Vergil's use of the deus ex machina in the Aeneid

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Lola M. Oliver
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With affection.
CONSPECTUS.

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Venus
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A.

Jupiter
Juno
Venus
Apollo
Minerva
Neptune
The term, "deus ex machina", derived its name from a device employed by dramatists as early as the fifth century B.C. to bring divinities on the stage from above, thus emphasizing their supernatural character and making their entrance more impressive. Before this time, when gods appeared on the stage, they entered, walked about, and talked like any other characters in the play. The first sure instance of the use of such a machine is said to have been in the "Bellerophon" of Euripides, where the author made his hero ride to heaven on the winged steed, Pegasus.

The use of a deus ex machina in drama and other forms of literature has been commented on by many writers, both ancient and modern, the opinions regarding the propriety of its use varying considerably, chiefly because of different conceptions of the meaning of the term.

Aristophanes, in his satirical drama, "Peace", having in mind Bellerophon's flight on Pegasus, ridicules the use of such a device by causing his hero to take a flight to heaven on the back of a beetle.

Aristotle, (Art of Poetry, Bywater's Translation, pp. 43-45) says "the denouement should arise out of the plot itself, and not depend on a stage artifice, as in the Medea, or in the story of the (arrested) departure of the Greeks in the Iliad. The artifice must be reserved for matters outside the play - for past events beyond human knowledge, or events yet to come, which require to be foretold or announced; since it is the privilege of the gods to know everything. There should be nothing improbable about the actual incidents. If it be unavoidable, however,
it should be outside the tragedy, like the improbability in the "Oedipus" of Sophocles. In treating particularly of the epic, (p. 71) he first mentions the similarity between epic and drama; then, (p. 77) "The marvellous is certainly required in Tragedy. The Epic, however, affords more opening for the improbable, the chief factor in the marvellous, because the agents are not visibly before one.----The marvellous is a cause of pleasure, as is shown by the fact that we all tell a story with additions, in the belief that we are doing our hearers a pleasure.----(p. 79) A likely impossibility is always preferable to an unconvincing possibility. The story should never be made up of improbable incidents; there should be nothing of the sort in it. If, however, such incidents are unavoidable, they should be outside the piece."

Horace,"Ars Poetica", gives it as his opinion that the god should not be employed unless a difficulty has arisen that is worthy of such a solution. "Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus inciderit." (91) Since this advice follows an admonition to a writer to preserve the unity of the plot; to attempt nothing beyond his powers; and to maintain the true character of the persons of the story throughout the poem, it would seem that it is meant simply to urge proper care in the development of the story, and not necessarily a criticism of the use of the deus itself.

The significance of the comments of Aristotle and Horace as regards the use of a deus ex machina, lies in the fact that from them we are safe in assuming that there was a tendency on the part of some writers toward an unskilful and excessive use of the device, which probably helped to give to the term the
meaning popularly ascribed to it, that is, the use of a divinity to solve a hopeless tangle in a plot.

Gilbert Murray objects to the use of the term in this narrow sense, (Euripides and His Age, pp. 219-225) and attributes the narrower interpretation to the view of Horace previously quoted, which, he says, has caused a great many people to regard a deus ex machina as "a device, and a very unskilful one, for finishing a story that has somehow got into a hopeless tangle." He thinks the view has been more easily accepted and retained because of the devices used in modern romantic literature to bring about a happy ending, such as the sudden appearance of rich uncles, new wills, infants changed at birth, and other such improbable incidents. Murray even goes so far as to assert that in the dramas of Euripides, the deus ex machina is never used in the narrow sense. He shows how, on the contrary, in some of Euripides' plays, e.g. the "Iphigenia in Tauris", situations are invented after the plot is practically solved, to give an opportunity for the use of a deus. He thinks that in the "Hippolytus" the introduction of the goddess Artemis at the close, is entirely justified by the beauty of the scene, where "mortal emotion creaks against the cliffs of immortal calm," and gives the desired peaceful close. He shows how the deus is used in the "Electra" to deliver the author's essential moral judgment on the story: the condemnation for revenge, and pity for mankind.

R.C. Flickinger (The Greek Theater and its Drama, pp. 289 ff) agrees in the main with Murray, in regard to Euripides' use of the deus ex machina, although he would admit that in the "Orestes" it is employed as the means to a denouement. He calls attention to the fact that here, as in other instances, the god prophesies the future. Flickinger sees a close resemblance to the deus ex
machine in the broader sense of the term, in "As You Like It", where a happy ending is brought about by the entrance of a messenger who announces the change of heart of the brother of the exiled Duke; likewise in Cymbeline, and other plays of the same period.

John Clark (History of Epic Poetry, p. 68 ff.) says: "The gods are a part of the heroes' world, and must appear in any full dissertation of the same, as felt influences, as advisers, dispensers of destiny, but not as benumbing powers. The gods give dignity; they contribute to the forwarding and glorification of the action. In modern poetry, we introduce the divine as sanction, or as an indication of seriousness. Tradition has placed the gods in epic poetry; the supernatural has occurred in all successful epics. In epic poetry the gods are a utility, an ornament, a tradition; they came in first as a necessity, as facts in the life of man, and have remained. ---- Divine promptings represented the falling of the scales from the eyes, or at most, a fillip to the will that had paused before obstacles."

If we are to accept Rudyard Kipling's story "The God from the Machine" as representing his conception of the term, we shall conclude that he interprets it to mean any agency, which, like "Private Mulvaney", has the power to control the action and force it out of the expected channels.

In a study of Vergil's use of the deus ex machina in the Aeneid, we must keep in mind the conditions of the age in which he lived, the patriotic purpose of the Aeneid, and the traditions that clung to epic poetry. Sellar (The Roman Poets of the August-
an Age, Vergil, p. 283, reminds us that "Rome had a strong national sentiment that had to be appealed to, to secure a general and permanent interest; --- They (the Romans) were a people who had an instinctive consciousness of a long destiny. The times had reawakened the sense of national life, and of Rome's mission to subdue and govern the world."

To appeal to the Romans in an epic poem, Vergil must work upon these sentiments. The story of Aeneas, already connected with the early history of Rome by tradition, offered a suitable theme for this purpose; but there were certain difficulties involved in harmonizing the vague and often conflicting accounts, shrouded as they were, in the mystery of the past, when the gods were recognized as taking an active part in human affairs. It is also important to note that the interest of the Aeneid is not centered in the hero, as such, but in his divine mission. The gods have promised a great future for Rome; they will see that the promise is fulfilled. As Augustus Hopkins Strong says, (The Great Poets and Their Theology, p. 8-2) "The object (of the Aeneid) is to show how the universal empire of Rome which the gods had willed and fate had decreed, was first established on Italian shores. He (Vergil) will write a poem that reflects the destiny of the Latin race, will dignify the history of Rome by linking it to heroes of history and the counsels of heaven; clothe his theme with all the splendor of legend and song; he will reproduce the Homeric poems in Italy, he will himself be the Homer of Rome."

In the following discussion the term "deus ex machina" will not be limited to cases in which the divinity is introduced to unravel a hopeless tangle in the plot; neither will it be ex-
tended to include "the long arm of coincidence"; but it will be interpreted to include any introduction of a deity or manifestation of deity which directly or indirectly affects the action of the story.

Our purpose is to consider each case of divine intervention in the Aeneid, observing under what circumstances, and with what result Vergil employed the deus ex machina using the term as defined above. We have aimed to study these instances solely with reference to the internal structure of the Aeneid itself, and have purposely ignored Vergil's literary relationship to Homer and to his Roman predecessors in the realm of epic poetry.
I. Gods affect the action directly.

Under this head is placed every instance where the god carries out his will without any intermediate agent, such as another god or an omen. The instances in which divinities appear at the behest of some other deity, even though they may appear in person, naturally fall under the second division, where the gods work indirectly. The gods affect the action directly in two distinct ways: they either appear in visible form, or they perform their work unseen. We shall consider first the instances in which the gods are actually seen by some one.

A. Gods affect action directly and visibly.

Venus.

The first instance of this kind occurs in the first book, (314) soon after the Trojan ships are driven to the shores of Carthage by the storm. Aeneas and the faithful Achates have started out to explore the strange country in which they have found themselves. Venus, disguised as a huntress, meets them, and draws them into conversation. In spite of her disguise, Aeneas believes that she must be more than mortal, for she has not mortal features, nor does her voice sound like a mortal voice; and so he asks her to be propitious and help them, and to tell them where they are. Then Venus tells them that they are in Africa; but the city is a Phoenician city, built by Dido, the Phoenician queen, who fled to Africa after the murder of her husband Sychaeus. She assures Aeneas that she does not think that he is an object of hatred to the gods, as his words imply; and bids him go to see the queen. Also to his great relief she informs him that his fleet and comrades are safe, and are just entering the harbor. She speaks these words of cheer; then, changing her form, stands revealed as a goddess by the rosy glow of her complexion, the fragrance of her ambrosial locks, and her
long flowing robes. Before Aeneas can speak, she disappears, and Aeneas and Achates go on their way, under cover of a cloud with which Venus envelops them.

Venus seems to be introduced here to offset Juno, who is the dominant force in the first book. Through Venus' influence, Jupiter has provided for a friendly reception of the Trojans by the Carthaginians, and the appearance of Venus at this point does not advance the action in any way. It does, nevertheless, accomplish a definite purpose; for she reveals Dido's past history and the reasons for her coming to Carthage, a knowledge of which is necessary to a complete understanding of the events which follow.

The second appearance of Venus in visible form is found in the second book. After Priam's death, Aeneas finds himself alone. He approaches the temple of Vesta, and by the light of the fires in the burning city, he sees Helen, the cause of all the Trojan woes, hiding by the altar, where she has fled for safety. The thought that Helen is still alive, and may be permitted to return to her home and friends in Greece, attended perhaps by Trojan women as slaves, inflames him with anger. A fierce desire for revenge seizes him, and even though he knows that it is an inglorious act to kill a woman, he is about to rush madly toward Helen, when Venus appears, this time in her true form, and restrains him, reminding him of his duty to his family, who would long ago have perished had it not been for her protecting care.

In the eighth book, Venus appears to Aeneas undisguised, to bring him the armor which Vulcan, at her request, has made for his use. In the elaborate decoration of the shield,
are portrayed the future glories of Rome, beginning with the story of Romulus and Remus, and ending with Augustus Caesar.

**Apollo.**

Apollo is the only other of the greater divinities who appears in person. In the ninth book (638), when Ascanius shoots Numanus, who has taunted the Trojans with cowardice, Apollo looks on in admiration, prophesying a great future for Ascanius and his descendants. Then shooting down to earth, and assuming the form of Butes, who is acting as Ascanius’ guardian in Aeneas’ absence, he commends Ascanius for his skill in archery, but advises him to tempt fortune no more. He then vanishes, but the Trojans recognize him by the twanging of his bow.

This incident adds a certain glory to the founders of the Roman race, for Apollo’s approval is not to be considered lightly, since it is rarely given to mortals. Then, too, since the battle of Actium, Augustus had regarded Apollo as his own special deity, and had erected a beautiful marble temple on the Palatine in his honor.

**Lesser Divinities.**

While there is no other instance of a greater divinity appearing in visible form, there are several instances involving some interior deity. Turnus has been assembling his allies and trying to secure the aid of Diomed, a brave Grecian leader who now lives in Italy, the hero of many exploits in the Trojan war, and the first to be mentioned in connection with Aeneas in the poem. Aeneas has been pondering anxiously the best course to pursue. One night he lies down on the bank of the river and falls asleep. Presently, Liber, the river god appears, clad in a gleaming robe, and wearing a crown of
reeds. He speaks words of cheer, and advises Aeneas to seek the aid of Evander, a Greek, whom the Latins are trying to drive from Italy. He also bids him offer sacrifices to appease Juno's wrath. Lest Aeneas should fail to take his words seriously, he also tells him that when he finds a white sow with a litter of thirty young pigs about her, he will know that he has found the place to build his city. Aeneas wakes and prays to the god to confirm the promise made, and is preparing to leave the place, when suddenly a white sow is seen on the shore with her thirty white offspring about her. Aeneas takes the whole number and sacrifices them to Juno in accordance with the river god's directions; then goes on his way, the god smoothing the water before him.

The river god is introduced here to give Aeneas useful information about Evander. Aeneas, in a strange country, with foes all around him would not know whom to trust, nor where to go for help. The information given him by the god would hardly come to his knowledge otherwise, unless by pure accident. In accordance with the tradition, Aeneas received help from a Grecian ally. This remarkable fact needs some explanation, and Vergil has accomplished this through the god of the Tiber, whose waters are destined to sweep by the mighty city of Rome. Helenus had told Aeneas that the white sow would be a sign that he had reached the place where the city was to be built, and the Cumaean Sybil had foretold that he would receive aid first from a Grecian city; which gives Aeneas reason to think that the river god has spoken truly in every respect; and he goes forward with greater confidence in the outcome of his fortunes. When-
ever the prospects are very gloomy, some intervention of deity occurs to give encouragement.

When Aeneas is returning from his successful mission to Evander (X. 220), his fleet is met by the nymphs, formerly his own ships, who tell him of the attack made on the camp in his absence, and warn him of the morrow's danger. This event serves to connect the tenth book with the preceding, and furnishes an interesting incident during Aeneas' return voyage.

The Palinurus episode at the close of the ninth book (838), has no direct bearing on the story as a whole; but the story of Palinurus, was a part of Vergil's literary tradition, and here is a suitable place to weave it into the poem; so the poet has the god of sleep in the guise of Phorbas appear to Palinurus as he firmly grasps the helm while guiding the fleet on its way from Sicily to Italy. When Palinurus refuses to rest from his duties as the god urges, the god overpowers him by force, and Palinurus falls overboard.

In the tenth book, (439) Juturna, not mentioned here by name, but spoken of as the sister of Turnus, is made to urge Turnus to bear aid to young Lausus, who is hard pressed. The information could be given by an ordinary mortal just as well as far as the story is concerned, an evidence of Vergil's liking for the supernatural element, even when the situation does not absolutely demand it.

The two remaining instances of a visible appearance of the gods acting directly, of their own volition, are quite unlike the others in some respects, and yet seem to belong under this head. In both cases we have visions of people no longer living, who come of their own accord, and urge Aeneas to leave Troy. They are not gods perhaps, in the strict sense of the word, un-
less Hector, as a hero, might be considered a divinity after his death. Both instances occur in the second book. The vision of Hector comes to Aeneas as he lies asleep in his father's house on the night of Troy's destruction (270). The Trojans are resting in a sense of security, thinking that the Greeks have gone away for good. Anchises' house stands in a somewhat secluded place, so that Aeneas has not heard the first sounds of conflict, and is still sleeping soundly when Hector appears to him, looking just as he did after being dragged about the city walls behind the chariot of Achilles. He tells Aeneas that the enemy is within the walls, and that there is no hope of saving the city. He gives him the Penates and bids him go to seek a new home for them.

Vergil employs this incident as a means to reconcile a Roman reader to Aeneas' departure from the city. It shows the patriotism of Aeneas, too, that he does not obey this command at once, but first makes a heroic effort to rally forces and drive the Greeks out of the city. Hector's words would naturally have great weight. His mangled body bears witness to the extent that he has suffered for Troy, yet even he could not save her. He indicates a greater duty for Aeneas than to die in the defense of his native land.

The ghost of Creusa appears near the close of the second book (773). Aeneas is making his way out of the city with his little band of followers, when suddenly he hears the sound of footsteps approaching, and his father, peering through the gloom, sees the gleam of arms. In the attempt to lead his company out of danger, Aeneas takes a new road. In the confusion, Creusa
is lost, and is not missed until they arrive at the appointed rendezvous outside the city. Leaving the rest of the party, Aeneas makes his way back to the city, and searches diligently for Creusa everywhere, calling her loudly by name; but his search is vain. Finally her ghost appears, and relieves his anxiety by telling him that her disappearance has happened through the will of the gods, and thus she has been spared the humiliation of becoming a slave to the Greeks. She prophesies a long voyage before he reaches the Hesperian land, where a kingdom and a royal wife are in store for him.

The appearance of Creusa's ghost removes the last obstacle to Aeneas' departure, and gives divine sanction, while at the same time it reveals the strength of Creusa's character. The mother of Ascanius would rather die than live a captive. A son of such parents must needs be brave, and worthy to be the founder of a mighty nation. It may be that her prophecy concerning his marriage when he reaches Italy is intended as a warning to Dido. It helps to connect the first part of the poem with the last six books, and to justify Aeneas in taking Turnus' promised bride.

B. The gods work directly, but invisibly.

In the second subdivision we have those cases in which the gods though working directly, are invisible. There is a large number of these instances that, in themselves, can be explained as natural events, and for convenience, these will be grouped together. Those incidents which can not be so explained form a second group.
1. Cases that may be explained by natural causes.

Juno.

Juno usually acts indirectly through some other divinity, as will be seen later. In every instance but one where she works directly, the action can be explained by natural causes. Through Cupid's wiles, Dido has allowed thoughts of Aeneas to dominate her mind so completely that she is neglecting the work of building and fortifying her city. Juno perceives how matters stand, and forms a plan to bring about a marriage between Dido and Aeneas, hoping thus to keep Aeneas from fulfilling his mission. She addresses Venus and proposes an alliance between the Trojans and the Tyrians. Venus sees through Juno's scheme, but consents to it, knowing full well that in the end it will be Juno's favorite and not Aeneas who will suffer. In accordance with this plan, Juno causes the storm which forces the hunting party to seek shelter, and which is accepted by Dido as constituting a real marriage, although it is only symbolical. Juno is the "pronuba" who, with mother Earth, gives the signal for the ceremony to begin; the lightning flashes are the marriage torches; the nymphs on the mountain side furnish the wedding music; and Heaven is a witness of the marriage.

In the second book (612), Venus tells Aeneas that Juno is helping the Greeks in the destruction of Troy. If she is visible here, it is only after Venus has taken away the cloud which obscures mortal vision, as she says she will do.

In the seventh book, when, in spite of the pressure brought upon him by Turnus and his friends, Latinus refuses to make a formal declaration of war, Juno herself is represented as coming down and throwing the gates of war wide open with such violence that they are torn from their hinges. The incident refers, of
course, to the custom which persisted down to Vergil's time, of opening the gates of the temple of Janus in time of war. The poet has chosen this very effective way to say that in spite of Latinus' refusal to sanction the war, it breaks out with great violence.

Again, after Turnus discovers the deception that has been practiced in luring him on board the boat and thus removing him from the battle, he is so humiliated that he resolves to kill himself; but Juno thrice restrains him (X. 685), and speeding the boat on its course, brings him at length to his native land.

In the ninth book (745), Juno is given credit for turning aside the weapon of Pandarus when he hurls it at Turnus with all his might, intending to avenge the death of his brother Sitiias, whom Turnus has slain.

Jupiter.

Jupiter affects the action directly only three times, and in each case the result of his intervention may be explained by natural causes. In the fifth book (693), when the Trojan women, inspired by Juno, set fire to their ships, Aeneas prays to Jupiter for help, and immediately a heavy rainfall puts out the fire. There would be nothing so very improbable in the rain coming just in time to save the ships, even though a divinity were not directly responsible; but it is much more effective as it is presented, because the element of chance is eliminated.

In the second book (617), Venus shows Aeneas that Jupiter with some of the other gods is helping the Greeks in the destruction of Troy.

In the tenth book (689), we are told that Jupiter impels
Mezentius to succeed Turnus, when the latter has been lured away by Juno.

Venus.

An instance somewhat similar to the one narrated above is found in the twelfth book (554). After Juturna has persistently kept Turnus out of Aeneas' reach for some time, Venus instructs Aeneas to attack the town, which under the circumstances seems the wisest as well as the most natural thing to do. Aeneas, somewhat crippled by his recent wound, is not able to overtake Turnus, assisted as he is, by Juturna; so he decides to bide his time for a meeting with him personally, and seize the favorable opportunity to destroy the town.

A parallel case to the one where Juno turns aside Pandarus' weapon, is found in the eleventh book (531), where Venus saves Aeneas by turning aside the weapons of the seven brothers. It would seem, however, that it is the unusual strength of his armor that saves Aeneas; for some of the weapons strike his shield and helmet.

Apollo.

When Aruns kills Camilla (XI. 794), Apollo is said to direct the arrow; but as a matter of fact, Aruns has been dogging Camilla's footsteps for some time, awaiting a favorable opportunity to end her life. It is not likely that he would shoot his arrow at this time unless he were sure of his aim, and the chances ought to be as good for success as for failure. The reader is not in sympathy with Camilla's death even though it is recognized as a necessity for the progress of the narrative. The introduction of a deity here, accomplishes her death without belittling her heroic character.
In several instances a god is represented as responsible for the speed or safe voyage of a boat, when a favorable breeze or a strong current is really the propelling force.

After the loss of Palinurus, the pilot (V. 863), Neptune carries the fleet safely; but it is to be noted that as they approach the dangerous rocks of the sirens, Aeneas discovers that the ship is wandering from its course, and so takes the helm himself and guides the ship through the darkness. We are safe in concluding that no great length of time elapsed between the time when Palinurus fell overboard and the discovery of the accident; and that the supernatural element is not necessary to account for the safe passage of the ship.

Again, in the seventh book (23), Neptune steers the ship safely past Circe's isle. To have Aeneas delay at Circe's isle would retard the action, which ought not to be interrupted here. This is not the time for a new adventure; Aeneas has reached Italy, and we expect him to accomplish what he has set out to do. Vergil has avoided any difficulty here by having a god carry him by the danger.

All the intervention attributed to Neptune (except the case in the second book (610), where Venus reveals him in the act of overturning the walls of Troy, is of this nature. In the first book (142), Neptune calms the waters after the storm that Juno had stirred up to wreck the Trojan fleet. The scene is really much more poetical than it would be without the supernatural element. Neptune lifts his placid head from the surface of the water, sternly rebuking the winds for invading his territory, and bidding them return to the "closed prison" whence they came. The waters subside as Neptune glides over the surface of the
waves in his chariot. Then, assisted by Triton and Cymothoe, he pries the ships off the rocks.

In the boatrace scene (V. 241), Cloanthus, seeing that Mnestheus has passed the other contestants and is gaining on his boat, prays to the gods of the sea to help him, promising to give sacrifices to them in return for their aid. The gods answer his prayer; the nymphs with the help of Neptune himself speed the boat on its way; and Cloanthus wins the race.

Fama.

In several instances startling news is spread by Fama, whom Vergil so fittingly characterizes in the fourth book (173), when she carries the news about Aeneas and Dido to Larbus. She is described as a "monstrum horrendum, ingens", whom mother Earth brought forth in order to have revenge on the gods. She has as many watchful eyes, as many tongues, as many listening ears, as she has feathers in her body; is watchful day and night; is as eager to report that which is false as that which is true. This description of Fama or Rumor certainly could not be spared without serious loss. In the seventh book (104) she spreads abroad the response of the oracle of Faunus to the effect that Lavinia is to marry a foreign prince. In the eleventh book (139) Fama brings the news of the death of Pallas, just as she had previously brought the news of his success in battle. In the twelfth book (608) Fama carries the news of Amata's suicide.

Faunus.

In the twelfth book (789), when Aeneas and Turnus are engaged in hand to hand combat, Aeneas' spear sticks fast in the stump of a tree; Turnus, whose sword has been broken, prays to Faunus and mother Earth to hold the spear fast. His prayer is answered and Aeneas struggles in vain to get it loose until
Venus intervenes and frees it for him.

Tiber.

In the tenth book (424), Pallas prays to Tiber to direct his arrow toward Malaesus. His prayer is answered and Malaesus falls.

Triton.

At the close of Aeneas' interview with the Sybil (VI. 149), she tells him that one of his friends is lying dead at that moment. When he gets back to the fleet he finds that it is Misenus, a famous trumpeter, son of Aeolus, whom the Sybil meant. Misenus had rashly proclaimed himself a rival of the gods in his art; and the jealous Triton had submerged him in the waves to punish him for his presumption.

The particular god not indicated.

In the boxing match, the aged Antellus defeats the boastful champion, Dares. Aeneas consoles Dares who is much humiliated, as well as badly bruised physically, by assuring him that Antellus' strength was given him by the gods. (465)
2. Cases that cannot be explained by natural causes.

There are a few instances of invisible, though direct intervention of the gods that cannot be explained quite so readily by natural causes.

Venus.

The first instance of this kind is in the first book (411) where Venus envelops Aeneas and Achates in a cloud which completely hides them from view, but which does not hinder them from seeing all that goes on about them. This occurs soon after the shipwreck. Venus first meets them in disguise and engages them in conversation; then leaves them making their way toward Carthage, first throwing the cloud around them as a protection. Occurring as it does, in connection with Venus' first appearance, the cloud seems to typify her protecting care which watches over
Aeneas throughout the poem. The sense of mystery it gives adds materially to the effect.

In the twelfth book (319) when the Rutulians under the influence of Juturna break the truce solemnly agreed upon by both sides, Aeneas, with unprotected head, carrying no weapons, rushes forward with hands outstretched to beg the Trojans not to fight, but to leave him to contend alone with Turnus according to the terms agreed upon. While he is speaking, an arrow from an unseen hand strikes him, and he is compelled to leave the field. In his efforts to remove the weapon, he breaks it off. Iapyx, instructed by Apollo in the healing art, tries every means his skill can devise to remove the weapon and heal the wound, but is unsuccessful. Meanwhile the Rutulians continue the battle with unrelenting fury, and the Trojans are in despair. Venus, grieved at her son's misfortune (411), picks some dittany from the slopes of Mt. Ida in Crete; and with it prepares a healing mixture, which the physician uses unwittingly; and lo, at once the weapon yields to the touch of the hand, and the wound is healed. Then Iapyx realizes that a divine power has been at work. Aeneas, his strength thus miraculously restored, returns to the fray.

The incident does not seem to have been forced upon the poet, but seems rather to have been deliberately brought about to give an opportunity for an unusual exhibition of Venus' power and her care for Aeneas. The incident is a good one in itself, adding interest to the narrative, and keeping up the dramatic suspense.

When at last Aeneas and Turnus meet for the final struggle, Aeneas' spear by some chance sticks fast in the stump of
a tree; and all his efforts to extricate it are without success. Turnus, whose sword has broken in his hand, prays that Aeneas' spear will hold; and his prayer is answered. Juturna, sent by Juno, here intervenes and restores to Turnus his trusty sword; Venus, seeing this, trees Aeneas' spear. (XII. 785). Here is a double instance of divine intervention; and quite properly, both Juno and Venus are the divinities who are responsible, both intervening here for the last time.

Juno.

In only one instance does Juno affect the action directly in such a way that it cannot be explained by natural causes. In the tenth book (659) after she has lured Turnus on board the boat in order to remove him from danger, she cuts the ropes which moor the boat to the shore. By making Turnus' escape due entirely to Juno, the poet has delayed the final struggle without making Turnus appear a coward, and consequently a foe unworthy of the brave Aeneas.

Cybele.

There is still another instance of divine intervention that is not easily explained by natural causes. Turnus, in the absence of Aeneas, unsuccessful in his first attempts to provoke the Trojans to battle, sets fire to their ships as they lie at anchor (IX. 118). Cybele, seeing that the ships will surely be destroyed, changes them into sea nymphs, acting in accordance with a promise made by Jupiter at the time the ships were built. This incident serves to encourage the Trojans, who interpret it as a favorable omen; although Turnus insists upon interpreting it to his own advantage.
II. The gods affect the action indirectly.

The first instance of the intervention of the gods occurs near the beginning of the poem after a brief introduction explaining the reasons for the hostile attitude of the queen of the gods toward the Trojans. Juno has persistently kept the Trojans from reaching their destination. When the story opens, Aeneas and his followers have just set sail from Sicily, happy at the prospect of a speedy end to their long and toilsome voyage. Juno, still cherishing her grievance, is inflamed with jealous rage. She recalls an incident of the past when Minerva, angry at Ajax for violating her sacred temple, destroyed him and his whole fleet on the return voyage to Greece; while she, the queen of the gods, sister and wife of Jupiter, has been trying for years in vain to defeat the purpose of Aeneas and his little band of followers. She visits Aeolus, the god of the winds, and persuades him to let loose the gales and destroy the ships. It is very appropriate that Juno should be the first divinity to intervene in the action of the story, since throughout the poem she is the active force against the hero; and this scene impresses the reader at the outset with the strength of her opposition. Here, as is often the case, she employs another divinity to accomplish her purpose.

There is another instance of indirect intervention on the part of Juno at the close of the fourth book. Here, too, a definite end is served, although it does not affect the action of the story as a whole. The entire book is concerned with the love of Dido for Aeneas. The grief and despair of Dido when she learns that Aeneas is resolved upon leaving Carthage make
a strong appeal to the reader's sympathies; and there is need of something to relieve the tenseness of the situation, and bring the scene to a peaceful close. Here, Juno, having pity on Dido's long grief and her hard death, sends Iris from Olympus to release the struggling soul from the clinging body. "Dewy Iris" glides down from heaven on her saffron wings, "drawing a thousand colors from the opposite sun", alights above Dido's head, speaks the words that release her soul, and cuts the lock of hair due as an offering to Proserpina. The warmth leaves Dido's body, and her spirit mingles with the winds. The picture of Iris, the spirit of the rainbow, is drawn with such delicacy of touch, the metrical form is so perfect in its exquisite smoothness, that the passage justifies itself from the standpoint of mere beauty; even though no other artistic purpose is served than to close the story of Dido's tragic love, in such a way that the reader is left with the feeling that through the tender pity of the gods her troubled spirit has at last found rest and peace.

The next time Juno delegates Iris to perform a task for her, is in the fifth book (600). The Trojan men are celebrating games in honor of the anniversary of Anchises' death. The women are gathered on the shore where they mourn for Anchises and indulge in gloomy reflections. At this opportune moment, Juno sends Iris to stir them to open rebellion against a continuation of their wanderings. Iris glides down the rainbow unseen until she has assumed the form of Beroe, an aged Trojan woman. She joins in the complaints of the women over their hard lot, and suggests that there is nothing to hinder them from remaining in Sicily in the kingdom of their kinsman, Acestes. She proposes
that they burn the ships, saying that she has had a dream in which Cassandra appeared carrying burning torches and saying, "Seek Troy here, here is a home for you." Then Iris herself seizes a glowing firebrand from Neptune's altar near by, and brandishes it in her right hand. The women gaze in awe as the goddess raises herself on her wings and disappears in the clouds; then they too seize brands and fire the ships.

Juno employs Iris as her messenger a third time at the beginning of the ninth book, to advise Turnus to attack the Trojans (2). Iris finds Turnus alone, deep in thought, and informs him that the Trojan camp is without defense, since Aeneas has gone to treat with Turnus. She advises him to take advantage of the occasion to make an attack. Having given this advice, she disappears, cutting the rainbow in her flight through the clouds. Turnus gazes after her, and as he does so, the clouds part, revealing the stars in the heavens. Joyfully he pays his vows to the gods and prepares to lead his forces against the Trojan camp.

The Trojans finally sail up the Tiber; and having landed, decide because of certain omens, that they have found their destined home. They send ambassadors to the court of King Latinus, who, convinced that in the Trojan leader he has found the foreign prince who is destined to wed his daughter Lavinia, receives them kindly, and sends them back with valuable gifts as token of his good will. Juno watches the whole procedure; and enraged once more at the failure of her plans, vows that since the heavenly powers do not avail against the Trojans, she will invoke the powers of hell (VII. 223). Even if the Trojans are destined by fate to rule in Italy, she will at least postpone the marriage
of Aeneas and Lavinia, and compel them to win their peace by bloody wars. Having made this resolve, she descends to the lower world, rouses Allecto, the most hideous of the furies, whom even her father Pluto and her sister furies detest, and bids her stir up hate, envy, discord, and war. Allecto is prompt to obey. Her first act is to go to the bed-chamber of Amata, the Latin queen, as she lies tossing restlessly in her sleep (VII. 343). Tearing one of the serpents from her bloody locks, she hurls it with all her might at Amata's breast. The pest buries itself deep in the queen's heart, and causes her to begin to remonstrate earnestly with the king for breaking the marriage contract with Turnus, the Rutulian prince, and consenting to give their daughter in wedlock to this stranger whom she considers a mere adventurer. Receiving no satisfaction from Latinus, Amata rushes wildly through the city, exciting all the other women to sympathetic anger. As soon as Allecto has assured herself that the trouble in the royal household is well under way, she flies to Turnus' palace (412), and changing her form, appears to Turnus in a dream and bids him attack the Trojans. When Turnus refuses to take her advice seriously, and somewhat scornfully bids her mind her own affairs, she flies into a rage; and resuming her own hideous form, she hurls a torch into his breast, and thus excites him to sudden and violent preparations for war. Allecto betakes herself to the Trojan camp. She looks down, and seeing Ascanius and a company of his youthful friends getting ready for a hunting expedition, she causes the dogs to scent a pet deer belonging to Sylvia, whose father tends the royal flocks (479). The boy Ascanius,
eager to bring down some game, bends his bow to shoot; the arrow, directed by the god, reaches its mark; and the deer, with cries of pain, runs home, and falls dead before the eyes of his little mistress. The men from the whole countryside armed with weapons of every sort, rush to the spot, as Allecto mounted on the housetop, blows a dreadful blast on a shepherd's horn (511). There is a bloody encounter in which several of the shepherds are killed; and Allecto, feeling that her mission has been accomplished, flies back to Juno to report her success, offering to excite still other nations to war if Juno so desires. But Juno, thinking that enough evil has been stirred up, peremptorily dismisses her, saying that she will attend personally to anything else that needs to be done.

After Camilla's death and the defeat of the Latin army, Turnus, in spite of Latinus' remonstrances and Amata's entreaties, challenges Aeneas to a hand to hand encounter. The Rutulians and Trojans make a truce, and join in preparing the field. They erect the altars for the solemn ceremonies attendant upon the formal ratification of the terms of the agreement between the two champions. Juno, viewing these preparations from on high, addresses the nymph Juturna, sister of Turnus, bidding her do her best to save her brother from his fate (XII. 152). Aeneas and Latinus at the altar, with due solemnity, vow to keep faith with each other; and the animals are offered in sacrifice to the gods. The Rutulians are already beginning to tremble for the outcome, as they note the relative strength of the two champions; while Turnus stands pale and trembling at the altar. Juturna, assuming the form of Gamers, a man honored among the Rutulians, begins to chide them for allowing Turnus
to fight alone when the Rutulians so far outnumber the Trojans (225). Turnus will lose his life, though in honor, she says; and the Rutulians will become slaves to haughty masters. With such words she arouses general dissatisfaction; then adds force to her utterances by an omen (245). She causes an eagle, Jupiter's bird, to appear in the sky. The eagle, seeing a flock of birds swimming in the lake swoops down and seizes a swan in his talons. The other birds, however, pursue the invader and compel him to drop his prey. The augur, Tolumnius, interprets this omen to mean that the Rutulians shall unite to drive out the foreign foe. Hurling his lance at a Trojan youth, Tolumnius breaks the truce, and the battle rages once more. Scores are added to the number of the slain, and many of the Rutulians flee. Aeneas does not deign to fight with any of the others; but seeks out Turnus. Here Juturna (468), assuming the form of Turnus' charioteer and taking his place, skilfully avoids Aeneas, although he makes every possible effort to overtake Turnus' chariot and force him to fight. Aeneas, baffled, turns fiercely on the other foes; and does not pause until many bodies strew the field. At last he leaves the scene of battle, and goes to attack the town. Turnus roams the plain for a time, occasionally attacking a foe, but becomes more and more dissatisfied with the course events have taken; and finally hearing the sounds of conflict from the town inquires the cause. Juturna urges him to pay no heed to the disturbance, and to remain where he is. When she speaks, he recognizes her, and reproaches her for bringing upon him the contempt of his people.

At length, learning of Juturna's part in breaking the truce and guiding his chariot out of Aeneas' reach, and that Aeneas
has attacked the town, Turnus, determined to prove to friends and foes that he is not a coward, makes his way to the town in headlong haste. Arrived there, he offers to fight with Aeneas single handed, and the two meet in deadly combat. But Turnus in his excitement takes the wrong sword, and in the fierce encounter the weapon is broken (XII. 784). Now for the last time Juturna aids her brother. Assuming once more the form of Metiscus, she brings Turnus his own sword, so that the duel is fought to the end.

Reminded by Jupiter that Turnus cause is hopeless, Juno asks that she may be permitted at least to postpone his death, since she is not able to prevent it. Jupiter gives his consent, and Juno flies to the battle field. She causes a specter having the appearance of Aeneas to appear before Turnus; when Turnus hurls his spear, the specter flees and Turnus pursues. The specter goes on board a boat which is standing moored to the bank, and Turnus follows. While he is searching for the phantom, Juno cuts the ropes and the boat sails away. Then when it is too late for Turnus to go back, the phantom vanishes in a cloud; and Turnus realizes that he has been tricked into leaving the battle.

The object in this episode, as in all but the last case of the intervention through Juturna, seems to be simply to prolong the story, and perhaps, as Connington suggests, to give time for all the heroes to contribute their respective quotas to the series of events. In the last instance it would be very difficult to prevent Turnus and Aeneas from meeting and so putting an end to the war, without making Turnus appear so much a coward or weakling that there would be no glory for Aeneas in a victory over him. So Juno takes the matter in hand; and Turnus escapes
the accusation of cowardice in the mind of the reader, even though he feels that he has been branded a traitor by his own people.

Jupiter.

In all but three cases the intervention of Jupiter is indirect; and in those three cases, as we have seen, the action might be attributed to perfectly natural causes. Jupiter never appears in visible form to mortals, even in disguise; but in keeping with his dignity as king of the gods, remains aloof, and makes his pleasure known through messengers and omens:

The first instance of Jupiter's participation in the story of the Aeneid occurs in the first book (297). Venus, who has been watching the fortunes of the Trojans with growing anxiety, has just been reminding him of his former promise that the Romans, descended from Trojan blood, should be rulers, and hold land and sea under their sway. Jupiter assures Venus that the promise will be kept, and immediately sends Mercury to prepare the Carthaginians for the arrival of the shipwrecked Trojans, that they may treat them kindly.

The divine intervention helps a difficult situation here, since it might be expected that the Carthaginians would be suspicious of a band of strangers landing on their shores; and without some explanation their unusually gracious reception would seem unnatural. However, the decorations on the temple indicated that the Carthaginians were sympathetic toward the Trojans, so divine intervention might have been dispensed with.

On two other occasions Jupiter sends Mercury to assist the Trojans. Both of these occur in the fourth book, when Aeneas, apparently forgetful of his mission and yielding to Dido's
charms, lingers in Carthage. Larbas, Dido's most persistent African suitor, has heard of the state of affairs between Aeneas and Dido, and reproaches Jupiter for allowing Aeneas to win the prize, which he, a faithful worshiper of Jupiter (Ammon) desires. Jupiter calls Mercury (222), and bids him go to Aeneas and remind him that he has a divine mission; and that he owes something to the boy Ascanius even if he feels no concern on his own account. Mercury puts on his winged sandals, takes his wand, and flies swiftly through the air until he reaches Carthage, where he finds Aeneas, carrying a jeweled sword and clad in a cloak of Tyrian purple, assisting Dido in directing the work of building the city. Mercury delivers Jupiter's message, then vanishes, leaving Aeneas dumb with amazement.

The next time Mercury appears to Aeneas (IV. 256), the preparations for the departure of the Trojans are complete, and Aeneas is sleeping on board the ship, presumably intending to set out early the next morning. This time Mercury appears to him in a dream, and warns him that delay is dangerous. The queen is resolved upon death, and at times has fits of rage. She may be planning to destroy the ships or do some other desperate thing. "Varium et mutabile semper femina." In consequence of this warning Aeneas hastily rouses his comrades, and they set sail with all speed.

Jupiter again employs a messenger at the time of the battle which takes place when Turnus attacks the Trojan camp during Aeneas' absence. Turnus has fought bravely, but at last is compelled to yield ground. Jupiter sends down Iris to compel him to leave the field (IX. 803). Turnus jumps into the Tiber and swims back to his army.
The only apparent reason for employing a divinity here is to save Turnus from death at an inopportune time for the purposes of the story, and yet preserve his character as a hero. He leaves the battle, not because of any failure on his part, but because the gods will it so. It was necessary to have Turnus do something to establish his reputation for courage, and so the incidents of the ninth book are related. But of course he must not be allowed to win a complete victory or be killed; for in either case the story would end without bringing Aeneas and Turnus together at all, and thus the whole plot would be spoiled.

After the attempt on the part of the Trojan women to burn the ships, Aeneas is much troubled as to what he shall do. He is disheartened at the thought of such a rebellious feeling existing in the minds of any of his people, and even wonders if perhaps he should not remain in Sicily, rather than subject them to any more hardships. The aged Nautes, who has learned the art of divination from Minerva, advises him to follow where the fates lead, and to ask Acestes to help him. Nautes proposes that they leave in Sicily, under Acestes' care, the women who are weary of the sea, the aged, and all those who are weak and fearful of danger; and let them found a city, which they will call Acesta, in honor of Acestes. Aeneas considers the proposition carefully. Night comes on, and in his dreams, the ghost of Anchises appears and speaks to him, saying that he has come by the command of Jupiter (V. 722). He bids Aeneas follow the advice of Nautes, and take only the brave and strong with him to Italy, where he must wage war with a strong people. Anchises also tells him to seek the help of the Sybil at Cumae, who will tell him how he can gain an entrance into the lower world.
The last time Jupiter sends a personal messenger is near the end of the poem, when Aeneas and Turnus are engaged in mortal combat (XII. 861). Jupiter sends down a fury to frighten Juturna away, thereby leaving Turnus to his fate. The fury assumes the form of a bird which flies in Turnus' face again and again, with screaming cries, and strikes his shield with its wings. Juturna, seeing that Turnus is doomed, leaps into the river and disappears. Turnus, unaided, and beset by the fury at every turn, is of course no match for the Trojan hero, and is soon forced to surrender. He might have been defeated without divine intervention; but by presenting the matter in this way, Vergil maintains up to the very end of the poem the idea of a directing power in human destiny. Aeneas is victorious, not merely because of superior physical strength, but because the fates have so decreed.

At other times when Jupiter intervenes, he does so through omens. The most impressive of these occur in connection with Aeneas' departure from Troy (II. 680). The city is a mass of burning ruins; many of the bravest of the Trojans have been slain; the Greeks have plundered everything in sight; and Aeneas, convinced that he can do nothing more, has decided to leave the city. But Anchises can not be persuaded to go, and urges Aeneas to go and leave him to his fate at the hands of the Greeks. Aeneas, of course, refuses to do this, and in desperation prepares to go forth and avenge the Trojan wrongs. His wife Creusa stops him at the doorway, holding out to him their little son, and begs that he take them with him to perish, or stay and protect them. At this critical juncture, a light tongue of flame suddenly appears above Ascanius' head, and plays harm-
lessly about his temples. Anchises takes this as a sign from heaven, and prays to Jupiter to confirm the omen. Hardly has he finished speaking, when it thunders on the left, and a star shoots through the air, leaving a trail of fire in its wake; and disappears in the grove of Mt. Ida, marking out the way. Anchises gladly yields to his son's wishes, since Heaven has manifested its approval of their leaving the city; and the band sets out, Aeneas leading the small Ascanius by the hand, and carrying his aged father on his shoulder. The rising of the daystar from the top of Mt. Ida just as they are leaving Troy is a further indication that they have the approval of the gods. Although it is not specifically stated that this last is a divine manifestation, one feels instinctively that it is a forerunner of a better day for the Trojans.

On two other occasions Jupiter manifests his will through omens. The first time is in the seventh book (141), on the occasion of Aeneas' journey to interview King Latinus. The Trojans land and spread their tables on the grass, using as plates some small flat cakes. After eating the rest of their meal, they start to eat the cakes. The boy Ascanius cries out in sport, "See, we are eating our tables!" Aeneas joyfully recognizes this as the fulfillment of the prophecy of Celaeno, which had once given him such dread; and knows that they have found the land that is destined to be their future home. He sets aside this day for the worship of the gods, and as priest, offers sacrifices in due form. Then Jupiter thunders three times, and displays a golden cloud, as a sign of his approval.

In the ninth book during Turnus' attack on the Trojan camp, Numanus defies the Trojans with insulting words. Ascanius can not endure these taunts, and first asking Jupiter
for aid, he bends his bow, and aims. Jupiter thunders on the left, and immediately Ascanius shoots and kills Numanus (630). In this case, as in the preceding, there is no particular need for divine intervention; for the action would go on without it, in a perfectly natural way. It seems to be employed simply to keep the gods prominently before the reader.

Venus.

The goddess Venus in several instances affects the action indirectly. The first instance of this kind occurs in the first book (695). Venus calls Cupid to her, and tells him that she fears the outcome of Juno's hospitality to the Trojans; and so she has formed a plan to make Dido fall in love with Aeneas, hoping thus to insure his safety. She asks help of Cupid, with the result that he appears at the banquet in the guise of Ascanius, whom Venus carries away to the groves of Idalia for safe keeping until Cupid's work is accomplished.

One of the most striking instances of indirect intervention on the part of Venus is in the sixth book (190). Aeneas has been told by the Sybil that to gain admittance to the lower world, he must first find and pluck a golden branch that grows on a tree in the heart of the forest, without which no mortal can gain admission. Once found, the branch will yield readily to the touch of the one who is privileged to enter Pluto's realms; otherwise no force can tear it away from the parent stem. Just as Aeneas is wondering how he shall find the branch among so many trees, two doves come flying toward him and alight on the ground. He recognizes his mother's birds, and prays that they will direct his course. The doves, flying and stopping, lead the way; until at last, they alight upon the tree through
whose branches comes the gleam of gold. Aeneas breaks off the branch, and carries it back to the Sybil.

After the interview with Evander in which he promises to aid the Trojans, Aeneas and Achates are still somewhat discouraged at the prospect of war against such overpowering numbers. Venus, to encourage them, causes thunder to resound three times, and arms to appear in the sky (VIII.523). While the others stand amazed, Aeneas recognizes this as a manifestation of Venus, a sign that he is called to war.

Apollo.

As we have seen, Apollo only twice affects the action directly; but in several instances he affects it indirectly through omens or prophets. It is noticeable that with two exceptions these instances occur in the third book, which is filled with the story of the wandering of the Trojans before they reach Carthage.

Tired out, Aeneas and his followers land on the island of Delos, where they are received hospitably by Anius, the king and priest, who comes to meet them with his temples bound with the fillets and the sacred laurel. Aeneas worships in Apollo’s temple, and begs for a sign to direct him where to go. Suddenly the earth trembles; everything seems to move around; the cauldron roars; and a voice speaks, bidding the Trojans seek their ancient mother, where the house of Aeneas and his descendants shall rule for many generations (III.90). Remembering that Teucer, the founder of their race, had come from Crete, the Trojans direct their course thither; and are preparing to build homes for themselves, when a pestilence falls upon them.
Interpreting this as a sign from heaven to indicate that they have not understood the meaning of the oracle aright, they consider the advisability of returning to Ortygia to consult the oracle a second time; but in the night, the Penates appear before Aeneas in a dream (III. 148), and tell him that Apollo has sent them to give him the same advice that he would receive if he went back to Ortygia. They renew the promise of a great future for the city he is to build, and urge him not to give up the difficult task that he has undertaken. It is Italy, called by the Greeks "Hesperia", that is destined to be their future home; for Dardanus, another of the reputed founders of their race, came originally from Italy. When Aeneas tells Anchises of the dream, Anchises sees at once that he made a mistake before on account of the double origin of the Trojan race; and recalls that Cassandra often mentioned Hesperia and Italy. Joyfully they depart, but are driven from their course by a storm. They wander aimlessly for three days and nights before they sight land, which proves to be the island inhabited by the Harpies, horrible monsters, half bird and half human in form. On entering the port, the Trojans kill some cattle which they see grazing near the shore, and prepare a feast; but just as they are about to eat, the Harpies swoop down and defile everything with their foul touch. This happens a second time, and then the Trojans try to defend themselves with their weapons, but without avail. Then Celaeno, angry because the Trojans have killed the cattle belonging to the Harpies, and have then tried to drive them away by violence, makes a dreadful prophecy, asserting that her message comes from Apollo (III. 245). The Trojans will reach Italy, but before they shall build their
city, they will be forced by hunger to eat their tables. How this prophecy was fulfilled has been seen in another connection.

At length the Trojans come to Buchrotum, where to their surprise they find Helenus, the son of Priam, and Andromache, now the wife of Helenus, who receive them hospitably. At Aeneas' request, Helenus, who is a priest of Apollo, gives them advice to guide them in their future course (III. 374). He gives them much valuable information and careful directions as to how to avoid the dangers that still beset their voyage. They will know where to build their city, when they shall find a white sow lying among the oak-trees on the shore, with a litter of thirty pigs around her. This prophecy is fulfilled later as we have seen above.

The appearance of the Penates in Crete simply saves time in the action and avoids a monotonous repetition of incident. In the prophecy of Helenus the important mission of the Trojans is emphasized, and Helenus gives information which is really necessary to insure a safe journey, and which they have no other means of acquiring. Helenus' repeated injunctions to propitiate Juno also help to account for the fact that Juno's worship was well established at Rome in after years. The storm that drove them to the island of the Harpies may be a case of divine intervention to start the Trojans on their way to Helenus; or it may be simply a literary device to add concrete detail to their wanderings, and so give new story interest.

In the sixth book Aeneas consults the Sybil of Cumae, the priestess of Apollo, as Helenus had instructed him to do (83). The whole scene here is very impressive in preparation for Aeneas' journey through the lower world under the direction of the
Sybil. The temple itself is interesting because of the elaborate sculpture with which it is decorated. The description of the Sybil as she comes gradually under the control of the god, adds to the sense of the mystery which surrounds the realm of death which Aeneas desires to visit. The most important part of her prophecy is that Aeneas will receive his first help from a Grecian city; a prophecy which, as we have seen, is repeated by Tiber, the river god, and is fulfilled when Evander agrees to send his son Ilias, with a body of soldiers, as an ally. But the most important result of the interview with the Sybil is her response to Aeneas' request to be allowed to visit the lower world. She tells him that the descent to Avernus is easy, but the difficult thing is to retrace one's steps, to come back to the upper world. Only a few have been able to do this; and if Aeneas wishes to indulge in such a rash undertaking, he must first find and pluck the golden branch, the passport which admits mortals to the realm of shades. This visit to the lower world gives Vergil an opportunity to set forth the main religious and philosophical beliefs of the Romans; and in Anchises' delineation of the future heroes of Rome, the great destiny of the Roman people in wonderfully foretold. The fire lines near the close sum up the whole idea very impressively:

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem,
parere subjectis et debellare superbos."

In the court of King Latinus' palace there stood an ancient laurel tree, sacred to Apollo. Strange to say, it happens that a swarm of bees settles in this tree and hangs suspended from
the topmost branches (VII. 59). An augur prophesies from this omen that a foreign prince shall come who shall rule over Latium. In addition to this omen another strange portent occurs. When Lavinia is assisting her father at the altar (VII. 71), the flames catch in her hair and clothing and play above her head, her crown crackling in the blaze, while the sparks fly all about her. She herself remains unharmed. From this the augur prophesies (96) that Lavinia will be illustrious, but will bring war upon her people. Latinus, alarmed, goes for advice to the oracle of Faunus, whose priest after offering sacrifices lies down on a bed of skins and waits for visions with whom he may converse and thus learn the will of the god. This Latinus does, and soon hears a voice which bids him not to give his daughter in marriage to a native of Latium, and not to trust in the marriage that is already arranged. A foreign prince will come who is destined to bring great glory to Latium, whose descendants will bring the whole earth under their sway. By the time the Trojans arrive, Fama has spread this news far and wide.

We have no other mention of Faunus as a god of prophecy; but he stands here in the same relation to the indigenous Latins that Apollo does to the Romans. These incidents explain the readiness of King Latinus to accept Aeneas as a prospective son-in-law, in spite of his alleged promise to Turnus; and his refusal to participate in the war between the Latins and the Trojans. It also makes Aeneas appear in a better light; for without unquestionable evidence that he is the man destined by the gods to be Lavinia's husband, he would seem to be a mere "wife stealer", like Paris.
Minerva.

Minerva plays a minor part in the Aeneid, but on one occasion she affects the action in a very spectacular fashion. (II. 203). On the night when the Greeks sail away from Troy, leaving the huge horse outside the city gates, the Trojans, much relieved at their departure, go out of the city to view the place where the Grecian camp had been, to go over the old battle fields, and walk on the deserted shore. Seeing the horse, some stand in wonder, admiring its great bulk; while some urge that it be taken inside the city; and others who distrust anything connected with the Greeks, wish to throw it into the sea, or burn it, or pierce its sides to find out what is within. While the crowd is debating what is the best course to pursue, Laocoon runs down from the citadel and warns them that there must be some trickery connected with the horse, since it is the work of the Greeks. As he speaks, he hurls his spear at the body of the beast, causing the interior to resound with the force of the blow. Probably Laocoon's warning would have been needed, had not Sinon appeared just at this moment with his story cunningly devised to produce the desired effect on the Trojans. He tells them that the Greeks have built the horse as a propitiatory offering to Minerva, whom Ulysses and Diomede had offended by carrying off the Palladium from her temple. The horse has been built large so that the Trojans will not be able to take it into the city; for, the horse once inside the walls, the Greeks will never be able to take Troy. According to Calchas, the Grecian soothsayer, great destruction will come upon the Trojans if they desecrate this gift to Minerva; but if it
comes within the walls, they will conquer Greece in a great war. In apparent confirmation of Sinon's story, two huge sea serpents make their way over the sea, their glowing eyes suffused with blood and fire, their hissing tongues darting from their mouths. They go in a direct course to Laocoon, who is offering sacrifice to Neptune on the shore, and wind their deadly coils around him and his two sons, crushing them to death; then go to Minerva's temple and take refuge at the feet of the goddess under the boss of her shield. All believe that Minerva has sent this terrible punishment on Laocoon to punish him for violating the sacred horse; and hurriedly making a breach in the walls, with much rejoicing and ceremony they bring the fatal horse into the city.

The incident is a thrilling one, and explains the determination of the Trojans to bring the horse inside the city walls; although Sinon's story alone might have been sufficient for the purpose. It shows that the destruction of Troy was due to unfriendly gods, not to lack of courage or absence of good judgment on the part of the citizens; and so adds a good deal to the reader's respect and sympathy for the Trojans.

Diana intervenes only once in the action of the poem. Knowing that Camilla, who has entered the war as an ally of Turnus, must eventually sacrifice her life, she sends the nymph Opis to avenge her death (XI. 836). The interview between Diana and Opis gives Diana an opportunity to tell the story of Camilla's life, which is a delightful legend, coming as a welcome diversion amid the dreary details of war which make up the eleventh book. Camilla's heroic death is touch-
ingly described, and the prompt punishment of the wretch who causes her death satisfies the reader's sense of justice, and tempers the keen regret caused by the death of such a brave and interesting character.

There are several other instances that come under the head of indirect intervention by deity, yet it is impossible to ascribe them to any particular one.

In the eighth book (498), Evander tells Aeneas about his allies, the Etruscans, who are fired by a desire for revenge upon their king, the tyrant Mezentius, who is now an ally of Turnus. An ancient prophet has told them to seek a foreign leader, and so they have asked him (Evander) to be their ruler. But he is too old to assume active duties; his son Pallas is not eligible, being of Sabine blood on his mother's side; and he sees in Aeneas the looked for foreign leader.

This prophecy explains what seems to be an almost impossible situation. Evander is a Greek, and for this reason we should expect scant sympathy for Aeneas from him. The augur's prophecy solves the problem; and the Sybil's prophecy that Aeneas shall first receive aid from a Grecian city is fulfilled without making it seem unnatural and forced. The story of Evander and Mezentius was in Vergil's traditional material, and he has woven it into the poem very smoothly and satisfactorily.

In the fifth book, in connection with the games, there are several cases of divine intervention, which while they have no direct bearing on the action of the story as a whole, are yet in keeping with the underlying philosophic idea of the poem, and deserve a brief mention. Near the beginning of the book (84),
when Aeneas is offering sacrifices preparatory to the games in honor of Anchises, a serpent glides out from the foot of the tomb, draws its seven great coils over the tomb and around the altars, tasting the wine and the food placed upon them; then harmlessly withdraws. Uncertain whether it is the genius of the place or the attendant spirit of Anchises, Aeneas goes on with the sacrifice.

The serpent was considered sacred by the Romans, and sometimes was made to represent a local deity. Though this incident does not affect the action, it adds to the effect by introducing a little mystery; and has some bearing on the philosophic theme.

In the archery contest which was a part of the funeral games, we have another case of divine intervention. The first contestant had splintered the mast to which the bird was tied; the second had cut the cords which bound it; the third had brought down the bird itself as it flew through the air. It was now the turn of Acestes, the aged king of Sicily, to shoot; and in spite of the fact that there was no longer a mark to aim at, he drew his bow, and behold, the arrow marked its course through the air with a trail of fire, like a shooting star.

There is one incident in the third book which must come under the head of indirect intervention of the gods, and yet can not be attributed with certainty to any one of them (24). The Trojans after leaving their native land, make their first stop in Thrace, and there build a city. Aeneas is preparing a sacrifice; and needing some branches to place upon the altars, he goes to a thicket of myrtle and cornel near by, and starts to pull up some of the bushes. Strange to say, as he pulls the first shoot from the ground, drops of blood fall from the roots,
and stain the ground. Cold with horror, he makes the attempt a second time, and again he sees the drops of blood. He prays to the gods of the place, and tries a third time. A tearful groan now comes from the earth, and a voice speaks. The voice proves to be that of Polydorus, a son of Priam, who when the outcome of the Trojan war seemed doubtful, had been sent by his father to the king of Thrace for safety. Priam had sent with Polydorus a large amount of gold to pay for his support. When the Thracian king knew that the Trojan cause was lost, he had killed Polydorus and taken the gold for his own use. Polydorus tells Aeneas to flee from this cruel shore. Aeneas reports this occurrence to his father and the other leading men, who all agree that they must leave the accursed land; so, having solemnized the funeral rites for Polydorus, they leave Thrace.

This incident serves to start the Trojans on their wanderings. There was a tradition connecting the Trojans with a certain town in Thrace; and by introducing this incident, Vergil furnishes an acceptable reason for their abandonment of the city they have founded. The most important function, however, is that it adds interest to what might be a rather monotonous tale.

The pestilence which drives the Trojans from Crete a little later, has the same literary function. It differs from this in that it is not necessarily supernatural, while the Polydorus incident can hardly be explained otherwise.
III. Conferences and soliloquies of deities.

There are several places where the gods soliloquize or have a conference with other divinities, which really stand outside the story proper, although in most cases they are directly connected with some subsequent intervention or lack of it on the part of the deities involved. Some of these have been discussed sufficiently in connection with the action that resulted from them, but we shall take others up in more detail in a separate group in order to make their function clear.

In the first book (229), Jupiter is looking down upon the scene, when Venus, "sadder than her wont, her sparkling eyes suffused with tears", reminds him of his promise that the Trojans should be the founders of a mighty race; and asks him if this is the way he rewards their piety and restores them to power. Then "the father of gods and men, smiling down upon her with that same countenance with which he calms the sky and tempests, kisses the lips of his daughter", and tells her that his promise shall be fulfilled; the city shall be built after a great conflict with the warlike Rutulians whom Aeneas will finally subdue. Then Iulus will rule for thirty years, and shall transfer the seat of government to Alba Longa, where the race of Hector will rule for three hundred years; until Romulus, son of Mars, shall found a city which he will call Rome from his own name. "I establish for them no limits of time or achievements. I have given power without end", he says; and promises that even Juno shall eventually be reconciled to the Trojans, and with him cherish the race that wears the toga. Trojan Caesar will be born, who will limit his power by the ocean, his fame by the stars. His name shall be Julius, from the great
ulus; and in due time he will be received in heaven, loaded
with the spoils of the orient, and be worshiped as a god. Peace
will reign, and the grim gates of war will be closed by close-
fitting bars of iron. Wicked fury will be imprisoned within,
bound by a hundred brazen chains.

At the close of this interview, Jupiter sends down Mercury
to prepare the Carthaginians and give them a friendly feeling for
the shipwrecked Trojans. The scene gives an excellent opportunity
to prophesy of Rome's future greatness, and emphasizes at the
outset the main idea of the poem; while incidentally a splendid
tribute is paid to Augustus, the emperor, who has established
peace in Rome after a long period of wars. Here we are made to
feel the gods as personalities actively interested in human af-
fairs. Nowhere else do we see Venus more gentle and appealing,
or Jupiter so gracious. The omission of the passage would de-
tract seriously from the poetic effect.

The interview between Juno and Venus in the fourth book
(90), in which they plan the marriage alliance between Aeneas
and Dido, gives a clearer insight into the motives of the two
deities, and prepares for the events which follow.

In the eighth book (370), Venus asks Vulcan to make a
special armor for Aeneas, making good use of her charms to coax
Vulcan into doing as she desires. He readily grants her request;
and after a brief sleep, rises, and goes to his forge on Mt.
Aetna, where the Cyclopes wield their huge hammers, forging
thunderbolts for Jupiter, while other workmen repair the war
chariot of Mars, and still others keep bright the dread armor
of Minerva. Vulcan commands them all to lay aside their tasks
and use all their strength and speed in making arms for a hero.
They melt the metals in the fire and make a huge shield, strong enough to sustain all the weapons of the Latins.

Here Vergil has skillfully woven in some familiar mythology, and has made the gods seem real. The whole incident of the shield seems designed to give an opportunity for a prophetic story of the famous events in Roman history which are embossed on the shield.

Toward the close of the fifth book (779), Venus addresses Neptune, and reminding him of the severe trials that Aeneas has passed through, begs for him a safe voyage to Italy. Neptune reminds her of the instances in the past when he has protected Aeneas, although he hated the Trojan race, and longed to overthrow Troy from the very foundations. He promises, however, that Aeneas shall reach the port of Avernus in safety, with the loss of only one life among his comrades. True to his promise, he calms the waters; and when Palinurus, the pilot, is lost, carries the ship safely until Aeneas himself takes the helm.

The most extensive conference of divinities occurs at the beginning of the tenth book (1). The gates of heaven are opened and Jupiter calls all the gods to council. Jupiter speaks first, and sternly rebukes the gods for interfering and causing war after he has declared peace. It will be time for them to take sides, he says, when Carthage and Rome shall be at war. Now let them allow matters to rest. Venus next enters a complaint. She points to the recent attack on the Trojan camp in the absence of Aeneas, and mentions all of Juno's efforts to defeat the Trojans; then she begs that she may at least save Ascanius, even if he is never to be permitted to wear a crown. It would have been better to destroy all the Trojans at Troy, before they started out to found a new city, than to let them be defeated
now. Juno indignantly defends herself. She says that she has not advised Aeneas to do the things that have led to his misfortunes; and in her turn points to Venus' efforts to shield Aeneas; then scornfully remarks that Venus grudges Turnus the right to live in enjoyment of his native land and the bride of his choice. Some of the gods favor Juno, some Venus. Finally Jupiter again speaks, and says that from this time on he will favor neither side, and the fates shall decide the outcome.

The council of the gods is interesting but does not really affect the action; for Juno and Venus and even Jupiter himself, do intervene after this in spite of Jupiter's declaration.

The last conversation between Jupiter and Juno, in the latter part of the twelfth book (791), is important because it explains the fact that although the Trojans were victorious over the Latins, the conquered peoples did not assume their name, but retained their own. In this interview Jupiter shows Juno that it is useless to continue her interference, and commands her to cease. Juno is willing to give up the struggle, but begs one favor; that when the war is over, and Lavinia has become the bride of Aeneas, the Latins shall be permitted to retain their own name as well as their language and customs; and that the name of Troy shall be known no more. Jupiter grants her request, and promises that nowhere will Juno be worshiped with more devotion than in Latium.
Resume.

Jupiter, in keeping with his dignity as king of gods and men, never appears in visible form to mortals; and in only three instances does he affect the action directly: first, when in direct answer to Aeneas' prayer, he sends rain to put out the fire on the Trojan ships; again, when he impels Mezentius to assume the leadership of the Rutulian forces in the absence of Turnus; and when he is revealed to Aeneas by Venus participating in the destruction of Troy. In six instances, Jupiter manifests his will through other divinities. He sends Mercury as his messenger three times: once to the Carthaginians to prepare them for the arrival of the Trojans; and twice to Aeneas to urge his departure from Carthage. Iris acts as his messenger to compel Turnus to leave the field, the divinity being employed here to save the character of Turnus. He sends the Fury to frighten Juturna away from Turnus, which is not absolutely necessary to bring about Turnus' final defeat, but does bring out the idea that Aeneas triumphs through the will of the gods. He sends Anchises' ghost to Aeneas in Sicily to give advice which might have been given without recourse to divinity, had the poet so chosen. Jupiter uses omens three times. He thunders in approval when the Trojans offer sacrifices to the gods after fulfilling Celaeno's prophecy by "eating their tables"; and again when Ascanius aims his arrow at Humanus, thus indicating his interest in human affairs. By far the most impressive omen is the tongue of flame which plays about Iulus' head, an omen which is confirmed by the thunder and the shooting star. Frequently Jupiter points out a course of action to be pursued, or makes conditions equal for
the two sides. He sends Mercury to the Carthaginians so that the Trojans may have a fair chance to recover from the effects of Juno's persecution; by sending the Fury to frighten Juturna away from Turnus, he places Aeneas and Turnus on an equal footing; when he inspires Mezentius to assume the leadership, he is merely putting the Trojans and Rutulians on an even basis. Jupiter appears four times outside the action proper: once in a conversation with Venus; twice with Juno; once alone, weighing the fates of Aeneas and Turnus in the balance; and in the general council of the gods.

Juno, likewise, as queen of the gods, is never seen by mortals. She affects the action directly six times: when she raises the storm which drives the hunting party to shelter; when she assists the Greeks at Troy; when she throws open the gates of war; when she turns Pandarus' weapon away from Turnus; when she restrains Turnus from doing violence to himself; and when, after luring Turnus on board the boat, she cuts the ropes which moor it to the shore. All the direct intervention in Turnus' behalf serves only to delay the final catastrophe, and give time for different heroes to contribute to the action of the story in true epic style. Juno never resorts to omens, but intervenes through other divinities; or, as in one instance, by means of a specter. She sends Iris as a messenger three times: to cut the lock of Dido's hair as an offering to Proserpina; to stir up the Trojan women to rebellion against their hard fate; and to advise Turnus to attack the Trojans in Aeneas' absence. The cutting of the lock of Dido's hair by Iris is not necessary
to the plot, but it introduces a popular belief, and is artistic­ally used to bring the story of Dido to a peaceful close. Juno sends the fury Allecto to excite trouble between the Trojans and the native Latins; sends Juturna to help Turnus, and postpone his downfall as long as possible; and lures Turnus away from danger by means of a specter in the form of Aeneas. She appears outside the events of the story proper in conference with Jupiter, Venus, Allecto, Juturna, and in the general council of the gods.

Venus and Apollo are the only ones of the greater divinities who appear in visible form. Venus appears visibly three times, twice undisguised, when she is seen by Aeneas alone. She first appears to Aeneas and Achates in the guise of a huntress, assuming her true form just at the moment of departure. On this occasion she gives encouragement and useful information about the past. At another time, she restrains Aeneas from killing Helen. The third time she brings the armor made by Vulcan, thereby giving an opportunity for a prophecy of the future glory of Rome. In two other instances she affects the action directly, but not in visible form: when she advises Aeneas to attack the town, and when she turns the weapons of the seven brothers from Aeneas. The cloud with which Venus envelops Aeneas and Achates adds a pleasing element of mystery, and symbolizes Venus' protecting care. It also makes possible the dramatic incidents which follow. In healing Aeneas' wound Venus performs a service that is necessary if the action is to continue. She uses an omen only once: when she makes it thunder, and causes arms to gleam in the sky to encourage Aeneas disheartened at the thought
of the impending war. She employs another divinity only once, when she sends Cupid to the banquet. This intervention adds probability to the traditional material used by Vergil in his story.

In sending the doves to guide Aeneas in his search for the golden branch, Venus again makes the progress of events possible. She appears outside the events of the story proper in conference with Jupiter, Juno, Cupid, Neptune, Vulcan, and in the general council of the gods.

Apollo appears in person only once, and then in disguise, to advise Ascanius not to take any further part in the battle. In one other instance he affects the action directly, by guiding Arun's arrow. Apollo affects the action several times indirectly, chiefly by prophecy and advice. The oracle of Apollo at Delos bids the Trojans seek their ancient mother; the Penates sent by Apollo appear to Aeneas to advise him to leave Crete, and to direct his course to Italy; through Celaeno he gives the dire prophecy about the Trojans being driven by hunger to eat their tables; Helenus, the priest of Apollo, prophesies, and directs Aeneas as to the details of his voyage; the Sybil, priestess of Apollo, gives advice and makes a prophecy, and tells Aeneas how to gain entrance to the lower world. Apollo uses an omen only once, when he sends the bees to hang on the laurel tree in the court of Latinus' palace, an intervention which helps in the traditional material. He appears outside the action proper once, when from a cloud he watches Ascanius shoot Numanus, and calls out in approval.
Minerva appears only twice in the action of the Aeneid. She sends the serpents to kill Laocoon, who had thrown his spear at the sacred horse. This reinforces Sinon's story, which alone might have been successful from the standpoint of plot. On the night of Troy's destruction, Venus represents her as taking a part in the overthrow of the city.

Every intervention of Neptune is direct, and attributable to natural causes. He calms the storm that has wrecked the Trojan ships, and pries the ships off the rocks; he carries the ship along safely after the pilot, Palinurus, is lost; and, on another occasion, carries the Trojans safely past Circe's isle; he also helps CLoanthus win the boatrace. He appears twice in an interview, once with the winds, when he sends a message to Aeolus bidding him mind his own affairs; and again with Venus, when he promises a safe voyage for the Trojans from Sicily to Italy. In the second book, Venus tells Aeneas that Neptune is over-turning the walls of Troy with his trident.

Pgumus affects the action twice; once directly, when in answer to Turnus' prayer he causes Aeneas' spear to hold fast; and once indirectly, when he interprets the omen of the bees on the laurel tree.

Cybele, the "Magna Mater", affects the action once directly, by changing the ships into nymphs, which although affording an interesting incident is not essential to the story plot.

Diana is concerned only in the avenging of Camilla's death
through the nymph, Opis. This is not necessary to the plot, although it is gratifying to the reader, since it satisfies his sense of justice. In her interview with Opis, Diana tells Camilla's story, which is an interesting bit of tradition.

Fama spreads the news of the love affair of Dido and Aeneas, the news of the death of Pallas, and also that of Amanta; and informs all the people round about of the response of the oracle of Faunus concerning the fire that caught in Lavinia's clothing.

Tiber, the river god, is introduced twice. He gives Aeneas information about Evander and directs him how to find him, thus obviating a difficulty arising in the traditional material; and directs the weapon of Pallas against Halesus.

Sommus causes Palinurus to fall overboard, an incident not necessary to the plot, and which could have taken place without divine intervention.

The nymphs, Aeneas' transformed ships, meet Aeneas as he is returning from his mission to Evander, to tell him about Turnus' attack on the town.
There are six cases where some god whose identity is not clear, intervenes indirectly. A prophet tells the Etruscans to seek a foreign leader, which helps in the use of the traditional material; the serpent at Anchises' tomb has no effect on the plot; in the archery contest, Acestes' arrow leaves a trail of lire, which again has no bearing on the story proper, any more than does the divine help given to Entellus, the aged wrestler, against the champion Dares. The Polydorus incident and the pestilence in Crete give story interest; and furnish an incentive to the Trojans to leave Thrace and Crete, respectively. The same results, so far as the mere story is concerned, could have been attained without the use of the supernatural. In fact, the pestilence in Crete need not necessarily be taken as a manifestation of divinity at all, although Vergil probably intended that it should be so interpreted.

Aeolus affects the action once, when at the request of Juno, he causes the storm which wrecks the Trojan ships.

Iris acts as Juno's agent three times. She cuts the lock of hair from Dido's head; excites the Trojan women to burn their ships; and advises Turnus to attack the Trojans. She acts once for Jupiter, when he sends her to compel Turnus to leave the field.

Mercury is employed by Jupiter on three occasions. He goes to prepare the Carthaginians for the arrival of the Trojans, and twice urges Aeneas to hasten his departure from Carthage.

Allecto, at Juno's command, brings about strife between the
Trojans and the native Latins. She accomplishes this through a series of acts. First, she excites Amata to a state of frenzy, and rouses Turnus to the point where he is ready to wage war; then, to make the people as a whole antagonistic to the Trojans, she causes Ascanius to kill the pet deer; finally, from the house-top she blows a blast on a horn to summon the rustics from the whole countryside to a part in the fray.

Juturna, at Juno's request, goes to assist her brother Turnus. She causes the Rutulians to break the truce, making use of an omen to give force to her words, the only use of an omen by a lesser divinity; she acts as Turnus' charioteer, and in the final combat, restores Turnus' sword.

Cupid, in the guise of Ascanius, is sent by Venus to the banquet to cause Dido to fall in love with Aeneas.

The nymph Opis, unseen, with the arrow given her by Diana for that purpose, kills Aruns, the man who is responsible for Camilla's death.

The Penates, sent by Apollo, appear to Aeneas in a dream, at the time of the pestilence in Crete.

Anchises' ghost comes at the behest of Jupiter to give advice to Aeneas in Sicily.

Hector's ghost appears to Aeneas on the night of Troy's destruction to urge him to leave Troy. This helps to justify
Aeneas in leaving the city in the hands of the enemy, which is very necessary from the Roman point of view.

The appearance of Creusa's ghost is not essential to the plot; but it satisfies the reader that Aeneas has done all he can to find her, and removes the last obstacle to his departure from Troy.

The voice of Polydorus coming from the mound of earth bids Aeneas leave Thrace.

A Fury in the form of a bird is sent by Jupiter to frighten Juturna away from Turnus.

The Harpy, Celaeno, angry at the Trojans for killing cattle belonging to the Harpies, naming herself Apollo's prophetess, shrieks a harsh prophecy at the Trojans.

The effect of the intervention of these secondary powers has been discussed under the intervention of the greater divinities.
Natural events attributed to deity.

In many instances, events that in themselves are natural or easily explained, are attributed to deity.

The thunder which is used on several occasions by Jupiter, and once by Venus, comes under this class. The triple thunder and the appearance of arms in the sky attributed to Venus, may seem less probable, though not impossible, as natural phenomena.

Juno has Aeolus loose the winds and raise the storm that wrecks the Trojan fleet; then Neptune, angry because his territory has been invaded, dismisses the winds, and calms the waters. The whole description of the storm is much more artistic than it would be if it were described as a perfectly natural phenomenon. It makes the reader feel the gods as real personalities, and is in keeping with the idea of the poem as a whole, that there is a directing power in the lives of men. The storm that forced the Trojans to land on the coast of Sicily, and the one which drove them to the island of the harpies, might have been ascribed to deity; but Vergil does not intimate that they are to be so interpreted. The storm that drives the hunting party to shelter is another case where a storm is attributed to Juno.

In several instances the speed or safe passage of a boat is attributed to a divinity, usually Neptune. Neptune and other gods of the sea, help Cloanthus to win the boartrace at the funeral games in the fifth book. On the voyage from Sicily to Italy, Neptune carries the ship safely past Circe's isle. In none of these cases does the plot need divine intervention.

On several occasions the gods cause a weapon to reach the mark, or turn it aside. Juno turns aside the weapon of Pandarus and saves the life of Turnus. The divinity is introduced here
evidently to preserve Pandaros' heroic character, which would be discounted if he missed the mark through lack of skill. Venus turns aside from Aeneas the weapons of the seven brothers. Since Aeneas is wearing the impenetrable armor made for him by Vulcan, it does not seem necessary to introduce a divinity to prevent the weapons from taking effect. Apollo directs Aruns' arrow when he shoots Camilla. Divine intervention is unnecessary as far as the mere action is concerned. Its function here seems to be to preserve the heroic character of the brave Camilla. When Pallas is about to kill Halaesus, he calls upon the god of the Tiber to guide his arrow. His prayer is answered, and Halaesus falls. Allecto directs the arrow of Ascanius when he shoots the pet deer. Allecto is represented as the chief agent in stirring up war; and to be consistent, Vergil makes her responsible for every detail. All the events resulting from Allecto's efforts could happen very naturally.

There are several cases where information which could be given naturally is conveyed through a divinity. Juturna informs Turnus of Lausus' danger, and urges him to go to his relief. Any one of Turnus' followers might have been possessed of the information, and would have done the same as Juturna does. On four different occasions Hama spreads startling news. Here is a conspicuous example of the tendency on the part of the Romans to personify abstract ideas. The spreading of news, then, as now, was not dependent on any supernatural power.

On several occasions the gods are represented as giving strength to mortals. In the second book, Venus tells Aeneas that it is the gods who are overthrowing Troy, and bids him see that
Jupiter furnishing courage and strength to the Greeks; Juno is holding the gates; Neptune is overturning the foundations with his trident; and Minerva, too, is seated on the tower, resplendent in her awful armor. In the wrestling match, Aeneas consoles the defeated Dares by assuring him that the gods assisted the aged Anchises.

When the serpents come from the sea and wind their coils around Laocoon and his two sons, the Trojans all believe that Minerva has sent them; the more readily because after crushing Laocoon and his sons, they withdraw to Minerva's temple.

The serpent that came to Anchises' tomb and tasted the food placed there, like the other cases of divine intervention during the games in honor of Anchises, has no direct bearing on the story theme. In fact, it is only Aeneas' attitude toward it, that suggests that it is a divine manifestation. Games such as were being celebrated on this occasion, were an important part of Roman life in Vergil's own day; and he takes this way of emphasizing their importance in the national life.

When Palinurus goes to sleep and falls overboard, the occurrence is attributed to Somnus, the god of sleep; another instance of the personification of an abstract idea.

When Misenum, the trumpeter, is drowned, it is attributed to the fact that he had offended Triton by setting himself up as a rival musician; and Triton, to punish him, submerged him in the waves.

When Juturna restores Turnus' sword near the close of the poem, we have another case where a perfectly natural event is attributed to deity. At the moment, both Turnus and Aeneas are deprived of the use of their weapons. Weapons must be provided.
So Juturna, rendering her last service to Turnus as his charioteer, brings his sword.

When Aeneas' spear sticks in the stump of a tree, and Aeneas has trouble in getting it loose, it is attributed to the fact that Faunus, in answer to Turnus' prayer, holds it fast. Later, Venus seeing the disadvantage under which Aeneas is placed, frees it. The freeing of the spear is necessary if Aeneas is to have an equal chance with Turnus. It is possible to explain it by saying that the spear finally yielded to Aeneas' repeated efforts; but it seems better as Vergil has presented it; for it offsets Juturna's intervention in giving Turnus his sword, and removes the difficulty that might arise in the mind of the reader as to the probability of the spear coming loose so suddenly after Aeneas has tugged and pulled with all his might in vain to free it.

Juturna, disguised as Turnus' charioteer, avoids Aeneas, who is trying to force Turnus to fight. Aeneas, at this time is somewhat crippled by his wound; and so it is not strange that Juturna outdistances him. But if Turnus were trying to get away of his own accord, his heroic qualities would be irreparably discounted. All interference on the part of Juturna, except the restoring of Turnus' sword, is for the purpose of delaying the final catastrophe.

In the twelfth book, during the contest between Aeneas and Turnus, Jupiter weighs the fates of the two champions in the balance. The introduction of Jupiter here is not necessary to the story theme.

When Batinus refuses to open the gates of war, Juno comes down and throws them open wide. The conditions are ripe for war,
and it would take a person of much stronger character than Latinus to control the situation. War breaks out in spite of his opposition, and Juno is represented as the direct cause, just as she has been the indirect cause in bringing about the conditions which lead to war.

The pestilence in Crete, if we choose to think that Vergil intended to make it due to divine power, is of course, easy to explain.

Psychological Phenomena.

There is a group of these events that may be explained as psychological phenomena.

We are told that Jupiter sends Mercury to the Carthaginians, who, at his command, assume a kindly attitude toward the Trojans. This intervention is not absolutely necessary to the story plot, in view of the fact that the decorations on the temple showed that the Carthaginians, previous to this time, knew of the Trojans and sympathized with them. Under such circumstances, we should expect a kindly reception.

When Cupid goes to the banquet, the effect is to make Dido conceive a strong and sudden passion for Aeneas. Although this is within the range of possibility, yet one would hardly expect it in the case of a woman of such queenly character as Dido is represented to be. The intervention of a divinity helps the reader to a better understanding of Dido's love.

There are several instances of dreams and ghosts. Mercury appears to Aeneas in a dream to warn him that it is dangerous to remain longer in Carthage. Perhaps this is intended to be interpreted as only a dream, since Vergil says that the form of the god seemed to come before Aeneas in his dreams, and that it was
in all respects like Mercury; but, even so, it seems safe to assume that Vergil intends to imply that the vision was sent by Jupiter, just as Mercury was sent previously. The Penates appear to Aeneas in a dream in Crete, thus saving time in the action. Anchises' ghost comes to Aeneas in a dream to give advice to Aeneas after the burning of the ships in Sicily. This dream gives divine sanction to the advice already given by Nautes, one of Aeneas' followers; and repeats the advice given by the prophet Helenus, who told Aeneas to consult the Sybil. It also makes Aeneas determine to visit the lower world, and so connects with the sixth book. On the night of the destruction of Troy, Hector's ghost appears to Aeneas in a dream to tell him that the Greeks have taken complete possession of the city, and to bid him take the Penates and seek a new home for them. Aeneas interprets these dreams as the voice of Gaia telling him what to do. Allecto, appearing to Turnus in a dream, urges him to wage war on the Trojans. Creusa's ghost appears to Aeneas in the gloom of the early morning hours on the day of the departure from Troy. While her appearance is not absolutely necessary to the story plot, it gives assurance that Aeneas is in no way to blame for Creusa's disappearance, and that he has failed to find her through no fault of his.

There are several cases aside from dreams and ghosts, where a divinity is employed to influence a person to do a certain thing or to refrain from doing it, which may be explained in a natural way; or at least it can be shown that the same thing was likely to happen without divine intervention.

When Aeneas is about to kill Helen, his mother restrains him from so doing. Some would explain this by saying that Venus typi-
ties here Aeneas' nobler nature, which asserts itself just in time to save him from an ignoble act. The first time Mercury appears to Aeneas to remind him of his mission, he may be said to represent the voice of conscience or his sense of duty, which suddenly reasserts itself after lying dormant for some time. To a thoroughly conscientious person, a sudden realization that he has neglected a duty which he believes to be enjoined upon him by divine will, would have about the same effect that Mercury's warning has on Aeneas. The use of divine intervention is more artistic, since Vergil is portraying a primitive age, when religious faith was a real motive force in men's lives.

When Turnus, humiliated because he has been removed from the battle field, and so made to appear a coward, resolves to kill himself, we are told that Juno thrice restrains him from so doing. Although this might be explained by saying that, having made up his mind to commit suicide, he as many times decided not to do so, such an explanation would attribute to him a mock-heroic character; and external restraint is absolutely necessary to save him under the ancient code of honor. It must be remembered that this situation results from other intervention on the part of Juno, introduced to delay the action.

On another occasion Juno sends Iris to advise Turnus to attack the Trojans in Aeneas' absence. Under the circumstances this would seem the most natural thing for him to do. He could hardly fail to hear of Aeneas' absence, and certainly would not allow such a favorable opportunity for an attack to pass. However, in view of the early time of which the poet writes, and the nature of the poem, the episode seems much more artistic as Vergil has presented it.
The incident, otherwise commonplace is given a real charm by the appearance of Iris, the goddess of the rainbow, as Juno's messenger.

After Juno has succeeded in luring Turnus from the battle, we are told that Jupiter inspires Mezentius to assume command of the Rutulian forces. Mezentius is the first one mentioned in the catalog of the allies of Turnus in the seventh book. His own people, the Etruscans, are in open revolt against him, and are lined up on the opposing side as allies of the Trojans. Consequently, aside from Turnus himself, he would be the man most vitally interested in the outcome of the battle; furthermore, he is probably the most experienced warrior among the Latin troops, and would naturally assume the leadership in the absence of Turnus.

When Juno sends Iris, in the guise of Beroe, to excite the Trojan women to burn the ships, Iris finds them in a gloomy, resentful mood, so that it would not seem improbable that they might conceive some such idea without divine prompting.

Similarly, when Juturna causes the Rutulians to break the truce, she finds them already anxious for the fate of Turnus, and convinced that they have made a mistake in consenting to the arrangement. Camers, in whose guise Juturna appears, was a man honored among the Rutulians, and might have persuaded them to break the agreement.

After Ascanius has killed Humanus, Apollo in the form of Butes, Ascanius' guardian, advises Ascanius to tempt fortune no further. This would seem to be the very thing that Butes himself would have done; but had Vergil so presented it, there would have been a loss artistically.
Nearly all the work of Allecto is of this nature. Amata, having determined that Turnus shall be Lavinia's husband, being a person accustomed to having her own way, would very likely show her anger toward Latinus in no uncertain manner. Latinus is certainly not a very strong character as he is presented, and Amata probably had good reason to doubt his judgment on many occasions. Turnus, being a young man of spirit, would be quite likely to make a lively protest when a stranger presumes to appropriate his promised bride. Nothing would be more natural than for Ascanius' dogs to scent the pet deer, roaming at will in the woods, and for Ascanius to shoot at the first game he sees. The country folk would resent the killing of the deer as a matter of course. The attributing of these events to deity is consistent with the spirit of the entire poem, which makes the gods responsible for human destiny.

Supernatural incidents not necessary to the progress of events.

There are several cases of intervention essentially supernatural in character which are not necessary to the progress of events in the story, but are introduced for artistic purpose only.

The cloud with which Venus envelops Aeneas and Achates is of this nature. If one tries to imagine the reunion scene without the cloud, and then reads again the account as it is given in the poem, it is not difficult to see that there is a distinct gain in dramatic power by the use of the supernatural element.

By having Diana send Opis to avenge the death of Camilla, Vergil is enabled to introduce a charming legend about one of the
important personages who figure in the war, and to satisfy the reader's sense of poetic justice.

When Iris comes to cut the lock of hair from Dido's head, the poet calls attention to an interesting custom of the Romans, and at the same time provides a beautiful and peaceful close to a series of tragic events.

The Polydorus incident, although it may be said to serve a certain purpose in the use of the traditional material, has its chief function in furnishing a dramatic incident in the long story of the Trojan wanderings. It may be that some readers would attempt to explain this as a psychological phenomenon; but it seems somewhat far-fetched to do so, even though it may be possible to explain it so.

During the games in honor of Anchises, Acestes' arrow leaves a trail of fire. This occurrence adds to the story by introducing something out of the ordinary, and reflects the spirit of the time of which Vergil is writing.

The changing of the boats to sea nymphs adds an interesting event to the story, and is a frank and wholly pleasing use of the supernatural for artistic effect.

The council of the gods, and all the interviews between divinities, except the last one between Juno and Jupiter, are used mainly for artistic and poetic effect. Although in some cases they throw light on succeeding events, in no case are they absolutely essential to the plot.

Information from supernatural sources.

There are many cases where the deus ex machina is used to give a prophecy, or useful information about the past, or directions as to what course to pursue in future.
Venus in her first appearance to Aeneas and Achates, gives important information about Dido's past history. The shield which she brings to Aeneas affords an opportunity for a splendid prophecy of Rome's future greatness. It is not however, necessary to the plot of the story. Through the oracle and priests of Apollo the Trojans receive prophecies and direction as to their course of action. One can not conceive of a story of these early times that would not have reference to Apollo as the god of prophecy.

The nymph meets Aeneas on his return from Evander, and tells him what has happened in his absence. It improves the story to have Aeneas informed of the danger before he reaches his camp.

The omen of the fire around Lavinia's head and clothing, and its interpretation by the augur, together with the interpretation of the bees on the laurel tree, explain Latinus' willingness to accept a stranger like Aeneas so readily as his son-in-law. A similar purpose is served by the prophecy which bade the Etruscans seek a foreign leader.

Necessary deus ex machina.

Another group, essentially supernatural in character, is necessary to the progress of events in the story.

The first and most impressive of these is the omen sent by Jupiter, when Anchises refuses to leave Troy. Aeneas, of course, will not go and leave his father to the mercies of the Greeks, and so the action is effectually blocked. The tongue of flame which plays harmlessly about Ascanius' head can not be explained by any natural cause. The thunder and the shooting star, although perfectly natural in themselves, seem hardly less wonderful than the fire, coming at this particular moment, and evidently in
direct answer to Aeneas' prayer.

The sending of the doves to help Aeneas find the golden branch is another instance of this kind. The incident is only a part of the journey to the lower world, all of which is of course beyond the range of possibility. As a part of the mere story of the events leading up to the founding of the city, the whole sixth book could be dispensed with; but considering the purpose for which Vergil wrote the Aeneid, it is absolutely indispensable. If we are to have the journey through the lower world at all, Aeneas must find the golden branch, which, without resorting to chance or divine aid would be a long and tedious, if not impossible task; and would delay or completely block the action. To leave a matter of such importance to mere chance, would be utterly out of harmony with the entire thought of the poem. The only other recourse is to employ divine help.

The specter that Juno uses to lure Turnus from the battle is essentially supernatural in character, and is necessary to the plot to prevent Turnus from meeting Aeneas, and so ending the story without further ado. Nothing but sheer cowardice on Turnus' part, or divine intervention, could remove him from the scene of action at this time; and if he stays he must meet Aeneas very soon in the very nature of events. The only to remove him without doing violence to his character as a hero, is to make him think that he is pursuing Aeneas. When the specter has lured Turnus safely on board the boat, Juno cuts the ropes, and speeds the boat down the stream. If one tries to explain this by saying that the boat suddenly broke from its moorings, it involves an inconsistency that kills the force of the whole incident.
When Venus heals Aeneas' wound, we have a clear case of deus ex machina necessary to the progress of events in the story. Some people might wish to explain this as a natural occurrence attributed to deity, by saying that Lapyx, after several trials, at last hit upon a remedy that proved efficacious; but this would hardly explain the suddenness and completeness of the cure satisfactorily. It must have been a deep wound or it would not have been so hard to remove the arrow. Furthermore, Vergil tells us that Venus brought the herb from Mt. Ida in Crete.

"Hic Venus indigno nati concussa dolore
dictammum genetrix Cretaea carpit ab Ida."

The interview between Juno and Jupiter toward the close of the last book, may be regarded as a deus ex machina to explain why, although the Trojans were victorious over the Rutulians, the Trojan name is lost in Italy, and the Latin name remains. Of course, this difficulty arises outside the story proper, and so does not stand in the same relation to the poem that the others do. It unquestionably adds to the general effect to have this difficulty solved; and it seems that Vergil has chosen a very effective way to do it.
Conclusion.

There are only five cases out of the whole number of instances of deus ex machina where natural events, would not, as far as the progress of events in the story is concerned, have served as well as the deus ex machina; and one of these the entanglement arises outside the story proper. In none do we feel that the situation is forced upon the poet; but rather that he has deliberately planned it so. In other words, Vergil uses the deus ex machina not from necessity, but from choice.

Although Vergil has used the deus ex machina in so many instances where, as far as the mere plot is concerned, he might have employed natural means, or where the incident itself is not essential to the story as a whole, he has in every instance, added something to the effect by its use. Sometimes through the supernatural element he gives an insight into some religious belief or custom, or tells an interesting bit of mythology; sometimes he satisfies the reader's sense of poetic justice, adds mystery and dramatic interest to the story, avoids delay in the action, or gives probability to some part of his traditional material; he uses it to preserve the noble character of persons in the poem; always, he gives a better understanding and appreciation of the people and times of which he writes, emphasizing the idea that the Romans from the beginning of their history were destined to render a particular service to the world; and that there is a divine power directing them in the fulfillment of their destiny, a power that makes them willing to sacrifice personal inclinations for the sake of their country, that leads them triumphantly over all obstacles, gives them strength to overcome their enemies, and will finally establish them in undisputed dominion over all the earth.
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