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THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

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of

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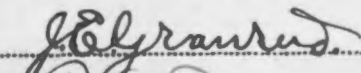
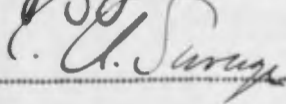
This is to certify that we the undersigned, as a committee of the Graduate School, have given Ernest Alfred Lussyky final oral examination for the degree of Master of Arts . We recommend that the degree of Master of Arts be conferred upon the candidate.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

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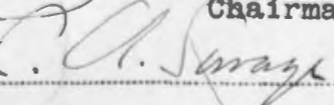
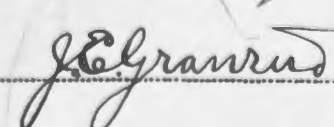
THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Report  
of  
Committee on Thesis

The undersigned, acting as a Committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Ernest Alfred Lussy for the degree of Master of Arts.

They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

  
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.....1918

Virgil's Employment of  
Supernatural Agencies Guiding  
Aeneas to Italy

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A Thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Minnesota

by

Ernest Alfred Lussky

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

June

1918

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I Supernatural agencies employed in the narrative up to the beginning of the opposition of Juno.  
A definite plan is pursued, namely that of permitting Aeneas to obtain step by step his information concerning his destination:

- a- Aeneas is urged by Hector's ghost to leave Troy and, sailing over the sea, seek new walls for his Penates.
- b- Polydorus informs Aeneas that Thrace is not his goal.
- c- On the isle of Delos Aeneas receives the oracle bidding him seek out the "antiqua mater".
- d- On the island of Crete Aeneas is apprised by the Penates that the "antiqua mater" is Italy.
- e- On the Strophades Aeneas receives from Celaena the prophecy of the tables-prodigy.
- f- At Buthrotum Aeneas receives from Helenus:
  - 1 The prophecy of the sow-prodigy.
  - 2 The intimation to seek the west coast of Italy
  - 3 The instruction to repair to the Cumaean Sibyl for further advice.

II Supernatural agencies at work from the beginning of the opposition of Juno to the end of the Dido episode.

- a- Explanation of the apparent lack of opposition from Juno during the first seven years of the wandering of Aeneas, despite the poet's introductory statement that Juno is the cause of the toils of Aeneas.
- b- Strong opposition on the part of Juno in Book IV.
- c- The aid of Venus is apparent mainly in Book I and in the first part of Book IV.
- d- The deliverance of Aeneas from his position, so fraught with danger for the outcome of his mission, is the work of Jupiter.

III Books V and VI

- a- Book V. Jupiter, Venus, and Anchises are instrumental in guiding Aeneas.
- b- Book VI. The prophecy of Helenus concerning the guidance which Aeneas was to receive from the Sibyl, is not carried out.

IV The inconsistency in the treatment of the two prodigies concerning the tables and the white sow, is due to the failure of the poet to carry out his intended revision.

V The plan to make the gradual increase of knowledge of Aeneas as to his goal the central theme of the narration of his wanderings, is consistently carried out only in Book III. Numerous passages make this plan untenable as applicable to Books I, II, IV, V, and VI. The poet may have had two distinct plans in view at different times.

## INTRODUCTION

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The Aeneid is without doubt a vast treasure-house of antiquarian lore, containing in abundance the results of historical, archaeological, geographical, genealogical, and mythological research. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the numerous references to the history, archaeology, geography, and mythology of Rome, and to the genealogy of many of Rome's foremost families were incorporated in the poem by Virgil merely for the purpose of displaying the poet's intimate acquaintance with these subjects or for the purpose of embellishment. There was rather one great object ever foremost in the poet's mind as he wrote of these things, namely, so to write of the establishment of the Roman Nation that it would stimulate the patriotism of his time. It is, no doubt, with this idea in mind that the poet so constantly and so persistently throughout the poem impressed upon the minds of his readers the vast importance of the supernatural element, the fata, in the origin and history of Rome. It is the same thought that inspires him to trace the Roman national religion back to the Penates and Vesta which were brought to Italy by Aeneas. It is with the same object that he has so skillfully woven into his narrative the wonderful prophecies of Rome's greatness, her characteristics, and her missions. It is the same motive which impels him so frequently to point to the reign of Augustus as the culmination of the great, thrilling

events of the past.<sup>1</sup> It is with the same purpose in view, that the poet so skilfully presents Aeneas, the great founder of the Roman nation, as being led step by step by Divine Providence thru all his wanderings.

It is the aim of this paper to dwell upon the last-mentioned subject and to show how Virgil has portrayed his hero as being directed and guided by supernatural agencies in the quest of his new home.

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<sup>1</sup> This mention of Augustus has a double purpose, the narrower one of exalting the person of the emperor, and the wider one here stated.

## I

The destruction of Troy is, chronologically, the beginning of Virgil's story, and in a certain sense, the beginning of the history of Rome. If looked upon as the latter and allowed to stand without an explanation satisfactory to Roman pride, what a deep sense of shame must the thought of so ignoble a beginning have left in the heart of the proud Roman. The ancestors of the great Roman people are vanquished and flee from their native city. Aeneas, the great progenitor of the Romans, has seen the destruction of his beloved Troy and, leaving his native shores, roams, a wanderer, over the seas. When we consider Virgil's object in writing the Aeneid, it would seem that such a beginning must be anything but favorable to the achievement of his purpose, to stimulate the patriotism of his time. But the poet succeeds not only in counteracting this bad impression, but also in convincing his readers, as the story progresses, that the destruction of Troy and the long wanderings of Aeneas were but indispensable events leading up to the greatest event in history, the founding of the Roman nation.

What a wonderfully soothing effect, therefore, lies in the two simple words in the very first sentence of the poem, the words: "fato profugus". It is not cowardice, but Divine Providence which urges, nay, compels Aeneas to leave his burning city. And the same Divine Providence which urges his de-



parture from Old Troy, also points the way to a New Troy, a greater Troy in the far west. It leads him step by step with revelations obscure at first, but growing ever clearer, until at last, after many misinterpretations of the Divine Will and many years replete with hardships, he reaches the promised land, the Hesperia of his dreams.

As the Romans of Virgil's day read their Aeneid and realized the greatness of this divine guidance of Aeneas during all his wanderings, the result of which should be that he found the mighty Roman nation, they could not but view the fall of Troy and the great trials of their famous ancestor in the light of beneficent divine dispensations which must ever make their hearts swell with pride and make every Roman enthusiastically re-echo the words of Virgil, I, 33: *Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.*

The story of the wanderings of Aeneas covers the first six books of the Aeneid, beginning with the destruction of Troy and the hero's departure from his native city and ending with his safe entrance <sup>into</sup> the mouth of the Tiber. It must be premised here, however, that, at the latter point, two important prophecies concerning the destination of Aeneas are not as yet fulfilled, the prophecy of Celaeno concerning the devouring of tables and the prophesy concerning the white sow. The fulfillment of these prophecies is related in Book VII, 122 and Book VIII, 81 respectively, and, as will be shown later, does not harmonize with the poet's plan as evidenced in the first six books.

Virgil, after the manner of Homer in the *Odyssey*, begins his narrative in *mediis rebus* I, 34 with the shipwreck which occurred in the seventh year of the wanderings of Aeneas. The events prior to this great misfortune are related by Aeneas to Queen Dido and begin with the destruction of Troy in Book II.

If we take Book III, which treats par excellence of the wanderings of Aeneas, as indicating the plan of the first half of the *Aeneid*, it would appear that it was Virgil's purpose to make the gradually increasing knowledge of Aeneas as to his destination the central theme of the narration of his wanderings. That this purpose was not present in the poet's mind when he wrote the remaining five books of the first half of the poem, will be shown later. Heinze "Virgils Epische Technik" page 88, declares that while in Book III the increasing knowledge of Aeneas concerning both the name and the location of his destined future home is the principal motif, the poet must, at least temporarily, have considered making a knowledge of the name of the hero's destination, but ignorance as to its location the key-note of the wanderings of Aeneas.

Assuming, for the present, the former to have been the poet's plan, as it clearly is in Book III, we can establish eight steps in the gradual increase of knowledge which was vouchsafed Aeneas thru various agencies by Divine Providence:

1. Aeneas is urged by Hector's ghost to leave Troy and, sailing over the sea, seek new walls for his Penates.  
II, 294.
2. Polydorus informs Aeneas that Thrace is not his goal.  
III, 17.

3. On the isle of Delos Aeneas receives the oracle bidding him seek out the "antiqua mater". III, 96.
4. On the island of Crete Aeneas is apprised by the Penates that the "antiqua mater" is Italy. III, 163.
5. On the Strophades Aeneas receives from Celaeno the prophecy of the table-prodigy. III, 389.
6. At Buthrotum Aeneas receives from Helenus (a)the prophecy of the sow-prodigy, III, 389; (b)the intimation to seek the west coast of Italy, III 381-88 and 410-414; (c)the instruction to repair to the Cumaean Sibyl for further advice, III 441-461.
7. The fulfillment of the prophecy concerning the devouring of tables, VII, 122.
8. The fulfillment of the prophecy concerning the white sow, VIII, 43.

As before stated Virgil begins his story, chronologically, with the destruction of Troy. In the night in which the Greeks entered the doomed city, Hector's ghost appeared to Aeneas bidding him flee from burning Troy and seek new walls for his Penates, II, 389:

"heu! fuge, nate dea, teque his, ait, eripe flammis.  
 . . . . . Penatis:  
 hos cape fatorum comites, his moenia quaere."

Hector's ghost informs Aeneas further that the latter will finally establish these walls after he has wandered over the deep. II, 395:

"magna pererrato statues quae demique ponto."

These words give Aeneas his first intimation as to his mission and also his first direction. How interesting it must have been for the Romans, as they read these lines, conscious as they were of the greatness and vastness of their empire, to reflect upon the meagre information with which their great ancestor started forth on his great mission. The information contained in the words "pererrato ponto" is, indeed, extremely indefinite, pointing merely to the sea and leaving three directions open, north, west, and south. Aeneas knows as yet neither the name nor the location of the promised land.

The reluctance of Aeneas to leave his beloved Troy is overcome by his mother Venus, who reveals to him the gods helping the Greeks in their work of destruction II, 601. Troy is doomed, such is the will of the gods and no human hand can stay the destruction.

When Aeneas reaches his house to summon his family to flight, a new difficulty is encountered. His father Anchises refuses to flee. Again Divine Providence intervenes. A monstrum appears in the form of a flame playing around the temples of Iulus II, 680:

"cum subitum dictoque oritur mirabile monstrum.  
namque manus inter maestorumque ora parentum  
eoce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli  
fundere lumen apex, tactoque innoxia mollis  
lambere flamma comas et circum tempora pasci."

Upon Anchises' request to Jove for a confirmation of this monstrum, a star shoots across the sky and sinks from sight behind Mt. Ida, II, 692:

"Vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore  
 intonuit laevom, et de caelo lapsa per umbras  
 stella facem ducens multa cum luce cucurrit.  
 illam, summa super labentem culmina tecti,  
 cernimus Idaea claram se condere silva  
 signantemque vias; tum longo limite sulcus  
 dat lucem, et late circum loca sulphure fumant."

The reluctance of Anchises to flee is thus overcome and now Aeneas with his party leaves the doomed city and takes refuge in the mountains.

It must be stated here that the Creusa episode II 737-795, insofar as it bears upon our theme is incongruous with the plan which the poet has with great consistency carried out in Book III. For, while in the first part of Book III, in fact, until the clear revelation is given him by the Penates, Aeneas has not the slightest inkling as to the name or the location of his destination, Creusa is here represented as imparting not only the name of the promised land together with an indication as to its location, with the word "Hesperia", but also as giving another distinguishing feature of the land with the words "Lydian Tiber", 780-782:

"longa tibi exilia, et vastum maris sequor arandum:  
 et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydus arva  
 inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris."

In assuming, as we do for the present, the increasing knowledge of Aeneas as to his destination to be the central theme of the narration of his wanderings, we must regard this passage as one of the inconsistencies of the poem, which the poet, had he brought the entire poem into conformity with the plan carried

cut in Book III<sup>m</sup> would no doubt have removed.

Having built a fleet of twenty vessels, Aeneas "fares forth an exile upon the deep with his companions and his son, and the Penates and great gods", III, 11-13. He sails directly to Thrace where he builds a city and calls it Aeneadae thinking this is the city which the ghost of Hector had urged him to found. But lo! Divine Providence, by means of the Polydorus monstrum, III, 26, warns him that he has not yet reached his goal and that he must "flee the cruel land and the greedy shore" II, 44: "heu, fuge credelis terras, fuge litus avarum." The information contained in these words, while of extreme importance to Aeneas, is nevertheless of a negative nature and leaves our hero completely baffled as to the course now to be pursued. Aeneas, therefore proceeds to the isle of Delos and begs for an oracle from the god as to where to found his new city. Phoebus himself speaks, beginning his oracle with the significant appellation "Dardanidae" and urging Aeneas to seek the "antiqua mater" III 94-96:

"Dardamidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum  
prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto  
accipiet reduces. antiquam exquirite matrem."

These words, tho ambiguous after the manner of oracles, should have made it clear that Italy was meant. Italy was the "antiqua mater" of the Trojan race, since Dardanus, an ancestor of the Trojans had come from there. And that this particular ancestor was meant here, was indicated by Apollo with the name which he bestows upon the Trojans, "Dardanidae". But Anchises misinterprets the oracle advising Aeneas to go to Crete, since it was there that the cult of Cybele, the mother of the gods, had had

its home, having been brought from there to Troy, and since Teucer, another ancestor of the Trojans had come from there.

Aeneas dutifully follows the advice of his father and founds a new Pergama in Crete. But once more our hero is warned by most untoward events that he had not reached the land which Divine Providence has in store for him. From a "tainted quarter of the sky" III, 138 "corrupto caeli tractu", there comes a pestilence and a drought which threatens utterly to destroy men, beasts, and crops. Anchises urges Aeneas to return to Delos and to ask once more for Divine direction. At this juncture Divine Providence presents itself to Aeneas with a distinctness and directness which it had not vouchsafed before. In the night the Penates of Aeneas appear to him, having been instructed to do so by Apollo himself III, 154, 155:

"quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est,  
hic canit, et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit."

They urge him to leave Crete III, 161, 162:

"mutandae sedes, non haec tibi litora suasit  
Delius, aut Cretae iussit considerare Apollo."

And now comes the most important revelation which Aeneas has as yet received during all his wanderings. Aeneas is completely at sea as to his destination. He has woefully misunderstood the veiled direction of Providence. He is deeply discouraged by the ravages wrought by the pestilence and the drought. A clear, distinct message is required to set him right and to inspire him with courage for his further journey. Such a message he now receives III, 163-171:

"Est locus (Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt),

terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glabrae,  
 Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama maiores  
 Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem;  
 haec nobis propriae sedes; hinc Dardanus ortus  
 Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum.  
 surge age et haec laetus longaevo dicta parenti  
 haud dubitanda refer, Corythum terrasque requirat  
 Ausonias; Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva."

For the first time Aeneas hears the name of the land which he is to seek. (The inconsistency involved in II, 781 has already been pointed out). Italy, called by the Greeks Hesperia, is therefore the goal of Aeneas. The reason for the misinterpretation of the Delian oracle at once becomes clear and Anchises now even recalls having heard Cassandra, in her ravings, mention Hesperia and Italy; but, of course, no one had believed her III, 184-187.

Greatly reassured by the revelation of the Penates and with definite information in his possession Aeneas now sails westward. Losing his way, however, in a storm, he comes to the Strophades, the islands of the Harpies who prove to be extremely hostile to the Trojans and one of whom, Celaeno, gives Aeneas the startling information that he and his companions will reach Italy, to be sure, but will not establish the promised city until hunger has compelled them to devour their tables III 253-257:

"Italiam cursu petitis ventisque vocatis:

ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit,

sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,

quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis

ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas."

The prophecy of Celano together with the account of its



fulfillment VII, 128 constitute one of the incomplete portions of the Aeneid. As here presented the prophecy of Celaeno introduces a highly dramatic element indeed, but does not seem to have any bearing upon the guidance of Aeneas. Celaeno, to be sure, cites as authority for her doleful prognostication the god Apollo, who in turn had his information from Jupiter himself. But nowhere in the words of the Harpy is there the slightest hint of guidance. The words "you shall not gird your city with walls until dread hunger force you to devour your tables" are neither an indication of the place nor of the time for the building of the city, but merely make the building of the city conditional upon this seemingly impossible occurrence of the devouring of tables. The prophecy of Celaeno is therefore introduced here by the poet apparently for no other purpose than to heighten the interest in his story. Aeneas has been sailing joyfully westward, expecting, no doubt, soon to reach his goal, when suddenly his entire future is again beclouded by this disheartening prediction. The feeling which the reader has at this point is indeed one of deep suspense and intense curiosity to know how this condition, seemingly impossible of fulfillment, is to be fulfilled. The solution of the mystery VII, 128 is in itself a very happy one and would leave the reader quite content were he not so utterly unprepared for the new motif which Virgil here introduces, that the place where the Trojans ate their tables was to be their home, according to a prophecy which the poet ascribes to Anchises but has never mentioned. This inconsistency in the treatment of the Celaeno prophecy causes the extremely interesting incident to fall somewhat flat.

Leaving the Strophades disheartened by Celaeno's prophecy, Aeneas sails along the coast of Epirus and comes to the city of Buthrotum. Here he unexpectedly meets some old friends from Troy, Helenus and Andromache. The former is a "vates" and "interpres divom" and now becomes the agent of Divine Providence in inspiring Aeneas with fresh courage and in giving him still more explicit information concerning his goal. Aeneas beseeches Helenus, in the latter's capacity as seer, for guidance III 359-368:

"Troiugena, interpres divom, qui numina Phoebi,  
 qui tripodas, Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis  
 et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pinnae,  
 fare age (namque omnis cursum mihi prospera dixit  
 religio, et cuncti suaserunt numine divi  
 Italiam petere et terras temptare repostas;  
 sola novom dictuque nefas harpyia Celaeno  
 prodigium canit et tristis denuntiat iras  
 obscenamque famam), quae prima pericula vito?  
 quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores?"

Helenus now gives Aeneas the most explicit directions for his further journey, making a mistake with respect to the course to be pursued in reaching the promised land and also with respect to the location of the New Troy, well-nigh impossible. In the first place Helenus warns Aeneas to avoid the east coast of Italy and to go around Sicily III 381-387:

"Principio Italiam, quam tu iam rere propinquam  
 vicinosque ignare, paras invadere portus,  
 longa procul longis via dividit invia terris.

ante et Trinacria lentandus remus in unda  
 et salis Ausonii lustrandum navibus aequor  
 infernique lacus Aeaeaeque insula Circae,  
 quam tuta possis urbem componere terra."

and III, 410-413:

"ast ubi digressum Siculae te admoverit orae  
 ventus et angusti rarescent claustra Pelori,  
 laeva tibi tellus et longo laeva petantur  
 aequora circuitu, dextrum fuge litus et undas."

Thus far Aeneas has known only this much that his new Troy was to be established somewhere in Italy.<sup>1</sup> In the above words Helenus points unmistakably to the west coast of Italy as the place where Aeneas is to land.

Furthermore Helenus gives Aeneas an unfailing token by means of which he is to know the exact spot on which his new city is to be built III 388-393:

"signa tibi dicam, tu condita mente teneto:  
 cum tibi sollicito secreti ad fluminis undam  
 litoreis ingens inventa sub illicibus sus

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1 The mention of Corythus III, 170 cannot be assumed to have given Aeneas a more definite idea of his destination. As its connection with "terras Ausonias" shows, it is here used merely as a term for "the land whence Dardanus, the ancestor of the Trojans, had come." Even granted that the city of Corythus is here actually meant (which would be out of keeping with the entire story, since Virgil apparently never meant to have Aeneas seek the city of Corythus), the mention of it would have given Aeneas no definite information, since he cannot be imagined to have any exact knowledge of the location of Corythus.

triginta capitus fetus enixa lacabit  
 alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati,  
 is locus urbis erit, requies es certa laborum.\*

Where he shall find a certain sow, there he is to build his city. The sow is to be to him a signboard, as it were, reading: "Here build". It is to be a sign which can not leave him in doubt, for the sow is to be found (1) ad undam fluminis secreti; (2) sub litoreis illicibus; (3) enixa fetus triginta capitus; (4) alba; (5) solo recubans; (6) albi nati circum ubera.

This prophecy of the white sow may well be considered the culmination of all the divine revelations concerning the goal of Aeneas. Upon reaching the west coast of Italy Aeneas had but calmly to abide the time when he should discover the white sow. The interest and expectation of the reader is quite naturally from this point on centered upon the fulfillment of the above mentioned prophecy. The fact that there are delays in its fulfillment, delays which are occasioned by the events of the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh books, does not detract from the feeling of interest, but rather enhances it. It is therefore a distinct disappointment for the reader to find that in Book VIII the poet gives the finding of the sow an entirely different significance. This becomes clear from a comparison of the two passages in Book VIII which treat of this matter, 42-48 and 81-85. They read thus, 42-48:

\* iamque tibi, ne vana putes haec fingere somnus,  
 litoreis ingens inventa sub illicibus auis,  
 triginta capitus fetus enixa, lacabit,  
 alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.

Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum,  
 ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis  
 Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam."

81-85:

"Ecce autem subitum atque oculis mirabile monstrum,  
 candida per silvam cum fetu concolor albo  
 procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus.  
 quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxuma Iuno,  
 mactat sacra ferens et cum grege sistit ad aram."<sup>1</sup>

Virgil appears to have forgotten entirely that the sow-prodigy was to determine for Aeneas the location of his new Troy. The finding of the sow, as here represented, is to prove to Aeneas merely, first, that the Tiber-god's appearance is real and not an empty vision, and secondly, that thirty years would elapse before Ascanius should found Alba. Thus again, as in the case of the table-prodigy, an incident of exceedingly dramatic possibilities falls flat. This is perhaps the most glaring inconsistency in the construction of the entire Aeneid, if one considers the extreme importance which the reader must have attached to the prophecy in Book III and the feeling of expectancy with which he has looked forward to its fulfillment

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<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered here that line 46 is, as Heinze has pointed out, page 91, not found in the manuscripts M P and is in R and later manuscripts undoubtedly interpolated from III, 393. I might add that the line is shown to be spurious by the fact that in the description of the finding of the sow in lines 81-85 no allusion whatsoever is made to the circumstance that this was to indicate the location of the new city. Ribbeck omits the line entirely.

There can be no doubt that Virgil would have remedied this inconsistency had he had an opportunity to revise his poem as he intended.

Helenus concludes his series of revelations III, 441-462 with the advice to Aeneas, when he has reached the west coast of Italy to go to the Sibyl at Cumae and from her to receive further guidance especially with respect to the time when he should be engaged in the struggle for the possession of his new home. The exact aid which the Sibyl will render Aeneas is expressed by Helenus in the lines 458-460:

"illa tibi Italiae populos venturaque bella  
et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem  
expediat, cursusque dabit venerata secundos."

Whether Aeneas received the aid here promised, we shall see in Book VI.

With the extensive and explicit revelations of Helenus, Book III closes, so far as the divine guidance of Aeneas is concerned. In no other book of the Aeneid is the hand of Providence so apparent as in Book III. When Aeneas left Troy he had nothing to guide him but the vague injunction of the gods, given thru the agency of Hector's ghost, to build a new city somewhere over the sea. Step by step Divine Providence has led him on, by oracle, by vision, by monstrum, by prophetic utterance, always giving him clearer information concerning his goal and setting him right when he has misunderstood and gone astray. And now, after many trials and hardships, after many misguided efforts and long wanderings, he is in full possession of the information which will, as he fondly believes

soon bring him to the longed for New Troy in the West. He knows that Italy, the west coast of Italy is his destination. He knows that the unmistakable prodigy of the saw will reveal to him the exact spot where he is to build his city. And he has promises of further guidance from the Sibyl at Cumae. The dire prophecy of Celaeno, to be sure, has not as yet been fulfilled, but had not Helenus, the inspired prophet, the "interpres divom", urged him not to fear it? III, 394:

"Nec tu mensarum morsus horresce futuros"

for, 395:

"fata viam invenient aderitque vocatus Apollo".

All, apparently, that remained to be done by Aeneas, so far as the reaching of his goal was concerned, was to sail around Sicily up the western Italian coast to Cumae in order to receive the directions of the Sibyl and then to await the fulfillment of the saw-prodigy. But the wanderings of Aeneas were not destined to end so soon and there was need of further guidance, for at this point the opposition of Juno begins.

## II

In the introductory verses to the entire poem Virgil declared emphatically that all the toils and hardships of his hero were caused by Juno. Aeneas is tossed about on land and sea "because of the unforgetting wrath of savage Juno": I, 6: "saevae memorem Junonis ob iram". It is Juno, who, because of her wrath, keeps the Trojans from Latium and causes them to wander many years over the seas I, 29-32:

"his accensa super iactatos aequore toto  
Troas, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli,  
arcebat longe Latio, multosque per annos  
errabant acti fati maria omnia circum."

And again in his invocation of the Muse, the poet asks, why it was that the "Queen of the gods" drove his hero to undergo such perils and such toils I 8-12:

"Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso  
quidve dolens regina deum tot volvere casus  
insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores  
impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae? "

And he himself gives the answer. There is a twofold reason, The first is an old grudge which the goddess bears the Trojan race I 25-28:

"necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores  
exciderant animo; manet alta mente repostum  
iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae  
et genus invisum et rapti Ganymedis honores"



The second is her fear for her beloved Carthage, which, according to a decree of fate of which she had heard, was to be destroyed by a race now springing from Trojan blood I, 19-22:

"progeniem sed enim Troiano a sanguine duci  
audierat, Tyrias olim quas verteret arces;  
hinc populum late regem belloque superbum  
venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere parcas."

With what consummate skill does the poet here arouse the interest of his reader! What a masterful stroke to bring in a mention of the Punic wars, which to the Romans were ever the most memorable event in their history (cf. Lucretius III, 833-837).

Juno's opposition, then, to Aeneas is actuated primarily by her desire to prevent the Trojans from reaching Italy, in order to make impossible the founding of the Roman nation and thus to render null and void the fatum concerning the destruction of Carthage in a war between these two peoples.

From all this the reader is led to expect throughout the poem a powerful and unremitting opposition to Aeneas on the part of Juno. It has been called one of the inconsistencies of the Aeneid that such is not the case. And, indeed, at first glance it does seem strange that up to the shipwreck Juno has apparently been inactive. The narrative begins, to be sure, with an act of opposition on the part of Juno, the storm at sea. But the promptness of Juno's opposition is only apparent, for the events described in Book I chronologically follow those narrated in Book III and fall therefore in the seventh year of the wanderings of Aeneas. The storm and

the wreck of the fleet of Aeneas take place after Aeneas has left Buthrotum. What of Juno's opposition during the first six years of the wanderings of our hero? There are no evidences of it to be found. In Books II and III, which contain the events prior to the wreck of the fleet, no active hostile intervention on Juno's part is mentioned. In several places the hostility of Juno may be said to be intimated, as in III, 380 where Helenus declared that Juno forbids his telling more:

"-----farique vetat Saturnia Juno."

and in III, 437-439, where the same seer warns Aeneas to "honor mighty Juno's power first with prayer" and to "win over the mighty mistress with gifts":

"Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora.

Iunoni cane vota libens dominamque potentem  
supplicibus supera donis"

And in II 612 Juno is actually engaged in an act of hostility against the Trojans in lending the Greeks aid in the destruction of Troy.

With regard to the first two instances it must be admitted that they are mere intimations of hostility on the part of Juno, and with respect to the third instance it must be remembered that Juno is not alone there of the gods. Neptune is there (610) and likewise Pallas (615) and even Jove himself (617). The trials and hardships of Aeneas up to the ship-wreck are, as it appears, not caused by Juno. Nowhere are we told that Aeneas' mistake in founding the city of Aeneadae in Thrace was inspired by the malevolence of Juno. Nowhere is it even vaguely hinted that the misinterpretation of the Delian oracle

was due to the malign influence of Juno. The pestilence and drought in Crete are not ascribed to the baneful power of this goddess. Nor is the doleful prophesy of Celaeno in any way brought into connection with the wrath of Juno. In fine, altho Juno herself declared in Book VII that she has pursued the Trojans "patria excussos" and "per undas" and that she has opposed them "toto ponto" VII 299-300:

"quin etiam patria excussos infesta per undas  
ausa sequi et profugis toto me opponere ponto."

it is nevertheless an undeniable fact that during the greater part of the wanderings of Aeneas, from the time that he left Troy up to the ship-wreck, a space of about six years, there appears to be no opposition by Juno. The inconsistency seems palpable. But, does it really exist? Admitting that such inconsistencies as this would involve, may occur, and obviously do occur in the poem, is it not possible to assume that this lack of mention of opposition on the part of Juno in Books II and III constitutes the most painstaking consistency on the poet's part, when one reflects that it is Aeneas himself who is speaking in Books II and III and that he, being a mortal with mortal mind, cannot be assumed to have an intimate knowledge of the divine forces which govern the vicissitudes of his fortunes? Where the narrative is given in the words of the poet, to whom the Muses have disclosed the secrets of Olympus, Juno is surely active enough. May not Virgil designedly have refrained from putting into the mouth of his hero words which would presuppose on his part an unnatural knowledge of divine counsel? Far from charging the poet with inconsistency, then, for failing to

ascribe the misfortunes of Aeneas during the first six years of his wanderings, to the opposition of Juno, I should say that this omission on Virgil's part is a most remarkable instance of forethought and consistency.

Be this, however, as it may, from this time on, that is, after the events described in Book III, the opposition of Juno is sufficiently apparent. Shortly after the departure of Aeneas from Buthrotum, during the events described in Book I, Juno unmistakably shows her hand in the terrible storm which wrecks the fleet of Aeneas. Her opposition continues with great success in Book IV. Indeed, throughout the rest of the poem the implacable wrath of Juno is vented upon the Trojans with dire effect, as in Book V, 605 sqq., where Juno sends Iris to bring about the destruction of the Trojan fleet, in Book VII, where she is determined to enlist even the powers of hell to accomplish her purpose VII, 313: "Flectare si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo". and engages the services of the Fury Allecto to arouse war in Latium. As late as the events described in the first part of Book XII we find Juno displaying her hostility against the Trojans by bringing about the breach of the armistice which had been concluded to allow the duel between Aeneas and Turnus to take place.

But nowhere does the baneful purpose of Juno come so near to being accomplished as in Books I and IV. Indeed so utterly does our hero here appear to be deserted by a beneficent Providence that, were it not for the assurance which "the father of gods and men" himself gives troubled Venus I, 254 sqq., one might well believe that the fell purpose of wrathful Juno to

keep Aeneas forever away from his destined home would indeed be accomplished.

With the aid of Aeolus, Juno arouses the terrible storm, which wrecks the fleet of Aeneas. Aeneas himself utterly loses courage. He envies those who fell on the plains of Troy and wishes that a like fate had befallen him I, 92-101. However, Neptune, the one god who under such conditions could save Aeneas, becomes aware of the fearful upheaval in his native waters, and serenely raising his head above the surface of the deep, calms the wind and the waves. Aeneas reaches the African shore in safety. And thus is foiled the plan of Juno to render ineffective, by the employment of brute force, the decree of fate concerning Aeneas and the founding of the Roman nation. Her next attempt was to be made by means of diplomacy.

It is at this point in the story, after the landing in Africa, that Venus again becomes concerned for the welfare of her son. It might occasion surprise that, just as the opposition of Juno was not mentioned during the greater part of the wanderings of Aeneas, so too the interest of Venus in her son seems wanting during all the events described in Book III. But perhaps this apparent indifference on the part of Venus to the sufferings and trials of her son is to be explained in a like manner: her interest in Aeneas was existent but was unknown to Aeneas, who in Book III is telling his own story, But the statement of Aeneas I, 381-382:

"bis denis Phrygium conscendi navibus aequor  
matre dea monstrante miam data fata secutus "

cannot be reconciled with the happenings in Book III. If Venus showed Aeneas the way it is inconceivable that he should have made the mistakes which he made.

The fact remains, then, that since the appearance of Venus to Aeneas during the destruction of Troy II, 588 sqq., Venus has not, up to the landing in Africa, been mentioned by Virgil as rendering her son any aid whatever. And even now that she again becomes active in the story, her aid is of an extremely ephemeral nature. It is Juno who has the upper hand thru the greater part of Book IV, and in the end when Aeneas is saved for his great mission, it is not Venus who saves him, but "the father of gods and men".

Upon the landing of Aeneas in Africa, Venus is, indeed, very much perturbed over the situation of her son and her foremost concern is that the supreme task of Aeneas, his great mission to found the Roman nation, is in great danger of miscarriage. In her appeal to Jupiter I, 226-254 she complains 231-233:

"quid meus Aeneas in te committere tantum,  
quid Troes potuere, quibus tot funera passis  
cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis? "

and in the very next lines follows one of those grand, sublime passages prophesying the greatness, the characteristics, and the mission of the future Rome I 234-237:

"certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis,  
hinc fore ductores revocato a sanguine Teucri,  
qui mare, qui terras omni ditione tenerent,  
pollicitu's: "

It is significant, in view of the subsequent behavior of

Venus, that in her appeal to Jupiter she is so deeply concerned over the fulfillment of this decree of fate, Jupiter in his reply I, 257-296 reassures his lovely daughter. He declares that the decree of fate concerning the descendants of Venus remains unchanged I, 257-260:

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

and then, with a few bold strokes outlines the history of Rome from the times of Aeneas to the times of Augustus, in words that must have thrilled the hearts of every Roman who read them.

The immediate result of the appeal of Venus is the despatch of Mercury to Carthage, in order to render the hearts of Dido and her people kindly towards the Trojans I 297-304:

"Haec ait, et Maia genitum demittit ab alto,  
ut terrae utque novae pateant Carthaginis arces  
hospitio Teucris, ne fati neecia Dido  
finibus arceret. volat ille per aera magnum  
remigio alarum, ac Libyae citus astitit oris.  
et iam iussa facit, ponuntque ferocia Poeni  
corda volente deo; in primis regina quietum  
accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam."

But Venus does not rest satisfied with this great aid rendered Aeneas. In the guise of a huntress she appears to her son, tells him the story of Dido, and directs him to the city of Carthage, first making him and his trusty Achates invisible by a miraculous mist I, 314-413.

Mercury had, indeed, upon Jove's command, moved Dido and her people to hospitality, but nevertheless Venus still has grave fears for the safety of her son, when she thinks of the possible machinations of spiteful Juno. In order, therefore, to render the heart of Dido immune to any suggestions from Juno tending to the destruction of Aeneas, Venus, by the aid of her son Cupido, inspires in the queen a mad passion for Aeneas I, 657-723.

Juno is by no means ignorant of the clever ruse of her fellow-goddess. One might suppose deep chagrin to take possession of Juno at this new turn of affairs. But the opposite is the case. Having failed in her attempt to destroy Aeneas by the storm, Juno now resorts to diplomacy to achieve her purpose. She shrewdly undertakes to use the very means which Venus had employed to protect her son, in order to bring about his ruin. The hatred of Juno, it must be remembered, was directed not so much against the person of Aeneas, as against the founding of the Roman nation, a task which, according to a decree of fate, was to be consummated by Aeneas. This fatum concerning the founding of Rome was the thorn in the side of Juno (I, 12-22). If this establishment of the Roman nation could be prevented, Aeneas might live happily and contentedly the rest of his life, for aught Juno cared. And it might be prevented, thought Juno, if a permanent union could be brought about between Aeneas and Dido, if Aeneas could be inveigled into accepting the position of King of the Carthaginian realm.

With this artful plan Juno approaches Venus IV 90-104:

"Quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos exercemus?"



she says line 99 and again 103-104:

"communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus  
auspiciis, liceat Phrygio servire marito  
dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae".

Venus clearly sees the guile of Juno IV 105-106:

"Sensit enim simulata mente locutam,  
quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras."

but sweetly acquiesces in the plan, expressing her doubts, however, whether it be permitted by the fates that Trojans and Tyrians be united into one people, but adding that Juno, being the wife of Jove, might ascertain that.

Whether the ready submission of Venus, here, to the designs of Juno, involves a betrayal of the cause of Aeneas, or indicates a sublime faith in the ultimate victory of the fates, is a debatable question. Her reference to the fates in lines 110-118 and her mirth at the discovery of Juno's wiles line 128: "dolus risit Cytherea repertis" would indicate the latter, while the former might be assumed from the circumstance that throughout the rest of the Dido episode Venus is entirely inactive, making no attempt whatever to free Aeneas from his compromising position and to remind him of his great mission. Fowler in "The Religious Experience of the Roman People" page 416 erroneously gives Venus a share in the credit for the deliverance of Aeneas when he says, speaking of the Dido episode: "In Virgil's story, then, we have in contrast and conflict the opposing principles of duty and pleasure, of patriotism and selfishness, and the victory of the latter in the person of Aeneas by the help of the great god who was the guardian of the

destinies of Rome, and of the goddess who was the mother of the hero and the reputed progenitor of the Julian family." The fact appears rather to be that Venus, in order to avert an immediate danger which threatened her son, placed him in a precarious position and either would not or could not free him from it. It is not Venus, but Jupiter who warns Aeneas to flee, in order that he may carry out his momentous mission. It is Jupiter who is solicitous about the future founding of Rome IV 227-231:

"non illum genrix nobis pulcherrima talem  
 promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;  
 sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem  
 Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri  
 proderet ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem."

Mercury is sent to arouse Aeneas from his lethargy and soft repose. And Aeneas is indeed aroused 281-283:

"ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,  
 attonitus tanto monitu imperioque decorus."

A vivid realization of his great mission once more takes possession of his soul 345-347:

"sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,  
 Italiam Lyoiae iussere capessere sortes;  
 hic amor, haec patria est."

The clinging with his personal inclinations to Dido and her realm, he hears the clear call of fate in the message of Jove and, hardening his heart against the entreaties of the Tyrian queen, leaves the hospitable but seductive shores of Carthage and once more sets forth upon his fate-willed mission.

For the second time the hostile plans of crafty Juno have been foiled. Once again Aeneas has been guided by supernatural intervention out of a situation, which, so far as the accomplishment of his mission was concerned, was perhaps the darkest and most dangerous of his entire career. The fatum concerning the founding of Rome must be fulfilled.

## III

During his sojourn in Sicily, whether he is compelled, by adverse winds to turn and where he celebrates funeral games in honor of his father, Aeneas is again made to feel the benevolent care of the divine providence which is leading him in all his wanderings to the goal determined by fate.

Aeneas is, indeed, in doubt whether the serpent which, during the rites at his father's tomb, encircles the altar, is the genius of the place or the attendant spirit of his father V 98: "incertus, geniusque loci fasulusque parentis". But no such doubt is admissible with respect to the miraculous aid rendered him when his fleet is set aflame V, 604 sqq. We have here the third attempt of Juno to keep the Trojans from reaching their goal. (Troas---arcebat longe Latin I, 30). At her behest Iris, in the guise of a Trojan woman, instills into the hearts of the Trojan women a deep disinclination to continue the perilous journey to elusive Italy (638) and prevails upon them in a frenzy to set fire to the fleet. The disaster is, indeed, averted, upon the prayer of Aeneas, by Jupiter, who sends a timely thunder-storm, which saves all but four of the vessels. Nevertheless Aeneas is greatly dejected and his purpose to follow the command of fate and to continue his quest is gravely shaken V, 700-703:

"At pater Aeneas, casu conrussus acerbo,  
nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas

mutabat versans, Siculisme resideret arvis  
oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesserat oras."

It is a critical moment. Without a manifestation of supernatural aid, Aeneas would, in all probability, have settled in Sicily and Rome would have remained unknown in history. At this juncture, 722, the ghost of Anchises appears to Aeneas, by Jove's command (*imperio Jovis* 726), advising him to follow the advice of aged Nautes, who had entreated Aeneas to leave the weak and weary behind and with picked men to press on to Italy V, 728-730:

"consiliis pare, quae nunc pulcherrima Nautes  
dat senior: lectos iuvenes, fortissima corda,  
defer in Italiam..."

Aeneas immediately takes heart again 748: "edocet, et quae nunc animo sententia constet". The weak and weary are culled out and left behind and with a picked band Aeneas once more resolutely sets out for the shores of Italy. His perils at sea are now at an end, for Venus, still fearing the wrath of Juno, approaches Neptune with the request that he grant Aeneas a safe journey to the "haven of Averna" 796-798, a request which Neptune willingly accords, making an exception, however, of the pilot Palinurus, who is to be lost on the way. Aeneas with the rest of his chosen followers reaches Cumae in safety.

Book VI cannot but be considered a digression from the general plan of the poem, at least so far as the divine guidance of Aeneas is concerned. The Sibyl, by being instrumental in bringing Aeneas and Anchises together, enables the former to learn from his father the system and divine life of things

VI 679-755 and to see that wonderful, prophetic picture of the future glories of Rome VI 756-854, but she does not carry out the part assigned to her by Helenus III 458-460. Helenus had promised Aeneas that the Sibyl would unfold to him "the nations of Italy, the wars to come, and the way in which he is to flee or bear each toil" and that she would "grant him a prosperous voyage." The Sibyl does none of these things. She tells Aeneas that there will be a war VI 86 and she tells him what will be the cause of the war VI 93, but she does not unfold to him "Italiae populos" nor "quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem", nor does she give him "cursus secundos". Nor can it be said that Anchises does at least a part of these things when he reviews with Aeneas the latter's descendants and that, since the Sibyl is instrumental in bringing Aeneas and Anchises together, she does this indirectly. "Italiae populos" cannot be understood as meaning the descendants of Aeneas; it must obviously refer to the various nations then living in Italy.

We have here, therefore, another inconsistency in the Aeneid. The poet did not have the opportunity of revising his poem and bringing the various parts into harmony with one another.

After his marvellous adventure in the Nether World, Aeneas returns to his fleet, and with the exception of a short stop at Cajeta, sails straight along the shore to the mouth of the Tiber. He enters the stream and his long quest is over. What more fitting words could have been chosen to describe the end of the long, arduous, and perilous journey than

those in VII 25-36:

"Iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto  
 Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis:  
 cum venti posuere omnisque repente resedit  
 flatus et in lento luctantur marmore tonsae.  
 atque hic Aeneas ingentem ex aequore lucum  
 prospicit. hunc inter fluvio Tiberinus amoeno  
 verticibus rapidis et multa flavos arena  
 in mare prorumpit. variae circumque supraque  
 adusetae ripis volucres et fluminis alveo  
 aethera mulcebant cantu lucoque volabant.  
 flectere iter sociis terraeque advertere proras  
 imperat et laetus fluvio succedit opaco."

What a delightful picture of quiet and repose! What a wonderful feeling of relief and what a deep sense of thanksgiving must Aeneas and his followers have experienced as they joyfully entered the shady stream!

That Virgil himself considered line 36 in Book VII the end of the first part of his poem is evidenced by the fact that beginning with line 37 he invokes the muse afresh and implores her guidance in his second great task, that of describing the conflict for the possession of the new land.

## IV

It will be noticed that, as before stated, the wanderings of Aeneas are concluded with two important prophecies still unfulfilled, the prophecy of Celaeno concerning the devouring of tables and the prophecy of Helenus concerning the white sow. The treatment of these two prophecies constitutes perhaps the most unsatisfactory portions, structurally, of the entire poem. It is undeniable that in Book III Virgil meant to give both events a great amount of importance in his narrative, intending to let them form an exceedingly dramatic close to the wanderings of Aeneas. How colorless and undramatic is the fulfillment of the prophecies when in VII 123 the tables-prodigy assumes the role that had originally been assigned to the sow-prodigy III, 389, and when the sow-prodigy assumes the unimportant role of proving the reality of the Tiber-god's appearance and of bringing in an unimportant prophecy concerning the founding of Alba Longa. How is this glaring inconsistency in the treatment of these two prodigies to be explained? It must always be remembered that Virgil did not carry out the intended revision of his poem, that he left it, rather, in the state of a rough draft. It can readily be understood then that, as his poem progressed, the poet frequently changed his plans, this or that point assuming greater importance in his mind, and that he often, unconsciously or even consciously, became guilty of inconsistencies, which



latter he intended to remedy in his revision.

## V

The most consistently treated book in the first half of the Aeneid, so far as the divine guidance of Aeneas is considered, is beyond question the third. In this book we have a plan, carefully prepared and painstakingly executed, which consists in making the gradual increase of knowledge of Aeneas as to his goal the central theme of the narration of his wanderings. Only in Book III do we find this theme consistently presented. Indeed, in all the other books of this part of the poem, the inconsistencies with this theme are so great that Virgil could not possibly have had this plan in mind when he wrote these books. In Book II, which is chronologically the beginning of the story, Aeneas, after having received the vague information from Hector's ghost "quae status ponto pererrato" II, 294, receives the knowledge from Creusa's ghost that he will "come to Hesperia, where Lydian Tiber flows" II, 781, which is startlingly definite when we consider that in Book III Aeneas apparently knows nothing of Hesperia until the Penates give him this direction, he having in the meantime made two attempts to found his New Troy, one in Thrace, in the north, the other on the island of Crete, in the south, neither of which places could have been thought of as Hesperia.

Furthermore, in Book I, the events of which chronologically follow those in Book III, Aeneas, line 208, encourages his companions with the thought that they are seeking "Latium" and

in IV 432 Dido knows that Aeneas is bound for "Latium" and in V, 731 Anchisis assumes that Aeneas knows that "Latium" is his goal, and in VI 67, in his prayer to Phoebus, Aeneas speaks of "Latium" as his destination. And not only does Aeneas know the name of the land in which he is to settle, but he knows, too, the name of its chief river, the Tiber. Aside from Creusa's prophesy II, 781, a knowledge of the Tiber is assumed to be in the possession of Aeneas in V 83 and VI 87. Now, we are nowhere told by the poet where Aeneas received his information concerning Latium and the Tiber. In Book III Divine Providence had given Aeneas his information piecemeal and step by step, until he had received from Helemus as his most definite knowledge the direction to settle on the "west coast" of Italy. After Book III, however, Aeneas is suddenly assumed to have full knowledge of Latium and the Tiber. It is true, in Book I, 6 Latium is mentioned, but here Virgil speaks to his reader and the knowledge of Latium on the part of Aeneas cannot therefrom be assumed. The same is true of I, 365, where Jove unfolds the future to Venus.

It would seem, then, that in Books I, II, IV, V, and VI the thought of making the gradual increase of knowledge of Aeneas concerning his destination, the central theme of his wanderings, was not in the poet's mind, that, on the contrary, Aeneas was thought of by the writer as being well supplied with information as to his goal. The conclusion which Heinze reaches (Virgil's Epische Technik, page 66) that the poet was in Book III operating with one plan and in the rest of the

books with another, may therefore be perfectly correct.

Heinze may further be right in his assumption that Book III was written after no less than two-thirds of the poem had been completed. Indeed, if we consider that in Book III the idea of the gradual increase of knowledge is so distinctly and consistently carried out (with the exception of one slip III,500, where Aeneas speaks of the Tiber altho he should have no knowledge of the name), while in Books I, II, IV, V, and VI the knowledge of his destination is assumed to be in the possession of Aeneas, we are constrained to incline to the view that the third book was written after the rest of the first six books had been completed and that now the poet began to work with this new idea of making the gradual enlightenment of Aeneas as to his goal the central theme of his wanderings and that he intended in his revision to bring the other books into harmony with Book III.

Incomplete as the Aeneid is, then, in some of its details, it is nevertheless quite obvious that this masterful poem must have had a wholesome and stimulating effect on the patriotism of the poet's <sup>time</sup> and later <sup>generations</sup>. This pertains in particular to those parts of the poem which portray the divine guidance of Aeneas. What Roman could read his Aeneid without experiencing a thrill of pride at the consciousness that the divine guidance which Aeneas received was in reality a providential boon intended for him, the Roman himself. Was not the sole purpose in this careful and persistent guidance of Aeneas this, that the Roman should one day be what he then was, the ruler of the world? And this result, as the poet so convincingly shows,

would have been manifestly impossible without this aid and guidance of Divine Providence.

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