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THE MOTIF OF VENGEANCE IN VERGIL'S AENEID
AND VELDEKE'S ENEIDE

by

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The Motif of Vengeance in
Vergil's Aeneid and Veldeke's Eneide

1.0 Introduction

When comparing Vergil's Aeneid with medieval renditions of the story of the founding of Rome, one should not be surprised to find both obvious and subtle modifications of the prototype. If we approach the function and role of literature through its relation to a societal environment, it is not unreasonable to assume that these revisions reflect, to some degree, differences between Vergil's world and that of courtly society in the twelfth century A.D. Such differences make it possible to explain why that form of love called minne does not exist in Vergil's Aeneid but is a primary source of plot motivation in Heinrich von Veldeke's Eneide, and why the gods, who in the classical epic are completely responsible for Aeneas'¹ toils and for the eventual founding of Rome, are seldom the moving force

¹The spelling 'Aeneas' will be used throughout to refer to the Vergilian character; similarly, the spelling 'Eneas' will refer to the medieval hero.

for Veldeke.² Indeed, these two major themes as well as others have been dealt with so frequently that it might seem futile to attempt any further comparison of the Aeneid and the Eneide.³ Certainly a study based on the obvious differences between these two works would be superfluous. There are, however, a number of subtle differences which, if explored in depth, may help us to relate these works to their social, moral, and intellectual milieu in a more concrete way than is possible on the basis of plot summaries and general observations.

One of Vergil's themes which undergoes significant modification in the Middle Ages is that of vengeance. In the scholarship on medieval versions of the Aeneid, however, this subject has not been treated as a unified motif. My study will focus on the differences between the treatment of

²For a detailed account of the role of the gods, see Marie-Luise Dittrich, "Gote und got in Heinrich von Veldeke Eneide," ZfdA, 90 (1960-61), 85-122, 198-240, 274-302. Kurt Ruh (Hofische Epik..., 1967), also comments on the gods (pp. 80-81), and Wenzelburger (Motivation und Menschenbild, 1974), makes some very interesting observations regarding the medieval references to glucke instead of to the gods in certain instances (pp. 96-104): see Bibliography.

³Extensive plot comparisons have been made by several scholars including Wörner (1871), Dittrich (op. cit., 1960-61), and Andreotti-Saibene (1973); See Bibliography.

vengeance in Vergil's Aeneid and in Heinrich von Veldeke's Eneide, argue that there are weaknesses in the traditional explanations of them, and, finally, propose an alternative explanation for the divergence.

2.0 Exposition of the vengeance motif in the two epics

Acts of vengeance and statements of a desire for revenge are prominent in a number of passages in the Aeneid, and there are numerous other minor occurrences of this motif. These passages will be cited in the order in which they occur, and following each passage, the corresponding passage in Veldeke will be given.

2.1 The introduction of Juno

Vergil opens his epic with an exposition of the mind of a wrathful, revenge-seeking goddess who nurses an old injury:

tantaene animis caelestibus irae? . . .
 . . . (necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores
 exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum
 iudicium Parisis, spetaeque iniuria formae,
 et genus invisum, et rapti Ganymedis honores),

his accensa super, iactatos æquore toto
Troas⁴

These emotions lead Juno to oppose the ill-fated Trojans throughout their voyage and during the battle in Latium by stirring up trouble whenever and however she can. Thus the motif of Juno's vengeance is forcefully expressed at the beginning of the classical epic, and it recurs throughout until in the end peace is made in Olympus.

Juno initially hopes to defy the Fates by annihilating the remains of the Trojan race in a storm which she entices Aeolus to blow up. Fortunately for Aeneas, Neptune intervenes and calms the waves, and Juno must then brood until she can think of another way to avenge Paris' indiscretion.

Veldeke, on the other hand, gives his audience no less than 154 lines of historical background before explaining:

Dô was diu gotinne Jûnô
Enease vil gehaz

4

Arthur F. Hirtzel, ed. , "Aeneidos." in P. Vergili Maronis Opera (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950, Book I, l. 11 and 11. 25-30. Hereafter, quotations from the Aeneid will be identified by book and line number(s). C. D. Lewis' translation of the Latin passages is quoted in the Appendix.

unde tetez umbe daz,
 daz sin minnern wolde
 dorch den apphel von golde,
 den Paris froun Venuse gab...
 Dô intgalt Enêase daz ime frouwe Jûnô was
 ungenadig unde gram...
 si wolde al ze tode slahen
 diu gotinne Jûnô.⁵

Here, as in the Aeneid, but with much less elaboration, Juno conjures up a storm that sinks one of Eneas' ships and causes everyone in it to be drowned. It is well worth noting that these lines represent one of only three situations in which Veldeke involves Juno or her haz in his account of the founding of Rome. The other two references to this goddess are indeed minor; they occur where Juno's hopes for Carthage are retold (27, 28-28, 3), and where Eneas tells Dido of the storm through which "sich hat diu frōwe Jûnô|harde an uns gerochen" (29, 32-33). The scarcity of references to Juno in the medieval epic stands, again, in significant contrast to the situation in Vergil's epic where Juno's wrath is an everpresent force. It may be

⁵Ludwig Ettmüller, ed., Heinrich von Veldeke (Leipzig: Göschen, 1852). 21, 16-22, 15. Lines from the Eneide are hereafter referred to by their column and line in the Ettmüller edition.

argued that the change in emphasis here is motivated by Veldeke's lack of interest in the pagan gods. While the medieval poet may have been uninterested in Juno as a source of motivation and explanations, it is not the case that he was disinterested in the gods in principle.⁶ In any case, however, the paucity of references to Juno makes vengeance a much less important source of primary plot motivation in Veldeke's history than in Vergil's.

2.2 The Fall of Troy and the Journey to Carthage

As Aeneas recounts to Dido the fall of Troy and his subsequent wanderings, words such as ultor, ulcisci, merces, mactare, ira, and poena appear in several contexts within the second and third books of the Aeneid: Aeneas relates that he would like to avenge Troy by murdering Helen; Sinon falsifies his life story and

⁶The German poet treats Venus, for instance, with more interest and sympathy than Juno, and Eneas' goddess-mother appears in the medieval text just as often as in the classical one. In addition, there is at least one instance where Veldeke tells of Venus' direct intervention (163, 15-164, 3) while Vergil allows Tiber, a river god, to advise Aeneas (VIII, 30-65). See footnote 2 above and p. 24 below.

swears his intention to seek revenge against the Greeks; Priam hopes to avenge the death of his son Proclites; the Greeks seek retribution from the Trojans; and Polyphemus, along with his cohorts, is also interested in revenge.

In the Eneide, the whole of Eneas' story is reduced from 1513 lines to only 310 lines (40, 17- 48, 4). Sinon's plea and the scheme involving the Trojan horse are, however, recounted in some detail requiring 125 lines (42, 35- 49, 40). Here, the verb rechen (43, 6) and its past participle gerochen (45,4) contribute to the mood of the episode, although these passages present interesting points of comparison, it is not worthwhile to deal with them here in depth, for they are not elements of the central progression of the epic, but rather segments of a somewhat digressive story within a story. This is particularly true in the medieval epic where the minne theme of the Dido episode takes precedence over the other aspects of this section. It is, however, worth noting that although Eneas' story is not central to the plot of the medieval epic (it seems, rather, to provide historical background), it does occupy substantial volume in the Aeneid, and the conflicting desires for revenge described within it contribute to the overall foreboding mood of the classical epic.

In addition, vengeance is referred to twice in Veldeke's historical introduction. In the first passage, Veldeke relates that Menelaus won the battle and thus avenged the harm done him (18, 22). In the second, Eneas wonders whether he should remain at the site of burning Troy and avenge his Trojan comrades with an honorable death or abandon the city and set sail for Italy as the gods have commanded (19, 30-33). These two passages exemplify the chain of counter-revenge that can follow an initial act of vengeance indefinitely, and as instances of the motif, they have the same significance as some of the occurrences of vengeance in the classical Aeneas' story of the Trojan war. In any case, it remains important that when the medieval poet mentions the Greeks as the victors in the war, he justifies their aggression by elaborating that they attacked only to obtain their just retribution. Vergil, perhaps understandably, since he surely sided with the Trojans, does not provide this justification.

2.3 Dido

The second major and perhaps most significant single incidence of the revenge motif in the Aeneid occurs near the end of Book IV and centers around Dido's reaction

to Aeneas' departure. The noble queen, beside herself,

terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum
flaventisque abscessa comas, 'pro Iuppiter! ibit
hic!' ait, 'et nostris inluserit advena regnis?
Non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur,
deripientque rates alii novalibus? ite
ferte citi flammis, date tela, impellite remos!
(IV, 589-94)

Then, in a prayer she begs that Aeneas be

". . . bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli,
auxilium imploret, videatque indigna suorum
funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae
tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,
sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.
haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine
fundo. tum vos, o Tyri, stirpem et genus omne
futurum exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite
nostro munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera
sunt. exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor
qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,
nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.
litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque.'
(IV, 615 - 29)

Thus Vergil's Dido leaves us with a curse formulated in
the vivid terms of the ancient world. She not only curses
Aeneas, but his friends, descendants, and the future Roman
Empire as well.

Medieval Dido, however, having tried to come to
grips with her grief for 300 lines, decides to take vengeance
on herself:

ichn mach si [die scholde] nieman gegeben,
ich mûz mîn unsenftez leben
an mir selber rechen. (74, 37-39)

Thus Dido even goes so far as to offer a moralistic explanation for her suffering. In her last address to the already absent Eneas the noble lady excuses him and assumes the blame for excessive love herself.

ichn wil ûch niht schelden,
wande ir sît es âne scholt,
ir wâret mir genuch holt,
ich minnete ûch zunmâzen. (76, 16-19)

Thereupon follow seventy-five lines of soul-searching and another twenty-five lines are given over to the description of her suicide before Veldeke's Dido utters her last words of forgiveness. "die scholde wil ich û vergeben | ichn mach û niht wesen gram" (78, 20-21).⁷

As the medieval Eneas tries to console Dido, he mentions once more how the Trojans suffered under the vengeance of the Greeks (69, 20-22). This passage has no parallel in the classical epic, and it is significant that Veldeke again seems to be insisting that the Greeks had every right to attack Troy. It will be important to remember Eneas' attempted consolation when the difference between the reactions of the two Didos to the

⁷ For a brief discussion of rechte minne vs. unrechte minne, see Kurt Ruh (1967), 81. for a more extensive discussion, compare Werner Schröder, (1957-58), 161-195 and Friedrich Maurer (1951), 98-115 and (1950), 7-9. Ruh sides with Schröder in the discussion which concerns whether or not the Dido and Lavinia episodes depict a contrast between unmâze und mâze (respectively) in love.

departure of the Trojans is explained.

Thus, while the classical Dido reacts in a very violent way to Aeneas' departure, the twelfth century Dido, though she too reacts very emotionally, is able to distance herself from the situation, reflect on it, and come to the reasonable conclusion that Eneas was, in fact, not totally responsible for her involvement with him in Carthage.

2.4 Juno after Carthage

Vergil's third major treatment of vengeance again concerns Juno, who in spite of her failure to hold the Trojans in Carthage, becomes all the more determined in her revenge. With her grudge still unsatisfied, "necdum anticum saturata dolorem" (V, 608), the raving goddess sends Iris down to foment discontent among the Trojan women who are engaged in mourning for Anchises. While the warriors are carrying out the funeral games away from the ships, Iris tells the travel-weary women of a dream which encouraged her to admonish the Trojans to end their journey and establish their city in Sicily. In this way she provokes the women to set fire to the untended ships (V, 604-663). Fortunately, Aeneas too has some influence with the gods, and after a most urgent prayer, he is granted a rain storm

Which extinguishes the fire. Nevertheless, four ships have already been destroyed.

This disaster, instigated by Juno's wrath, leads Venus, the troubled mother of Aeneas, to complain to Neptune that,

'Iunonis gravis ira neque exsaturabile pectus
cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis;
quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla,
nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit.
non media de gente Phrygum exedis nefandis
urbem odiis satis est nec poenam traxe per omnem
reliquias Troiae: cineres atque ossa peremptae
insequitur. causas tanti sciat illa furoris.
(V, 781-88)

Neptune naturally reassures the goddess born of sea foam and promises that Aeneas will reach his next destination, Avernus, unharmed by Juno. This episode, including an account of the funeral games for Anchises and the nocturnal appearance of Anchises to Aeneas comprise Book V of Vergil's history.

2.5 Book V: Classical to Medieval Changes

2.51 Exposition

This section, positioned centrally in the Aeneid, is, except for Eneas' encounter with his father (80, 40-83), absent in Veldeke's Eneide. So far the secondary literature provides no explanation for this omission. It

seems possible that part of the classical material, specifically the account of games celebrating the anniversary of Anchises' death, was omitted because such subject matter was foreign to the medieval poet and his public. To be sure, the performance of combat games on a festive occasion was a very popular custom during the Middle Ages, and Vergil's description of these games would certainly have provided an excellent opportunity for Veldeke to include yet another crowd-pleasing tournament episode in his epic. Nevertheless death was understood only as an occasion for solemnity in the twelfth century. In his discussion of the carry-over of classical works into the Middle Ages, Cholevius points out without explanation that certain parts of the Iliad are consistently omitted in the medieval accounts of the story and others are sometimes included and sometimes left out. The funeral games for Patroklos fall into the latter group.⁸

2.52 Explanation

Although Cholevius' information provides an interesting parallel with medieval renditions of the Iliad, the question as to why the funeral games are omitted remains unanswered. Unfortunately, what remains of Macrobius'

⁸ Carl Leo Cholevius, Geschichte der deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen, Part I, (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1954), p. 114.

very influential commentary, the Saturnalia, gives no clues about what the situation might have been with regard to either the games or to the burning of the ships. Apparently however, John of Salisbury (ca. 1180) had a more complete text of Macrobius' work than we now have, and since part of the text missing today contained a discussion of Vergil and philosophy, it is at least possible that Macrobius' commentary may have had something to do with the sections of the Aeneid that are omitted in the medieval works.⁹ It is also possible that other commentaries such as those of Servius, Valerius Probus, and Julius Modestus might help solve this problem.¹⁰ Further investigation of these sources, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

Yunck observes that Veldeke is more concerned with the decorum of courtly life and with making his characters appear noble and genteel than even the anonymous French poet of the Roman d'Eneas.¹¹ Considering the courtly role

⁹P. V. Davies, ed., The Saturnalia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969) pp. 14 - 15, 24-25.

¹⁰Henry Nettleship, "Ancient Commentators on Virgil," in The Works of Virgil, (Hildesheim: Olms, 1963) pp. liii-c.

¹¹John A. Yunck, trans., Eneas: A 12th Century French Romance (New York: Columbus University Press, 1974) p. 52.

of women, it is not difficult to understand why Veldeke would not allow his Trojan women to be stirred to violent insurrection (as, e.g., the 'ship-burning').

2.53 Consequences of the omission of Book V

Whatever the reason behind this difference in the two epics, the absence of the funeral games in the Middle High German version is of major import for the effect of Anchises' appearance. As Wenzelburger points out, according to Vergil's account, the father comes to cheer his son who is distraught by the charred remains of his ships, while, according to Veldeke, he comes to cheer an Eneas who mourns having been forced to abandon Dido.¹² This situation shows Veldeke's apparent concern with establishing a relationship between the various episodes of the story. While Vergil provides no direct links between the events at Carthage and the rest of the epic, Veldeke incorporates these events. He first establishes continuity (without the interruption of games and arson) by emphasizing Eneas' grief over leaving Dido and further integrates the Dido episode into the epic by having Amata refer back to Dido in her attempt to dissuade Latinus from

¹² Dietmar Wenzelburger, Motivation und Menschenbild der Eneide Heinrichs von Veldeke als Ausdruck der geschichtlichen Kräfte ihrer Zeit (Göppingen:Kümmerle, 1974),p. 75.

granting favors to Eneas (122, 30-36).¹³ In spite of the difference in motivation of Anchises' visit, it functions in both epics to inform the Trojan hero how to proceed in order to meet his father in the underworld.

2.6 Vengeance in Hades --The Greeks

When Eneas sees the fallen Greek soldiers on his journey through Hades, the reader is reminded again of the wrong that the Greeks intended to avenge by the Trojan War (100, 36). In the classical epic, the spirits of the dead Greeks cower in fear as Aeneas passes by, and Vergil makes no reference to revenge. Whenever Veldeke mentions the Greeks, he also points out the retributive aspect of the battles of Troy (cf, also 18, 22 and 69, 20-22). Vergil does not. Perhaps the medieval poet was more concerned with presenting the Greeks in a more favorable light than Vergil was, but these occurrences may also point to a greater emphasis on the importance of retribution in the medieval system.

2.7 The Trojan's arrival in Latium

2.71 Vergil's account

¹³Wenzelburger, 167.

Juno becomes quite bitter as she observes the happiness of the Trojans on their arrival in Italy. She feels neglected and cannot understand why Jove has allowed other gods and goddesses to avenge wrongs they have suffered at the hands of mortals while she, the queen of the gods, is denied this satisfaction. The goddess rages:

quod si mea numina non sunt
magna satis, dubitem haud equidem implorare quod
usquam est:

flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.
(VII, 310-12)

Realizing that she will be unable to annihilate the Trojans, Juno determines to bring them as much suffering as possible. She summons Allecto, a goddess so evil that even her own father hates her, from Hades and bids her to sow the seeds of warfare (VII, 339) in the kingdom of Latium. Allecto accomplishes her task by first infecting the soft-spoken queen Amata with a raving madness and then by frightening the reserved Turnus into armed combat.

The queen, her quiet protest against the Trojan marriage of her daughter unheeded, now reels through the streets crying under the influence of Allecto's poison like a drunken woman and entreats the mothers of her city to rally to her cause in the name of "mother's rights." Again Juno works her revenge by inciting mortal women to violence (VII, 383-405). Meanwhile, the unfortunate

Turnus, who has been slumbering peacefully, is confronted by Allecto in the guise of an old priestess. At first, he dismisses her appeals as no more than the manifestation of her age which makes her appear to be a ridiculous busybody. Turnus is well aware that there is a foreign fleet in the harbor, but he is confident that Juno will look out for his interests. He is quick to change his mind, however, when Allecto reveals herself to him in her full wickedness, frightening him awake and inducing him to take up the arms at his bedside and to race through the halls "scelerata insania belli, ira super" (VII, 461 - 62). At the same time the brazen Allecto ventures further--even into the Trojan camp. There she sets Iulus' hunting dogs on the scent of a deer that has been raised as a pet in Tyrrhus' household. The serious wounds which Iulus inflicts on the deer rouse Tyrrhus and his followers to take arms against the Trojans, and in the ensuing battle the first blood of the war in Italy is shed.

According to Vergil, Latinus is required to open the gates of Mars temple in order to declare war officially. The classical king refuses to do so and retreats in despair. Juno, however, intervenes and pushes open the gates herself. Thus the revenge-seeking goddess manages to break the peace in Latium and to instigate a war in which the Trojans will suffer.

2.72 Veldeke's account

As might have been predicted, Veldeke handles the occurrence leading to the outbreak of war in a rather different manner. Like the classical queen, the medieval Amata takes the news about her husband's welcome of Eneas "mit zorne âne minne" (120, 38). While Vergil's Amata is moved by an irrational, deity-inspired rage, the medieval Amata, though just as upset, gives her husband several good reasons why their daughter should not be given in marriage to the Trojan. Amata complains that she would rather be dead along with Latinus (122, 4-5) than for Eneas to inherit the kingdom. She points out that Turnus has already been promised the kingdom (122, 7-9) and reminds Latinus that Eneas behaved less than honorably towards Dido:

her...
 ...hât diu frouwe Dîdô
 engolden vile sêre.
 daz si im gût und êre
 zû vil tete unde erbôt
 dorch sînen willen liget si tôt (121, 33-37)
 ...an Troiâren vant man nie
 êre noch trouwe. (123, 20-21)

Amata seems genuinely concerned about the welfare of Lavinia and the kingdom of Latium: She is not driven to distraction by some outside force. Indeed her reaction may be said to parallel that of Medieval Dido. However, in spite

of her rational entreaty, Latinus holds to his decision that Lavinia shall marry the Trojan. The medieval queen herself then carries out one of the tasks accomplished by Allecto (at Juno's command) in the classical epic, i.e. she informs Turnus by letter of the situation, stirs him out of his complacency and provokes him to raise an army against the Trojans. In Veldeke's epic, Iulus hunts the pet deer just as in Vergil's, except Veldeke employs no jealous or evil goddess to lead the boy to the deer. Thus in both epics war ensues.

Until now, with the exception of the events in Carthage and the minor passages referring to the Greeks (2.2, p. 5 above), Juno has been the source of vengeance in each Vergilian episode. In this epic, Juno's wrath motivates yet another important event. All of these "Juno episodes" will be dealt with later in a group and the difference Juno's attitude makes in the overall mood of the two epics will be compared. First, however, I will consider two other very important occurrences of the vengeance motif outside the Olympian realm.

2.73 Turnus' motivation to fight

Although the classical Latinus shirks responsibility for the forthcoming war, the medieval king tries to soothe

Turnus and his people. Unfortunately, he succeeds only in heightening the anger of the Rutulians. Veldeke's Turnus now feels more than ever the need to avenge the wrongs suffered by Tyrrhus' household at the hands of the Trojans. He maintains,

ez wird alsô gerochen
 das im nie dehein vart
 ze solhen schanden ne wart,
 daz si unser lant
 verheret hânt und verbrant
 und des mannes veste. (139, 8-13)

After Latinus' attempt at reconciliation, Turnus is so upset that he stomps off angrily to the queen to tell her once more of his troubles. Amata promises to help him; perhaps she is intended to fill the gap created by Juno's absence. The vengeance motif is expressed twice more within this episode of the medieval epic, and both times it is Turnus who desires revenge.

Enêas der Troiân
 der hât uns laster getân
 das is noch ungerochen, (152, 15-17)

declares the smitten king. Then, with regard to the sorrow Eneas has brought to Turnus, Veldeke inserts, "das wolder gerne rechen." (155, 23)

It is important to note at this point that the initial conflict between the Trojans and Rutulians affects Turnus differently in the two epics. While Veldeke's

Turnus is concerned throughout with avenging the wrongs inflicted on his people (139, 8: 152, 17; 155, 23; 198, 28), the initial hostile confrontation between nations serves only to heighten the originally deity-inspired rage of the classical Turnus (VII, 577-78). However, when the heroes agree to the duel, in both epics there is a mutual feeling that more than enough suffering has been endured by the two sides and that now the only contested issue is who will possess Lavinia and her kingdom.

2.74 Nisus, Euryalus, and Mezentius

There are two more minor episodes in the full scale battles where revenge plays an important role. Interestingly enough, both poets treat vengeance in these incidents with about the same degree of emphasis. The two passages deal with the story of Nisus and Euryalus (IX, 422-23 and 438-43 in Vergil: 186, 20 and 31 in Veldeke) and the story of Mezentius' attempt to avenge his son Lausus' death (X, 861-94 in Vergil: 214, 15-38 in Veldeke). In both epics, the revenge motif is explicit in the Latin word ultor and the Middle High German rache.

2.8 Pallas' death

2.81 Exposition

Of major import for the outcome of the Trojan-Rutulian conflict are two events surrounding the death of Pallas. We see that Pallas, the son of King Evander, has been slain by Turnus and that, in both the classical and medieval versions of the story, the Trojan king flies into a mournful rage. In the medieval epic, however, Pallas' death is mourned at much greater length, and only in this epic is revenge explicitly mentioned at this point. Although the classical Aeneas does ride out in search of Turnus (X, 282), it is the medieval author who writes,

vor leide und zorne
ne mohter niht gesprechen,
her wolde in gerne rechen
an Turnô der in slûch (211, 8-11)

The importance of this passage could be discounted on the basis that Veldeke is, on the whole, more explicit with regard to attitudes than Vergil, were it not for the fact that Eneas states further,

ne soldich dich [Pallas] niht rechen
an dem, der dir den lîb nam,
sô woldich immer wesen gram... (217, 38-40)

Although solde ich and wolde ich do not have the force that their English cognates suggest, the classical hero makes no resolve whatsoever to this effect.

Further examination of the repercussions of Pallas' death makes it clear that Pallas' parents react rather differently in the two epics. Vergil's king seems

relatively detached at this point as he sends Aeneas the message:

quod vitam moror invisam Pallante perempto
 dextera causa tua est, Turnum natoque patrique
 quam debere vides. meritis vacat hic tibi solus
 fortunaeque locus... (XI, 177-80)

Herewith, the father resigns himself to a miserable life without his son and asks only that Aeneas avenge Pallas' death.

The medieval Evander, on the other hand, is beside himself, and in both the French and German epics, Pallas' mother, who in Vergil has already died, also participates in the lament. Here, after a thirty-eight line lament Evander swoons in grief (221, 18). Then the queen takes over (221, 23), mourns at length, and in the process declares that she will be forever miserable

ezn sî daz sie mich rechen
 an Enêase dem Troiân,
 der dich liez ze tôde slân,
 dazer dir ze helfe niene quam (222, 21-24)

We see that for some reason the medieval mother demands vengeance on Eneas! A possible explanation for this demand is presented in 2.82 below.

As far as Turnus is concerned, the queen asserts "got mûze den vellen, | der dich, trût sun, reslûch" (222, 36-37). In the medieval epic there is no mention of a revenge-demanding message from Evander to Eneas. As we

have seen, however, Eneas has already determined on his own that Pallas' death must be avenged. Thus, in Veldeke's epic, the Arcadian parents clearly feel that not only Turnus, but Eneas as well should have to pay for their son's death.¹⁴

2.82 Explanation of divergence

Here the divergence of the medieval epic from the classical might be explained in part through reference to Evander's motivation for assisting the Trojans. As Dittrich points out, in both the French and Latin versions Evander explains to Aeneas that he has his own reasons for desiring Turnus' defeat.¹⁵ Apparently the Daunians have been warring against the Arcadians (VII,146-47), and the tyrant, Mezentius, whose cruelty is particularly abominable to Evander, has been granted asylum by Turnus (VIII, 478-95). Thus Evander has retributive motivation for declaring Aeneas leader of his armies which are already

¹⁴For an insightful comparison of this passage in the French and German epics, see: Olga Gogala Di Leesthal, Studien über Veldekes Eneide. (Göttingen: Kästner, 1913) pp. 70-73.

¹⁵Marie-Luise Dittrich, Die 'Eneide' Heinrichs von Veldeke (München: Beck, 1974) p. 244.

fighting against Turnus and in allowing Pallas to accompany the Trojans into battle (VIII, 314-15). Of course, the Arcadian king's respect for Aeneas also contributes considerably to his generous attitude in the Latin epic (cf. VIII, (154-56), but this respect is not presented as a motivation for Evander's offering aid to the Trojans.

Based on this information, we see that Vergil's Evander seeks revenge on Turnus alone because, as the father expounds at length, he has an already extant personal grudge against Turnus, and he realizes that he sent Pallas not so much out of good will towards Aeneas as to satisfy his own ends. Veldeke, in contrast, omits the story of Evander's reason for disliking Turnus. The medieval Arcadian explains his motivation in six lines with only brief reference to his feelings about the Rutulian king,

ich wil den lieben sun mîn
 ensamt û senden binnen
 dorch ûwers vater minnen
 und dorch ûch selben beide
 und Turnô ze leide,
 dem ich alles ubeles gan. (171, 28-33)

It would seem then, that the German poet emphasizes Evander's initial trust in Eneas over his desire for retribution against Turnus. Thus, it stands to reason that Pallas' medieval royal parents would feel that the Trojan had neglected his duty to them and should therefore be held

just as accountable for their son's death as the warrior who actually slew him. In any case, the medieval king and queen display much more concern about Pallas' death and its just retribution than their classical counterparts.

This assertion can be further supported if one takes a text variation in Vergil line XI, 164 into consideration. According to the Oxford Classical Text edition, this line begins, "nec vos arguerim, Teucri....". but the variation "arguerem" is also given. This line leads to significant differences in the interpretation of the whole passage in which it is found. If one accepts the former "arguerim", Evander seems to be saying that had he been killed instead of Pallas, he would not blame the Trojans. If, however, one prefers "arguerem" as C. D. Lewis and R. Humpries do, the passage indicates that Evander does not blame the Trojans. Although this variation is indeed slight(i/e), if we assume with Lewis that the latter is the case, it is obvious that Vergil did not intend any revenge to be exacted by the Arcadians against Aeneas.

2.83 Interlude in Battle- Veldeke

After great losses have been suffered on both sides, a council decides that the dispute over who will marry Lavinia and become ruler of Latium should be resolved by a duel between the Trojan king and the Rutulian king. Vergil proceeds with the battle after a short scene in which Turnus, Latinus, Amata and Lavinia discuss the situation. The medieval author, however, inserts at this point a very long (ca. 1600 lines) minne episode and a forty-day truce. Veldeke's interlude has the effect of decreasing tension in one respect and increasing it in another. On the one hand, the interlude effects a cooling of temper and lessens the blood-thirsty drives of Trojan and Rutulian alike. On the other hand, the tension is increased, for the reader is led to believe that due to Lavinia's minne, more is at stake in the medieval battle than in the classical one. The outcome of this duel will be discussed after an exposition of the final interventions of Juno.

2.9 The Final battles

2.91 Juno

At the beginning of book IX, Juno, through Iris

beckons her hero, Turnus, to hasten to his chariot and storm the unsuspecting Trojan camp while King Aeneas is away. Veldeke's Turnus, on the other hand, does not need a jealous goddess to advise him. He seizes the opportunity himself and strikes (174, 27). The medieval Rutullian's intentions are again emphasized, for in lines 198, 27 and 318, 1-3, Veldeke uses the verb rechen in reference to Turnus' attitude towards the Trojans. In contrast, Vergil compares Turnus' motivation to that of a hungry wolf who is kept from his prey and whose rage mounts as he lusts for it (IX, 39-64). There seems to be little evidence here of a calculated desire for retribution. Rather, Turnus is again driven by a wild, diety inspired passion.

At this point, it should be noted that though Vergil has Juno aid Turnus on numerous occasions during the battles, Veldeke does not let her intervene at all. The medieval poet does, however, allow Venus to provide Eneas with weapons and to advise him where to seek aid (157, 10 and 163, 15 respectively).

In addition, throughout the battle scenes Vergil underscores Juno's attitude by recounting Olypian meetings in which Jove orders the gods not to interfere with these

mortal wars. Yet, even under this pressure, Juno refuses to desist and finds ways to achieve her ends-- sometimes through lesser goddesses. One such instance occurs when Juno lures Turnus onto a ship and then blows the ship to sea in an effort to keep him from the battle (X, 653-60). Ironically, during Turnus' absence, the Trojans gain the upper hand. While preparations for the decisive battle are being made, Juno, again trying to save her champion, asks Turnus' sister, Juturna, also a goddess, to do whatever she can to keep Turnus from harm--specifically, away from Aeneas (XII, 156-59). Only at the very end does Juno turn from the battlefield and leave the Trojans in peace to fulfill their destiny. Only after a command from Jove does she abandon Turnus and the Latins to their fate saying, "et nunc cedo equidem pugnasque exosa relinquo" (XII, 818).

In the medieval epic, Turnus, having slain Pallas, does get stranded in a ship, but a reasonable sequence of events rather than a revenge-seeking goddess motivates the incident (207, 37ff.).

2.92 The Duel

Finally, but only after full scale war has again broken out, the two great warriors meet, and, after long

combat, Aeneas/Eneas brings Turnus to his knees. As the Latin king surrenders, the Trojan is moved to pity by his last words. In both versions the victor is about to spare Turnus' life when he sees, in the Vergilian epic, Pallas' belt and in the medieval epic, Pallas' ring. The duel which up to this point has been fought to determine who shall have Lavinia and Latium, now becomes an occasion for retribution. Turnus' trappings remind the Trojan of his pledge for vengeance, and he carries out his original intention to kill his opponent.

Herewith, Vergil brings his history to a dramatic close as Aeneas cries,

ille, oculis postquam saevi monuments doloris
exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
terribilis. 'tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'
(II, 945-49)

This climactic moment of revenge does not hold the final position in Veldeke's epic. Eneas, noticing the ring, declares,

des newas dir nehein not,
daz du sîn vingerlîn truge. (331, 28-29)
..... Pallas sal ich rechen,
der reiner tugende hete genuch (331, 36-37)

The medieval author then continues with about three hundred more lines of episodes centered around the minne theme and

finishes the tale with approximately one hundred lines about the history of Rome.

3.0 Summary of Exposition

To reiterate, there are five main areas in the Aeneid where vengeance is an important motif. These are: 1. Juno's activity a. at the beginning of the epic, b. in encouraging the women to burn the ships, c. in inciting war in Latium and d. in the final battles: 2. the treatment of confrontation between warriors (Sinon, Menelaus, Greeks, Nisus and Euryalus, Mezentius): 3. Dido's reaction to Aeneas' departure; 4. Turnus' motivation for fighting and 5. Evander's and Aeneas' reactions to Pallas' death.

In the first instance, Juno's jealousy is brought out in Veldeke's Eneide, but the medieval author places much less emphasis on this aspect of the Trojan's struggles than Vergil. The Trojan women do not set fire to the ships in the medieval epic, and there Juno's vengeful attitude has no part in the outbreak of war between the Trojans and Rutulians. Juno's wrath is completely absent from the final battle of the medieval epic.

There are several minor events in both epics where vengeance stands out. The Mezentius-Lausus episode and the

Nisus-Euryalus story are treated very similarly in both epics as is the tale of Sinon and the Trojan horse. The treatment of general references to the Greeks is, however, different. Each time Veldeke mentions them he points out that the Greeks fought with the Trojans in order to rectify a wrong suffered by them. This is not the case with the classical epic.

Thirdly, Dido reacts violently to her lover's departure in both epics, but whereas she demands revenge in the Aeneid, she forgives in the Eneide. Turnus' motivation for fighting the Trojans differs markedly in the epics. Vergil's hero is driven throughout by a wild rage inspired by Juno, but Veldeke's Turnus goes to battle to retrieve what has been promised him and to avenge his people against the Trojans. In addition, while Eneas and Pallas' parents are concerned with exacting revenge in both epics, Veldeke seems to place a greater emphasis on vengeance in these characters than Vergil. Thus the areas where vengeance is important in the Eneide are: 1. the Greek's retributive motive in attacking Troy; 2. Eneas' and both of Pallas' parents concern over the youth's death; and 3. Turnus' retribution for harm done to his people. Until now, little distinction has been made between the

occurrence of vengeance in central episodes of the epics and its occurrence in minor ones. It may prove helpful to diagram this distinction as follows:

3.1 Occurrence of Vengeance compared

Occurrence of vengeance	Classical	Medieval
<hr/>		
I. <u>In central episodes</u>		
Juno	x	
Dido	x	
Turnus		x
Pallas' death:		
Aeneas/Eneas	x	x
Pallas' parents:		
Mother/Evander	x	x
against Turnus		
Mother against Eneas		x
II. <u>In minor episodes</u>		
Greeks		x
Sinon	x	x
Mezentius and Lausus	x	x
Nisus and Eurylasus	x	x
<hr/>		

3.2 Juno's omnipresent wrath

It may also be helpful to illustrate the instances where Juno's wrath is a major source of plot motivation in the classical epic.

Book I	- - - - -	-Storm, Landing in Carthage -- <u>Juno present</u>
Book II	- - - - -	Aeneas' story of Trojan War
Book III		
Book IV	- - - - -	Dido and Aeneas - - <u>Juno present</u> *
Book V	- - - - -	Funeral games-Ship burning-- <u>Juno present</u>
Book VI	- - - - -	Journey through Hades
Book VII	- - - - -	Landing in Latium-Allecto -- <u>Juno present</u>
Book VIII	- - - - -	Aeneas' visit to Evander
Book IX	- - - - -	Battles in Latium-Iris -- <u>Juno present</u>
Book X	- - - - -	Aeneas' return-Pallas death -- <u>Juno present</u>
Book XI	- - - - -	Pallas' funeral-Battles - - <u>Juno present</u>
Book XII	- - - - -	Juturna-Peace in Olympus-- <u>Juno present</u> - Duel

* Juno, wishing to detain the Trojans in Carthage, brings about the meeting between Aeneas and Dido in the cave. This incident is, however, an exception among the "Juno" episodes. for Juno's attitude here is cunning - but not wrathful.

While Vergil emphasizes vengeance in his Juno and Dido episodes, Veldeke neglects the motif in these instances, but gives it considerably more attention in the

episodes involving warriors than Vergil does. This phenomenon is evident in a central way through Turnus' motivation and through Pallas' mother's concern that her son's death be avenged against Eneas as well as against Turnus. We also see that with regard to minor occurrences of the motif, except in connection with the Greeks, the instances in the two epics either mirror or counter-balance each other. As far as the Greeks are concerned, Veldeke is definitely more interested in the retributive aspects of their actions than Vergil is.

In other words, Vergil allows Juno to motivate Turnus and, to a certain extent, the Greeks as well. Veldeke's warriors are motivated throughout by a desire to administer justice through revenge. In addition, while the recurring wrath of Juno has a great influence on the mood of the classical epic, a parallel mood of pervasive, raging vengeance is lacking in the medieval work. This is not to say that vengeance is not an important theme in Veldeke's epic. The motif is certainly present, but revenge has a different function.

4.0 Evaluation of secondary literature

Basically, there are three different "kinds" of

vengeance that occur in Vergil's epic. The categories under which these will be considered in light of the divergence in the medieval epic from them are: 1. Juno's ubiquitous wrath; 2. Dido's revenge; and 3. the revenge demanded by warriors as retribution.

4.1 The nature of Juno's role

In the classical epic vengeance occurs most often in the Olympian realm. The relationship of these passages to the parallel accounts in the Eneide can be dealt with rather simply. To explain this relationship, however, we must mention one of the more obvious differences between the classical and the medieval epic. This difference lies in the "unrestrained demythologizing" as Dittrich calls it, that occurs in the Eneide. With regard to Veldeke's epic, she maintains that what remains are human actions without any mythological motivation.¹⁶ Yunck asserts that before his enlightened, sophisticated Christian audiences, the medieval French poet is embarrassed by Vergil's gods.¹⁷

¹⁶Marie-Luise Dittrich, 'Eneide', 353.

¹⁷John A. Yunck, trans. , Eneas, 10.

Despite this gross over-simplification the gods must obviously play a lesser role in a medieval epic than in a classical one. In her extensive structural comparison of Vergil with Veldeke and the Roman d'Eneas, Dittrich seems to overlook the fact that while Juno is all but omitted, Venus does motivate several occurrences in the medieval account. Indeed, she is included one more time by Veldeke than by Vergil (see above, p.4, Footnote 6). This situation can be explained easily enough. Although the tendency of ancient poets to use the gods as a vehicle for dealing with human emotions usually corresponds to a directness in dealing with these emotions in medieval works, accounts of love prove to be an exception. From earliest times, Venus and her consorts are given an important place in medieval poetry and this importance continues through the courtly period where minne and its personification in Frouwe Minne, used interchangeably with Venus, becomes a driving force and a unifying theme in most of the poetry of this period.¹⁸

Regarding Juno's involvement in the history of the

¹⁸We find numerous poems centered around themes such as those expressed in Pervirgilium (4th century A.D.) throughout the Middle Ages.

founding of Rome, one more point needs to be discussed. If Juno's position of importance has been reduced in medieval literature, why then does Veldeke attribute to her the fall of Troy (21, 16-22)? Since this particular reference to Juno is taken over from ancient mythology while other references to her are ignored, there must be some special appeal in the fall of Troy for the medieval audience. Indeed, Comparetti maintains that of all the ancient legends which survived to the Middle Ages, the best known and most often treated was the story of Troy. He points out that the pictures on Erec's saddle provide a prominent example of this legend's popularity.¹⁹ Certainly, even today the judgment of Paris is a popular theme in literature and paintings. It is probably safe to assume that the story of Paris' judgment was even more popular in Europe during the Middle Ages.

4.12 Consequences of Juno's absence in the Eneide

Since the divergence between Vergil's epic and Veldeke's epic with respect to Juno's revenge has been explained without revealing any unexpected, underlying cultural conditions of the Middle Ages, one might ask why

¹⁹ Domenico Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages. (London George Allen and Unwin, 1908 reprint 1966) p.244-47.

Juno's wrath is important for this study at all. Actually, Juno's involvement in the classical epic lends a mood of raving vengefulness, a real Rachsüchtigkeit to the whole of Vergil's epic, for it is the source, if not the principal source of plot motivation in Books I, V, VII, IX, X, XI and XII of the Aeneid (see table p. 35). This lust for personal satisfaction through revenge is lacking as a motivation in the Eneide . It may also be worthwhile to note here that Juno is, after all, a female deity, and as we shall see later, her sex may have diminished her ability to exact revenge in the Middle Ages.

4.2 Dido

One of the favorite points of comparison between Vergil's Aeneid and Veldeke's Eneide centers around the Dido episode. Comparisons of this episode are approached from widely varying standpoints and in light of several different aspects of the incident. Commentators all point out the difference in the reactions of each of the two Didos to her lover's departure, but none offers us a satisfactory explanation for this difference. As Wörner points out, Vergil's Dido dies "unversöhnt... mit Hass im Herzen und Verwünschung auf den Lippen." Veldeke's Dido, however,

is "mild, weich, wehmütig gestimmt," and she dies, not cursing, but forgiving.²⁰ Yet Wörner offers no further explanation for this phenomenon than that the respective poets thought and wrote for their contemporaries²¹

4.21 Quint's Explanation

Quint goes somewhat further in attempting to explain this difference. He maintains that the Middle Ages was a self-contained era and that the medieval poet was basically unconcerned with Roman history. The medieval Dido is, according to Quint, weichmütig. She loses "die Herbe und Grösse ihrer stoischen Schicksalsbejahung," and she is "mittelalterlich höfisch sentimentalisiert und erweicht."²² Of course it is true that Vergil was more concerned with Roman history than Veldeke could have been, but one denies the contents of the medieval epic to say that

²⁰ Erich Wörner, "Virgil and Heinrich von Veldeke, ZfdPh, 3 (1871), 157.

²¹ Ibid, 160.

²² Joseph Quint, "Der Roman d'Eneas und Veldeke's Eneit als fruhhöfische Umgestaltungen der "Aeneis" in der Renaissance des 12. Jahrhunderts," ZfdPh 73 (1954), 266.

its poet did not take history into consideration. The Eneide not only opens and closes with historical exposition, but there are passages throughout such as 28, 4 - 10 (an assertion that Carthage would have become an even greater city had it not been for Rome) in which Veldeke explains a point of history. The medieval author was indeed concerned with the history of Rome. Furthermore, we find no evidence in the Eneide of a medieval "sentimentalization" or "softening" of character. Veldeke's Dido is just as upset as Vergil's, yet, after struggling with her grief over a greater number of lines than the classical Dido, she comes to a conclusion which is in fact more stoic, contrary to Quint's assertion, than that of her prototype. The medieval Dido at least tries to distance herself from the situation, and in a sense, she does transcend her own preoccupation by forgiving Eneas. Vergil's queen never once tries to analyze the situation with any sort of perspective other than her own distorted one, and her most "noble" display of emotion is the utterance of a violent curse. Certainly this reaction is far from stoic. Perhaps it is more appropriate in this context to speak with Ruh of a "höfische Humanität" rather than an "Erweichung" or Sentimentalität²³

²³Kurt Ruh, Höfische Epik, 80.

Indeed, the medieval Amata is certainly not a softened character (cf. 120, 35-123, 24).

Here, it must be pointed out that two factors may well be confusing the issue for Quint. First of all, Vergil's poetic style is in itself much heavier than Veldeke's. Surely no one can liken a passage from Vergil with its carefully composed hexameter lines to the corresponding passage in the twelfth century epic without agreeing that Vergil's language creates much more tension and is more urgent than the language in which the medieval epic is written. Secondly, Quint may be confusing the overall mood of the epic with the personality of certain characters. As mentioned earlier, Juno's wrath does cast a moody sense of destiny and foreboding over Vergil's verse, but the absence of this mood in Veldeke's epic does not allow us to conclude that he himself or an individual character, specifically Dido, has lost his/her concern for heroic destiny or become sentimental. The absence of the Olympians does remove a certain degree of awe from the epic and lends a more human mood to the whole; but, here again, an overall mood should not be used to explain specific occurrences.

4.22 Dittrich's and Zitzmann's explanation

Dittrich, in spite of her lengthy analysis of the two epics, seems to agree erroneously with Quint that heroic elements of the classical epic are softened and replaced by sentimentality through Dido's forgiveness of Eneas. Although Dittrich does not explain why the medieval poet changes the queen's reaction, she does try to justify the change through the positive effect (or "übergeordneten Sinn") that this forgiveness has in the later epic. Dittrich maintains that the conversion from revenge to forgiveness is not only a reflection of the medieval Christian ethic, but also that it allows Eneas to pursue his goal in peace-- untroubled by Dido's political curse. She concludes her discussion by saying that Dido's forgiving attitude is an early sign of and a condition for peace in the future Roman kingdom.²⁴

There are two points of this argument that do not stand up under scrutiny. In the first place, although forgiveness is definitely more highly acclaimed by Christianity than revenge, we can not simply assume a Christian

²⁴Dittrich, 480-81.

motivation for the medieval Dido's attitude. Even though we know that Veldeke did have a Christian education and that his earliest work consisted of religious epic poetry,²⁵ we really have no basis for assuming that the poet intentionally incorporates general Christian values into his later epic at this point. Indeed, there was a strong tradition behind the defense of a lady's honor which seems often to have run counter to Christian values. In addition, there are instances in epics written during the "Christian" Middle Ages where a jealous woman does seek revenge. The example of this phenomenon which immediately comes to mind is to be found in the Nibelungenlied with the revenge exacted by Brünhilde and Kriemhilde. Finally, in Veldeke's lost poem about Solomon and Minne, the poet apparently allows the great Old Testament king to be overcome by the heathen goddess Venus.²⁶ Thus, we have grounds for asserting that Veldeke was willing to incorporate heathen values into his works if

²⁵ Helmut de Boor, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Vol 2, (München: Beck, 1974) pp. 41-42.

²⁶ de Boor, 43.

they aided the progression of his story.

Here, Zitzmann offers some help by suggesting that the medieval Dido's attitude reflects specifically the cluniac reform movement's encouragement of individualized piety, introspection and personal responsibility for sin before God.²⁷ He thereby points at least to a definable source of possible inspiration for some of the medieval poet's divergence from his source. In addition, Yunck points out that introspection on the part of lovers became an essential element in the genre of romance, and he refers to Chrétien de Troye's early work for support of his assertion.²⁸ Zitzmann's hypothesis seems more reliable than Dittrich's, but as we shall explain later, there are perhaps even more pressing reasons for the medieval queen's forgiving attitude.

Returning to the second part of Dittrich's assertion, we admit that of itself her Friedensidee for the future Roman nation is plausible enough. However,

27

Rudolf Zitzmann, "Die Dido^handlung in der fruhhöfischen Eneasdichtung," Euphorion. 46 (1952), 237.

28

Yunck, 2.

in view of the strife that does ensue after the Dido episode and the references Amata makes to this passage, the likelihood of Veldeke's intention to underscore a peaceful mood is slight.

4.23 A lady's honor and revenge in the Middle Ages

The slighting of a lady's honor was no small offence in the Middle Ages, and it was certainly not usually allowed to pass unavenged. Women were to be protected, for their purity was essential to the preservation of a family line. Thus, it is important that we supply a reasonable explanation for the divergence to Veldeke's Dido episode. In order to account for the absence of a vengeance motif in this case, one must consider how vengeance appears as a literary motif and carefully examine medieval value systems and Germanic traditions.

Bumke's opinion on the subject of revenge in the Christian Middle Ages is well worth noting here. In contrast to Maurer, who insists that Rache is a pre-Christian motivation, and Ranke, who feels that Christianity brought with it an automatic "erbarmende, christliche Humanität," Bumke maintains correctly that it is not a matter of a

pre-Christian "Racheidee," but that Christianity knows and accepts revenge. He then goes on to mention " [das] christliche Kampfethos"²⁹

4.3 Honor and retribution among warriors

The only kind of vengeance remaining to be discussed is closely related to the idea of a Christian battle ethic. This is the sort of revenge demanded by warriors in retribution for physical assault. Comparison of the classical and medieval epic brings to light the fact that retribution on the battle field is the single instance where the motif of revenge is more prominent in Veldeke's epic than in Vergil's. Up until the time when it is decided that the two heroes should settle their differences in a duel, we see that their motivation for fighting in the medieval epic is somewhat different from that in the classical epic. Whereas Vergil's Turnus is moved for the most part by rage and the personal threat that Aeneas represents, the medieval Rutulian seems to be motivated by the desire to avenge the suffering of his people at the hands of the Trojans. Only in the medieval epic does Turnus declare "ich hân es gerne mâze," but continues to fight, because, among other reasons,

²⁹

Joachim Bumke, Wolframs Willehalm (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1959), p. 63. Bumke also cites Maurer and Ranke in this context.

the harm done by the Trojans is not yet avenged (152, 15-17, and see above); only in the medieval epic does revenge come up explicitly in connection with Eneas' reaction to the slaying of Pallas; and only in the medieval epic do Pallas' parents want revenge from both Eneas and Turnus. It would seem then, that rache to Veldeke is more a means through which justice is administered than something to be dealt out on the basis of the emotional reactions of an individual. Yet, is there not a medieval code that would take care of the administration of justice when a lady's honor, in this case, Dido's, has been violated? Apparently, if we base our judgment on the events in the medieval epic, the honor of a queen and the possible illegitimacy of a royal line is less deserving of retribution than the death of a prince in battle!

We find two instances where the deviation of Veldeke's Eneide from Vergil's Aeneid with regard to vengeance is, at present, inadequately explained. Certainly revenge does occur in the courtly epic, but it shows up in the form of straight forward, human revenge rather than as a struggle between goddesses. In addition, what is a motif in the classical epic is reduced, for all practical purposes, to a reaction that occurs under one particular set of circumstances. That is, vengeance occurs

in the medieval epic only as a reaction to a wrong suffered by someone on the battlefield. This vengeance seems to center around just retribution. Why, then, is there no just retribution attempted for the wrong suffered by Dido? Surely she could have found a worthy knight who was willing to defend her honor. Perhaps the code at work on the battlefield differs from the one exercised in a "minne" situation. Of course, this conclusion disregards certain values of medieval society as we understand them. Through the following examination of medieval value systems both courtly and Christian, and medieval codes of law, we hope to suggest a better understanding of how these systems worked together and influenced the medieval author in his restructuring of the classical epic.

In most cases, however, one should not expect to find one single adequate explanation for a particular divergence between the two epics. Even if such an explanation can be provided in certain cases, it will not apply in every instance, for throughout the Middle Ages a number of divergent value systems were in operation. Only in didactic works such as Meier Helmbrecht, Der Arme Heinrich, Gregorius, or Christian Latin commentaries do we find a consistent Christian dogma presented. Thus,

especially in the transitional early courtly period of Veldeke, we can expect to find a confusing amalgam of old Germanic, Christian, and courtly values.

5.0 New explanations offered

We have now established the two most important instances of divergence in the vengeance motif between the Aeneid and Veldeke's Eneide. In what follows, possible explanations for the absence of a suggestion of revenge for Dido's dishonor and for the emphasis on retribution among warriors will be discussed.

5.1 Dido

5.11 Explanations within the epic itself

The twelfth century poets did not create the first major variations from Vergil's Dido story. In the fourth century, Macrobius wrote that the historical Dido restrained herself and resisted the charm of Aeneas in order to preserve her good name. This commentator maintains that Vergil incorporated the love story of Medea and Jason from Apollonius' Argonautica into his Dido episode.³⁰ Actually, the Argonautica love story parallels Vergil's Dido-Aeneas

³⁰ P. V. Davies, 359.

story very closely except at the point in the two histories when the visiting warriors must continue their respective journeys. On being struck by one of Eros' arrows, both Dido and Medea fall blindly in love: they both experience the same sort of hot and cold flashes and are very much disturbed by their new-found emotions. Dido, however, is abandoned by Aeneas while Medea is allowed to accompany the Argonauts. Semrau describes an older Germanic version of the story in which Dido dies, not because she has been forsaken by Eneas, but because she can no longer turn aside the advances of an unwanted suitor and would rather sacrifice herself than be untrue to the memory of her deceased husband.³¹ Although there exists no documentation to this effect, it may be assumed that Veldeke knew at least one of these earlier versions of the story (probably Macrobius' and possibly the old Germanic one). Indeed, Veldeke was well acquainted with at least a portion of the old Germanic lore, for his Servatius has as its original source an early Middle High German story.³²

³¹Eberhard Semrau, "Dido in der deutschen Dichtung," in Stoff and Motivgeschichte der deutschen Literatur 9 (1930), p.1.

³² de Boer, 44.

Assuming the poet's familiarity with this material, it is easy to understand how he would not have felt himself bound to portray his Dido as she is portrayed in the Latin, and to a certain degree, in the French epic.

According to Andreotti, it is important to deal with the elements of an epic not only within their historical context, but also, and perhaps primarily, within the framework of the epic itself. If we review the Dido episode in each of the three epics involved (Latin, Old French, Middle High German), we find it is only in the German epic that Eneas shows sympathy for the sorrowful queen before she kills herself.³³ and only there does he immediately mourn having been compelled to leave her. Thus, especially since Veldeke's Eneas spends forty-eight lines trying to console Dido, it seems that she would have great difficulty blaming him for an unfortunate stroke of fate.

Still within the framework of the epic itself, another important observation should be made. While the classical Dido is from the beginning referred to as regina (I, 496, 522 etc.), Veldeke insists on calling his queen vrouwe (35, 28: 36, 151; 39, 26; 49, 20; etc.). Lexer glosses

³³Rudolph Zitzmann, "Die Dido-handlung in der frühhöfischen Eneasdichtung" Euphorion 46 (1952), 270.

vrouwe as Herrin, Geliebte, Jungfrau von Stande, or Dame but not Königin. A vrouwe then, is a woman of respectable social standing, but not necessarily a queen. From the beginning Veldeke's Dido is not represented as a powerful queen (She is never called 'kunegin'), but rather as a lady who is unable to defend herself.³⁴ Contrary to what Semrau asserts, the medieval Dido does not step down from her queenly status to that of a mere woman at the moment she begins to love. Nor is it true that Vergil's Dido remains queenly throughout. The fact is that for Veldeke she is always simply a lady while in the classical epic, as Queen, she does lose a good deal of her people's respect because of her passion for Aeneas. Ehrismann asserts that because of courtly manners, Eneas' desertion of Dido would have been considered deplorable during the Middle Ages, but that for the ancients, the episode was just a matter of the abuse of a woman.³⁵ As we shall see, during this early courtly period, Eneas' actions may have seemed only slightly more reprehensible than they did in Vergil's time.

³⁴Wenzelburger, 294.

³⁵Gustav Ehrismann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters Vol. 1, Section 2, Part 1 (München: Beck, 1927), p. 93.

5.12 Explanation to be found in the social milieu

5.121 Legal Codes

Though the old Germanic local customs and value systems were often more in evidence throughout the Middle Ages than Christian legal codes enforced later by centralized governments, in the case of Dido it is worthwhile to investigate these Christian codes. Indeed, Dido's story with its introspective elements, is admittedly one of the more progressive, relatively modern aspects of Veldeke's epic. Before applying these Christian-inspired laws to our specific subject matter, we must briefly describe their overall direction and explain how they were applied during this period.

In the first place, all of the early written documents that we have for western Europe were formulated during the Christian period, and they stem from a basic corpus of Salian-Frankish laws.³⁶ These Western codes differ greatly from those of the East (i.e. Gothic and Burgundian), especially with regard to laws about punishment, and they clearly reflect the introduction of Christianity into this western area.³⁷ Apparently, Germanic codified justice not

³⁶ Karl von Amira, Germanisches Recht, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967). 2 vols. Vol I, p. 6.

³⁷ Ibid, 36,

only progressed in a way parallel to religious development but was determined by it.³⁸ Thus, we see the gradual codification of laws which were intended to replace the tribal "eye for an eye" justice with a system of fines.³⁹ Although the amount of the fine could vary greatly according to the nature of the crime, insult, bodily injury, rape, and even murder could be atoned for if the accused could somehow raise enough money to cover the fine levied against him. Jacob Grimm points out that these codified laws were most often beneficial to the offender as well as the offended. On the one hand, the accuser no longer had to exact his own uncertain vengeance. On the other hand, the accused was no longer in danger of losing his life-- provided he had adequate funds. Nevertheless, it took well over a thousand years for Christianity to effect the change in attitude necessary for the people to act according to these new laws instead of the old ones entitling them to a Privatstrafe. Since from oldest times, a free man had the right personally to avenge any damage done against his person, honor or

³⁸Ibid, 225.

³⁹See Karl August Eckhardt, ed. Lex Salica, 100 Titel-Text (Weimer: H. Bohlaus, 1953). In the Lex Salica, this system of fines is obvious.

property, one can easily understand how the new laws could, in certain cases, run counter to an individual's natural inclination to seek revenge. Indeed, in the case of murder a fine (or Buße) would certainly seem inadequate.⁴⁰ Although under the influence of Christianity, the frequency of the death penalty was considerably reduced, it was never completely eliminated anywhere during the Middle Ages. Throughout this period, in most areas, the clan or tribe remained much more powerful than the king or local lord.⁴¹ Thus, law in the early Middle Ages must have had a very motley texture indeed. In some cases the old Germanic and Christian systems overlapped to the extent that a criminal could be required to suffer a Privatbuße at the hands of the offended party as well as a public punishment under the king's jurisdiction.

5.122 Status of Women

It would seem^m then that Veldeke's Dido would have every right and reason to demand revenge against Eneas for her damaged honor. The key to this dilemma lies in the fact that under both the Germanic and Christian legal systems, the

⁴⁰ Jacob Grimm, Deutsche Rechts-Alterthümer (Berlin: Akademie, 1828, reprint 1956), vol 2. pp. 210-12.

⁴¹ Amira, Vol. 2, 139.

only members of society who had any real legal rights were the free men. Women are rarely mentioned in the codified laws, and when they are, it is within the context of marriage. A woman was always under the protection of a man--either a kinsman or a husband-- and this man ususally had the right to reprimand, sell or kill not only his servants and children but his wife as well.⁴² Furthermore, in earliest times a husband could accuse his wife of certain crimes, but she did not have the right to accuse him.⁴³ Originally it was customary for a woman to follow her husband in death. Later, however, widowhood became an acceptable status, but the second marriage of a widow was not looked upon favorably. In addition, there were particular grounds for divorce and ceremonies which effected it. Separation was considered a justifiable punishment for a wife who had committed a wrong against her husband.⁴⁴ The possibility that Veldeke's Dido interpreted Eneas' leaving her as such a punishment may account for the queen's assertion that she is certainly not responsible for the Trojan's toils (69, 10-16). It was

⁴² Grimm, vol. 1, 617-21.

⁴³ Amira, vol. 2, 73.

⁴⁴ Walther Gehl, Ruhm und Ehre bei den Nordgermanen: Studien zum Lebensgefühl der islandischen Saga (Berlin: Junker & Dunnhaupt, 1937), p. 57.

however, not uncommon for a man simply to abandon his wife.⁴⁵
The woman would then be left with no legal recourse.

Dido's situation may well have been seen in this light by the medieval audience. She was, after all, a widow who had remarried (65, 3-4), and when her new husband and protector deserted her, he left her with no status before the law. Thus she was helpless and in no position to demand retribution. It might be argued that the classical Dido, woman that she was, may have faced exactly the same impediments that Veldeke's did. Vergil's Dido, however, still had her pagan gods to whom she could appeal.

So far we have discussed two possible aspects of Veldeke's reasoning when he chose to allow his Dido to die forgiving rather than seeking revenge. First, within the framework of the epic itself, Eneas' sympathetic reaction to Dido before he departs makes it difficult for her not to forgive him. Secondly, the medieval Dido is presented more as a courtly lady than as a queen (who may have had, even in medieval times, more legal stature than a woman of a lesser social position). Since, as a woman Dido had no legal recourse, and since she had no male kinsman to

⁴⁵Grimm, vol. 1, 623-27.

champion her cause, her situation would seem to preclude any legal claim she might have had to retribution.

5.123 Women and revenge as a motif

Zacharias has some interesting comments to offer on the subject of revenge exacted by women as a motif in German medieval literature. He points out that normally it is the husband who takes care of administering punishment for wrongs committed against him. Thus, Brunhilde must convince her Lehnsmann Hagen (since her husband Gunther refuses) to avenge her and restore her honor. Likewise, Kriemhilde must enlist Etzel's help before she can avenge Seigfried's death. Kriemhilde, however, gets too involved in the final battle and personally cuts off Hagen's head. Since she behaves as a vālandinne and not like a woman, according to the Nibelungen poet, Etzel can allow his queen to be killed without bringing shame to his own honor. Another instance in literature where a woman has an opportunity to carry out vengeance occurs when Isolde discovers that Tristan is the one who killed her uncle. Here Tristan convinces the lady not to kill him on the grounds that to do so would not be hospitable. Had she carried out her intention, she would have lost her

Frauenehre. Zacharias reports that there are no other parallels either legal or literary to Kriemhilde's behavior.⁴⁶ Gehl, however, maintains that Gudrun is another exception to the role of a woman's non-participation in the actual act of revenge.⁴⁷ It is perhaps worth noting that Juno, though a goddess, is also a woman and, as such, could not have hoped to wreak as much vengeance in the Middle Ages as she did in ancient times.

5.2 Retribution as exacted by warriors

The aspect of vengeance remaining to be discussed within the context of Veldeke's Eneide pertains to retribution as it is sought after and exacted by warriors. One might well ask how a medieval Christian poet could justify actually increasing the emphasis on the pagan tradition of personally exacted vengeance. Given the status of Christian values in the early Middle Ages it is understandable why Veldeke would not feel obliged to eliminate all vindictiveness from his epic, but why would he expand on this theme as he does?

⁴⁶Rainer Zacharias, "Die Blutrache im deutschen Mittelalter." ZfdA 91 (1962), 194 - 197.

⁴⁷Gehl, 51.

In Germanic cultures, personal honor has always held an important place in the hierarchical scheme of values. Under the influence of Christianity, this honor came to be equated to a large extent with God's honor. That is, through the personal honor of an individual, God's honor or honor to God is increased. Likewise, if an individual experiences dishonor, God's honor is diminished, and the person experiencing dishonor is obligated, even within a Christian framework, to restore his own good name.⁴⁸ Apparently, the most natural way to regain one's honor was to seek revenge from the offender. Although laws against personally exacted justice existed since Carolingian times, revenge, more often than not Blutrache was practiced well into the seventeenth century. This phenomenon resulted not because the persons involved wanted to break the law, but rather because the mechanism for enforcing the codified law was insufficient.⁴⁹ As the new Christian values of sympathy, brotherly love, sin, and penitence became more prominent, the protection of one's honor existed for a long time as a second, secular ethic

⁴⁸Gehl, 148.

⁴⁹ Zacharias, 174.

without any connection to the system propagated by the Church and worldly authorities. Thus, during the Middle Ages, there was a constant tension between the traditional concept of vengeance and the new legal concept of punishment.⁵⁰

From earliest times, revenge was considered the duty of the male members of the family or clan; the responsibility for it could be given to any man who had an established bond with the injured party. Underlying the tradition of Blutrache was the concept that only blood could completely restore lost honor. When the alternative of accepting a fine became available, this new solution was in some cases, particularly in the case of murder, not considered an honorable one. Indeed, the payment for material damage was not as important as the restoration of honor. Although it was not customary to rejoice in the death of an offender, a man could not look his peers in the eye until he had carried out his duty and avenged himself. Thus, vengeance within Germanic culture was ideally exacted not in a fit of passion, but rather out of a feeling of moral obligation.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Ibid, 201.

⁵¹ Gehl, 51-56.

In his study of the motif of Leid in German literature, Maurer has occasion to deal with the theme of vengeance. He points to a progression from the Germanic values in the Nibelungenlied to Christian ones in the works of Hartmann von Aue. In the Nibelungenlied, Maurer sees an abstract progression from honor to damaged honor to the restoration of honor through revenge. He points out that in this epic the initial revenge leads to more sorrow, as it sets off a chain reaction of counter-revenge, and he describes the progression with the words Ehre-Leid-Rache-Leid.⁵² Maurer asserts that in Hartmann's Christian epics, specifically Erec, this progression is transformed to Sunde-Leid-Buße-Gnade. Erec loses his honor the second time through his own fault (Sunde), recovers it through penitence (Buße), and thereby obtains grace (Gnade), which implies God's blessing and good fortune in this world.⁵³

Wenzelburger applies a similar concept of stages in a character's development to Eneas' situation with regard

⁵² Friedrich Maurer, Leid; Studien zur Bedeutungs- und Problemgeschichte besonders in den grossen Epen der staufischen Zeit (Bern: A. Francke, 1951), pp. 29-38.

⁵³ Ibid, 39-50.

to Pallas. The death of this youth apparently signifies a crisis in Eneas' struggle for his already ordained victory. Eneas loses his saelde (or state of blessedness) and his assurance and consciousness of the future fulfillment of his destiny. This assurance and Eneas' saelde can only be restored through rache. Wenzelburger points out that the same circumstances surround the death of Etzel's sons in the saga of Dietrich von Bern, Rabenschlacht.⁵⁴ Here the care of the young men has been entrusted to Dietrich who, like Eneas, mourns their death at length. Thus, although the duel between Eneas and Turnus began as a battle over maget und riche (232,12-18) and although Eneas seems to have forgotten his intention to avenge Pallas' death (211, 10-11 and 217, 38-40) until he sees the ring (331, 20-38), the duel can end only after the Trojan's sworn Blutrache has been exacted.

It is interesting that the medieval heroes leave the outcome of their duel to God:

swem got der êren gunne
daz her den sige gewinne
der habe daz rîche und die maget, (232, 15-17)

while for Vergil, the battle will be decided by blood (XII, 78-79). This comparison shows the difference between the classical and medieval conceptualization of judicial combat.

⁵⁴Wenzelburger, 198-99.

The medieval concept was of course that physical strength is a sign of God's grace and that right is on the side of the individual towards whom this grace is directed.

5.21 The role of women in exacting revenge

In connection with the Pallas episode, there is another aspect of Germanic tradition which should be considered. Since it was up to the male members of a community to actually carry out revenge, in some areas the men were not allowed to make the initial complaint that vengeance was necessary, for the person who made the complaint was not allowed to exact the revenge. Therefore, a woman would be entrusted with the Klage so that all manpower would be available to assure vengeance.⁵⁵ This custom may well account for the medieval Arcadian queen's demanding revenge instead of Evander's doing so as he does in the classical epic.

Since honor and vengeance were such important elements of justice in medieval society, it is readily apparent why Veldeke found it necessary to explain that the Greeks did not attack Troy merely out of spite, but rather out of the duty they had to exact retribution for

⁵⁵ Zacharias, 196.

the wrong suffered by Menelaus. Through the comparison of Vergil's Aeneid and Veldeke's Eneide we have seen that during the Middle Ages rache was necessary for the administration of justice. It was a responsibility on the part of the offended. In contrast, during classical times revenge was often sought as a means of satisfying a personal grudge. Thus Juno's raging struggle for a personal revenge because of her hurt feelings has no place in the medieval epic. Likewise, in contrast to the classical hero, the medieval Turnus is motivated not by a passionate, bloodthirsty rage but by his responsibility to his people to carry out justice.

6.0 Conclusion

Our investigation of the vengeance theme has revealed more of medieval attitudes in the Eneide than has been previously realized. Because of the contrast between the moods of the two epics under consideration, one is tempted to assume that there is a softening and sentimentalization in the medieval one. This assumption is due in large measure to the presence of Juno with all her wrath in the classical epic as opposed to her comparatively low profile in the Eneide. We can say that with regard to the overall mood of the epic, there is a certain softening--if this is

interpreted to mean a lack of emphasis on violent emotions. However, a closer look at the vengeance motif has revealed no such softening is evident among the characters of the medieval epic. For a number of reasons, some of which have been dealt with here, Veldeke's Dido does not curse Eneas and his progeny, and we may therefore consider her more stoic and noble than the classical Queen. Wrathful desires for personal vengeance are not sufficient plot motivation for Veldeke. However, from evidence in the Eneide, we see that retribution in a social context as a means to justice is more important to Veldeke than to Vergil.

It is important, especially with regard to the literature of the Middle Ages, that one always question explanations based on generalizations about this period. When a phenomenon is described as arising out of a "Christian," or "courtly" influence with no further elaboration, chances are that further research would reveal a more complex situation. The cultural aspects of the Middle Ages are so multi-faceted and often so obscure that it is unrealistic and fruitless to think only in terms of simple, accepted explanations when dealing with this period. Certainly the Christian and courtly aspects of medieval society very often provide the most obvious background in the literature of this period, but beneath the surface, a more deeply textured pattern of culture can and should

be revealed.

In conclusion, Veldeke's Eneide as others have commented (especially Andreotti) is not a mere translation of the French and Latin epics. Rather, it reflects a restructuring of ideas in the transition from ancient values to more modern ones. It is important to realize however, that, as Dempf points out, this transition is not so much a shift from an old culture to a new one as it is a flux from one value system to another system which retains many of the values of the earlier one.⁵⁶ Indeed, although Augustine makes a definite distinction between heathen and Christian virtues, he does recognize the moral worth of the heathen system. He felt that God set up the classical heroes as patterns for Christians to follow and that heathen values such as honor, fidelity, and patriotism were certainly worth imitating. The important difference between the two systems for Augustine lies in the ultimate goal of each. While the Stoics were concerned finally only with the effect their deeds would have on their own personal growth and worldly reputation, the Christian ethic required that an individual turn all his

⁵⁶ Alois Dempf, Ethik des Mittelalters (München: Oldenbourg, 1927) pp. 5-6.

energy to God and set truth and justice over fame as his ultimate goals.⁵⁷ This transition to a "higher" set of values (according to Augustine) is reflected in Veldeke's Eneide most directly through the absence of Juno as a character who passionately seeks revenge and through the medieval poet's emphasis on vengeance as a means to achieve social justice rather than as a means to satisfy a personal grievance.

⁵⁷ Joseph Mausbach, Die Ethik des heiligen Augustinus (Freiburg: Herder, 1929) pp. 263-268.

APPENDIX

The following are translations by C. Day Lewis of the Latin passages cited in the text.

Page 3; Book I, 11 and 25-30:

Can a divine being be so persevering in anger?
 ... bitter affronts
 Unblotted as yet from her heart: deep in her
 mind rankle
 The judgment of Paris, the insult of having her
 beauty scorned
 Her hate for Troy's origin, Ganymede taken and
 made a favorite
 Furious at these things too, she tossed all over
 the sea
 The Trojans...

Page 9; Book IV, 589-94

(She) Struck herself three times, four times, upon
her lovely breast
Tore at her yellow hair, and exclaimed:--
In god's name! shall that foreigner
Scuttle away and make a laughing stock of my
country?
Will not my people stand to arms for a mass
pursuit?
Will some not rush the warships out of the docks?
Move, then!
Bring firebrands apace, issue weapons, pull on the
oars!

Page 9; Book IV, 615-29

May he be harried in war by adventurous tribes, and
 exiled
 From his own land: may Ascanius be torn from his
 arms, may he have to
 Sue for aid, and see his own friends squalidly
 dying.
 Yes, and when he's accepted the terms of a harsh
 peace
 Let him never enjoy his realm or the allotted span,

But fall before his time and lie on the sands,
unburied.
That is my last prayer. I pour it out, with my
lifeblood.
Let you, my Tyrians, sharpen your hatred upon his
children
And all their seed for ever: send this as a
present to
My ghost. Between my people and his, no love,
no alliance!
Rise up from my dead bones, avenger! Rise up, one
To hound the Trojan settlers with fire and steel
remorselessly,
Now, someday, whenever the strength for it shall
be granted!
Shore to shore, sea to sea, weapon to weapon opposed-
I call down a feud between them and us to the last
generation.

Page 12: Book V, 781-88

The heavy wrath of Juno, the grudge she implacably cherishes,
Force me to have recourse to every kind of entreaty
She is softened neither by time nor by any propitiations.
Unswayed by the ruling of Jove or by fate, still active against us.
It is enough for her infamous hatred to have devoured
The heart of the Phrygians, Troy, and made its survivors run
A whole gamut of retribution: she hunts down the very ashes
Of the dead city. She'd best have good reason for such vindictiveness.

Page 17; Book VI, 310-12

...Well, if my powers are not great enough,
I shall not hesitate-- that's sure--to ask help
Help may be found. If the gods are no use to me,
Move all hell.

Page 24; Book XI, 177-80

Tell him I linger on, though I care not for life now
Is gone, to receive the debt which he knows is owing
And son--vengeance on Turnus: it's the sole task
His courage and luck to accomplish.

Page 31; Book XII, 945-49

Aeneas fastened his eyes on this relic, this sad
reminder
Of all the pain Pallas' death had caused. Rage
shook him. He looked
Frightening. He said:--
Do you hope to get off now, wearing the spoils
You took from my Pallas? It's he, It's Pallas who
strikes this blow---
The victim shedding his murderer's blood in
retribution!

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