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at Actium (where there is no omen or portent to interpret) he gives the instructions; at Buthrotum he it is who approaches Helenus and who makes the final speech of farewell. The task laid upon him was difficult enough while he shared it with Anchises; when he is left alone he finds it sometimes almost intolerably heavy, and often he shows himself a victim of human frailty and uncertainty. He is no superhuman figure, easily able to ride over difficulty and disaster. He is a human with human imperfections, but he is able to triumph in the end because of the help Anchises had given him in the crucial early stages, and because of the knowledge that it is not for himself alone that he is enduring all these trials. The final certainty that he will be strong enough to succeed comes after his meeting with the shade of Anchises in the sixth book. Anchises' first words are:

Venisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti
vicit iter durum pietas? (687-8)

This is the quality—the Roman quality of *pietas* towards his father, his country, and his gods—which has enabled him to win through. Anchises describes the pageant of Roman heroes awaiting the destiny which Aeneas is making possible for them, and he gives to the concept of the Roman mission its most sonorous expression:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos. (851-3)

And he sends his son forth to final and certain victory:

Incenditque animum famae venientis amore. (889)

III. *The Sources of Book III*

(a) *The legend of Aeneas' voyage*

By the time at which Virgil was writing the *Aeneid* the legend of Aeneas' voyage to the West was already centuries

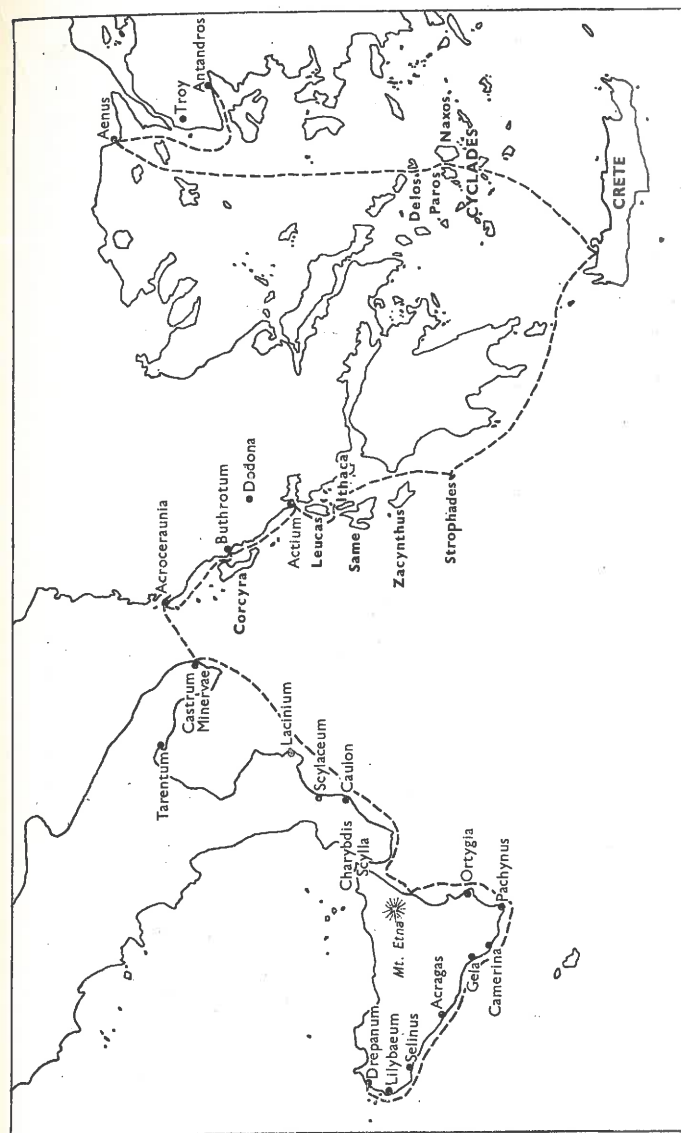
old,¹ and there were various versions which differed considerably in detail; we may compare the variation of the legendary tradition of King Arthur. Virgil was therefore within broad limits free to include or exclude traditional material as he wished, and to make his own elaborations or additions. We possess a quite detailed prose account of the legend in Virgil's contemporary, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and by comparing the two accounts² we shall be able to see where Virgil diverges from the prevailing current version, what he leaves out, what he elaborates, what he adds. Dionysius' account is probably largely based on Varro, and there is good reason to think that prose chronicles of the legend would be closer to the current version than a poetic rehandling.

Dionysius begins by speaking of the variety of the legend³ and by mentioning some of the different traditions, and then

¹ Earliest references are Hellanicus (fifth century) in Dion. Hal. 1. 48. 1 (Aeneas with a band of Trojans crosses to Pallene in Europe) and in Dion. Hal. 1. 72. 2 (Aeneas was the founder of Rome); and Sophocles' *Laocoon* quoted in Dion. Hal. 1. 48. 2 (Aeneas leaves Troy with a band of men who 'want to be in this Phrygian colony'). The tradition of Trojan settlement in Sicily after the fall of Troy (without the name of Aeneas) is recorded by Thucydides (6. 2. 3). Some evidence of the early existence of the legend can also be found in the names of towns or districts called after Aeneas or Troy, in various traditions of a tomb of Aeneas in places west of Troy, and in the widespread ancient cults of Aphrodite Aeneas. There are Etruscan statuettes and vases showing Aeneas carrying Anchises as early as the sixth century. It was in the third century that the Roman associations of the Trojan legend began to take full shape, and a good deal of the legend as Virgil knew it is found first in Lycophron's *Alexandra* (early third century); by the time of Naevius and Ennius it was evidently well established and familiar.

² Cf. R. B. Lloyd, *A.J.Ph.*, 1957, pp. 382 f., an excellent treatment to which I am here much indebted. The detail of the legend has been collected in bulk by J. Perret, *Les Origines de la légende troyenne de Rome*. See also Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, pp. 99 f., and for fuller bibliography the Loeb Dionysius, pp. 160-1, and Pease's *Aeneid IV*, Intro., pp. 14 f.

³ Dion. Hal. 1. 49. 1 τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἐτι πλείω παρέχει τοῖς πολλοῖς τὴν ἀπορίαν.



The Voyage of Aeneas (Virgil's version).

goes on to give his succinct account.¹ The stages of the voyage in the two versions are these:

DIONYSIUS	VIRGIL
(i) Thrace	(i) Thrace
(ii) Delos	(ii) Delos
(iii) Cythera	(iii) Crete
(iv) Arcadia	(iv) Strophades
(v) Zacynthus	
(vi) Leucas	
(vii) Actium	(v) Actium
(viii) Ambracia	
(ix) Buthrotum	(vi) Buthrotum
(x) Dodona	
(xi) Onchesmos	(vii) Acroceraunia
(xii) Castrum Minervae	(viii) Castrum Minervae
(xiii) Lacinium	
	(ix) Scylla and Charybdis
	(x) Etna
(xiv) Drepanum	(xi) Drepanum

We see from these lists that Virgil has both lessened the number of stages and made some changes. Out of Dionysius' list there remain only Thrace, Delos, Actium, Buthrotum, Castrum Minervae, and Drepanum, with Acroceraunia as a variation for Onchesmos. Let us consider Virgil's omissions first. His intention here has been partly to avoid monotonous repetition of similar events, partly to eliminate inconsistencies in the legend. The stage at Arcadia had to be omitted because it involved a different version of Anchises' death; for the same reason Onchesmos disappears in favour of Acroceraunia (see note on 506 f.). The omission of the other stages (Cythera, Zacynthus, Leucas,² Ambracia, Dodona, Lacinium) was mainly to avoid sameness, and it is noticeable that in several instances the tradition associated with one

¹ Lloyd, adding other sources to the material in Dionysius, gives a table of 17 episodes in Aeneas' voyage. This geographical division of the journey is of course only one of a number of ways in which the events of *Aeneid* III can be grouped.

² The stop at Leucas is combined with the events at Actium in a passage which involves some geographical inaccuracy (note on 274 f.).

of the omitted stages is mentioned elsewhere:¹ the games are transferred from Zacynthus to Actium (notes on 270-1, 278 f.); the visit to Helenus is transferred from Dodona to Buthrotum (note on 294 f.); the sacrifices to Juno are transferred from Lacinium to Castrum Minervae (note on 552).

Next we may take the stages in Dionysius which are also in Virgil. These he has treated in such a way as to make them integral to his theme. The first stage, in Thrace, is enlarged by the introduction of the story of Polydorus, and thus gives an atmosphere of horror and fear, appropriate for the early days of an escape from a sacked city. The visits to Delos and Buthrotum are seen as decisive stages towards the fulfilment of a mission, with prophecies of Roman greatness to hearten the enduring Trojans. The brief accounts of Actium and Castrum Minervae show us the first occasions of well-known Roman social and religious ceremonies. The short stay at Acroceraunia holds the tension at the last moment before the sighting of Italy. The death of Anchises at Drepanum, mentioned in Book III only very briefly, is the link with the return visit to Sicily which provides the subject-matter of Book V.²

Lastly there are the stages in Virgil which are not in Dionysius: Crete, the Harpies in the Strophades Islands, Scylla and Charybdis, the Cyclops on Mt. Etna. The last three of these are mythological, so that there is special reason for considering why Crete has been newly introduced by Virgil into the legend, or perhaps brought in from a lesser-

¹ See also note on 286 for the transference to Actium of an event apparently associated in the tradition with Samothrace.

² The return visit to Sicily is apparently an addition to the legend by Virgil. In Dionysius the Sicilian events (landing at Drepanum, foundation of Egesta, temple at Eryx, burning of the fleet) follow straight on from Castrum Minervae. The visit to Carthage, though probably in one of the versions of the legend as early as Naevius, is not in Dionysius, and its chronology would not find favour with historians (the foundation of Carthage was considered, rightly so, to be several hundred years later than Aeneas).

known tradition, the evidence for which has now vanished. Virgil uses the episode partly to stress the legendary connexion of Troy and Crete, showing how widespread was the fame of the ancestors of Aeneas, but mainly because this connexion could cause the mistaken interpretation of the prophecy at Delos and thus give a setting for another prophecy of the future glory of the Trojans and of Rome. There remain the realms of fantasy, and we now turn from the legend itself to Virgil's poetic sources.

(b) *Poetic sources*

Virgil planned to try to combine the quasi-historical voyage of Aeneas in the real world with sea-saga stories of fantasy and imagination such as are found in the *Odyssey*. In a number of ways he visualized Aeneas as a new Odysseus, and the first book of the *Aeneid* is based so largely in episode and phraseology on *Odyssey* V–VIII that a comparison between the two heroes is inevitably in the reader's mind. This time the wanderer sees at his journey's end not a reunion with home and family but the founding of a new city in a new world. The comparison with Homer, already so marked at the beginning of the poem, could clearly be pointed again in the book of voyaging, and the somewhat prosaic outline of places and stages could be diversified by means of stories of adventure and supernatural dangers. Such episodes would add excitement while still affording the needed contrast with the more real and terrible dangers and disasters of Book II.

But the introduction of such Odyssean adventures presented great problems. Only in a very limited sense could it be said that Aeneas lived in Odysseus' world. They were contemporaries in legend, but Virgil's concept of Rome's first founder and the weighted and symbolic nature of his poem were very far away indeed from the deep-sea yarns of a seafaring people in Homeric times. In addition to this the geography of the Mediterranean was by now much more

familiar. Only in three episodes¹ (the Harpies, Scylla and Charybdis, the Cyclops) has Virgil brought Aeneas into the fabulous world of Odysseus, and in all three we can see that the poet is aware of the difficulty. In the strange adventure of the Harpies (the Harpies themselves are from Apollonius, not Homer, but the episode is partly based on the story of the cattle of the Sun God in *Odyssey* XII) Virgil has carefully linked the world of fantasy with the theme of the poem by attributing to Celaeno the traditional prophecy about eating the tables; this attribution is not found in any other version of the legend. Scylla and Charybdis are described briefly and with a rhetorical hyperbole which does not ask us to believe in them. In the Cyclops episode, by far the longest of these three, the events are narrated, not experienced by Aeneas, and the passage shows signs of Virgil's dissatisfaction with it. The exciting adventures of Odysseus in a world of fantasy had captured Virgil's imagination, but it was very difficult indeed here to 'filch his club from Hercules'.² Most readers will probably feel that the Harpies and the Cyclops are not harmonious in the structure of the *Aeneid*, and yet as a touch of baroque on an unadorned building they give an irrational pleasure. In themselves they are fine examples of the description of strange and unreal events, the one depending for its effect on direct narrative, the other elaborated into a piece of grandiose and hyperbolic writing.

Homer's *Odyssey* then figured quite largely in Virgil's source material (for details see notes on 209 f., 420 f., 623 f., 632 f.), and so did the *Argonautica* of Apollonius in the Harpies episode (see note on 209 f.). One further poetic influence remains to be noticed, that of Greek tragedy,

¹ There is just a mention of Phaeacia (291), and of Circe (386); elsewhere in the poem there are brief references to the Sirens (5. 864 f.), and to Circe again (7. 10 f.).

² *Vit. Donat.* 46 *cur non illi quoque eadem furia temptarent? verum intellecturos facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere.*

particularly of Euripides. The story of Polydorus does not seem to have been in the legend before Virgil, and no doubt Virgil knew it chiefly from Euripides' *Hecuba* (see note on 19 f.). Similarly the introduction of Andromache into the story of Helenus is original in Virgil, and here again much of the subject-matter comes from Euripides (see note on 294 f.). Both of these episodes bring to Virgil's narrative an atmosphere of suffering and of tragedy, the first grim and horrifying, the second treated with the human touches of deep pathos and sympathy which are so characteristic both of Euripides and of Virgil.

IV. *Treatment of the Subject-matter*

We are now in a position to consider how Virgil has constructed *Aeneid* III. We have seen that it had to be a book of low tension between the two intense books, II and IV; and that at the same time close adherence to the prose version of the legend would cause the tension to become too low and the subject-matter monotonous. Virgil therefore modified his legendary material first by the compression of episodes, and then by stressing the patriotic aspects—the weariness of the exiles still striving on for the greatness of Rome, the progressive revelation of the glorious goal by oracles, the aetiological association of famous places and well-known customs with early times, the foreshadowing of the values of Augustan Rome in the characters of Aeneas and Anchises. In addition to this he went to the poets for diversifying episodes: to Euripides for the grim story of Polydorus and the pathos of Andromache, to Homer and Apollonius for the fabulous world of the Harpies and Scylla and the Cyclops. Bearing these factors in mind, let us look at the subject-matter¹ and how it is handled,² noticing especially

¹ Details are given in the commentary at the beginning of each episode; here an attempt is made to show the picture as a whole.

² See R. B. Lloyd, *A.J.Ph.*, 1957, pp. 133 f., for some detailed discussion of this, and for patterns of landing, sacrifice, omen, interpretation, departure.

the variations in mood and tension. We may conveniently schematize¹ it as three groups of three episodes:² the first group takes place in the Aegean (Thrace, Delos, Crete), the second group in Greece (Strophades, Actium, Buthrotum), the third in Italy and Sicily (landing in Italy, Etna, voyage round Sicily).

At the beginning of the book the mood is sad and pessimistic, following on from the tragic events of Book II (*diversa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras*); but the gloom is relieved by the knowledge that the exiles have divine support (*auguriis agimur divum*). The first episode, the stop in Thrace and the story of Polydorus, is weird and terrifying, and the feeling of weary helplessness is powerfully dominant in an episode which Virgil has added to the legend (note on 19 f.). All that the Trojans learn here about their goal is *heu fuge crudelis terras*. The second stage is Delos (notes on 69 f., 84 f.), where the Trojans meet an old friend and receive an oracle telling them to seek their ancient mother, with the heartening message *hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris*; in hope and excitement they set off for Crete (notes on 121 f., 135 f.), which Anchises has taken to be the place indicated by the oracle. On the way they have good news about the departure of Idomeneus, and they sing as they voyage on. But their joy is short-lived, for on their arrival in Crete, the third stage of their wanderings, a plague comes upon them. This is due to Anchises' error of interpretation, and divine help is sent through the vision of the Penates with the true explanation of the oracle and the promise

¹ In making this grouping I would stress that any such schematization of the movement of an epic poem is to be regarded as an aid to the understanding of the structure, not as a suggestion that the structure is a problem calling for an arithmetical solution. We may appreciate some aspects of the *Aeneid* best when we view it as two groups of six books; others are best seen by thinking of three groups of four, or six groups of two, and so on.

² Compare the schematization of *Odyssey* IX–XII in Woodhouse, *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey*, pp. 43 f.

of greatness—*venturos tollemus in astra nepotes / imperiumque urbi dabimus*. The rapid interplay of joy and sorrow, and the gradual increase of hope as the voyage progresses, are themes worth following.

As they leave Crete they are caught in a storm, and driven to the Strophades Islands, where their encounter with the Harpies (note on 209 f.) is described. This fourth stage, like the first, is an episode of weird horror, but this time of a much more mythological character. Virgil gives a link with the theme of the *Aeneid* by the attribution to Celaeno of the prophecy about eating the tables, and he treats the episode as a strange adventure story based partly on Apollonius and partly on Homer. The fifth stage gives a complete contrast; it is the brief and wholly Roman episode at Actium (note on 278 f.), the first so far without omen or prophecy. To Actium Virgil transferred the games which were traditional in the legend at Zacynthus, thus giving a connexion with Augustus' Actian Games. And after the briefest episode we come to the longest.

The story of Helenus and Andromache with the long prophecy of Helenus is the last stage before the Trojans move on to Acrocerania and the immediate approach to Italy. It acts as the centre-piece of the book; in it Virgil has conflated into a single episode the visit to Buthrótum and the prophecy of Helenus at Dodona, which were separate in the legend, and he has added the pathos of the story of Andromache (note on 294 f.). This is the only part of the book in which Virgil writes with the warm sympathy and personal emotional involvement which are so characteristic of him elsewhere in the poem. Andromache figures at the beginning of the episode and again very briefly at the end, but the impact which she makes is very great because she is a tragic individual in a world of oracles and destiny and powerful peoples. At this moment we are still looking backwards to Troy as well as forwards to Rome. The prophecy of Helenus (note on 374 f.), which forms the bulk of this

episode, derives its interest almost entirely from its subject-matter, as the fullest account so far of the future course of the voyage; the diction and metrical treatment of this speech are deliberately plain and unexciting.

The final part of the book may be viewed as a group of three episodes. The first of these is concerned with the events of the voyage from Greece along the shores of Italy to Sicily. It contains the very brief call at Acrocerania (note on 506 f.); then the passage across to Italy, the first sighting of their destined home, the omen of the four white horses, the landing in Italy to perform rites to Juno; and finally the dangers of Scylla and Charybdis. The last part of this episode takes us again into the world of mythology, and the style of writing changes, becoming grandiose and rhetorical (notes on 564 f., 571 f.) in order to lead in to the description of Etna and the story of Achaemenides and Polyphemus.

This long episode is handled throughout in the high style, and contains some splendid rhetorical description, but also some marks of incomplete revision; there is reason to think (note on 588 f.) that Virgil was doubtful whether it could be kept. It does not properly cohere with the poem as a whole; it has nothing to do with the destiny of Rome. Viewed in isolation it has some fine passages, but it is purely an exciting episode unrelated to the main themes of the *Aeneid*.¹ It attracted Virgil because the story in Homer had attracted him, and because to retell it here could afford a marked contrast with the majority of the book, and a kind of balance for the episode of the Harpies; but it is evident why he was doubtful whether it could be kept. Polyphemus and Aeneas belonged to different worlds. Virgil did his best to cope with this difficulty by not bringing them into direct contact (we cannot imagine Aeneas clinging underneath a ram); but his problem was whether his desire for adventure

¹ I do not find myself convinced by the suggestion that it is relevant because it symbolizes the powers of evil so soon after arrival in Italian waters.

and variety and hyperbole at this stage in the poem could be reconciled with the need to retain the Roman theme and spirit of the poem. This was a decision which Virgil would have had to make in his final revision.

The book ends with a brief catalogue of peoples and places in Sicily (note on 692 f.), and with the landing at Drepanum and the death of Anchises (note on 708 f.). Mackail says that this passage 'in its hasty enumeration is like the huddled-up ending of Apollonius's *Argonautica*', and he surmises that this part of the book as well as the Achaemenides episode would have been rewritten. That may be so, but as we have it now the final episode provides what the book needs, a quiet ending, rounded off and final. We cannot be left in the world of Polyphemus and Scylla, and we are brought away from it by a series of short descriptions of well-known Sicilian places, and by the brief mention of the death of Anchises. The appropriate tributes to Aeneas' father are to be given not here, but in Book V on the anniversary of his death. This last episode is a kind of pendant, bringing us gently to the end of the book. The same technique is noticeable in 1. 723 f., 2. 796 f., 4. 693 f., 6. 886 f.

The theme of Book III is the idea of gradual progress towards the desired goal, with difficulties and dangers countered by divine prophecies and encouragement. This is the theme which runs through the whole of the first half of the poem, and here it is at its most concentrated. In the development of the theme various kinds of symmetries are built up, various kinds of conflict and tension sustained. There is the symmetry, as we have seen, of three groups of three episodes. There is the symmetry around the long central episode of Helenus and Andromache, and the correspondence of the mythological Harpies in the first half with the mythological Polyphemus in the second. There is the tension between fear and hope, the contrast between present despair and future triumph, between the exiles of Troy and

the founders of Rome. There is the interplay between the annalistic source-material of the actual world and the realms of fantasy and poetic imagination. Finally there is very considerable variety of style; much of the book is unheightened, or heightened only by the national content of prophecies, but in the Andromache story the emotional impact is very strong, and in the account of Etna and Polyphemus the grandiose style is given full play. Books III and V are planned to give variety of movement in comparison with II, IV, and VI; the versatility and constructional ability which are revealed in them enabled Virgil to do what few epic poets have succeeded in doing—to hold together the parts of a poem conceived on the largest scale.

V. Contradictions and Inconsistencies in Book III

There are, as has often been pointed out, certain inconsistencies¹ in Book III, and some passages which still lack the poet's *ultima manus*.² But the importance of the discrepancies has been exaggerated.³ Some of them vanish when we take into account the fact that the book is in the words of Aeneas, not in the reported narrative of Virgil. It is said that the anger of Juno does not figure largely; nor does it in Book II, the other book which is in Aeneas' own words. Aeneas cannot report the debates and actions of the Olympian gods as Virgil can in the other books;⁴ reference to them can come only in oracles and prophecies, or through their personal appearance (a device which obviously must be used sparingly). The prominence of Apollo (instead of

¹ See R. B. Lloyd, *A.J.Ph.*, 1957, pp. 133 f., for a good discussion and full bibliography, and Büchner in *R.E.*, s.v. *Vergilius*, cols. 1363 f.

² See Index, s.v. 'unrevised passages', and especially note on 588 f.

³ See especially M. M. Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid*, Blackwell, 1920, pp. 16 f.

⁴ Cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, pp. 96 f.