

VIII. Turnus and Duryodhana

GEORGE E. DUCKWORTH

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

I

Turnus, the great opponent of the Trojan hero in the second half of the *Aeneid*, the so-called *Iliad* half,¹ is without doubt Vergil's greatest achievement in the delineation of character. He is a most interesting and complex person, a brilliant fighter but endowed with traits of rashness, arrogance, and cruelty which contribute to his ultimate defeat at the hands of Aeneas. Vergil portrays him, however, with sympathy and understanding, and his death at the end of Book XII provides the tragic conclusion not only to the epic as a whole but also to the final third, just as Dido's suicide at the end of IV brings to a tragic end the first third of the poem.²

Much has been written in recent years concerning both the relation of Turnus to the main characters of the *Iliad* and the extent to which we are justified in viewing him as a "tragic character." The two problems are related: our attitude toward Turnus' tragedy is necessarily influenced, to some extent at least, by his Homeric prototype or prototypes. In the first part of this paper I shall discuss briefly the modern theories about Turnus as a Homeric character, the nature of his tragedy, and the elements in his personality which seem peculiarly Vergilian.

Turnus, noted for his *ira* and *violentia*, is frequently compared to the impetuous and wrathful Achilles of Homer. The similarities are numerous: not only are their dispositions alike, but both are of divine birth (cf. *Aen.* 6.90), both are noted for their

¹ Cf. K. Büchner, *P. Vergilius Maro. Der Dichter der Römer* (Stuttgart 1956) 418; see J. W. Mackail, *The Aeneid* (Oxford 1930) xlv f.

² For the tripartite structure of the *Aeneid*, with the central, more Roman and more Augustan portion (V-VIII) framed by the tragedy of Dido (I-IV) and the tragedy of Turnus (IX-XII), see G. E. Duckworth, "The *Aeneid* as a Trilogy," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 1-10, and bibliography cited therein.

beauty (cf. *Aen.* 7.55), both are furious warriors, both are determined not to be deprived of their rights.³ Bowra says:

Turnus is a second Achilles . . . He is a true hero by Homeric standards and finds in battle proper scope for his great gifts. . . . He represents that heroic world which contained in its ideals the seeds of its own destruction.⁴

Pöschl agrees that Turnus represents the Homeric type of heroism and says: "er ist der Achill der Äneis, so wie ihn die Sibylle ankündigt (vi.89)."⁵ Pöschl adds that Turnus rises to tragic greatness in 12.645–49; here, as in 12.72–74, his desire for fame and death recalls the famous decision of Achilles in *Il.* 18.114–16.⁶

In the prophecy of the Sibyl *alius Achilles* (6.89) is Turnus, and Turnus refers to himself as Achilles in 9.742. This implies that his Trojan rival Aeneas is a Roman Hector, or at least "the duly appointed and entitled successor of Hector as leader of the Trojan cause, destined for a happier issue."⁷ But there is a difficulty here: Aeneas is Paris, and then Turnus is Menelaus; Aeneas is called a *Paris alter* by Juno (7.321, cf. 10.79), a *praedo* and a *Phrygius pastor* by Amata (7.362 f.); cf. Turnus' words in 9.138

³ Cf. G. E. Duckworth, "Turnus as a Tragic Character," *Vergilius* 4 (1940) 7 f. (where similarities between Turnus and Hector are also pointed out); see also G. V. Kidder, *The Description of Characters in Vergil's Aeneid* (Chicago 1937) 76 f.

⁴ C. M. Bowra, *From Virgil to Milton* (London 1948) 44, 49. Bowra admits (45) that there is something of Hector in Turnus when he appeals to the Latins in 10.280–82; he adds: "Unlike Achilles, he does not exult over his fallen enemies, and though the slaying of Pallas is to cost him his own life in the end, he does not maltreat the body or gloat in triumph over it." Bowra is in error here; Vergil's use of the word *superbus* in 10.445 and 514 is the strongest possible refutation and justifies Turnus' death in 12.940 ff., when Aeneas first considers *clementia* and then sees the swordbelt; cf. 6.853: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, a striking example of the parallelism of the books in each half and one unfortunately not mentioned in my earlier analysis of the poem: "The Architecture of the *Aeneid*," *AJP* 75 (1954) 1–15; see below, note 146.

⁵ V. Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils: Bild und Symbol in der Äneis* (Innsbruck 1950) 193, where similarities between Achilles and Turnus are listed; a few external likenesses between Turnus and Hector are also given; see also 211. For a brief summary of Pöschl's analysis of Turnus, see A. Gillingham in *Vergilius* 5 (1959) 24–26.

⁶ Pöschl (above, note 5) 210. Cf. also E. L. Highbarger, "The Tragedy of Turnus: A Study of Vergil, *Aeneid* xii," *CW* 41 (1947–48) 115 ("Turnus is primarily the Achilles of the *Aeneid*"; cf. 120); J. W. Spaeth, Jr., "Hector's Successor in the *Aeneid*," *CJ* 46 (1950–51) 280 ("Virgil's Hector is Aeneas, and his Achilles the impulsive Turnus").

⁷ Spaeth (above, note 6) 277. Cf. R. W. B. Lewis, "Homer and Virgil: The Double Themes," *Furioso* 5 (Spring, 1950) 54: "For this time, the Trojans are wholly in the right . . . They return from death to life and from defeat to victory. The symbol of this return is the killing of Turnus by Aeneas. For Turnus is another Achilles."

(*coniuge praerepta*) which indicate that he looks upon himself as a second Menelaus.

But perhaps Aeneas is neither Hector nor Paris; perhaps Vergil wishes us to view Turnus as the Hector of his poem and Aeneas as Achilles. There is much to be said for this: Turnus, like Hector, is the leader of the forces which are defeated, and at the end he is conquered in single combat; also, during Aeneas' absence from the camp Turnus plays the same leading role which Hector had when Achilles refused to fight, including a battle at the camp and the attempted burning of the ships.⁸

The Aeneas-Achilles and Turnus-Hector equations can be supported by many other passages. Aeneas, like Achilles, has divine armor, including a wondrously wrought shield, in each instance procured by his mother. When Aeneas returns in x with the Etruscan fleet, the flame about his head (270 ff.) resembles that around Achilles' head (*Il.* 18.205 ff.; cf. 22.25 ff.). After Turnus slays Pallas as Hector kills Patroclus, Aeneas, again like Achilles, is overcome with grief and, rushing angrily into battle, takes captives alive for sacrifice and kills a warrior who begs for mercy; the death in this case, however, has more justification.⁹ The comparison of Turnus to a horse galloping over the plain (11.492 ff.) is modeled upon the famous simile concerning Paris (*Il.* 6.506 ff.; repeated of Hector in 15.263 ff.). At the beginning of xii Latinus and Amata urge Turnus not to fight, as Priam and Hecuba urge Hector at the beginning of *Iliad* xxii. The final combat is retarded by the absences of Hector and Turnus.¹⁰

⁸ Cf. R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*³ (Leipzig 1915) 181; H. W. Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (Chicago 1927) 441; Duckworth (above, note 3) 7 f.; Pöschl (above, note 5) 193, 211, but Pöschl views these as external events of less importance than the resemblance of Turnus and Achilles in character.

⁹ Lycaon (*Il.* 21.74 ff.) makes his plea on the basis of guest-friendship; Magus (*Aen.* 10.524 ff.) tries to bribe Aeneas with his wealth; for a comparison of Achilles and Aeneas in these two passages, see A. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide* (Paris 1926) 736, 767 f. L. A. MacKay, "Achilles as Model for Aeneas," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 11-16, argues that the death of Patroclus was the turning-point of Achilles' life and that henceforth he was a man overpowered by his mission; this is the Achilles whom Aeneas resembles, rather than "the ardent, confident young warrior of the early books" (12 f.).

¹⁰ Apollo first urges Hector to withdraw and then removes him from the battlefield (*Il.* 20.376 ff., 443 f.). The breaking of the truce and the wounding of Aeneas prevent the meeting of the two rivals, but Vergil's motivation is superior; Turnus does not want to fight Aeneas; cf. 12.325: *subita spe servidus ardet*, and he shows none of Aeneas' desire to abide by the agreement (cf. 12.466 f., 496 ff.) but prefers to wreak havoc in a distant part of the battlefield (cf. 12.614 ff.). This unwillingness to face Aeneas is of

Hector and Turnus each flees from his opponent, Turnus for the better reason: Hector has his weapons but Turnus is helpless when his sword breaks; this, however, results from his own lack of *consilium*; in his haste he had mistakenly seized the sword of Metiscus (12.735 ff.).¹¹ Finally, Achilles avenges Patroclus by slaying Hector who wears the armor taken from Patroclus (cf. *Il.* 17.198–208; 22.331–36) and Aeneas avenges Pallas by killing Turnus when he sees the swordbelt (cf. *Aen.* 10.501–5; 12.947–49), although, unlike Achilles, Aeneas almost yields to *clementia* (12.939–41).¹²

Thus, although Turnus has to a degree the nature of Achilles, his role is predominantly that of Hector, and his statement in 11.438 (*ibo animis contra, vel magnum praestet Achillem*) betrays his realization of the fact.¹³ W. S. Anderson, in a recent article which lists the many similarities between Aeneas and Achilles mentioned above, believes that we have in *Aeneid* VII–XII a double pattern: one, the alleged but false belief on the part of Juno, Amata and Turnus that Aeneas is Paris and Turnus is Achilles; the other, the true picture, that Turnus is to be identified with the Trojans, both Hector and Paris, and that Aeneas unites in one person the characters of the Greeks Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Achilles.¹⁴

In the *Iliad*, the death of Hector is tragic not merely because he fights a warrior much greater than himself but also because the fall of Troy is predestined and he, as its chief defender, must perish. But he is not a tragic character in the same sense as

prime importance. Turnus is untrue to his own ideals and guilty of the very weakness which he had denied so vehemently in his fiery speech to Drances (11.378–444: cf. 12.644); see Duckworth (above, note 3) 13 f. Cf. Pöschl (above, note 5) 207: "Doch wieder kämpft er, wie im Grunde immer, am falschem Ort und mit falschem Ziel." S. G. P. Small, "The Arms of Turnus: *Aeneid* 7.783–92," *TAPA* 90 (1959) 248, writes in a similar vein: "Turnus is never altogether clear in his own mind as to what he is trying to accomplish in the long run or why"; Small shows that the helmet and the shield of Turnus "foreshadow the terrible end that lies in store for him" and "condemn him for his unsuspected deficiencies" (252).

¹¹ See Duckworth (above, note 3) 15; Pöschl (above, note 5) 217 f.; cf. 218: "Turnus erscheint durchaus heldenhafter als Hektor."

¹² See above, note 4.

¹³ Even when Turnus called himself Achilles (9.742) he was addressing Pandarus: the two brothers Pandarus and Bitias had the roles and even received the same simile as the Greeks Polypoites and Leonteus (*Il.* 12.131 ff.; *Aen.* 9.677 ff.); thus here also Turnus plays the part of a Trojan, not a Greek.

¹⁴ W. S. Anderson, "Vergil's Second *Iliad*," *TAPA* 88 (1957) 17–30, especially 24, 27; cf. also 27 for the similarity of Paris and Turnus.

Achilles, who by his wrath and withdrawal from battle is responsible for the death of Patroclus and his own resultant grief.¹⁵ But what about Turnus? In what sense are we to look upon him as a tragic character?¹⁶ To some, Turnus' tragedy is that of a man who struggles courageously against his destiny, one who is a victim of gradually increasing ill fortune;¹⁷ he is guilty in that he opposes the will of the gods and the workings of Fate, and his tragedy is that he is driven to face death in an unequal combat.¹⁸ To others, he is less the innocent victim of destiny and more responsible for his disastrous defeat and death. "His one fatal weakness," says Fowler, "was want of self-control; he had none of the *temperantia* by which the Romans set such store."¹⁹ A fuller expression of this view is the statement of Bowra:

So confident is he of his own destiny and in his own judgment that he makes fatal mistakes, first when he gladly and confidently takes up arms against the Trojans and secondly when there is a good chance of peace but, instead of taking it, he follows his own wild ambition and decides to renew the battle and display his own prowess. . . . He is an example of that tragic *ὑβρις* or pride which leads a man too far and works his destruction.²⁰

¹⁵ Cf. the words of Thetis in *Il.* 18. 73-77. C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (Oxford 1930) 195, believes that Achilles' fatal mistake was in rejecting the offer of the embassy in *Iliad* ix; cf. also E. T. Owen, *The Story of the Iliad* (New York 1947) 102 ff.; against Bowra's view, see G. E. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (Princeton 1933) 87 ff., and note 189; D. E. Eichholz, "The Propitiation of Achilles," *AJP* 74 (1953) 137-48; C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass. 1958) 188 ff.; Whitman sees in Achilles' heroism "the search for the dignity and meaning of the self" (193), and he views both Achilles and Hector as tragic figures (208).

¹⁶ I cannot agree with W. Ehlers, "Turnus" (*RE* 7². 2[1948]) 1413, that Turnus is "der Staatsfeind" and therefore not intended by Vergil as a tragic figure: "Für seine Zeitgenossen redete Vergil eine nicht misszuverstehende Sprache; nur modernes Gefühl kann der Gefahr erliegen, die eigentümliche nationale Tendenz zu überhören und in T. mehr das Bild des tragischen Helden zu sehen." On this see Pöschl (above, note 5) 158.

¹⁷ See Highbarger (above, note 6) 118, who considers the climax of his ill fortune (= his tragic error) the wearing of the *balteus* of Pallas; cf. also R. M. Boltwood, "Turnus and Satan as Tragic 'Villains,'" *CJ* 47 (1951-52) 183-86; but he views Turnus primarily as "a plaything manipulated by Juno" (185).

¹⁸ See J. B. Garstang, "The Tragedy of Turnus," *Phoenix* 4 (1950) 47-58.

¹⁹ W. W. Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (Oxford 1927) 41. Cf. also L. Feder, "Vergil's Tragic Theme," *CJ* 49 (1953-54) 208 f.

²⁰ Bowra (above, note 4) 48; cf. Pöschl (above, note 5) 215, who likewise speaks of Turnus' twofold guilt, that of beginning the war and that of not ending it, but Pöschl stresses (160 ff.) the demonic nature of Turnus as an incarnation of "Kriegsfurie" and says: "seinem dämonischen Wesen im Homer nichts Vergleichbares gegenübersteht"

These views of Turnus as a tragic character all have a definite validity, but the essence of his tragedy goes deeper, as I have attempted to show elsewhere.²¹ *Furor* and *violentia* lead him to do the wrong thing, and he is obsessed by a feeling of guilt, resulting in part from his pursuit of the phantom in x, in greater part from his unwillingness to face Aeneas in xii, in spite of his resolve as expressed to Drances in xi and to Latinus and Amata in xii. Like Achilles, he desires fame and death; as in the case of Achilles, his impetuous and wrathful actions bring disaster to others and to himself; but, unlike Achilles, his tragic weakness makes it impossible for him to live up to his ideals as a warrior and as a man. From this comes his sense of guilt,²² and herein lies his tragedy; we view with all the deeper sympathy the inevitable death which his cruel and arrogant treatment of Pallas makes necessary.

However much Aeneas and Turnus have the roles of Achilles and Hector respectively, the similarities between Turnus and Achilles as tragic characters cannot be ignored. Only in *Iliad* xxiv, when Achilles takes pity on Priam and finally gives up his wrath, does he come to a full realization of the tragic outcome of his actions and in so doing achieves a new humanity.²³ Likewise, at the very end of the *Aeneid*, Turnus admits most fully his guilt (931: *equidem merui nec deprecor*); he has sinned not only against himself and his people, but against Aeneas and the cause of justice and righteousness.²⁴

The tragedy of Turnus, however, is essentially different from that of Achilles; and Turnus, as an individual, is far more complex. His wrath and violence, as stressed by Vergil, go far beyond that of his Homeric prototype. He is *acer*, *audax*, *arduous*, *turbidus*, *furens*, *implacabilis*, *rapidus*, *amens*;²⁵ as a result of his *furor* (163). But Pöschl seems inaccurate in viewing Turnus as the personification of *furor impius* (184); of *furor*, yes, but it is Mezentius, the *contemptor divum*, on whom the impiety of the war rests, and Pöschl himself later comments on the *pietas* of Turnus (226 f.). On the other hand, the war which Turnus favors is an *infandum bellum* (7.583) and Latinus later says: *victus amore tui . . . arma impia sumpsi* (12.29 ff.).

²¹ Duckworth (above, note 3) 5-17; see also "Fate and Free Will in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *CJ* 51 (1955-56) 361 f.

²² Cf. *dedecus* (10.681; 12.641), *indecorem* (12.679); on Turnus' emotions as described in 12.665 ff., see Fowler (above, note 19) 117-19.

²³ Cf. Owen (above, note 15) 242 ff., 248; Whitman (above, note 15) 215, 218 ff.

²⁴ Cf. Pöschl (above, note 5) 223 ff.

²⁵ For a summary of the epithets applied to Turnus, see Kidder (above, note 3) 74; Highbarger (above, note 6) 124, note 55.

. . . *caedisque insana cupido* he fails to open the gates in 9.756 ff. The qualities stressed most frequently by Vergil are *ira* and *violentia*, the latter applied to no other character in the *Aeneid*.²⁶ When, after the wounding of Aeneas, Turnus rushes into battle, he is compared to *sanguineus Mars* (12.331 ff.), and in the ensuing scene he is the very incarnation of the bloody and demonic forces of war.²⁷

Many other features in Vergil's portrayal of Turnus seem equally non-Homeric: his grief and shame that he cannot help his comrades (10.670 ff.), his desire for death and the attempted suicide (10.675 ff.), the extent to which he is blamed for the war and the deaths of the Latins,²⁸ his unwillingness to make peace in xi (cf. 411 ff.) or to abide by the truce in xii, Drances' accusation of cowardice (11.350 f., implied also in 373-75), Turnus' withdrawal from the main current of the battle in xii, which I interpret more as the result of his desire to avoid Aeneas than of Juturna's activity as his charioteer, and his resultant feeling of guilt in 12.638 ff.²⁹

Again it must be emphasized that Turnus is not killed primarily because he has slain Pallas, nor even because he is wearing the youth's *balteus*.³⁰ Achilles avenges the death of Patroclus by killing Hector without hesitation, but Turnus' appeal of the devotion of father to son in 12.932-34 (Daunus-Turnus, Anchises-Aeneas) is at first effective;³¹ Aeneas almost spares him, but the sight of the swordbelt reminds him of another father-son relationship (Evander-Pallas); cf. Turnus' heartless words in 10.443: *cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset*; for these *superba iussa* (445;

²⁶ Cf. H. Nettleship, *Lectures and Essays* (Oxford 1885) 110. For *ira*, cf. 7.462; 9.66, 694, 798, and in similes applied to Turnus 9.62, 795; in 12.527 *ira* refers to both Turnus and Aeneas. For *violentia*, cf. 10.151; 11.354, 376; 12.9, 45.

²⁷ Cf. Pöschl (above, note 5) 197, who adds in a note: "Das Gleichnis ist . . . als solches nicht homerisch."

²⁸ By Latinus in 7.594 ff.; by Aeneas in 11.115 ff.; by Drances in 11.345 ff., 360 ff., 371 ff.; cf. the implied criticism in Saces' words: *tu curram deserto in gramine versas* (12.664).

²⁹ Cf. *dedecus* in 12.641 and the reference to *Drancis dicta* in 644; see above, note 22.

³⁰ Cf. Highbarger (above, note 6) 118, who considers that Turnus' tragic error is wearing Pallas' swordbelt instead of dedicating the spoils to the gods, as was the Roman custom; see above, note 17.

³¹ Turnus' phrase in 12.934: *Dauni miserere senectae* echoes ironically the words of Latinus in 12.43 f.: *miserere parentis longaeui*, which Turnus disregarded (cf. 45 f.: *haudquaquam dictis violentia Turni flectitur*).

cf. 491 ff.) and his arrogance (cf. 514 f.: *superbum caede nova*) Turnus must die.³²

I pointed out above that Anderson views Aeneas as a blend of Agamemnon, Menelaus, and Achilles and looks upon Turnus as a combination of Hector and Paris.³³ But Turnus also has characteristics derived from Achilles, and he has many others which bear little resemblance to the personages of Homer. Are these entirely Vergil's own creation, or is he indebted to other epic models as well? The latter is the belief of Mlle. Josette Lallemant in a recent article in *Latomus*.³⁴ She maintains that Turnus in many respects resembles and is probably modeled upon Duryodhana, the great opponent of the five Pāṇḍavas (sons of Pāṇḍu) in the Sanskrit epic, the *Mahābhārata*. Duryodhana, the wicked, arrogant, and wrathful leader of the Kauravas (descendants of Kuru and cousins of the Pāṇḍavas), is slain at the end of the war and pays the penalty for his deeds of insolence and violence; he is held responsible for the death of a handsome young fighter Abhimanyu, who resembles Pallas in many respects far more closely than does the Homeric Patroclus. Lallemant's parallels are so striking that they deserve a careful re-examination; I have read (in translation) the appropriate portions of the Sanskrit epic, and the many additional similarities which I have found give strong support to Lallemant's theory. The remainder of this paper is devoted to a comparison of the *Aeneid* (VII–XII) and the *Mahābhārata* (especially V–IX) and the importance of such a study not only for our understanding of Turnus and other characters in the second half of the *Aeneid* but also for our increasing knowledge of Vergil's procedure as an epic poet.

II

The *Mahābhārata*, the great national epic of ancient India, is the longest poem in the world. Composed in *ślokas*, or couplets,

³² Cf. 6.853: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, and see above, note 4. I disagree entirely with Boltwood (above, note 17) 186, that the slaying of Turnus by Aeneas is inexcusable because "Turnus killed Pallas in self-defense." Almost equally erroneous is the statement of F. X. Quinn, S.J., "Another View of Turnus," *CB* 35 (1958–59) 26: "At the death of Pallas, Turnus shows the magnanimity of a hero by returning the body to Evander for a decent burial." This is certainly *not* Vergil's "view of Turnus."

³³ See above, 84.

³⁴ "Une source de l'*Énéide*: le *Mahābhārata*," *Latomus* 18 (1959) 262–87.

and divided into eighteen books, it totals over 200,000 lines, three times as long as the Bible and eight times as long as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* combined. The original epic narrative (perhaps first written down between 400 and 300 B.C.) was far shorter, possibly 8,800 *ślokas*, later expanded to 24,000,³⁵ and concludes essentially in Book XI, after the end of the war, with the funerals of the deceased warriors.³⁶ To this epic story were added, over a period of centuries, numerous other tales as well as rules of caste and moral conduct, and lengthy disquisitions on theology, philosophy, and law; as a result the *Mahābhārata* became not only a storehouse of Hindu tales and traditions but a veritable encyclopedia of the life and knowledge of ancient India.

The basic story, or epic kernel, of the poem is the rivalry and hostility between the five Pāṇḍavas (Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, and the twins, Nakula and Sahadeva) and their cousins, the Kauravas (descendants of Kuru), the hundred sons of the blind and weak king Dhṛtarāṣṭra; the Kauravas are under the leadership of the eldest son, the jealous and wrathful Duryodhana, who is aided by his equally villainous brother Duṣṣāsana. Righteousness and justice are on the side of the Pāṇḍavas and, although they are called the sons of Pāṇḍu, each is in reality the son of a god. As "Duryodhana is a great tree created out of passion," so "Yudhiṣṭhira is a great tree created out of virtue and religion."³⁷

The persecution of the Pāṇḍavas by Duryodhana with the assistance of his advisers (especially Karna and Śakuni) is related in Books I–IV of the poem and includes the unsuccessful poisoning

³⁵ For the original 8,800 *ślokas*, see *Mhb.* i.i.81–82; cf. i.i.101: "Vyāsa originally compiled the *Bhārata*, exclusive of episodes, in twenty-four thousand verses, and this much only is called by the learned as the real *Bhārata*."

All quotations are taken from the prose English translation of the *Mahābhārata* by M. N. Dutt (Calcutta 1895–1905) which numbers the *ślokas* in each chapter throughout the epic. Lallemant (above, note 34) 262, note 5, quotes from the English translation published by P. C. Roy (Calcutta 1884–1896), in which the *ślokas* are numbered only from Book VI on; Roy's second edition (1919–1930) is even less suitable for cross reference, since in this edition the *ślokas* within each chapter (or section) are not numbered. The reader should be warned that the numbers of the *ślokas* (given in Arabic numerals) vary from those in the (still uncompleted) critical edition by V. S. Sukthankar and (since 1943) S. K. Belvalkar (Poona 1927–). I have altered the spelling of the proper names in the translation (and in other references) in order to conform with modern usage. On this and other matters connected with the *Mahābhārata* I am deeply indebted to my friend and colleague, Professor Samuel D. Atkins of Princeton University, for much helpful advice and assistance.

³⁶ R. C. Dutt, *The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata* (London 1910) 321, cf. 312.

³⁷ *Mhb.* i.i.108–9.

of Bhīma, the great rival of Duryodhana in strength and fighting ability; the attempted burning of Kuntī and all five sons in a combustible house of lac; the loss of the empire of the Pāṇḍavas by dice as a result of Yudhiṣṭhira's fondness for gambling, and the insults to which Draupadī, the joint wife of the five brothers, is subjected; finally a twelve-year exile followed by a year in which the Pāṇḍavas must live in disguise without their identity being discovered. This part of the epic narrative, as fascinating as it is, does not concern us directly, except in so far as it lays the foundation for the outbreak of the Great War and presents a vivid and consistent delineation of the main characters whom we shall consider below.³⁸

Upon the return of the Pāṇḍavas at the end of the appointed thirteen years, the "proud and unyielding" Duryodhana refuses to give back to them the half of the kingdom which had been promised. All attempts at reconciliation fail, and war becomes inevitable. Numerous armies from all parts of India and beyond join each side as allies. The unsuccessful attempts to maintain peace and the marshaling of the troops are related in Book v. The next four books (vi-ix) describe the eighteen furious days of fighting. Yudhiṣṭhira, leader of the Pāṇḍavas, makes Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna the commander-in-chief of his forces; the latter survives all eighteen days of battle but perishes in a night expedition (Book x) at the hands of Aśvatthāman who thus avenges the earlier death of his father Droṇa. Duryodhana, leader of the Kauravas, selects as his commander-in-chief the "noble grandsire" Bhīṣma, whose defeat by Arjuna on the tenth day brings Book vi to a close. Droṇa, "venerable priest and vengeful warrior," is the next commander-in-chief, and he is slain by Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna on the fifteenth day (end of Book vii). Duryodhana then appoints the "proud and peerless archer" Karṇa to the chief command; he is killed by Arjuna in a great contest on the seventeenth day (end of Book viii).

We come now to the eighteenth and final day of the battle, as recounted in Book ix. Both armies have lost countless millions

³⁸ Cf. Dutt (above, note 36) 330 f. on the distinct individuality of each hero; he says: "No work of the imagination that could be named, always excepting the *Iliad*, is so rich and true as the *Mahābhārata* in the portraiture of the human character." Descriptive phrases in quotation marks in the following paragraph are taken from Dutt's analysis of the characters.

of troops and most of their bravest leaders.³⁹ Śalya is commander-in-chief, and his defeat by Yudhiṣṭhira results in the complete rout and utter destruction of the Kauravas. The only leaders still alive are Duryodhana, Aśvatthāman, the son of Droṇa, and two others, Kṛpa and Kṛtavarman. Duryodhana flees to a magic lake, but when taunted for his lack of valor he consents to meet his rival and bitter enemy Bhīma in single combat (with maces).⁴⁰ His final defeat brings the actual war (and Book ix) to an end, although he lives to hear the good tidings in Book x of the night expedition of Aśvatthāman and his slaughter of Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna and his troops as they sleep in their camp, secure in their belief that the conflict is over.⁴¹

³⁹ The reader may be interested in some of the fantastic exaggerations which appear everywhere in the *Mahābhārata*. After seventeen days of fighting, the remnants of the two armies are described as follows in ix.viii.37 ff.: the Kauravas still had 11,000 cars, 2,700 elephants, 200 horses, three million footsoldiers; the Pāṇḍavas had 6,000 cars, 6,000 elephants, 10,000 horses and one million foot. In v.vii Kṛṣṇa gives his support as a non-combatant to one side, his army to the other; Arjuna chooses Kṛṣṇa, and the army which swells the ranks of Duryodhana numbers one hundred million. Perhaps it is not surprising to find the two armies still fairly large on the eighteenth day. Arjuna was taught archery by Droṇa with such success that he was capable of fighting 60,000 foes at one time (i.cxxxiv.64). On the tenth day of the war Bhīṣma slew singlehanded 10,000 elephants, seven car warriors, then 5,000 car warriors, 14,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 elephants, and 10,000 steeds (vi.cxix.23–26), and during the first ten days he is said to have killed one hundred million warriors (vi.xiv.15–16). On the other hand, the numbers are often incredibly small; again and again four arrows are sufficient to kill four horses and the fifth beheads the charioteer (cf., e.g. vii.cxvi.22; cxxv.30). On the large numbers of the soldiers, see J. C. Oman, *The Great Indian Epics. The Stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata* (London 1899) 170, and note 1. Dutt (above, note 36) 254 estimates Duryodhana's forces, including allies, at about 100,000, the armies of Yudhiṣṭhira at 70,000.

⁴⁰ This single combat, which occurs at the end of the eighteenth and final day of battle and provides the conclusion of the war, is fought by the two mightiest warriors, Bhīma being possessed of greater strength and Duryodhana of greater skill (*Mhb.* ix.lviii.3; cf. xxxiii.8). I am therefore puzzled that Dutt (above, note 36) 288, says: "The great contest between Karṇa and Arjuna . . . is the crowning incident of the Indian Epic, as the contest between Hector and Achilles is the crowning incident of the *Iliad*" (cf. 169, 331). It is Bhīma and Duryodhana who have more properly the roles of Achilles and Hector in the *Iliad* (or of Aeneas and Turnus in the *Aeneid*; see below).

⁴¹ This very brief account fails to give an accurate idea of the fury of the fighting throughout the eighteen days or the manner in which the tide of battle swings back and forth. For somewhat fuller summaries of the Great War as well as the events in Books i–iv, see M. Williams, *Indian Epic Poetry* (London 1863) 18–31 and (for an analysis book by book) 94–131; Oman (above, note 39) 101–96; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* (Calcutta 1927) 327–75; cf. also J. M. Macfie, *The Mahābhārata: A Summary* (Madras 1921); E. P. Rice, *The Mahābhārata: Analysis and Index* (London 1934). Volume 1 of J. T. Wheeler, *The History of India from the Earliest Ages* (London 1867) is devoted almost entirely to a critical digest of the *Mahābhārata*; see

This, then, is the Great War of eighteen days which concludes the epic nucleus of the *Mahābhārata*. I turn now to the many striking parallels in the characters and events which appear in *Mahābhārata* v-ix and *Aeneid* vii-xii; many of these have been pointed out by Lallemant,⁴² and I have added numerous others where they seem valid. Lallemant speaks first of structural similarities and then analyzes the relevant characters; I prefer to reverse the procedure, as I believe that the parallels in many of the leading persons will make more meaningful the comparison of the books, especially *Mahābhārata* ix and *Aeneid* xii. Also, the roles of the main characters and the manner in which they are delineated perhaps provide the most substantial proof that the Sanskrit epic may have influenced Vergil in the composition of the *Aeneid*.

There is always the great difficulty, in dealing with parallel passages in epic poetry, that much may be the result of epic convention. Catalogues of warriors, the arming of heroes, the numerous *aristeiai* of individual fighters, the mourning of dead heroes, night expeditions—these appear inevitable in narratives of war. Also, there are curious similarities between the *Mahābhārata* and the Homeric epics; some of these may go back to an ultimate source in Indo-European folklore, e.g., the contest of the suitors for the hand of the princess Draupadi in *Mhb.* i.clxxxvii-cxc, so similar to the famous contest in *Odyssey* xxi, since it was both a trial of strength (bending and stringing the bow) and a trial of skill (shooting five arrows simultaneously through a revolving ring into a target beyond). Other parallels may be the result of direct Homeric influence. Dio Chrysostom states that Homer's poetry was sung even in India, where the people had translated it into their own speech and tongue.⁴³ It is important,

42-456 (= Part II). Elizabeth Seeger, *The Five Brothers: The Story of the Mahābhārata* (New York 1948) provides a version for older children in 300 pages; see also *The Story of the Mahābhārata* by Channing Arnold, simplified by Marjorie Sykes (Calcutta 1954), in 128 pages. For selected portions of the *Mahābhārata* translated into verse, see Dutt (above, note 36) 169-322. The main story is summarized in the *Mahābhārata* itself, in i.lxi, where *śloka*s 1-51 give the preliminary events of Books i-iv; the Great War and the victory of the Pāṇḍavas are mentioned with the greatest brevity; cf. 52-53: "Thereupon war was declared, and the Pāṇḍavas after . . . killing king Duryodhana obtained back their kingdom . . ."

⁴² See above, note 34.

⁴³ *Discourses*, 53.6: ὅποτε καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς φασιν ᾄδεσθαι τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν μεταβαλόντων αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν σφετέραν διάλεκτόν τε καὶ φωνήν. E. H. Warmington, *The*

therefore, that the similarities which appear in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Aeneid* must deal, in order to have proper significance, with those aspects of character and event which are either absent from the Homeric poems or at least far less conspicuous. And it is a most interesting fact that the major parallels are exactly in this area and concern the elements in the *Aeneid* which are chiefly non-Homeric.

III

A. AENEAS AND THE PĀṆDAVAS

Again and again in the *Iliad* Aeneas and Hector were mentioned together as the two bravest fighters among the Trojans, and Vergil reflects this tradition when he has Diomedes say in *Aen.* 11.291 f.:

ambo animis, ambo insignes praestantibus armis,
hic pietate prior.

It is hardly to be expected that so Homeric a person, already destined to rule over the survivors of the Trojans (cf. the words of Poseidon in *Il.* 20.302 ff.), would resemble in any way the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*; even less so when this same character, with his regard for destiny and his submission to the will of Jupiter becomes the ideal Roman hero who is noted for *virtus*, *iustitia*, *clementia*, and *pietas*, and who symbolizes the struggles and achievements which had made Rome great.⁴⁴ According to Pöschl, Aeneas is a combination of Homeric heroism, the early Roman and Stoic *magnitudo animi*, and Vergilian and Augustan *humanitas*.⁴⁵

The characters of the five Pāṇḍavas, the heroes of the

Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India (Cambridge 1928) 77, interprets this statement as referring, not to a translation into Sanskrit of Homeric epic, but as alluding "to certain incidents of the *Mahābhārata*, of course not concerning Troy at all." But Dio is very specific and adds (53.7): ὥστε καὶ Ἴνδοι . . . τῶν δὲ Πριάμου παθημάτων καὶ τῶν Ἀνδρομάχης καὶ Ἑκάβης θρήνων καὶ ὀδυρμῶν καὶ τῆς Ἀχιλλέως τε καὶ Ἑκτορος ἀνδρείας οὐκ ἀμείρως ἔχουσιν. Such a statement can hardly refer to characters in the Sanskrit epic.

⁴⁴ On *Aen.* 6.851 ff., its application to the character of Aeneas, and the Aeneas-Augustus symbolism, see G. E. Duckworth, "*Animae Dimidium Meae*: Two Poets of Rome," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 306 ff.

⁴⁵ Pöschl (above, note 5) 94.

Mahābhārata, may be outlined briefly as follows.⁴⁶ Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest, is noted for his virtue, filial love, piety, wisdom, and righteousness. He is regularly called "the very virtuous king," "the pious king," "the king of righteousness."⁴⁷ He is the very embodiment of virtue (cf. iii.cccxiii.25; iv.lxx.10); in him "patience, mercy, forgiveness, truth, and prowess are always present" (i.ccvii.19). Bhīma, "foremost of those endowed with might" (vi.lxiii.8), is the mighty fighter, often wrathful, and the rival and bitter enemy of Duryodhana.⁴⁸ As in the case of Hercules, his strength even upon birth was amazing; accidentally dropped by his mother on a stone, he broke the stone into one hundred pieces (i.cxxiii.16-18). Arjuna, to whom celestial weapons have been granted, is "the chastiser of the wicked and the delight of his friends . . . the foremost of all and the slayer of all foes" (i.cxxiii.29), and the twins Nakula and Sahadeva are "matchless in beauty on earth" (i.cxxiv.17).

Like Aeneas, the Pāṇḍavas are peace-loving and do not want to wage war (cf. v.xx.14); they are unacquainted with the ways of wickedness (vi.xv.4). We saw above that Aeneas has been viewed as a combination of Achilles, Agamemnon, and Menelaus.⁴⁹ Is he in a sense also a combination of the five Pāṇḍavas? He resembles the twins in beauty (cf. *pulcherrimus*, *Aen.* 4.141) and Arjuna and Bhīma in fighting ability and strength, and Bhīma in occasional anger on the battlefield; like Bhīma also, he defeats a mighty opponent in single combat to bring the war to an end. These similarities are perhaps incidental; the really important parallel is in the characters of Aeneas and the leader of the Pāṇḍavas. The qualities of Yudhiṣṭhira, as stressed throughout the *Mahābhārata*—righteousness, filial love, mercy, piety—seem far more those of Vergil's Aeneas than do the traits of the Homeric

⁴⁶ For the delineation of their characters by the "invisible voice" when each was born, see *Mhb.* i.cxxiii.8 (Yudhiṣṭhira), 15 (Bhīma), 37-45 (Arjuna); cxxiv.18 (Nakula and Sahadeva).

⁴⁷ For "the very virtuous king," cf. vii.cvi.22, 26, 40-41; cxii.1, 3, 67, etc.; "the pious king," cf. iv.lxx.16; viii.xlix.1, 58; lxii.29; lxiii.16; lxxv.4, etc.; "the king of righteousness," cf. viii.xi.29; xxix.29, 30, etc.; "foremost of the righteous," cf. viii.lxx.38, 43, 55, etc.

⁴⁸ For the hostility of Duryodhana and his attempt to destroy Bhīma by poison see i.cxxviii. Duryodhana and Bhīma were born on the same day (i.cxxiii.19) and destined to be enemies throughout life, until Duryodhana was slain by Bhīma at the end of the war, the fulfilment of an earlier vow (ii.lxxi.14).

⁴⁹ Anderson (above, note 14) 24, 30.

heroes to whom Aeneas is usually compared, and they include those very qualities which we look upon as typically Roman and typically Vergilian; cf. *Mhb.* v.cliv.19: "The virtuous king Yudhiṣṭhira, now seeing that a slaughter of innocent men was unavoidable, began to sigh repeatedly."

B. LATINUS AND DHṚTARĀṢṬRA

The blind and aged father of the Kauravas resembles Latinus in many respects.⁵⁰ Both kings desire peace,⁵¹ but, just as Latinus is helpless against the combined fury of Turnus and the Latins, so Dhṛtarāṣṭra, although originally supported by Bhīṣma, Droṇa, and Vidūra, is powerless before the frenzied determination of his son Duryodhana and his son's advisers (Karna, Śakuni, and Duryodhana's brother Duḥśāsana).⁵²

Each king is, in a sense, the victim of circumstances,⁵³ but each feels responsible for the war.⁵⁴ Latinus is blamed by Aeneas, and Dhṛtarāṣṭra likewise by Yudhiṣṭhira, the Sanskrit counterpart of Aeneas.⁵⁵ Both kings realize the power of the enemy,⁵⁶ and each states clearly that the opposing forces are protected by the gods.⁵⁷ Latinus criticizes Turnus and says he will pay a heavy penalty (*Aen.* 7.596 f.); according to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Duryodhana "raves like a maniac" (*Mhb.* v.lvii.43), and with even stronger presentiments the blind king foresees the ultimate defeat of

⁵⁰ Cf. Lallémant (above, note 34) 269, 272 f. I have added several additional parallels, and many other passages could be cited—the inevitable result of the many repetitious speeches in the *Mahābhārata*.

⁵¹ *Aen.* 7.259–66, 618 f. *Mhb.* v.liiii.14–15; lvii.35; lviii.1–4; cxxxi.33–35.

⁵² *Aen.* 7. 585 ff., 600; on the later uncertainty of Latinus, cf. 12.657 f. *Mhb.* v.cxxiv.3–4 ("I am not my own master"); cxxxi.38 (Dhṛtarāṣṭra "is powerless"). Latinus has the power originally to grant peace to the Trojan envoys, but the embassies to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, especially the appeal of Kṛṣṇa as mediator, are unsuccessful.

⁵³ *Aen.* 7.594. *Mhb.* v.cxliv.5–6; vii.lxxxv.25–26. Dhṛtarāṣṭra frequently blames the disastrous war on his son Duryodhana; cf. vii.cxxxiii.7; cxxxv. 21.

⁵⁴ *Aen.* 11.471 f., 12.29 ff. (cf. 31: *arma impia sumpsi*). *Mhb.* vi.xiv.15; vii.cxxxv.21; cxxxviii.1 ("mine has been the greatest fault"), 3 (the slaughter "owes its origin to my evil policy").

⁵⁵ *Aen.* 11.113 f.; 12.580 ff. *Mhb.* v.liiii.16. For the frequent criticisms of Dhṛtarāṣṭra by Saṃjaya (weakness, under the influence of Duryodhana, etc.), cf. v.xxxii.28–30; vii.lxxxvi.10–17; cxiv.47 (the calamity "owes its origin to your own misconduct"), 50–55; cxxi.11; cxxxv. 25–27; cxxxvii.47–49.

⁵⁶ *Aen.* 11.305 ff. *Mhb.* v.li and lii, *passim*; lviii.

⁵⁷ *Aen.* 11.305; cf. 7.583 f., 11.231 ff. *Mhb.* v.lx.4 ff.; vii.xi.40 ff.

Duryodhana by Bhīma.⁵⁸ Latinus appeals to Turnus' love for wealth and power,⁵⁹ and Dhṛtarāṣṭra refers to Duryodhana's cupidity and wrath and to his desire for sovereignty (*Mhb.* vii.lxxxv.52–54).

The two aged kings have another striking feature in common: in the early Roman tradition, Latinus took part in the fighting and was killed;⁶⁰ in the *Aeneid* Latinus has the role of Dhṛtarāṣṭra; he does not fight, and he survives the conclusion of the war and the defeat of his people.⁶¹ Dhṛtarāṣṭra, however, is much the weaker character and, as a result of his vacillation and compliance with the desires of Duryodhana, he bears a heavier responsibility for the disasters of the war.

C. DRANCES AND KARṆA

Vergil describes Drances in *Aen.* 11.336 ff. as a bitter enemy of Turnus, wealthy, an able orator but no fighter, and of uncertain ancestry. Turnus in his angry response to Drances' speech implies that he is both a braggart and a coward (11.378–82, 389 ff.). Drances in several respects resembles Karṇa, adviser and general of Duryodhana.⁶²

Like Drances, Karṇa is a man of great wealth,⁶³ and his ancestry is uncertain; he is believed to be a charioteer's son,⁶⁴ and Śalya neither considers him his equal nor does he wish to serve as charioteer to a man "who is born of such low parentage."⁶⁵ In reality, Karṇa is the son of Kuntī and a god (Sūrya, god of the sun) and thus an older brother of the five Pāṇḍavas; but having been cast into a river as a baby by his mother and

⁵⁸ *Mhb.* v.lviii.5 (Your army "has been collected for your own death"), 19–28 (addressed to Duryodhana and his brothers); cf. 27: "A heavy calamity will you meet, if you do not conclude peace with the Pāṇḍavas. Killed by Bhīmasena with his mace, will you ever remain in peace." Cf. with this passage *Aen.* 9.187: *nec placida contenta quiete est*, and 9.445: *placidaque ibi demum morte quievit*. The play upon noun (*quiete*) and verb (*quievit*) closely resembles that in the Sanskrit between verb (*śāmyatha*, "conclude peace") and noun (*śamam*, "peace") which contain the same root *śam-*.

⁵⁹ *Aen.* 12.22 ff.; cf. Drances' words in 11.369: *si adeo dotalis regia cordi est*.

⁶⁰ Livy, 1.2; cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.267, 4.620, 6.760.

⁶¹ The Latin people, however, are in a sense victorious as they survive and retain their customs and their speech; Latium remains and Troy perishes *sine nomine*; cf. *Aen.* 12.821 ff., 834 ff. In the *Mahābhārata* the Kauravas are utterly annihilated.

⁶² Lallemand (above, note 34) 270 and notes.

⁶³ Cf. *Mhb.* viii.xxxviii.2–14; xxxix.2–4; xli.44; xlii.42–46; xciv.44.

⁶⁴ *Mhb.* i.cxxxix.5; cf. vii.clviii.19, 20; viii.xxxvi.27.

⁶⁵ *Mhb.* viii.xxxii.40; cf. also 41 and 49.

rescued and reared by a charioteer and his wife, he joins the Kauravas in the Great War and refuses to fight on the side of the Pāṇḍavas.⁶⁶

Karṇa is a great braggart both in council and on the battle-field;⁶⁷ Droṇa calls him boastful and backward in battle (v.clxviii.9), and Kṛpa accuses him as follows: "you boast (of your prowess). But neither your prowess nor the result of it has ever been witnessed."⁶⁸ The words of Turnus to Drances in *Aen.* 11.389 ff. are similar:

imus in adversos—quid cessas? an tibi Mavors
ventosa in lingua pedibusque fugacibus istis
semper erit?

However, in spite of these accusations, Karṇa was famed as a fighter and on the sixteenth and seventeenth days served as commander-in-chief. Although, because of his hostility to Bhīṣma, he refused to fight as long as the elder warrior was alive (cf. *Mhb.* v.clvi.25; clxviii.29), he entered the war after the defeat (but *not* the death) of Bhīṣma and fought several furious battles with Bhīma in Book vii.⁶⁹ He is called "most supreme of all that are versed in the management of arms" (viii.xxxv.12; cf. lvi.56) and is a mighty warrior in Book viii until he is slain by Arjuna.

Drances is therefore unlike Karṇa in two important respects: he is not a fighter (cf. *Aen.* 11.338 f.: *frigida bello dextera*) and he is hostile to and envious of Turnus (11.336 f.). Lallemand refers to Karṇa's criticisms of Duryodhana,⁷⁰ but actually one of Karṇa's most striking traits is his loyalty and devotion to the leader of the Kauravas.⁷¹ He is one of Duryodhana's constant advisers, the

⁶⁶ He rejects the entreaties of both his mother and the sun-god (his father); cf. *Mhb.* v.cxlvi and cxlvi; Karṇa himself thus knows the secret of his parentage; cf. v.cxli.2 f.; cxlv.2-4; for the story of his birth and early life, see i.cxi and iii.cccv-cccix.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Mhb.* vi.cxxiv.18; viii.lvi.34, 36. For examples of Karṇa's boasting and abuse, cf. his words to Śalya in viii.xxxvi.23-26; xxxvii.23-31 (in 33 Śalya says: "Do not boast thus, O Karṇa"), xl, xlii-xlv.

⁶⁸ vii.clviii.14; cf. 19 f. Bhīṣma considers Karṇa vain, mean, arrogant, and malicious; cf. v.clxviii.4; vi.cxxiv.12.

⁶⁹ Cf. vii.cxxix, cxxxi, cxxxii-cxxxiv, cxxxvi-cxxxix; each fight ends with the defeat or flight of Karṇa.

⁷⁰ See above, note 62.

⁷¹ Karṇa is "the friend and counsellor of Duryodhana" (i.lxvii.150); cf. viii.xl.44; xlii.30-33. His vanity and insolence are ascribed to his elevated position with Duryodhana; cf. iv.liv.5; v.clxviii.4.

other two being Śakuni and Duḥśāsana; again and again these four are mentioned together as leaders in wrongdoing and as responsible for the disasters of the war.⁷²

Drances' hostility towards Turnus resembles the attitude, not of Karṇa, but of other leaders who are opposed to Duryodhana and his policies. Droṇa addresses Duryodhana: "fulfil your vows and be true to your words. Yonder stand your fierce enemies, the sons of Pāṇḍu" (*Mhb.* vii.clxxxvi. 34–35); cf. Drances in *Aen.* 11.373 ff.:

etiam tu, si qua tibi vis,
si patrii quid Martis habes, illum aspice contra
qui vocat.

The son of Droṇa appeals to him: "O Duryodhana, be pacified; you need not prolong this quarrel; make peace with the Pāṇḍavas" (*Mhb.* viii.lxxxviii.21). Similarly Drances appeals to Turnus in *Aen.* 11.365 f.:

en supplex venio. miserere tuorum,
pone animos et pulsus abi.

D. PALLAS AND ABHIMANYU

One of the most remarkable parallels between the *Aeneid* and the *Mahābhārata* is that in the characters and roles of two brave young warriors, Pallas and Abhimanyu.⁷³ Pallas, son of Evander, fights under Aeneas, and after an *aristeia* is slain by Turnus; his death is mourned by both Aeneas and Evander. Abhimanyu, son of Arjuna, fights at the request of Yudhiṣṭhira, and after an *aristeia* is slain by six warriors, but Duryodhana is considered responsible for his death; he is mourned by both Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna.⁷⁴

The death of Pallas and its results form a most significant and

⁷² Cf., e.g., *Mhb.* i.lxi.16–17; v.lviii.9; cxlii.3 (spoken by Karṇa himself); vi.xlix.10–12; xcvi.1–2; viii.lxxxiii.34–37; xci.2. When only two advisers are named with Duryodhana, Karṇa is regularly included: cf. i.cxxix.40; ccvii.28–29; iii.cccxiv.6.

⁷³ Lallemant (above, note 34) 273 ff. Cf. also E. Lévêque, *Les mythes et les légendes de l'Inde et de la Perse* (Paris 1880) 435 ff. Lallemant agrees with Lévêque on Pallas and Abhimanyu, but rejects his other parallels (cf. Lallemant, 263, note 1).

⁷⁴ He is mourned also by his mother Subhadrā, and later (in Book xi) by his young bride Uttarā.

tragic portion of the *Aeneid* (cf. 10.503 ff.). Prescott considers Pallas "the ideal youth of the poem" and says:

The premature and tragic death of the young fellow in the war . . . is made to enrich the pathetic effects of the battle scenes even up to the duel at the very end of the poem.⁷⁵

Wheeler writes in a similar vein concerning Abhimanyu:

The story of the death of Abhimanyu, and the tragical incidents which followed, forms, perhaps, one of the most touching events in the history of the war. . . . The main story is painfully pathetic. The boy bridegroom had been cowardly overpowered and slaughtered after performing prodigies of valour; and the beauty and sweetness of his countenance in death excited the pity of all who beheld him.⁷⁶

Pallas differs from Abhimanyu in two minor respects: he is unmarried,⁷⁷ and he falls in his first day of fighting (cf. *Aen.* 10.508), whereas Abhimanyu is prominent in the battles when Bhīṣma is commander-in-chief of the Kauravas.⁷⁸ His *aristeia* in *Mahābhārata* vii, however, is the important one, and it is preceded by a description of the youth which makes his brave deeds and death all the more effective; cf. vii.xxxiv.8–10:

All those illustrious qualities that are present mostly in Kṛṣṇa and in the Pāṇḍavas, all those qualities were to be seen combined in Abhimanyu. Abhimanyu was equal to Yudhiṣṭhira in patience, to Kṛṣṇa in conduct, to Bhīma of terrible deeds in his achievements. He was equal to Dhanamjaya [=Arjuna] in beauty of person, prowess, and scriptural knowledge; and to Nakula and Sahadeva in humility.⁷⁹

Abhimanyu, sent by Yudhiṣṭhira to check the advance of Droṇa and his troops (xxxv.12–20) fights furiously, "achieving

⁷⁵ Prescott (above, note 8) 471, 438.

⁷⁶ Wheeler (above, note 41) 319.

⁷⁷ For the wedding of Abhimanyu and Uttarā, see *Mhb.* iv.lxxii.12–35. Abhimanyu was slain in the seventh month of the marriage; cf. xi.xx.28.

⁷⁸ Cf., e.g., *Mhb.* vi.xlv.15 ff.; xlvii.7 ff.; lv.7 ff.; lviii.24; lx.23–24; lxi.6–11; lxxiii.24–37; lxxx.21–31; ci; cii.1–34; cxvii.1–6 (against Duryodhana).

⁷⁹ The detailed description of an important character just before he plays his major role in the action is paralleled by Vergil's procedure in the *Aeneid*: cf. Nisus and Euryalus in 9.176 ff. (first mention, 5.294 ff.), Drances in 11.336 ff. (first mention, 11.122 ff.), Camilla in 11.539 ff. (first mention, 7.803 ff.). But in the case of Abhimanyu, his outstanding qualities had been announced also at the time of his birth; cf. *Mhb.* i.ccxiii.64–76.

superhuman feats" (xli.3) and slaying thousands of warriors; finally he is surrounded by six car-warriors and slain (xlix; cf. xxxiii.20); the contest is unequal and therefore unfair (cf. xlix.22; lii.6).

Pallas is mourned both by Aeneas (*Aen.* 11.42–58), for whom he was fighting, and by his father Evander (11.152–81), and these expressions of grief seem typically Vergilian and illustrate well what has been termed "la prédominance de la sensibilité et de l'émotivité."⁸⁰ Eichhoff says of Evander's speech: "le discours du prince arcadien n'a point de modèle dans Homère."⁸¹ We do have, however, striking similarities between the speeches of Aeneas and Evander and the laments, first by Yudhiṣṭhira who had sent Abhimanyu into the fight against Droṇa (*Mhb.* vii.li), and then by the youth's father Arjuna (vii.lxxii f.). Following Lallemant, I shall paraphrase the relevant material in parallel columns.

SPEECH OF YUDHIṢṬHIRA
(*Mhb.* vii.li)

4–7. Attempting to help me, he forced back the troops of Droṇa and met his death.

8–12. I am responsible to his parents for the death of a mere boy.

13. Bravery of Abhimanyu.

21. Neither victory nor kingdom nor immortality give me joy.

SPEECH OF AENEAS
(*Aen.* 11.42 ff.)

42–44. Fortune begrudged that you should see my kingdom and return home as victor.

45–55. Not these were the promises I gave to his father . . . we escort the *iuvenem exanimum*.

55–57. Bravery of Pallas; not defeated *pudendis vulneribus*.⁸²

Cf. below, end of Evander's speech.

SPEECH OF ARJUNA
(*Mhb.* vii.lxxii f.)

lxxii.32–34. If my son is dead, I will go to regions of death; 35–38. I will enjoy no peace.

SPEECH OF EVANDER
(*Aen.* 11.152 ff.)

cf. 177: *vitam moror invisam Palante perempto*.

⁸⁰ Cf. A. M. Guillemin, *L'originalité de Virgile* (Paris 1931) 95–107.

⁸¹ F. G. Eichhoff, *Études grecques sur Virgile* (Paris 1825) 3.274. He cites (264 f.) as somewhat parallel to Aeneas' speech the grief of Achilles in *Il.* 18.232 ff., 323 ff.; 19.328 ff.

⁸² Cf. the words of Kṛṣṇa in *Mhb.* vii.lxxii.68–70: Abhimanyu has reaped the death desired by heroes, that they may fall in battle facing their enemies.

- 55-56. Arjuna's wife will grieve at son's death. 158 f. Evander's wife fortunate not to be alive to grieve at son's death.
- 77-78. Regrets not having protected his son in battle. 161-63. Regrets not having fought and died in Pallas' place.
- 79-81. Blames others for failing to protect his son. But better to blame himself. 164-66. Does not blame Trojans; this fate in store for Evander.
- lxxiii.13-14 (spoken by Yudhiṣṭhira). Praise of Abhimanyu; killed thousands of horses, men, elephants (cf. xlix.37-39). 166-68. Praise of Pallas; killed thousands of Volscians.
- 20-21. Arjuna will avenge death of son.⁸³ 176-80. Evander wants Aeneas to avenge both son and father.
- Cf. above, end of lament of Yudhiṣṭhira. 180-81. *non vitae gaudia quaero, nec fas, sed gnato manīs perferre sub imos.*

It is surprising to find here, not merely the same expressions of grief, but a similar sequence of ideas with Aeneas' lament paralleling in general that of Yudhiṣṭhira, and Evander's speech following even more closely that of Arjuna. The two Latin speeches have a greater resemblance to the two laments in the *Mahābhārata* than to anything in the earlier Graeco-Roman tradition; in addition, Arjuna's speech reveals the same "heureuse alliance de l'heroïsme avec la sensibilité paternelle," which has been mentioned as characteristic of Evander's lament in the *Aeneid*.⁸⁴

Arjuna's lament is followed by that of Subhadrā, Abhimanyu's mother. Lallemand does not discuss this, since Pallas has no mother to mourn his death. The speech is important for us to consider, however; just as Aeneas' lament parallels that of Yudhiṣṭhira and Evander's that of Arjuna, so the grieving words of Euryalus' mother in *Aeneid* ix have definite similarities in thought and expression to those of Subhadrā.⁸⁵

⁸³ Arjuna here refers to killing Jayadratha, king of the Sindhus, who had been instrumental in preventing aid from being brought to Abhimanyu. But cf. the words of Yudhiṣṭhira in li.19-20: Arjuna, filled with rage at the death of his son, will destroy the Kauravas. Duryodhana will give up his life.

⁸⁴ Eichhoff (above, note 81) 3.274.

⁸⁵ Cf. Lévêque (above, note 73) 432 ff., who suggests the parallel and quotes Subhadrā's speech.

SPEECH OF SUBHADRĀ
(*Mhb.* vii.lxxviii)

2. Why did you go into battle?
How could you perish?

3-8. Your beauty is soiled with
dust of battlefield. Accustomed
to beds with precious coverlets,
you lie prostrate surrounded by
jackals and flesheaters.

9. By whom have you been slain
like one helpless?

10. My desire for looking at you
is not satiated. I shall go today
to regions of death.

16. You were like a "hoard of
treasure" to me.

SPEECH OF EURYALUS' MOTHER
(*Aen.* 9.481 ff.)

481-84. Do I see you thus?
Were you able to leave me, alone,
with no opportunity for farewell?

485-89. You lie in an unknown
land, the plunder for dogs and
birds; nor will you have the robe
on which I was toiling night and
day.

490-92. What land now holds
your mangled limbs and dis-
membered body?

493-97. Pierce me with your
weapons, Rutulians; Jupiter, send
me to Tartarus; otherwise I can-
not end this cruel life.

cf. 481 f.: *seneclae sera meae requies.*

These similarities are all the more impressive since no definite model has been suggested for the lament of Euryalus' mother.⁸⁶

The death of Abhimanyu is connected with the later fate of Duryodhana as is Pallas' death with that of Turnus (and, in the *Iliad*, Patroclus' death with Achilles' vengeful slaying of Hector). Although Duryodhana does not himself slay Abhimanyu, as Turnus kills Pallas, yet the responsibility is his, and he is conscious of his guilt; cf. his words in *Mhb.* ix.v.20: "That fire can never be extinguished. Peace with them is impossible on account of the death of Abhimanyu." At the time of Pallas' death, Vergil writes (*Aen.* 10.503 ff.):

Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque
oderit.

⁸⁶ See J. L. Heller, "Vergil's Sources in *Aen.* ix, 481-497," *PAPA* 66 (1935) xxvii f., who speaks of three possible sources: (1) rhetorical devices to arouse pity, (2) the actions and words of Andromache at the news of the death of Hector (*Il.* 22.437-515), and (3) real life and especially the folk-lament known as the *nenia*. Cf. also Cartault (above, note 9) 702, note 10; he analyzes *Aen.* 9.481 ff. and *Il.* 22.437 ff. and concludes: "en somme les deux morceaux sont différents."

At the end of the poem, when Aeneas is about to spare Turnus, he sees the swordbelt of Pallas and cries in anger (12.948 f.):

Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.

Similarly, when Duryodhana is defeated by Bhīma, Kṛṣṇa says (*Mhb.* ix.lxi.46):

Causing Abhimanyu, who was a child and alone, to be surrounded by many, you did kill that hero. For this sin, O sinful wretch, you are slain.

Hector is slain for the killing of Patroclus, Duryodhana for that of Abhimanyu, Turnus for that of Pallas, but in both the Sanskrit epic and the *Aeneid* the defeat and death of the chief antagonist are embedded more firmly in the warrior's psychology;⁸⁷ in other words, as Pallas resembles Abhimanyu far more closely than he resembles Patroclus, so the parallels between Turnus and Duryodhana in both word and deed seem more significant than those between Turnus and any Homeric model or models.⁸⁸ I do not, of course, deny Vergil's use of Homeric material nor do I reject the many similarities between the *Aeneid* and the Homeric epics which have been pointed out and discussed over the years. The important thing is that Vergil's presentation of character and event has apparently been enriched by his tapping an epic source which most Vergilian scholars have thus far neglected.

E. TURNUS AND DURYODHANA

As Aeneas and Turnus are opposed in Vergil's epic, Aeneas being famed for *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas* and Turnus characterized by *furor*, *ira*, and *violentia*, so in the *Mahābhārata* the characters of the two leaders, Yudhiṣṭhira and Duryodhana, differ in every respect. Yudhiṣṭhira is "a pattern of justice, integrity, calm passionless composure, chivalrous honour, and cold heroism," and Duryodhana is regarded as "a visible type of

⁸⁷ Turnus does not die merely because he has slain Pallas but because of his arrogant words and action; see above, 87 f. Similarly, Duryodhana dies not merely because he is responsible for the death of Abhimanyu and Arjuna's grief, but because of his earlier insolent treatment of Draupadī and Bhīma's vow of vengeance. In the *Aeneid* death of a young warrior and insolence concern the same person (Pallas), but in the *Mahābhārata* they apply to two people (death of Abhimanyu, insult to Draupadī); see below, 109.

⁸⁸ For similarities between Turnus and the heroes of the *Iliad*, see above, 81 ff.

Vice, or the evil principle in human nature, for ever doing battle with Virtue, or the good and divine principle, symbolized by the five sons of Pāṇḍu.”⁸⁹

Although Turnus has been regarded as symbolic of the demonic fury of war, he is not portrayed by Vergil as evil, and in this respect he is unlike Duryodhana who is regularly described as sinful and unrighteous,⁹⁰ as a “man of wicked purpose, who has abandoned virtue and who is cruel and sinful” (*Mhb.* v.lxxxviii.22). Even his father Dhṛtarāṣṭra accuses him of inhuman conduct, covetousness, lack of humility, and wicked intentions (v.cxxx.34; cxlix.35).

But Duryodhana has other traits which are likewise stressed, and these are the characteristics of Turnus—rashness, arrogance, anger. Dhṛtarāṣṭra says that his son “was angry by nature” (ix.xxxii.1).⁹¹ When urged by his father and others to make peace, Duryodhana rose in anger and left the assembly (v.cxxviii.25), and later he treated the appeal of his mother with equal contempt and went away “fired with wrath” (v.cxxx.1). He is repeatedly described as “wrathful,” “highly enraged,” “under the influence of wrath.”⁹² Thus Vergil depicts Turnus; cf. *Aen.* 9.694: *immani concitus ira*. Duryodhana represents the same *amor ferri et scelerata insania belli, ira super*, the same *furor caedisque insana cupido* which Vergil ascribes to Turnus (*Aen.* 7.461 f.; 9.760); his personality in this regard provides a closer model for Turnus than does that of Achilles.

This parallel is only the first of many which emerge from the actions and words of the two warriors. Each is blamed for the war and held responsible for the deaths of his troops;⁹³ each,

⁸⁹ Williams (above, note 41) 19, 20. Dutt (above, note 36) 331 describes Duryodhana as “proud and unyielding.”

⁹⁰ Certain epithets appear again and again; for “wicked,” “wicked-minded,” “wicked-souled,” cf., e.g., i.cxxviii.26, 45, 46, 47; ii.ccxli.19; v.lxxxviii.19; xcii.3; cxxiv.6; vii.cxxviii.50, 51; for “sinful,” cf., e.g., iii.ccxli.20; iv.xxi.6–7; v.cxxx.29; vi.xlix.10–12; ix.xxvii.10; xxx.48; lvi.18, 19. In iii.ccxlvi.1–4, he is called “the proud, wicked, boastful, vicious, insolent, and wretched Duryodhana.”

⁹¹ Cf. v.lvii.43 (cited above), where Dhṛtarāṣṭra says: “My son raves like a maniac.”

⁹² For “wrathful,” cf. v.cxxv.1, 18; cxxviii.22; cxxix.16; for “enraged,” cf. vii.xxviii.3; lvi.7, 14; for “under the influence of wrath,” cf. v.cxxv.9; cxxviii.30–31; vi.lxcv.1; vii.clxxxvi.1, etc.

⁹³ Cf. the words of Yudhiṣṭhira in *Mhb.* ix.xxxi. 16, 23–24, 27–28 (you “caused all your troops and brothers to be killed”). For similar criticisms of Turnus, see above, note 28.

on next to the final day of fighting, is urged to make peace⁹⁴ and refuses. I pointed out above that Turnus' fatal mistakes have been considered to be two in number: his taking up arms against the Trojans and later his refusal to make peace.⁹⁵ Duryodhana likewise is rash and impetuous; he "never listens to good words" (*Mhb.* v.cxxiv.3-4). Before the outbreak of the fighting Dhṛtarāṣṭra tells him that he will suffer a heavy calamity if he does not conclude peace with the Pāṇḍavas (v.lviii.27); cf. the similar words of Latinus in *Aen.* 7.596 f.:

te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit
supplicium, votisque deos venerabere seris.

Even after seventeen days of fighting Duryodhana speaks of the numerical superiority of the Kauravas and maintains that they can win (*Mhb.* ix.iii.51); likewise Turnus reminds Drances that the Latins are strong, even without the hoped-for aid from Diomedes, and implies that Fortune will bring victory (*Aen.* 11.421-33). Duryodhana is thus guilty of the same twofold error that is committed by Turnus.

Turnus suffers from a sense of guilt. When lured on board ship by the phantom of Aeneas, he blames himself for the *nefas* of abandoning his men and wants the earth to open wide for him (*Aen.* 10.672-76); because of this *dedecus* (681) he attempts to commit suicide but is prevented by Juno (680-86). Later, he vehemently denies Drances' accusation of cowardice (11.383-98) but of his three suggestions, the one in which he declares himself willing to face Aeneas (11.434-44) is the third and is expressed with apparent reluctance; cf. 434 f.:

quod si me solum Teucri in certamina poscunt
idque placet tantumque bonis communibus obsto . . .

When the truce is broken and the single combat is impossible, Turnus seems delighted (12.325: *subita spe fervidus ardet*) and rages furiously over the battlefield. Unlike Aeneas who wishes to abide by the terms of the agreement and endeavors to find him (466 f., 481-99, 557 f.; cf. 570 f.), he evinces no desire to fight Aeneas. Amata, not seeing Turnus, considers him dead and

⁹⁴ *Mhb.* ix.iv. 6-51 (appeal of Kṛpa); *Aen.* 12.18-45 (appeal of Latinus).

⁹⁵ See above, 85, and note 20.

commits suicide. As he hears the distant uproar and confusion Turnus again feels guilty (cf. *nostrum dedecus*, 641) and says to Juturna in 644 f.:

dextra nec Drancis dicta refellam?
terga dabo et Turnum fugientem haec terra videbit?

Saces arrives to announce the fall of the city and the death of the queen, and he accuses Turnus with these words (664):

tu currum deserto in gramine versas.

Turnus deserts his sister, declaring that she will no longer see him acting dishonorably; cf. 678–80:

stat conferre manum Aeneae, stat, quidquid acerbi est,
morte pati, neque me indecorem, germana, videbis
amplius.

He rejoins his forces and declares himself ready for the single combat.

The portrayal of Turnus' character, as revealed in this sequence of words and deeds, finds little in the *Iliad* that is comparable,⁹⁶ and it has usually been viewed as Vergil's own contribution to the complex character of Aeneas' opponent. But here again the similarities between Turnus and Duryodhana are amazing.

Duryodhana, overcome by grief, shame, and humiliation, attempts suicide; in an earlier stage of the narrative, before the outbreak of the Great War, Duryodhana and the Kauravas were defeated and captured by the Gandharvas (*Mhb.* iii.ccxli.10–11) but the Pāṇḍavas came to their assistance and rescued them; Yudhiṣṭhira sent Duryodhana home with his brothers (ccxlv.22, 23). Afflicted with shame and humiliation because he has been helped by the very enemies whom he has persecuted,⁹⁷ Duryodhana wishes "to enter the earth" (ccxlviii.5) and determines to

⁹⁶ In *Il.* 18.32 ff., when Achilles mourns the death of Patroclus, Antilochus holds his hand, fearing that he may cut his throat with a knife; in *Aen.* 10.680 ff. Turnus actually attempts suicide. In *Il.* 17.166 ff., Glaucus tells Hector that he did not have the courage to meet Ajax in battle; cf. 170–82, in which Hector angrily denies the accusation of cowardice. But Duryodhana, like Turnus, is charged with fear of meeting his chief opponent—a closer parallel; see below, 108.

⁹⁷ Cf. ccxlviii.6–9: "Alas, they that were ever persecuted by me, they that were my everlasting enemies, released me from captivity! Wretch that I am, I am indebted to them for my life! O hero, if I had met with my death in that great battle, that would have been far better than that I have obtained my life in this way." See also ccxlv.5; ccxlviii.20.

commit suicide; he will die of starvation, and he persists in his resolution in spite of the appeals of his three advisers, Duṣṣāsana, Karna, and Sakuni; cf. ccl.14–15: “I am firmly resolved to abandon my life by fasting.” The attempted suicide is brought to a close only by divine intervention (ccl.21–30; ccli.1–31). Although the motivating circumstances and the methods of suicide attempted by Turnus and Duryodhana differ, the emotions which lead each warrior to contemplate death are similar.⁹⁸

As the bloody slaughter of the Great War continues from day to day, Duryodhana is often overcome with despair and a sense of guilt. He says in vii.cl.17, 19:

Coward that I am I have caused this great slaughter of my friends
 . . . I have fallen from virtue . . . why does not the earth yield me a
 hole (to bury me in)!⁹⁹

In spite of the fact that he is a ferocious fighter, on more than one occasion he is accused of cowardice and of fleeing from the enemy; cf. vii.clxvi.56–58, where Saṃjaya says to Dhṛtarāṣṭra: “Your son, then afraid of Bhīma, took to flight.”¹⁰⁰ When Turnus, brave warrior that he is, prefers in *Aeneid* xii to slay others rather than to face Aeneas, we have an interesting parallel to Duryodhana’s fear of Bhīma, who in the final combat has the role of Aeneas in that he kills the leader of the Kauravas. Duryodhana himself makes an important admission in *Mhb.* viii.xciii.17: “If I fight in the rear of my army forsooth the sons of Kuntī will not be able to approach me.” In Book ix his horses and drivers are slain and he retreats; as a result of not fighting with the others he is thought to be dead (xxv.37), just as Amata believes Turnus to be dead (*Aen.* 12.595–99).

After the destruction of his forces Duryodhana flees to the magic

⁹⁸ Lallemant (above, note 34) 271 does not mention Duryodhana’s attempted suicide but cites that of Arjuna in viii.lxx.22–28, which was prevented by Kṛṣṇa; Arjuna in a fit of anger had threatened to kill his brother, the “pious king” Yudhiṣṭhira, and then was overcome by remorse. As a parallel to Turnus’ emotional reaction, it seems less apt than Duryodhana’s desire for death.

⁹⁹ Cf. Turnus in *Aen.* 10.672–76; in 12.638 ff., he refers to the deaths of Murranus and Ufens and the capture of the city, and asks (646): *usque adeone mori miserum est?* So Duryodhana in *Mhb.* ix.xxix.50: “Shorn of friends, deprived of sons and brothers, and seeing his kingdom taken by the Pāṇḍavas, who is there like me that would desire to live?”

¹⁰⁰ Even before the outbreak of the eighteen days’ war, Arjuna accuses Duryodhana as follows: “Why do you take to your heels? . . . Where is your persistence in battle-time? . . . You run away leaving the battlefield” (iv.lxv.16, 18).

lake for protection. He is urged to return and fight by Kṛpa and the two other surviving Kaurava leaders (*Mhb.* ix.xxx.10–11),¹⁰¹ and also by Yudhiṣṭhira; the latter's words contain a more bitter indictment of cowardice than appears in any of the reproaches directed at Turnus in the *Aeneid*; cf. *Mhb.* ix.xxxi.17–31:

Why have you entered into this lake today, with a view to save your own life? Arise, O king, and fight us. . . . Where has your sense of honor now gone? . . . Arise, O king, and fight. . . . Remember your birth. . . . Having caused all your troops and brothers to be killed, you should not, if you are an honest man, think now of saving your life. . . . How is it that you prefer flight from the field? . . . Where is that manliness of yours? Where is your pride? Where is your prowess and energy gone?

Duryodhana consents to fight one of the Pāṇḍavas in single combat; the details leading to the final conflict with Bhīma and his death resemble so closely the concluding portion of *Aeneid* xii that they have been reserved for the structural analysis in the next section (*Mahābhārata* ix and *Aeneid* xii in parallel columns).

One final topic demands our attention before we conclude our treatment of the characters of the two leaders—the extent to which each pays the penalty for his misdeeds. In Vergil's epic, the victory of Aeneas and the Trojans over Turnus and his forces is part of the destined plan for the later glory of Rome; similarly, in the *Mahābhārata*, the Pāṇḍavas are aided by Fate and all is foreordained (cf. I.cciv.5; VI.xv.5–6). But Turnus is guilty of *ira* and *violencia* in the war, and especially of *superbia* when he slays Pallas; and Duryodhana likewise bears the blame for the conflict but he dies for his crimes,¹⁰² and specifically for two deeds

¹⁰¹ The deaths of all the Kaurava leaders except Kṛpa, Aśvatthāman, and Kṛtavarma were foreseen by Karṇa; cf. his dream in v. cxliii.30 ff.: the three named above had white garments and white head-dresses as did the Pāṇḍavas, but all the other Kauravas had blood-colored head-dresses and were going to the abode of Yama. This interesting passage could be a later insertion, but in view of the unity and coherence with which the main events of the epic nucleus are presented, Karṇa's dream seems more likely an excellent bit of foreshadowing.

¹⁰² The summary given in ix.lxi.39–46 includes the attempted poisoning of Bhīma, the burning of the house of lac, robbing the Pāṇḍavas of their kingdom by gambling, the insult to Draupadī, the death of Abhimanyu; cf. vii.cxxxii.10–18; ix.xxxiii.41–48; lvi.21–23. Since Duryodhana acted through the evil counsels of Karṇa, Duṣṣāṇa, and Śakuni, most of the evil deeds are also ascribed to them; cf. viii.lxxxiii.34–37 (Duṣṣāṇa); xci.1–11 (Karṇa); the death of Abhimanyu is included in the list of Karṇa's crimes.

—the death of the youthful hero Abhimanyu, and the insult to Draupadī in 11.lxxi.11–12.¹⁰³ On this occasion, Bhīma had vowed to break the thigh of Duryodhana (11.lxxi.14) and the single combat in 1x ends with the fulfilment of the vow (1viii.45–47); at the time of the insult Dhṛtarāṣṭra had prophesied that Duryodhana would pay the penalty for his action (11.lxxi.25), just as Vergil, immediately after the death of Pallas, foreshadows the later regret of Turnus for what he has done (*Aen.*10.501–5). The death of Abhimanyu and the insult to Draupadī are leit-motifs running throughout the *Mahābhārata* to the end of the war and the death of Duryodhana.¹⁰⁴

An appeal to the traditions of epic narrative or to the workings of chance can hardly explain the many parallels in the main characters of the two epics—Aeneas and the Pāṇḍavas, Latinus and Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Drances and Karna, and especially Pallas and Abhimanyu, Turnus and Duryodhana. If from some unknown source, written or oral, Vergil has succeeded in acquiring a fairly detailed knowledge of the epic nucleus of the *Mahābhārata*, many of the curious and non-Homeric features in the complex character of Turnus can be explained as being derived from the brilliant but somewhat contradictory delineation of Duryodhana. But, as is always his procedure, Vergil selects, combines, transfers, and unifies. In the *Mahābhārata*, the tragic death of a young hero and the insolent treatment of a character are related only to the extent that they are the two major crimes for which Duryodhana dies. Vergil with far greater artistry blends the death of the young hero and the insolence of the major opponent in the one person Pallas, and thereby gives his narrative a unity which the *Mahābhārata* lacks. Also, by eliminating the more evil and unrighteous aspects of Duryodhana's character and by stressing merely his rash, arrogant, and wrathful nature, Vergil has produced in Turnus a more human and a more sympathetic character.

However much Turnus, with his sense of responsibility for the death of his comrades, his feeling of guilt because he has committed the wrong or dishonorable act, his unwillingness to fight

¹⁰³ The insult consisted not only of words but in displaying his thigh to Draupadī; hence the appropriateness of Bhīma's vow.

¹⁰⁴ The references to the treatment of Draupadī are especially numerous; cf., e.g., v.xc.50; cxviii.8–9; vii.cxxxii.12–14; cxxxvii.41–44; viii.lxxxiii.34–37; xci.2; ix.xxxiii.42.

where and when he should, resembles Duryodhana, he is, if not a more memorable character, at least a less melodramatic one. From the standpoint of psychological motivation he becomes a superior person and one worthy to be the tragic antagonist of the great and symbolic hero Aeneas.

IV

In *Aeneid* vii war breaks out, and viii contains Aeneas' trip to the site of Rome—the most intensely national book of the entire poem.¹⁰⁵ Books ix–xii, comprising the final third of the epic, are devoted to the story of Turnus and to the actual fighting between the Trojans (aided by Greeks and Etruscans) and the Latins (supported by Rutulians and other Italian allies). These four books end as follows: ix with the defeat (but not the death) of Turnus, the remaining three books each with the defeat and death of a major warrior, Mezentius, Camilla, and Turnus respectively. This structure is not Homeric but has an almost exact parallel in the *Mahābhārata*. Book v of the Sanskrit epic is devoted to preliminary negotiations and the outbreak of the war; the next four books describe the actual fighting between the Pāṇḍavas (and their allies) and the Kauravas (and their allies), which extends through eighteen days of battles.¹⁰⁶ Book vi closes with the defeat and wounding (but not the actual death) of Bhīṣma, vii and viii conclude with the defeat and death of Droṇa and Karṇa respectively; ix ends with the single combat between Bhīma and Duryodhana and the defeat and wounding of the latter; he dies on the following day after learning of the successful night expedition of Aśvatthāman, son of Droṇa.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ The description of early Rome and the historical scenes on the shield culminating in the victory and triumphs of Augustus provide a fitting conclusion to the central, more Roman and Augustan portion of the poem in v–viii; see above, note 2.

¹⁰⁶ Lallemand (above, note 34) 264 refers to the chronological table of *Aeneid* viii–xii as given by Heinze (above, note 8) 342, and points out that the events of the war in Vergil's epic also take place in a period of eighteen days. This, however, seems a false analogy; the chronology in the *Aeneid* includes a twelve day truce (cf. *Aen.* 11.133), whereas in the *Mahābhārata* there are eighteen days of battles. In its few days devoted to actual fighting, the *Aeneid* resembles more closely the *Iliad*. Also, Heinze's total of eighteen days includes *Aeneid* viii, which has no counterpart in the *Mahābhārata*. For discussions of the time element in Vergil after Heinze, see G. E. Duckworth, "The Chronology in *Aeneid* viii–x," *AJP* 59 (1938) 135–44 and bibliography cited therein; Büchner (above, note 1) 390 f.

¹⁰⁷ See below, note 110.

What is more surprising, an examination, book by book, of the major events of the war in each epic reveals numerous other important similarities, all presented in approximately the same sequence.¹⁰⁸ Vergil takes over much from Homer in character, episode, and expression, but adaptations coming from different parts of the *Iliad* appear side by side, and he does not follow the structural pattern of the Greek poem. His procedure in the case of the *Mahābhārata*—we are now assuming that he knew the Sanskrit epic, for, if he did not, we are dealing with an incredible series of impossible or at least highly improbable coincidences—is somewhat different; not only does he model his main characters, Aeneas, Latinus, Pallas, and Turnus, far more closely upon their Sanskrit prototypes, but he presents the course of the war in Latium from book to book in a pattern that resembles the plan of the Great War in India almost more than one would deem possible, considering the many differences in the natures and purposes of the two conflicts.

I shall arrange this material in parallel columns. Several items concerning the major characters, as noted above in the previous section, have been incorporated in this structural analysis when they appear in the same relative position in the development of the actions.

The *Mahābhārata*

Book V

Pāṇḍavas return from exile to receive kingdom promised to them by Kauravas.

Pāṇḍavas desire peace (even willing to give up most of kingdom).

Embassies to Kauravas.

Aged king Dhṛtarāṣṭra wants peace (supported by Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Vidūra, and others).

Duryodhana, urged by evil advisers, resolves on war.

The *Aeneid*

Book VII

Trojans come to Latium to receive land promised to them by Fate.

Trojans desire peace.

Embassy to Latinus.

Aged king Latinus wants peace, makes alliance with Trojans.

Turnus, inspired by Allecto, resolves on war.

¹⁰⁸ Lallemand (above, note 34) 265 equates *Mahābhārata* vi with *Aeneid* ix and x, *Mahābhārata* vii and viii with *Aeneid* xi; this is unfortunate as it blurs the closeness of the parallels which appear in *Mahābhārata* vii and *Aeneid* x.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra helpless, but foresees disaster for Duryodhana.	Latinus helpless, but foresees disaster for Turnus.
Preparations for conflict.	Preparations for conflict.
Catalogue of warriors on each side. ¹⁰⁹	Catalogue of Latin warriors. ¹⁰⁹

[Book VIII. Aeneas to Rome]

Book VI

Troops before combat.

Ganges simile.^{109a}[Cf. night expedition of Aśvat-thāman in Book x.]¹¹⁰

Cf. lament of Subhadrā for Abhimanyu in vii.

Book IX

Troops before combat.

Ganges simile.^{109a}Night expedition of Nisus and Euryalus.¹¹⁰

Euryalus mourned by his mother.

¹⁰⁹ Certain similarities between these two books are inevitable, as outbreaks of war are usually preceded by embassy scenes and followed by an enumeration of the warriors involved; they take on added significance, however, in the light of the numerous other parallels which emerge as we trace the main events of each war. The catalogues of the Kauravas (in v.cxcvii) and the Pāṇḍavas (in cxcviii) are relatively short (cf. the longer list of the Pāṇḍavas and their standards in vii.xxiii), and they have no such relationship to the Vergilian catalogue in *Aeneid* vii (and the catalogue of Etruscan ships in *Aen.* 10.163 ff.) as do the two Homeric catalogues in *Iliad* 2. But it is surprising that the list of Pāṇḍavas in *Mhb.* vii.xxiii fits into the structural analysis in the same relative position as does Vergil's catalogue of ships; see below, *Mahābhārata* vii and *Aeneid* x.

^{109a} See below, 118 ff.

¹¹⁰ The episode of Nisus and Euryalus in *Aeneid* ix is inspired in part by the *Doloneia* in *Iliad* x (cf., e.g., Cartault [above, note 9] 666 ff.), in part by the *Rhesus* (cf. B. C. Fenik, *The Influence of Euripides on Vergil's Aeneid* [Princeton, 1960, micro-filmed dissertation] 69 ff.). The motivation of the episode in Homer is not to destroy a sleeping enemy, but, on the part of the Greeks, to catch a straggler or hear some rumor of the Trojan plans (*Il.* 10.204 ff.), on the part of the Trojans, to learn whether the Greeks are guarding their ships or preparing flight (10.308 ff.). The fact that Rhesus and the Thracians are asleep is stressed in 10.420–25, 471, 474; cf. *Rhesus*, 763 ff. Nisus and Euryalus leave the Trojan camp supposedly to get a message through to the absent Aeneas, but in reality to win fame by killing the Rutulians who lie *somno vinoque soluti* (*Aen.* 9.189; cf. 164 f., 236, 316 f.). In *Mahābhārata* x, Aśvatthāman, son of Droṇa, avenges his father's death by slaying at night Dhṛṣṭadyumna and the Pañcālas who are asleep and relaxed after the destruction of the Kauravas in ix. The wild disorder in the camp (cf. *Mhb.* x.i.60–63), which Fenik finds characteristic of the *Rhesus*, and the slaughter of an enemy asleep from exhaustion and over-confidence may also have influenced Vergil's night expedition; for the numerous references to the sleeping Pañcālas and their confusion when attacked, cf. x.iii.25–27, 35; iv.33; v.13, 27, 40; viii. 11, 39, 84–98, 142, 145, 150. See also Lévêque (above, note 73) 423 ff., who compares several specific passages, e.g. *Mhb.* x.iii.2–3, 17, 25 and *Aen.* 9.184–91; *Mhb.* x.viii.6–8 and *Aen.* 9.320–23; *Mhb.* x.viii.133 (the blood "flowed in streams") and *Aen.* 9.456 (*plenos spumanti sanguine rivos*).

Kauravas have advantage.

Latins have advantage.

Kṛṣṇa aids Pāṇḍavas.

Mars aids Trojans.

Great deeds of Bhīṣma.

Great deeds of Turnus.

Bhīṣma wounded by storm of arrows (end of vi).

Turnus overwhelmed by storm of arrows; driven from camp in defeat (end of ix).

Bhīṣma still alive after end of war.¹¹¹

Turnus killed at end of xii.

Book VII

Book X

Catalogue of Pāṇḍavas with their standards rushing at Droṇa (xxiii).

Catalogue of Etruscan ships coming against Turnus.

Abhimanyu sent into battle by Yudhiṣṭhira.

Pallas enters battle under Aeneas.

Brave deeds of Abhimanyu.

Brave deeds of Pallas.

Death of Abhimanyu (important for later death of Duryodhana).

Death of Pallas (important for later death of Turnus).

Abhimanyu mourned by Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna.¹¹²

Cf. laments of Aeneas and Evander in xi.¹¹²

Abhimanyu mourned by his mother Subhadrā.¹¹³

Cf. lament of mother of Euryalus in ix.¹¹³

Duryodhana regrets death of friends and wants to enter the earth (cl.17, 19).

Turnus on ship regrets death of friends and desires earth to open for him.

[Cf. iii.ccxlviii–ccli.

Turnus attempts suicide and is prevented by Juno.

Duryodhana attempts suicide and is prevented by divinities.]

Fighting of Droṇa.

Fighting of Mezentius.

Grief of Droṇa at supposed death of son Aśvatthāman (cxci.59; xcii.1, 10–11).

Grief of Mezentius at death of son Lausus.

¹¹¹ In xii and xiii Bhīṣma is the mouthpiece for long discourses (e.g. rules of conduct, duties of kings) added at a later date; his death and cremation are described in xiii.clxviii; cf. 6: "The vital airs, restrained and unable to escape through any of the outlets, at last passed through the crown of his head and proceeded upwards to Heaven."

¹¹² See above, 100 f.

¹¹³ See above, 101 f.

Droṇa does not wish to live.

Droṇa lays down arms and is slain by Dhṛṣṭadyumna at end of vii.¹¹⁴

Mezentius does not wish to live.

Mezentius tries to avenge Lausus and is slain by Aeneas at end of x.

Book VIII

Cf. laments of Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna in vii.

Karṇa has traits of Drances.

Fighting of Karṇa.

Karṇa slain by Arjuna.

Kauravus flee; they no longer desire battle.

Duryodhana, ready to fight, is prevented by sunset.

Book XI

Pallas mourned by Aeneas and Evander.

Drances has traits of Karṇa.

Aristeia of Camilla.

Camilla slain by Arruns.

Rutulians flee; they no longer desire battle.

Turnus, ready to fight, is prevented by sunset.

Book IX¹¹⁵

FINAL DAY OF BATTLE (ix ff.)

iv.6–51. Kṛpa urges Duryodhana to make peace.

v.1–44. Duryodhana refuses.

v.45–49. Kauravas eager to fight.

ix–xxv. Battle rages; deeds of Duryodhana and Pāṇḍavas (also of Śalya, commander-in-chief; death in xvii at hands of Yudhiṣṭhira).

Book XII¹¹⁵

FINAL DAY OF BATTLE (113 ff.)

18–45. Latinus urges Turnus to make peace.

45–53. Turnus refuses.

216–43. Latins eager to fight.

324–553. Battle rages; deeds of Turnus and Aeneas.

¹¹⁴ The death of Droṇa occurs in vii.cxciii; cf. excvii.43 ff., the grief of Arjuna that his old preceptor is slain. The end of vii (ccii–cciv) contains material (e.g. on Yoga) which does not concern the course of the war.

¹¹⁵ The parallels between *Mahābhārata* ix and *Aeneid* xii are numerous and especially convincing since they concern chiefly the roles of the two main opponents, Duryodhana and Turnus. For these two books I follow essentially the excellent summary of Lallemant (above, note 34) 266 ff., who likewise arranges the material in two columns. Since many items listed here refer to specific passages, I have followed Lallemant in citing *śloka*s and lines. The details in *Aeneid* xii which recall the *Iliad* are also numerous, more so than in any other book of Vergil's epic, as Pöschl (above, note 5) 46, points out, and they are drawn especially from the breaking of the truce and from the final combat between Achilles and Hector. These similarities and echoes are noted by Eichhoff (above, note 81) 329–403 and by Cartault (above, note 9) 831–89, but they come from all parts of the *Iliad*; there is no such parallelism in the sequence of events as we find in *Mahābhārata* ix and *Aeneid* xii.

- xxv.21. Duryodhana retreats from battlefield, then (xvii) returns but keeps out of reach of Pāṇḍavas. 468–80. Juturna keeps Turnus out of Aeneas' reach.
- xxvii.2–12. Kṛṣṇa, divine protector of Pāṇḍavas, incites Arjuna to destroy rest of Kauravas. 554–56. Venus, divine protectress of Aeneas, suggests that he attack the city of the Latins.
- xxvii.13–25. Arjuna, angered at Duryodhana, swears to destroy Kauravas and end hostilities. 557–73. Aeneas, angered at Turnus, decides to destroy the city and end hostilities.
- xxvii.26–54; xxviii; xxix.1–14. Kauravas killed. 574–92. City captured.
- Cf. xxv.36 f. Not seeing Duryodhana, warriors think he has been killed. 595–603. Grief of queen. Not seeing Turnus, she thinks he has been killed and commits suicide.
- xxix.64–67. Grief of women in camp of Kauravas. 604–7. Grief of women in city of Latins.
- xxix.73–79. General consternation. 608–11. General consternation.
- xxix.16–18, 24. Duryodhana flees alone from battlefield. 614–16. Turnus alone on the battlefield.
- xxix.50. Duryodhana regrets death of his men and desires to die. 617–49. Turnus regrets death of his men and desires to die.
- xxix.52. Duryodhana enters magic lake for protection. [cf. 9.815 ff. Turnus plunges into the Tiber for protection.]
- xxx.10–13. Three surviving leaders urge Duryodhana to fight. 650–64. Saces urges Turnus to fight.
- xxxi.17–34. Yudhiṣṭhira accuses Duryodhana of lack of courage and unwillingness to fight. 570–71 (Aeneas' words): *scilicet exspectem libeat dum proelia Turno | nostra pati rursusque velit concurrere victus?*
- xxxii.34–41. Duryodhana leaves magic protection of lake to fight in single combat. 676–95. Turnus leaves his divine protectress (Juturna) to fight in single combat.
- xxxv–liv. Single combat delayed by many stories which interrupt the main narrative.¹¹⁶ [Cf. below, 791–842.]

¹¹⁶ The lengthy interruption here is probably the result of stories being added at a later date rather than a deliberate desire for retardation and suspense. A short delaying episode just before the final combat, however, would be appropriate; cf. the reconciliation of Jupiter and Juno (*Aen.* 12.791–842) which interrupts the final duel just when the warriors have recovered their weapons and breathlessly face each other (790: *adsistunt contra certamina Martis anhelī*).

- lv.21, cf. 40–41. Bhīma and Duryodhana, compared to two mountains, face each other before seated spectators. 684–90, 701–7. Turnus, compared to a landslide, and Aeneas, compared to a mountain,¹¹⁷ face each other before spectators.
- lvii.9. Gods and men marvel at the two heroes. 707–9. Latinus marvels at the two heroes.
- lvii.2. Duel begins. Warriors compared to bulls. 710–24. Duel begins. Warriors compared to bulls.¹¹⁸
- lvii–lviii. Description of combat. 728–62. Description of combat.
- lvii.17–18. Bhīma “moved about in beautiful circles, advanced and receded.” 763–64. *quinque orbis explent cursu totidemque retexunt / huc illuc; cf. 743: incertos implicat orbis.*
- [Cf. above, xxxv–liv, and note 116.] 791–842. Single combat delayed by reconciliation of Jupiter and Juno.
- lviii.45–47. Duryodhana falls, his two thighs broken by Bhīma’s mace. 919–27. Turnus falls, his thigh pierced by Aeneas’ spear.
- lviii.48–49, 53. Earth resounds with his fall. Soldiers utter loud cries. 928–29. *consurgunt gemitu Rutuli totusque remugit / mons circum et vocem late nemora alta remittunt.*
- lix.14–19. Emotional reaction of Yudhiṣṭhira toward Duryodhana. 938–41. Emotional reaction of Aeneas toward Turnus.
- lxi.39–45. Kṛṣṇa gives summary of Duryodhana’s evil deeds, including the insolent treatment of Draupadī. 941–46. Aeneas sees swordbelt, a reminder of Turnus’ insolent treatment of Pallas.
- lxi.46. “Causing Abhimanyu, who was a child and alone, to be surrounded by many, you did kill that hero. For this sin, O sinful wretch, you are slain.” 947–49. *tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum / eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas / immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.*

¹¹⁷ Cf. *Il.* 13.754 (Hector compared to a snowy mountain). Lallemand (above, note 34) 267, note 2, points out that in the *Aeneid*, as in the *Mahābhārata*, the image is more developed and names are given to the mountains; cf. *Mhb.* ix.xxxiii.41; lv.18.

¹¹⁸ See Apoll. *Arg.* 2.88 f.; cf. *Georg.* 3.219–36, which Cartault (above, note 9) 882, note 2, suggests as the origin of the simile in *Aen.* 12.715–22. The parallelism with the *Mahābhārata* is striking, even though the Sanskrit poem at this point (lvii.2–8) has many similes, as it does in lv.19–37.

Cf. x.ix.56. Death of Duryodhana. "His soul went to holy heaven, while his body only remained on Earth."

951 f. Death of Turnus. *ast illi solvuntur frigore membra / vitaeque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.*

However much epic narratives of fighting deal with similar events and describe *aristeiai*, deaths of heroes, scenes of mourning, and the like, the structural parallels between *Mahābhārata* v–viii and *Aeneid* vii, ix–xi, are so numerous, book by book, that they can hardly be the result of chance; when we consider in addition the many close similarities in *Mahābhārata* ix and *Aeneid* xii, presented in almost the identical sequence of ideas and events, it seems beyond the bounds of probability that Vergil could have arranged this material, for which in most cases Homeric models are weak or non-existent, in its present form without a fairly detailed knowledge of the epic nucleus of the *Mahābhārata*.

v

When Vergil was at work on the *Aeneid*, trade flourished between India and the West; and embassies came to interview Augustus, meeting him in Spain in 26 or 25 B.C. and at Samos in 21 B.C. Numerous hoards of Roman coins have been found in India, dating from the time of Augustus, and at a site on the Bay of Bengal Italian red-glazed "Arretine" ware of the early first century A.D. has been uncovered.¹¹⁹ All this indicates considerable knowledge of and interest in India among Romans of the Augustan age; we have in this period "a new rapprochement between East and West unparalleled since the time of Alexander."¹²⁰

This rapprochement is reflected in the numerous references to India which appear in the poets of the Augustan age. Vergil and Horace often speak of India in patriotic and political terms, as an enemy to be conquered, e.g., Augustus will extend his *imperium* beyond the borders of India,¹²¹ whereas the elegiac poets

¹¹⁹ See Warmington (above, note 43) 35–41; M. P. Charlesworth, "Roman Trade with India: A Resurvey," in P. R. Coleman-Norton (ed.), *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson* (Princeton 1951) 131–43; Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (Harmondsworth 1954) 141–202. On the embassies from India to Augustus, see *Res gestae divi Augusti*, 5.31.

¹²⁰ Wheeler (above, note 119) 162.

¹²¹ *Aen.* 6.794 f.; cf. 7.605; Horace, *Odes* 1.12.55 f.; 4.14.41 f.; *CS* 55 f. Similarly Propertius in 2.10.15; 3.4.1 f.

in general refer to the luxury items, ivory and precious gems, for which the country was noted.¹²²

One of Vergil's most interesting references to India appears in the simile in *Aen.* 9.30–32, where Turnus' marching army is compared to the river Ganges or the Nile:¹²³

ceu septem surgens sedatis amnibus altus
per tacitum Ganges aut pingui flumine Nilus
cum refluit campis et iam se condidit alveo.

Vergil mentions the Indian river elsewhere only once (*pulcher Ganges*, *Georg.* 2.137) but the Nile more frequently.¹²⁴ The comparison of an army to the Ganges does not occur in earlier classical literature and is considered Vergil's own creation.¹²⁵ But when we turn to the *Mahābhārata* we find numerous similes in which marching armies or two armies clashing are compared to the Ganges: cf. v.cli.53:

And the Pāṇḍavas, moving about, looked like the Gaṅgā troubled by great waves and full to the brim;

and vii.xcv.8:

Clashing against each other, the two armies put forth their exertion, like the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā swelling with water during the rainy season.¹²⁶

¹²² E.g., Tibullus, 2.2.15 f.; Propertius, 1.8.39; 2.22.10; Ovid, *Metam.* 11.167; *Med.* 10; *AA* 3.129 f.; cf. the references to ivory in Vergil, *Georg.* 1.57; *Aen.* 12.67 f.; Horace, *Odes* 1.31.6.

¹²³ This is discussed by Lallemand (above, note 34) 278 ff. For other parallels between the *Aeneid* and the *Mahābhārata* not mentioned above, cf. Lallemand, 275–78; these seem of a minor nature, e.g., Bhīṣma for a short time has his chariot directed by his mother (*Mhb.* v.clxxxiv.16 f.); Turnus has Juturna as his charioteer (*Aen.* 12.468 ff., 623 f.). Lévêque (above, note 73) 441 ff. points out similarities in the death of Cacus in *Aen.* 8.190–270 and Bhīma's slaying of the monster Baka in *Mhb.* i.clxv. Bhīma and Baka tear up trees and hurl them at each other (16–20; cf. *Aen.* 8.250); Bhīma clasps Baka in his arms (22; cf. *Aen.* 8.260), and after killing him places him at one of the gates where he can be observed by the townspeople; overcome by astonishment they offer worship to the gods (clxvi.7–13; cf. *Aen.* 8.262–70). These similarities may be coincidental; in iv.xxii, Bhīma kills Kīcaka for insulting Draupadī; he "got hold of Kīcaka's throat with his arms and began to squeeze it" (76); cf. Hercules in *Aen.* 8.260 f.: *angit inhaerens elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur.*

¹²⁴ *Georg.* 3.28 f.: *undantem bello magnumque fluentum / Nilum*; 4.288: *effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum*; *Aen.* 6.800: *septemgemini . . . trepida ostia Nili*; cf. 8.711, where the Nile mourns the defeat at Actium.

¹²⁵ Cf. Cartault (above, note 9) 661: "La comparaison . . . appartient à Virgile."

¹²⁶ Cf. also vii.xvii.48; xxx.29–30; viii.xlvi.84; ix.xviii.10; in v.li.35 Bhīma is likened to the force of the currents of the Ganges.

The comparison which most closely parallels that in *Aen.* 9.30 f. is found in *Mhb.* vi.xix.14:

Seeing the Kuru army on the march, the great Pāṇḍava army appeared like the full, immovable and rolling and surging Gaṅgā.

Vergil's *altus* corresponds to "full" (*pūrṇā*), *per tacitum* to "immovable" (better, "motionless"; *stimitā*), and *surgens* to "surging" (*spandamānā*).¹²⁷ Also, just as Turnus is *medio dux agmine* (*Aen.* 9.28), so Yudhiṣṭhira is the leader in the center of the Pāṇḍava army; cf. *Mhb.* vi.xix.25. The parallels in both simile and context here are a strong indication that Vergil has adapted the Sanskrit passage to describe Turnus' army in *Aeneid* ix.

Even more suggestive is Vergil's allusion in the same simile to *septem sedatis amnibus*. Editors and commentators on Vergil from Servius to the present have been at a loss to explain the meaning of the "seven rivers"; often they assume that Vergil was thinking of the seven mouths of the Nile, the river mentioned in the same simile (cf. *Aen.* 6.800: *septemgemini . . . ostia Nili*); e.g. Papillon and Haigh (on *Aen.* 9.30–32) write as follows:

Virgil attributes to the Ganges the periodical overflow and the seven mouths of the Nile—whether he had any authority for doing so is unknown.

Page says: "The seven tributaries of the Ganges are apparently due to Virgil's imagination"; according to Sidgwick, *septem* is "a poetic number for a river with many mouths."

The comments of earlier editors are likewise interesting and perhaps equally erroneous; Cooper (12th ed., 1863) writes: "By *septem sedatis amnibus*, we are to understand the several rivers which flow into the Ganges, and augment its waters. Hence the propriety of *surgens*." Cf. Forbiger: "Igitur Ganges inde ab

¹²⁷ This is Dutt's translation of the simile; Atkins renders the passage in the new critical edition by Sukthankar and Belvalkar (see above, note 35) as follows: "Upon seeing the Kurus when they had gone forth together, the great army of the Pāṇḍus appeared like the full, motionless, (slowly-)flowing Ganges." The new edition prefers *syandamānā*, "(slowly-)flowing," to the variant reading, *spandamānā*, "rising," "surging"; the latter was apparently the reading translated by Dutt. On Roy's version, "the full, immovable, and quickly rolling current of Gaṅgā," see Lallemant (above, note 34) 279, note 7, where she, following Roy's note (*ad loc.*) implies that *spandamānā* indicates a slower motion than *syandamānā*. The close likeness of Vergil's simile to the Sanskrit original suggests that his source also read and translated *spandamānā*.

ortu septem alveis incedit sedate et tacite. Unde haec tenuerit poeta, ignoramus." In Conington-Nettleship we read:

He may have confused it [=Ganges] with the Nile, as is further made probable by the number seven, which belongs to the Nile (see 6.800), though Serv. refers for the seven branches of the Ganges to a passage of Mela, which is either misunderstood or non-existent.

But perhaps Forbiger is wrong and we do know Vergil's source; perhaps Conington is wrong and Vergil did not confuse the Ganges with the Nile; perhaps Mela was more correct than even Servius realized.¹²⁸ If so, the answer lies in *Mhb.* vi.vi.48-49, where the celestial river Gaṅgā of three currents comes down to earth and divides herself into seven streams.¹²⁹ Here are the *septem amnes* of *Aen.* 9.30, and we need no longer think of the *septemgeminus Nilus*.¹²⁹

We turn now to another passage in Vergil's poetry which contains striking verbal echoes with a passage in the *Mahābhārata*. In *Georg.* 4.457-59, the death of Eurydice is described with brevity:

illa quidem, dum te fugeret per flumina praeceps,
immanem ante pedes hydrium moritura puella
servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba.

Ovid in *Metam.* 10.8-10 speaks of the same event as follows:

nam nupta per herbas
dum nova Naidum turba comitata vagatur,
occidit in talum serpentis dente recepto.

It has been suggested that both Vergil and Ovid used a Hellenistic source, a poem about Orpheus and Eurydice in which the maiden was lost a second time because Orpheus disobeyed instructions and looked back, whereas in the earlier Greek tradition,

¹²⁸ Cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.30: ALTUS PER TACITUM GANGES fluvius Indiae est, qui secundum Senecam in situ Indiae novem alveis fluit, secundum Melonem septem; qui tamen et ipse commemorat non nullos dicere, quod tribus alveis fluat. Vergilius tamen, Nilo eum iungens, septem alveos habere significat. hanc varietatem Donatus fugiens longum hyperbaton facit, dicens "ceu surgens septem amnibus Nilus aut Ganges."

¹²⁹ This supports Mela, who, according to Servius, speaks both of seven and of three *alvei*; see above, note 128. The seven streams of the Ganges are also mentioned in *Mhb.* vi.vi.51: "This celestial sevenfold Gaṅgā is known all over the three worlds."

stemming from the middle of the fifth century, Orpheus had been successful in bringing back Eurydice from the lower world.¹³⁰ Ovid perhaps followed the Greek poet more closely, since *Georg.* 4.457 (*dum te fugeret per flumina praeceps*) reveals Vergil's method of combining the story of Orpheus and Eurydice with that of Aristaeus which encloses it (as the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in Catullus 64 frames the story of Ariadne and Theseus).

Eurydice's death as described by both Vergil and Ovid bears a striking resemblance to the death of Pramadvarā shortly before her marriage to Ruru; cf. *Mhb.* i.viii.16-19:

A few days before the date fixed for the nuptials, while the lovely girl was playing with her companions,

Her time having come and impelled by fate, she trod upon a snake. She did not perceive it, as it lay coiled fast asleep.¹³¹

The snake, to fulfill the will of Fate, stang the heedless girl with its venomous fangs.

Stung by the snake, she suddenly fell senseless on the ground with her color faded and all her beauties gone.

The passage in Ovid contains several general similarities: the girl with her companions, the mention of the serpent's tooth, and the girl falling senseless,¹³² but Vergil's account presents the more exact verbal echoes; e.g., *moritura* (458) is identical with *mumürsuh*, "about to die," "on the point of death," and *non vidit* (459) reproduces *nāpaśyata*, "she did not see." The tale of Orpheus and Eurydice resembles that of Ruru and Pramadvarā in other respects also: the companions of Pramadvarā mourn her death as do the dryads in Vergil; the names of forest inhabitants grieving for Pramadvarā are balanced by the Thracian regions which weep for Eurydice; both Ruru and Orpheus withdraw and lament in solitude. The great difference is that Orpheus loses Eurydice a second time "through a tragic fault,"¹³³ whereas Ruru regains Pramadvarā by giving to her half of his own life.

Did both Vergil and Ovid know and use the story as it appeared in the *Mahābhārata*? Where Vergil has made an innovation to

¹³⁰ C. M. Bowra, "Orpheus and Eurydice," *CQ* 2 (1952) 113-26.

¹³¹ I add the phrase "fast asleep" to Dutt's translation at the suggestion of Atkins, who has examined the passage in the new critical edition (see above, note 35).

¹³² It is worth noting that M. M. Innes, in the Penguin translation of the *Metamorphoses* (1955), renders *occidit* (10.10) as "she sank lifeless to the ground"; cf. Dutt's translation in *Mhb.* i.viii.19: "she suddenly fell senseless on the ground."

¹³³ Bowra (above, note 130) 117.

link Eurydice and Aristaeus, Ovid preserves the original details. Or did both poets follow an earlier Greek poem, the details of which had been modeled upon the Sanskrit story? Bowra assumes such a Hellenistic source; as to the authorship of the poem, he rejects the claims of Philetas, Nicander, and Euphorion and admits that "we do not know who the poet was."¹³⁴ He dates the poem in the first century B.C., however, perhaps shortly before Vergil wrote his own version for the *Georgics*.

Lallemant points out that, as much as the Romans in the Augustan age knew about the East, a far greater knowledge of India and Indian culture existed in Egypt; she believes that it was Cornelius Gallus who first brought to Vergil's attention the contents of the *Mahābhārata*, probably in a Greek translation available at Alexandria.¹³⁵ She suggests also that Vergil's story of Orpheus and Eurydice, itself perhaps inspired by a similar poem composed by Gallus,¹³⁶ was inserted into *Georgics* iv after the disgrace of Gallus to replace the original *laudes Galli* at the end of the poem and still to present a discreet tribute to his friend in this second edition of the *Georgics*.

I have explained elsewhere why I do not believe that *Georgics* iv contained the so-called *laudes Galli* and why I therefore reject the theory of a "second edition."¹³⁷ Both the Aristaeus and the Orpheus-Eurydice stories seem a necessary part of the original plan of the poem. It is possible that Vergil's praise of Gallus at the end of the *Bucolics* could have given rise to Servius' conflicting accounts. But if, as Lallemant believes, the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice was a tribute to Gallus, it could likewise have been responsible for the tradition of the *laudes Galli*. Early commentators, not understanding how the story concerned Gallus, might well have developed the theory that Gallus was first praised directly in *Georgics* iv and that this was later replaced by a new ending, either the combined Aristaeus and Orpheus-Eurydice stories, or the latter tale alone.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Bowra (above, note 130) 125.

¹³⁵ Lallemant (above, note 34) 283-85.

¹³⁶ Cf. E. Galletier, "L'éloge de Gallus au iv^e livre des *Géorgiques*," *Bull. de l'Assoc. G. Budé* 12 (1926) 29 and note 2.

¹³⁷ "Vergil's *Georgics* and the *Laudes Galli*," *AJP* 80 (1959) 225-37.

¹³⁸ Vergil's knowledge of the *Mahābhārata* must go back at least to 30 or 29 B.C.; see below, 126 and note 148. Even if Vergil were the first to imitate the story of Ruru and Pramadarā, his version of Orpheus and Eurydice could thus be dated earlier than 25 B.C., the time assigned to the supposed second edition of *Georgics* iv.

This brings us back to Vergil's introduction to the Sanskrit epic, and in particular to the relation which the story of Orpheus and Eurydice bears to that of Ruru and Pramadvarā. I doubt if it was Gallus who first brought knowledge about the *Mahābhārata* to Vergil; a far more likely candidate is the famed neoteric poet Parthenius, close friend of Gallus and reputed teacher of Vergil.¹³⁹ His broad knowledge of poetic themes is attested by the plots of the love tales which he prepared as a handbook for Gallus. Perhaps Parthenius should be considered the author of the Greek poem about Orpheus and Eurydice which Bowra postulates as the model for both Vergil and Ovid and which he dates in the first century B.C. shortly before Vergil's *Georgics*; if we assume Parthenius' knowledge of the *Mahābhārata*, the similarities between the poem and the story of Ruru and Pramadvarā are thus explained. Perhaps Gallus and, after him, Vergil wrote Latin versions of the poem; Vergil's treatment of the Orpheus-Eurydice story would thus be a tribute both to Parthenius and to Gallus. Or perhaps we need not assume the Greek original. Gallus, under Parthenius' guidance, could have written in Latin the first tragic version (in which Orpheus loses Eurydice a second time) and thus could have provided the model for both Vergil and Ovid. In either case, Vergil's treatment of the story in *Georgics* iv praises his friend as a poet.¹⁴⁰

Much of the above lies in the realm of conjecture. The important point is that the parallels between the story of Orpheus and Eurydice and that of Ruru and Pramadvarā are to be explained differently than are the many resemblances which appear in *Aeneid* vii-xii and *Mahābhārata* v-ix, where Vergil seems to be drawing directly from a translation of the Sanskrit epic. Ovid's handling of the death of Eurydice indicates that both he and Vergil in this instance are following a poetic source which was acquainted with the tale in the *Mahābhārata*, and it was most probably from this same source—Parthenius direct, or Parthenius through Gallus—that Vergil became acquainted with

¹³⁹ I am indebted for this suggestion to my friend and colleague, Professor F. R. B. Godolphin of Princeton University.

¹⁴⁰ Büchner (above, note 1) 293 ff., although he argues for the second edition, rejects an original conclusion devoted to Gallus' political activity and thinks that Vergil had praised Gallus as a writer of elegy.

the Sanskrit epic and later used it for his development of both character and event in the second half of the *Aeneid*.¹⁴¹

VI

In his composition of *Aeneid* VII–XII Vergil has drawn heavily from Homer's *Iliad* for many details of the action, but for much in these final books the Homeric parallels are weak or non-existent; this is especially true of Turnus whose words and deeds indicate that he is less a typical Homeric hero than Bowra and others have maintained. On the other hand, the resemblances between *Aeneid* VII–XII (with the exception of VIII, the book of Rome and Roman history) and *Mahābhārata* V–IX are amazingly close and concern not only the roles of the main characters but even the book by book structural arrangement of the course of the war; in particular, Abhimanyu and Duryodhana provide more exact models for Pallas and Turnus than do any Homeric personages.

The numerous parallels in the two epics lead inevitably to the following conclusion: either we must assume that these similarities result from a series of almost incredible coincidences, or we must accept the possibility that Vergil knew and utilized the Sanskrit epic as he used the Homeric poems, combining, modifying, and rearranging the material as it suited his purpose. The latter seems by far the wiser decision. The close contacts between India and the West in the Augustan age make such a knowledge of the *Mahābhārata* all the more likely. Vergil could have learned of the characters and events of the poem through oral transmission, but this would perhaps account less well for the many striking verbal parallels, and there seems nothing inherently improbable in the hypothesis that he had available a Greek translation, not necessarily of the entire *Mahābhārata* as it existed in his day, but rather a version of the main epic narrative of the Great War between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. Such a translation may have been known to Parthenius and by him brought to Vergil's attention. We are told by Dio Chrysostom that the Homeric poems had been translated and were well

¹⁴¹ This seems a more probable conclusion than to suppose that both Vergil and Ovid drew independently on the story of Ruru and Pramadvārā in *Mahābhārata* 1. Lévêque (above, note 73) 288 ff. lists a few stories from Ovid which he thinks show the influence of the Sanskrit epic, but the parallels are not convincing.

known to the people of India.¹⁴² This makes more possible a translation of the main story of the *Mahābhārata* from Sanskrit to Greek such as we have postulated, since the poets and scholars of India would certainly desire to have their great epic known to the Western world,¹⁴³ just as they themselves were acquainted with the two Greek epics.

Vergil, in a letter to Augustus (quoted by Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.24.11), expresses his despondency about the progress of the *Aeneid* and refers to the serious studies upon which he is now engaged:

de Aenea quidem meo, si mehercule iam dignum auribus haberem
tuis, libenter mitterem, sed tanta inchoata res est, ut paene vitio
mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar, cum praesertim, ut scis,
alia quoque studia ad id opus multoque potiora impertiar.

Lallemant suggests that the *alia studia multoque potiora* could refer to Vergil's "initiation à la littérature indienne" at this time.¹⁴⁴ Vergil's despair could equally well be the result of the studies in religion and philosophy which went into the composition of Book VI, or those in history, archaeology, topography and early legend which were so essential for the second half of the epic.

In any case, Lallemant seems wrong in assigning Vergil's introduction to Indian literature to the time of his letter to Augustus, usually dated in 26-25 B.C. when the emperor was in Spain.¹⁴⁵ We read in the *Vita Donati*, ascribed to Suetonius, the following important statement (23):

Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in XII libros
particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque, et nihil
in ordinem arripiens.

I have discussed elsewhere the many striking parallels which appear in the corresponding books in each half, I and VII, II and VIII, III and IX, etc.¹⁴⁶ These similarities and contrasts, or at least many of them, must have been planned at the time when Vergil made the prose outline described above and before he began to write *particulatim* and *nihil in ordinem arripiens*. But the

¹⁴² See above, note 43.

¹⁴³ Cf. Lallemant (above, note 34) 286.

¹⁴⁴ Lallemant (above, note 34) 286, note 4.

¹⁴⁵ Cf., e.g., W. F. Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil* (London 1944) 69; Büchner (above, note 1) 38 f.; Büchner adds (39): "Mit den anderen *studia* ist die Philosophie gemeint."

¹⁴⁶ Duckworth (above, note 4) 1-15; for additional parallels, see "Mathematical Symmetry in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 186 f. and note 4.

structure of the second half of the *Aeneid* and especially the conclusion of the three final books with the defeat and death of a major warrior bear so close a relation to the events of the war in the *Mahābhārata* that we must assume on Vergil's part a knowledge of the Sanskrit epic at the time when he was drawing up his prose outline book by book. In other words, the outline of Books VII–XII, based in large part on the sequence of events in *Mahābhārata* V–IX, would be primary and that of Books I–VI, with the many similarities and contrasts to the corresponding books in the second half, would necessarily have been developed later. This does not mean that the actual writing of Books VII–XII preceded the composition of the earlier books,¹⁴⁷ but it does presuppose Vergil's acquaintance with the Sanskrit epic as early as 30 or 29 B.C. and to this extent it weakens Lallemant's interpretation of the *alia studia* mentioned by Vergil in his letter to Augustus.¹⁴⁸

The *Mahābhārata* adds a new dimension to Vergil's poetic background. Not only do many supposedly Homeric features appear in a new light, e.g. the relations between the roles of Pallas and Patroclus, Turnus and Hector, Aeneas and Achilles, but new models appear for themes and topics hitherto considered characteristic of Vergil himself; these include the devotion of father and son and the mourning for handsome young fighters such as Pallas (= Abhimanyu), the so-called Vergilian "melancholy," or pity—the sense of regret and sorrow for the unnecessary suffering and death caused by war, a sentiment which *pious Aeneas* shares with the pious king Yudhiṣṭhira, and, in particular, the enigmatic and complex character of Aeneas' opponent Turnus, who is like Duryodhana in so many respects but whom Vergil, by portraying as less wicked and villainous, has made more human and sympathetic than his Sanskrit prototype and in so doing has created the outstanding character of the *Aeneid*.

Macrobius stresses both the extent of Vergil's learning and the wide range of the material on which he drew; cf. *Sat.* 5.18.1:

¹⁴⁷ As has been assumed by several scholars; most recently by G. D'Anna, *Il problema della composizione dell'Eneide* (Roma 1957); cf. 117 ff.

¹⁴⁸ This earlier date also supports the view, expressed in the preceding section, that the story of Eurydice with its striking parallels to that of Pramadvārā in *Mhb.* I.viii could be part of the original *Georgics* and not added in a second edition about 25 B.C. In this instance, however, Vergil appears to follow an earlier poet rather than to draw directly from the *Mahābhārata*; see above, 123 f.

Fuit enim hic poeta, ut scrupulose et anxie, ita dissimulanter et clanculo doctus, ut multa transtulerit, quae unde translata sint difficile sit cognitu.

The difficulty concerning Vergil's sources to which Macrobius refers is solved in part by the assumption that Vergil knew and used the *Mahābhārata* in addition to the many Greek and Latin models already established. That he and his friends did not discuss his indebtedness to the Sanskrit epic is not surprising but, on the contrary, **understandable** in view of the manner in which he was criticized by *obtrectatores* for his borrowings from Homer.¹⁴⁹

Vergil's dependence upon the *Mahābhārata* increases our respect for the breadth of his learning; it should not lessen our admiration of his genius nor detract from our appreciation of his originality. To have developed from Homer, Greek tragedy, and many other Greek and Latin sources the great national epic of Rome is in itself little short of marvelous; to have combined with this material the main characters and events of the greatest of Sanskrit epics and still to have made the destined greatness and glory of Rome the major theme of his epic and to have created at the same time "the classic of all Europe,"¹⁵⁰ reveals a poetic ability of the highest order—one deserving all the praises bestowed upon Vergil by Macrobius and other admirers both ancient and modern.

The almost prophetic words of Fowler on *Aen.* 12.887–952 seem appropriate as a closing comment:

In the whole range of poetry there is nothing, I think, outside *Paradise Lost* and the *Divina Commedia*, so grand as this conclusion to the great poem. Homer is here, Lucretius is here, *others, perhaps, that we do not know of*: Virgil calls in their aid to inspire him, to raise him to the highest level of which ancient poetry was capable. But the result is no amalgam; it is Virgil and Virgil only, perfect in its nobility of diction, rhythm and imagination.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ *Vita Donati*, 45–46; cf. Lallemant (above, note 34) 286.

¹⁵⁰ T. S. Eliot, *What is a Classic?* (London 1945) 31; cf. G. E. Woodberry, *Virgil* (New York 1930) 35: "The *Aeneid* . . . is the dirge of Rome; majestic in its theme, beautiful in its emotions, sad in its philosophy, it is almost the dirge of life."

¹⁵¹ Fowler (above, note 19) 152 f. The italics in the second sentence are mine. Of the many parallels between the Roman and the Sanskrit epic cited above in sections III and IV, it is significant that they are most numerous between *Aeneid* XII and *Mahābhārata* IX; the extent to which Vergil has profited from his use of the earlier poem is perhaps attested by the high estimate which many Vergilian scholars have of *Aeneid* XII; cf. also J. W. Mackail, "The *Aeneid* as a Work of Art," *CJ* 26 (1930–31) 17, who says, after discussing Books II, IV, and VI: "Book XII reaches an even higher point of artistic achievement and marks the utmost of what poetry can do, in its dramatic value, its masterly construction, and its faultless diction and rhythm."