot of decisions are made for Aeneas or by Aeneas alone, he also shows himself very capable of including others in his decisions. Two of the most important decisions on his journey (leaving Troy and splitting up his Trojan group) are made in consultation.

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[173] Casali (1995).
[174] Verg. *Aen.* 6,119-23.
[175] Casali (1995), p. 8.

Aeneas apparently is not set or not sure on his decisions about these difficulties and needs other opinions, willing to adapt to them. His bold request of Apollo might be seen as a sign of too much confidence in the relationships Aeneas has with the gods. It seems as if he assumes that he has special privileges because of his *fatum*. Still, this does not discard the fact that Aeneas as a human is allowed to create the space to make requests of and ask questions to the gods. This all fits our idea that although Aeneas is forced to fulfill his *fatum*, he is still allowed to create space and fill in the details himself.

5. *Pius* Aeneas: even when freedom of action is a possibility

5.1 Aeneas, member of the Trojans

In his journey towards Italy and the fulfillment of his *fatum*, moments occur in which Aeneas is free to decide on how to act without interference from his *fatum*. Since these moments require behaviour based on personal choice, they are perhaps the best indicators of the strengths Aeneas possesses as a leader. One of these moments is found in the first book of the *Aeneid*, when seven ships of the Trojan fleet have survived Juno's sea storm and are landing near the city of Cartahge[176]. Basic survival skills force the Trojans to scout the area, build shelter, start a fire, and find food, etc., but ultimately it is Aeneas as their leader who decides how the Trojans should go about this. This situation provides Aeneas with the opportunity to demonstrate one of the strengths of his leadership[177]:

> Ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates
> succepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum
> nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam.
> Tum cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma
> expediunt fessi rerum, frugesque receptas
> et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo.
> Aeneas scopulum interea conscendit, et omnem
> prospectum late pelago peit, Anthea si quem
> iactatum vento videat Phrygiasque biremis
> aut Capyn aut celsis in puppibus arma Caici.

[176] The passages chosen here might seem to be of less importance compared to the scenes with, for example, Dido or Turnus, but for our interpretation they are the ones most suitable. Little research has been done on these passages from our point of view, but our interpretation makes an effort for a better understanding of Aeneas' leadership. Also, it is not probable that Aeneas 'demonstrates' his leadership skills in the sense that he is consciously showing off his strengths. It is because his behaviour is natural for him in this situation which proves it is a strength rather than a deliberate choice.

[177] Verg. *Aen.* 1,174-83.

Achates is able to create fire (*ignem*) and the Trojans are roasting (*torrere*) grain. However Aeneas, in the meantime (*interea*), is searching the sea for other Trojan ships that might have survived the storm. Apparently, Aeneas has left the other Trojans with the ships for a moment without clear instructions to build a fire, shelter, find food, etc. This shows he is trusting the other Trojans to do what needs to be done, but also that he cares about the ones that did not make it to the coast. Aeneas shows that a leader is there for everyone.

Aeneas' own behaviour is crucial in these sort of situations. It is because he is not acting as the leader and puts his position as the leader on the background, that he is able to create optimal team dynamics by active participation[178,179]:

> Navem in conspectus nullam, tris litore cervos
> prospicit errantis; hos tota armenta sequuntur
> a tergo et longum per vallis pascitur agmen.
> Constitit hic arcumque manu celerisque sagittas
> corripuit fidus quae tela gerebat Achates,
> ductoresque ipsos primum capita alta ferentis
> cornibus arboreis sternit, tum vulgus et omnem
> miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam;
> nec prius absistit quam septem ingentia victor
> corpora fundat humi et numerum cum navibus aequet;
> hinc portum petit et socios partitur in omnis.

Seeing no other Trojan ships at sea, Aeneas does see three deer (*tris cervos*) and the whole herd (*tota armenta*) further on. He wastes no time and decides to kill seven of them, equal to the surviving amount of ships, and divide the food among his friends (*socios*).

Another, more explicit, example is found in the seventh book of the *Aeneid*. Aeneas and the Trojans have arrived in Latium and Aeneas sends messengers to the king of the land, Latinus[180]:

> Tum satus Anchisa delector ordine ab omni
> centum oratores augusta ad moenia regis
> ire iubet, ramis velatos Palladis omnis,
> donaque ferre viro pacemque exposcere Teucris.

Aeneas sends a hundred chosen messengers to the city (*ad moenia*), presenting gifts (*dona*) and asking for peace (*pacem*). Again, Aeneas himself stays behind. It is possible (and even

[178] Forsyth (2010).
[179] Verg. *Aen.* 1,184-94.
[180] Verg. *Aen*. 7,152-5.

probable) that Aeneas has given the messengers instructions on how to act and what to say in front of Latinus, but the fact that he does not accompany them is a sign of trust. These examples show that Aeneas trusts the other Trojans to behave rightly on their own and working together in a team without a leader present: he shows trust and gives them autonomy.

Aeneas stays behind and starts builing the Trojan camp: [181]:

> Ipse humili designat moenia fossa
> moliturque locum, primasque in litore sedes
> castrorum in morem pinnis atque aggere cingit.

Aeneas himself marks (*designat*) the place of the Trojans' future camp. He makes it strong and builds a fortification (*pinnis*) and a wall of earth (*aggere*). Aeneas is doing what supposedly all other Trojans are, or should be, doing. He is providing them with shelter and helps where he can. To put it in different words: Aeneas actively makes himself part of his own team[182]. In these examples, he does not put his position as the leader in front, but he provides his team with food and safety. He takes care of his team members without positioning himself explicitly as their leader.

However, while Aeneas is presenting the other Trojans with trust and autonomy, Aeneas also creates a very strong message about his leadership towards Latinus by staying behind. At first, it seems strange that Aeneas is not joining the delegation that he is sending to Latinus. A king would want to speak to the leader of the people he is receiving. However, by starting on the camp and building is strong, Aeneas implicitly tells Latinus that he is here to stay and that he is willing to protect his people. Aeneas is not asking Latinus for permission and awaits his reaction. This is a very good example of the intricacy of leadership and the subtleties it needs for success.

But why are concepts like showing trust, giving autonomy, and actively participating in one's own team so important for Aeneas[183]? It is because of the relationship Aeneas, being the leader, has with his 'subordinates'. These 'subordinates' in the *Aeneid* are called his *socii*,

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[181] Verg. *Aen.* 7,157b-9.

[182] Other very vivid and clear examples are all the occasions in which Aeneas is fighting besides his friends in the battles of the *Aeneid*. Throughout the second half of the *Aeneid*, there are many examples to be found. One of the most amazing ones is when Aeneas is able to free the Trojan camp from the enemy after his return from Euander, Verg. *Aen.* 10,602-5:

> Talia per campos edebat funera ductor
> Dardanius torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri
> more furens. Tandem erumpunt et castra relinquunt
> Ascanius puer et nequiquam obsessa iuventus.

[183] Note that these concepts are important from a modern and western perspective.

when it comes to the men he directly associates with, or *comites*, when it comes to the bigger group of Trojans[184]. As said in our third chapter, Aeneas was no leader before the flight from Troy. He was an ordinary citizen, although from extraordinary descent, and had no special rank among the others. He fought besides his friends and would have died next to them. The fact that he now leads his *socii* and bears the responsibilities of his *fatum* no doubt has changed the relationships he had with his friends in Troy. However, Vergil does not provide any explicit evidence of this in the text of the *Aeneid*.

In modern companies, a certain degree of autonomy seems to be crucial for job satisfactions and efficacy[185]. Although these concepts might not be fully applicable to the *Aeneid* as we understand them now, it is clear that Aeneas trusts his team of Trojans to be able to act on their own. He gives them the autonomy to decide for themselves how to act and when possible, Aeneas himself acts besides them. So his *fatum* forced him to lead his *socii*, but Aeneas is being careful not to step on anyone's toes or to cross any line drawn in the times they all lived in Troy. In this way, he is *pius* towards the old relation- and friendships that were established in Troy.

Equally, if not more, important is Aeneas' care for his team. He makes sure everyone has food and is safe. Within the boundaries of his *fatum*, Aeneas makes sure that his team is safe all the time and he will stand up for them if necessary. This way of handling different situations and providing safety at all times is what could be called Aeneas' charisma. This is what makes his team support him unconditionally and makes his team members take their own responsiblitiy when possible. This is what makes Aeneas the leader that he is. His genuine care for everyone and his calm but firm behaviour is what makes Aeneas a leader we can take notes from.

His friends also appreciate Aeneas in this way, as shown in their reaction to crises on the battlefield while Aeneas is away at Euander. Mnesteus speaks to the others in an attempt to motivate them in the battle against the enemy[186]:

> "Quo deinde fugam, quo tenditis?" inquit.
> "Quos alios muros, quaeve ultra moenia habetis?
> Unus homo et vestris, o cives, undique saeptus
> aggeribus tantas strages inpune per urbem
> ediderit? Iuvenum primos tot miserit Orco?

[184] Schauer (2007).
[185] See for example Saragih (2011).
[186] Verg. *Aen.* 9,781b-9a.

> Non infelicis patriae veterumque deorum
> et magni Aeneae, segnes, miseretque pudetque?"
> Talibus accensi firmantur et agmine denso
> consistunt.

He asks them where they are planning to flee and if they, doing that, do not feel ashamed towards their country (*patriae*), the gods (*deorum*), and most of all towards the great Aeneas (*magni Aeneae*). Mnestheus mentions Aeneas in his absence, and this is one of the key motivators (*accensi*) for the Trojans to regain their confidence (*firmantur*) in battle. The strong relationships Aeneas has with all of his men makes Aeneas himself a motivating factor. This proves his efforts regarding these relationships have paid off.

5.2 Going for the kill: Turnus must die

5.2.1 Turnus and Aeneas

The final moment of crisis and the final internal struggle for Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, is Aeneas' battle with Turnus and the process of deciding that Turnus has to die. Both men are leading their armies into battle against each other and "under the leadership of Turnus and Aeneas the battle develops."[187] The characters of Turnus and Aeneas have been compared extensively, resulting in ideas on *amor* versus *labor*, horses versus bees, war versus peace, analyses of the murders of Pallas and Lausus and the possibility of a metaphoric victory of Augustan ideology[188]. However, one perspective that is often overlooked in this final scene between Turnus and Aeneas, is that of Aeneas' *fatum*. Aeneas has fulfilled the ultimate goal of his *fatum* the moment he stepped on Italian soil in the seventh book, so what role could his *fatum* possibly play in Aeneas' final decision of the *Aeneid*?

Turnus was promised the hand in marriage of king Latinus' daughter Lavinia. From the time Aeneas has arrived in Latium, this promise was threatened due to the prophecy that Lavinia was to be married to a stranger[189]. This discrepancy between Turnus' pride and the actual state of events, combined with added circumstances, resulted into a full-blown war between the Trojans and Latium's people[190]. The realization of the overwhelming power of

[187] Thornton (1953), p. 82.
[188] McDonald (1972).
[189] Verg. *Aen.* 7,96-101.
[190] The accidental shooting of a sacred deer and the general feeling of insecurity about the status of the Trojans in Italy among Latium's people are example of the "added circumstances". For an analysis of Lavinia's role in the war, see for example Renger (1985).

the Trojans, and specifically Aeneas, on the battlefield makes Turnus decide for a fight with Aeneas only[191]:

> "Nulla mora in Turno; nihil est quod dicta retractent
> ignavi Aeneadae, nec quae pepigere recusent:
> congredior. Fer sacra, pater, et concipe foedus.
> Aut hac Dardanium dextra sub Tartara mittam
> desertorem Asiae (sedeant spectentque Latini),
> et solus ferro crimen commune refellam,
> aut habeat victor, cedat Lavinia coniunx."

Turnus announces his fight with Aeneas and his plan to either kill (*sub Tartara mittam*) him, or, being defeated, let him rule (*habeat victor*) and let him marry Lavinia (*cedat coniunx*). He does not mention any necessity of Aeneas to kill him once defeated, which implies he is willing to live under Aeneas' rule.

To this message of Turnus, Aeneas reacts with confidence and motivation[192]:

> Nec minus interea maternis saevus in armis
> Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitat ira,
> oblato gaudens componi foedere bellum.
> Tum socios maestique metum solatur Iuli
> fata docens, regique iubet response Latino
> certa referre viros et pacis dicere leges.

He is at least as eager (*saevus*) as Turnus to fight and fires himself up (*acuit* and *suscitat*), being happy (*gaudens*) that the war will be ended soon. He comforts his friends and son by telling them of his *fatum* (*fata docens*). Clearly, *fatum* still plays a role in his fight with Turnus. A very probable explanation of the use of *fatum* here, is that it refers to the part of Aeneas' *fatum* which tells he has to found a city for the Trojan *penates*[193]. Aeneas uses *fatum* as soothing and motivating factor for the fight to come. The actual start of the fight is postponed several times, but when Turnus realizes the only way to end the war is to fight Aeneas, he again calls for an man to man fight[194]:

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[191] Turnus' army was on its way to victory when Aeneas was away recruiting allies, but the return of Aeneas made the power of the Trojan army overwhelming. The passage here is Verg. *Aen.* 12,11-7.
[192] Verg. *Aen.* 12,107-12.
[193] Verg. *Aen*. 2,294-5. Renger (1985) argues it was part of Aeneas' *fatum* to marry Lavinia, which would be an acceptable explanation here as well, were is not that the *Aeneid* does not suggest that Aeneas is aware of this destined marriage.
[194] The fight is postponed due to god-inflicted chaos among the soldiers, the wounding of Aeneas, Iuturna taking the place of Turnus, and the attack on Latinus' city. The passage here is Verg. *Aen*. 12,693-5.

> "Parcite iam, Rutuli, et vos tela inhibete, Latini.
> Quaecumque est fortuna, mea est; me verius unum
> pro vobis foedus luere et decernere ferro."

He asks the Rutuliers and Latins to stop (*parcite*) and hold their weapons. He is to fight Aeneas alone (*unum*). Then finally, the two leaders meet.

5.2.2 The final scene

Turnus and Aeneas waste no time to start the fight:

> Atque illi, ut vacuo patuerunt aequore campi,
> procursu rapido coniectis eminus hastis
> invadunt Martem clipeis atque aere sonoro.
> Dat gemitum tellus; tum crebros ensibus ictus
> congeminant, fors et virtus miscetur in unum.

Entering the fighting area, from afar (*eminus*) they throw their spears and start the fight. It takes some serious chasing skills on the side of Aeneas before Turnus accepts the consequences of this fight and faces Aeneas[195]:

> Per medium stridens transit femur. Incidit ictus
> ingens ad terram duplicato poplite Turnus.

Aeneas grabs the first real opportunity to seriously wound Turnus by striking him in the thigh (*per medium femur*) with his spear. Turnus falls (*incidit*) and now it is up to Aeneas do decide how this fight ends: fatal or non-fatal? Obviously, the following passages are used most for deciding on the character of Aeneas. Some argue the death of Turnus is a sign of Aeneas' cruelty and an example of "sheer vindictive vengeance"[196]. Others believe that Aeneas once again has no choice of action and "it was Turnus' destiny to die, because it was Aeneas' destiny to be victorious in order to found Rome."[197] But what can we make of Aeneas' behaviour at this point regarding his *fatum*? Turnus is lying defeated on the ground and Aeneas has the opportunity to spare Turnus. His *fatum* has no direct influence, since Turnus is, as said before, willing to live under Aeneas' rule. This means that Aeneas has an opportunity to act freely. So why did he choose to kill Turnus?

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[195] Verg. *Aen.* 12,926-7.
[196] Knight (1944), p. 142.
[197] Thornton (1953), p. 83.

Firstly, Aeneas is fighting this particular fight in the middle of a political and military conflict[198]. His role as the future leader of this Italian land and the relationships with his future neighbours are at stake. Here, the opportunity presents itself to set the tone of his future rule. The people of Latium already know Aeneas can show mercy and empathy, and now Aeneas can show himself to be firm and steady when it comes to adversaries[199]. Also, the spectators' (and perhaps readers') expectancy and anticipation for a fight to the death adds to Aeneas' possibilities of a political move by resolving a military conflict[200]. But Turnus, however stricken and fallen, has some final tricks up his sleeve[201]:

> Ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem
> Protendens "Equidem merui nec deprecor" inquit
> "utere sorte tua. Miseri te si qua parentis
> tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
> Anchises genitor) Dauni miserere senectae
> et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis,
> redde meis. Vicisti et victum tendere palmas
> Ausonii videre; tua est Lavinia coniunx,
> ulterius ne tende odiis."

Turnus raises his right hand (*dextram*) to Aeneas and asks not for mercy (*nec deprecor*) but for pity (*miserere*), for the sake of his old father. He asks himself or his body (*seu corpus*) to be returned to his family. Everyone has seen his victory and there is no further need for hate (*odiis*).

With this short speech, Turnus moves Aeneas to hesitation[202]:

> Stetit acer in armis
> Aeneas, volvens oculos, dextramque repressit;
> et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
> coeperat,

Aeneas holds his right hand back (*dextram repressit*) and is hesitating (*cunctantem*). If Aeneas was not hesitant to kill Turnus before his plea, the realization that Turnus has

[198] Holoka (1999) and Renger (1985).
[199] As Thornton (1953) shows, Aeneas has shown feelings of mercy and pity when he murdered Lausus and gave his body, with his armour fully intact, back to his father. Shelfer (2011) argues for the role of Turnus being the law-breaker and Aeneas being the law-establisher. This would be in line with our interpretation, since Aeneas here has the opportunity to show the consequences of breaking an agreement.
[200] Holoka (1999).
[201] Verg. *Aen*. 12,930-8a.
[202] Verg. *Aen*. 12,938b-41a.

surrendered himself and killing Turnus is not necessary to secure the future, but furthermore Turnus' reference to his father certainly made him so. Turnus reminds Aeneas of an important part of the ethics Anchises used to live by: showing mercy for the defeated[203]. On top of the direct mention of fathers Anchises and Daunus, Aeneas is also reminded of Priamus. When Achilles gave the body of Hektor back to Priamus, and so respected the father of his enemy. Aeneas now has to decide whether he will follow the footsteps of his own father Anchises, the plea of Priamus and with that the example the great hero Achilles has set, and show respect for Daunus, or whether he chooses his own path. The (in)direct mention of these three fathers makes Aeneas doubt, but the mention of a forth father makes him decide.

It is Euander that makes Aeneas kill Turnus. In the tenth book, Turnus has killed Pallas and robbed him of his belt. Throughout the second half of the *Aeneid*, Euander has had significant influence on Aeneas in two ways: he is depicted as a safe-keeper of civilization and acts as a father figure towards Aeneas[204]. Aeneas promised Euander to keep Pallas safe and now Pallas' belt is a reminder of his failure and his relation with Euander, and functions as a "catalyst" in Aeneas' process of deciding[205,206,207]:

> infelix umero cum apparuit alto
> balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
> Pallantis pueri, victum quem volnere Turnus
> straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
> Ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris
> exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
> terribilis:

On Turnus' shoulder (*umero*), Aeneas sees the wretched belt (*infelix balteus*). This remembrance (*monimenta*) makes him burn (*accensus*) with rage and anger (*furiis et ira*). Whether it is the responsibility he feels as a father towards Pallas or his deep friendship with

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[203] Holoka (1999). Proof of this belief of Anchises is his speech to Aeneas in the underworld: Verg. *Aen.* 6,853a: parcere subiectis

[204] Papaioannou (2003). The importance of Euander in the founding of Rome is controversial. In Vergil's version, he is a very prominent figure and highly important for Aeneas development as a leader of future Rome. However, in Tibullus' or Propertius' versions of the founding of Rome, for example, Euander has a minor role. Euander's influence on Aeneas' leadership in the *Aeneid* is also a fascinating factor, since it has hints of Aenas superb understanding of cultural sensitivity, but sadly goes beyond the scope of this paper.

[205] Euander bound Pallas to Aeneas in: Verg. *Aen*. 8,514-7.

[206] For the use of "catalyst" and further details on the belt of Pallas, see Shelfer (2011), p. 296 ff. See for an thourough analysis of Pallas' belt Gross (2004).

[207] The passage here is: Verg. *Aen*. 12,941b-7a.

Euander, Aeneas feels he has to honour the bond he has with both of them and the words of vengeance Euander has spoken upon the sight of his dead son[208]:

> Vadite et haec memores regi mandata referte:
> quod vitam moror invisam Pallante perempto
> dextera causa tua est, Turnum gnatoque patrique
> quam debere vides.

Euander wants Aeneas to avenge son and father (*ignatoque patrique*) with this right hand *(dextera*). Although this was not an agreement made between Euander and Aeneas, since this had to be delivered to Aeneas (*regi referte*) by messenger, Aeneas still felt the obligation to honour it.

This felt obligation becomes prominent in the final words of Aeneas to Turnus and in the *Aeneid*[209]:

> "Tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
> eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc volnere, Pallas
> immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit."

He dedicates the murder, his revenge, to Pallas. It is Pallas who wounds (*hoc volnere immolat*) Turnus and it is Pallas who is taking revenge (*poenam sumit*). Clearly, his relationships with the house of Euander are strong motivators to act. Aeneas feels the rage and pain of Euander after Pallas' death and his identification with them drives him to kill Turnus[210]:

> Hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
> fervidus; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
> vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

Aeneas' right hand finally acts and drives his sword into Turnus' chest (*sub pectore*). Turnus turns cold (*frigore*) and his life leaves him through a sigh (*gemitu*) for a life among the shades (*sub umbras*). Although the right hand is not mentioned explicitly in this passage, this body part is of importance for Aeneas' motivation to kill Turnus throughout this scene and its references. Turnus rises his right hand to Aeneas preceding his plea and Aeneas' reaction is to

[208] Verg. *Aen.* 11,176-9a. See Holoka (1999).
[209] Verg. *Aen*. 12,947b-9.
[210] Verg. *Aen.* 12,950-2.

lower his own right hand[211]. Also, even before Euander asked for Aeneas' right hand specifically to act in vengeance, Euander gives his right hand in alliance with Aeneas[212]. Now, everything is ended with the acting of Aeneas right hand[213].

5.2.3 Conclusion: pius all the way

So, what role has Aeneas' *fatum* left to play in the final scene of the *Aeneid*? In view of the upcoming, fatal, battle with Turnus, Aeneas' *fatum* functions as a soother for himself and his friends and family. Aeneas is not scared to battle Turnus because of this and is happy to be given the opportunity to end the war. Whether his *fatum* entails his marriage with Lavinia or the building of a new city for the Trojan penates is still up for debate, but in either case his *fatum* will prevent him from dying by the hands of Turnus. This is where the influence of Aeneas' *fatum* has come to an end in the *Aeneid.*

When it is time for Aeneas to decide on the life of Turnus, it is not his *fatum*, but his own personality that steps in. Aeneas' future reign is not at risk, since Turnus has said to live under his rule if he was to be defeated. Aeneas also is aware of the political and military situation he is in. Killing Turnus provides an opportunity for him to make a smart political move and make a statement before the eyes of his future people and neighbours. The spectator's anticipation to a fight to the death must be taken into account as well. But still, Aeneas hesitates. The thought of the four fathers, which also was the ultimate cause for hesitation, is the final straw. Pallas' old belt is a reminder of his relationships with Euander and Pallas. Feeling the rage of a father and the remembrance of their right-handed alliance makes him go for the kill. So, based on our analysis, the killing of Turnus might not have been an act Aeneas would have been willing to fulfill when he would have been completely free to act. However, his situation and the relationships he has with Euander and the people of his future land force him to act and "*pius* Aeneas must act, one last time, *non sua sponte*."[214]

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[211] Verg. *Aen.* 12,930: ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem
Verg. *Aen.* 12,939: Aeneas volvens oculos dextramque repressit
Note also the similar placings of *oculos dextramque* in these lines. Vergil might have tried to make Aeneas resemble Turnus in this way. See Renger (1985).

[212] Euander asks for revenge in: Verg. *Aen.* 11,178a: dextera causa tua est
Euander gives his right hand in: Verg. *Aen.* 8,169: ergo et quam petitis iuncta est mihi foedere dextra

[213] Note that the right hand in our world is a reference to justice.

[214] Holoka (1999), p. 153.

Discussion

Conclusion

In the structure of a company, the leaders of a team are often too being lead. The leader is responsible for the team's result and in most cases, motivation is important for success. However, in addition to motivating his team members, the leader needs to motivate himself in the situations he is put in by his bosses. This problem is comparable to the situation Aeneas is in in Vergils' *Aeneid.* Aeneas is bound to find a new homeland for the Trojans by his *fatum* and needs to find a way to accept his *fatum* and get others on board with it as well. Throughout the *Aeneid*, he is put in three different situations regarding his *fatum*: (1) situations in which Aeneas is openly forced by his *fatum* to behave a certain way and he has no choice but to submit, (2) situations in which gods and ghosts advice Aeneas, but he has some room to decide for himself, and (3) situations in which Aeneas is free to choose his actions with little to no interference from his *fatum*. The main questions of this paper are how Aeneas interacts with his *fatum* and reacts in these three different kinds of situations and how he is able to motivate others and himself from his position as leader of the Trojans.

Before the main examination, we have seen that the circumstances in which Vergil wrote his *Aeneid* were far from obvious. The political and cultural turmoil throughout the Roman realm shaped his mind and his connections to Augustus provided the opportunity to have some political, cultural, and maybe even educational influence. Whether stimulated by Augustus of Maecenus or not, Vergil took the opportunity and was able to write the national epic of the Romans. The choice for the epic genre was probably made by the possibilities the epic genre provides regarding subjects and freedom to experiment, but the status of the epic tradition starting with Homer and the influence of Ennius on Vergil's works must have also been greatly appealing.

Vergil wrote the *Aeneid* with the rules of an epic cosmos in mind, but there are still some issues regarding the cosmos in the *Aeneid*. We have seen that disagreement exist about the hierarchy of men, gods, and *fatum*. The text itself and the possible interpretations are inconclusive on whether gods and *fatum* exist on the same level or whether the gods are inferior to *fatum*. However, men are inferior to both of them and can only accept and fulfill the will of the gods and *fatum*. The problem with men, in turn, is related to the concept of individuality. Can Aeneas be seen as a full individual? Probably not, since he is stuck in a very firm form of determinism. He does have a personality, but again disagreement exists

whether his personality is developing throughout the *Aeneid* or not. We take a middle ground and accept the disagreement on his personality; we identify him as a *pius* (towards his gods, friends, and family) leader of the Trojans who is searching for the right way to fulfill his *fatum*.

So the questions remain how Aeneas interacts with his *fatum* and is able to motivate others and himself as leader of the Trojans. We have discovered that in the first kind of situations (in which Aeneas is openly forced by his *fatum*) he accepts his order without question. He knows what he ultimately will have to do and, if necessary, will take some steps himself to see parts of his *fatum* fulfilled, for example in the case of becoming leader of the Trojans. In the case with Dido too, there is no doubt when he is orded by Mercurius to leave Carthage. He shows his dignity by his decision to go talk to her, but he tries to take the time for it. Time is not granted him and Dido finds him first. Aeneas tries to convince Dido and himself that he is making the right decision, but fails. Dido ends the quarrel by leaving and now Aeneas again wants to take the time before departure and lets the Trojans sleep through the night. But once again, time is not granted him as Mercurius warns him of Dido's plans and the Trojans have to leave immediately. Aeneas here twice tries to create some leeway by taking the time, but these situations are not destined for that. In the happy occasions Aeneas is offered with new information from the gods whether they are in the right place or not, Aeneas takes the time to thank the gods for their help. Even though he is forced to leave Crete or Buthrotum, or stay at the mainland Italy, he is grateful for their signs and now the time is granted him to say a prayer or offer some wine.

In situations in which gods and ghosts advice Aeneas, Aeneas has a better opportunity to examine the situation and decide for himself what is best to do. We have seen three reactions to the given advice. In the case of his dream with Hector, Aeneas needs more evidence than 'just' the words of Hector to act on them. He examines the situation of Troy first and tries fighting with his friends. He further needs his mother's advice and even two more supernatural signs before honouring the words of Hector and leave Troy. A completely different reaction he shows when he takes the advice of Tiberinus when the whole of Latium is buzzing with war. After waking up, he immediately jumps up and starts preparing without further question or examination. Whereas these reactions are personal, Aeneas also shows himself able to involve others in his decisions. He talks to his family, specifically his father, before making the decision to leave Troy and even when he has had a twofold advice on leaving Acates with the tired Trojans he consults his friends on his decision. In turn, Aeneas is not afraid to ask for favors from the gods. This all proves that Aeneas knows the power of

consultation and involvement and it could be seen as one of his strengths being leader of the Trojans.

Perhaps his greatest strength as a leader, however, is Aeneas' genuine care for the welfare of his team members. In situations in which the requirements of his *fatum* are of less importance and Aeneas is free to personally choose his behaviour, he often choses to put his position as leader to the background. He makes himself one of the Trojans and does everything he can to provide for survival and safety. He is able to do this by giving the Trojans autonomy and by actively participating in the team himself. This is the case when they have just landed near the city of Carthage, when Aeneas leaves the Trojans at the beach and he himself searched the sea for ships and hunts some deer, and when he sends a hundred messengers to king Latinus while staying behind himself, building the camp. These behavioural patterns are huge motivators for the Trojans to trust Aeneas as their leader and in turn for Aeneas to trust his friends in helping him to fulfill his *fatum*. It is in these situations Aeneas shows himself the great leader his is and proves himself to be worthy of the demands the gods have made on him. Aeneas' charisma makes his team support him unconditionally and take responsibility when possible.

However, his *pius* personality perhaps shows brightest in his decision to kill Turnus. Even though his *fatum* does not directly require him to kill, the political and military position he is in force him to stay true to the epic way of acting. He needs to show his future people that he is able to kill and be cruel if necessary. The tric Trunus uses to remind him of three fathers which would be inclined to spare him blows up in his face, because Aeneas is reminded of a forth by this and by Pallas' belt Turnus is wearing. Aeneas' relationship with Euvander is the ultimate reason for him to kill Turnus. So in the situation he is in, he is *pius* all the way.

Concluding, we do see different reactions from Aeneas when taking different situations regarding the force of his *fatum* into account. When clearly forced, he accepts his orders without questions and will take steps himself if necessary. By trying to take the time he shows he is still thinking for himself or at least wants to. He tries to find his own way within the strong forces of his *fatum*, although it is not granted him. When adviced, he decides from himself whether it is worth examining the situation before deciding and is able to involve his friends in his decision. In these situations, it is easier for him to find some time to deliberate. He shows himself thoughtful and is taking all consquences into consideration before deciding for the best path towards the fulfillment of his *fatum*. When free to act on his own, his strengths as a leader shine brightest. His charisma is as strong as his genuine care for others.

He stays true to the position he is in as a leader and honours the friendships he has made in the far away and near past. Here he shows the most signs of 'modern leadership' by being part of the group while being leader of its members.

So, what is the short answer to the question how Aeneas interacts with his *fatum* and motivates others and himself from his leadership position? Aeneas interacts with his *fatum* by trying to create time and space for him to find his own way within the demands of his *fatum*. Each situation allows different degrees of the creation of this time and space. But Aeneas seems determined to fulfill his *fatum* his own way. In a way, he creates his own *fatum*[215]. By doing this, he stays true to himself and his relations, which ultimately is the biggest source for motivation for the other Trojans and himself.

Further research

Additional research could further examine these conclusions by using more passages and situations found in the *Aeneid*. The limited passages used could provide us with a biased perspective on Aeneas' behaviour. Since this paper focused on a limited amount of aspects of leadership, more aspects of this concept could be looked at in the future. It remains difficult to relate the concept of leadership to a work like the *Aeneid*, since it is so biased towards a modern and western perspective. A more thourough examination of the concept of leadership in Aeneas' time would be a huge improvement on these kind of questions.

Adding to this would be an examination and comparison of the concept of leadership in the time of Vergil. The Roman realm was on the verge of huge changes and leadership in these times is crucial for the happiness of an emperor's people. Whether Vergil wanted to make a statement on Augustus' leadership or on how it should be, remains to be anwered. All we can say is that from this paper we got to know the leadershipstyle of Aeneas a bit more, but further research is definitely necessary for a full appreciation. However, due to the fact that he truly shines as a leader when free of direct orders, in the end, I believe, we would be right to accept the statement of Dudley that Aeneas is "a man, in fact, who grows greater as his responsibilities grow, who comes in the end to accept freely the terrible burden placed on him by destiny; and who at last shakes off the Trojan past to face the Roman future. "[216]

[215] Hence the title of this paper: Go *Fatum* Yourself.
[216] Dudley (1961), p. 53.

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