AENEID III: AENEAS' VOYAGE *PER IMPERIUM*

by

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(Under the Direction of Sarah Spence)

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an analysis of Aeneas' stops at Crete, Mt. Etna, Thrace, Buthrotum, Drepanum, Delos, the Strophades, Actium, and Castrum Minervae in *Aeneid* III. Of these nine landfalls, six are part of the traditional Aeneas legend while three appear to be Vergilian inventions. The purpose of this study is to analyze the actions and experiences of the Trojans in these various locations in an effort to discover why Vergil selected these particular settings for Aeneas' adventures. The episodes are divided into those that celebrate Rome's triumph over the Greek East and those that expose the pain, hardship, and even irony inherent in that triumph with the goal of revealing Vergil's objective assessment of the empire in which he lived.

INDEX WORDS: Vergil, Virgil, Aeneid—Criticism, Rome—History, Rome—Literature
Crete, Sicily, Thrace, Buthrotum, Delos, Strophades, Actium, Castrum Minervae, Aeneid 3, Aeneas

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B.A., The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1997

M.Div., Mercer University, 2004

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2004

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August 2004

KRISTENAE

CONIUGI AMICAE DELICIIS

ET

P. VERGILIO MARONI

POETAE POETARUM

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to offer my sincerest gratitude to my committee for their patience and expert advice in guiding this project to fruition; to my parents for instilling in me a love of learning and for giving me the freedom to choose my own path; to all of my friends who encouraged me to keep working when I felt like giving up; and, most of all, to my wife Kristen, without whose help, love, and understanding this thesis could never have been completed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION

The *Aeneid* recounts the triumphs and tribulations of Aeneas as he makes his way from Troy to Italy. There, according to one prophecy, he will establish a new city on the spot where he finds a white sow nursing thirty white piglets (3.389-93). This new foundation will set in motion the series of events that will lead to the founding of Rome.

In the history of Vergilian scholarship, however, the book that contains the portent of the sow and narrates the bulk of Aeneas' voyage has often been viewed as the runt of the litter. Critics have maligned Book III as artistically inferior to the rest of the poem[1] and even delighted in exposing the inconsistencies and contradictions within its lines.[2] An anonymous under-graduate at Yale has even dubbed it the "dullest book of the *Aeneid*."[3]

Perhaps because of this general attitude of disapproval, Book III has received minimal attention from critics, especially when compared to the other books in the first half of the epic.[4] Michael Putnam remarked that in 1980 he could only locate five articles and one commentary devoted exclusively to the study of the third book.[5] Crump, Di Caesare, Heinze, Perkell, and

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[1] Paul Zanker, *The Power of Inages in the Augustan Age*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 68 (82); Robert B. Lloyd, "*Aeneid* III: A New Approach," *American Journal of Philology* 78 (1957) : 134. Margorie Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1920), 28, is especially derogatory, calling Book III the "weakest part" of the epic. R. D. Williams, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Tertius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 220, indexes the various half-lines and unrevised passages in the book.

[2] Crump, 17-27.

[3] A. W. Allen, "The Dullest Book in the *Aeneid*," *Classical Journal* 47 (1951-52) : 119.

[4] Michael Putnam, "The Third Book of the *Aeneid*: From Homer to Rome," *Ramus* 9, no. 1 (1980) : 1; W. H. Semple, "A Short Study of *Aeneid*, Book III," *Bulletin of the Rylands Library* 38 (1955) : 225.

[5] Putnam (1980), 18, n. 1.

Stahl have all devoted chapters to *Aeneid* III or various aspects of it,[6] and in more recent years particular episodes of Book III, such as Crete, Buthrotum, and the encounter with the Harpies have been discussed in classical journals; but as of yet, no one (at least to my knowledge) has produced a monograph on *Aeneid* III devoted to the meticulous analysis of each episode, even though it has been observed that each individual stop merits attention.[7] This thesis is an attempt to fill this gap in Vergilian scholarship, at least partially, by examining all nine of Book III's major pericopes in detail.

The primary question I will attempt to answer is: why did Vergil select these particular stops for inclusion in Book III? The legend of Aeneas' journey was centuries old by the time Vergil fashioned this version of it. Indeed, the idea that Aeneas lives through the Trojan War and later rules over a remnant of Trojan survivors is as old as Homer.[8] The belief that he left Troy and traveled west is also fairly ancient. Greek black-figure vases depicting Aeneas carrying Anchises on his back and dating to the 6th century BCE have been found in Italy, which suggests that stories of his coming to Hesperia may have developed early in the Aeneas tradition.[9] However, the tradition that developed was broad and varied. Several places around

[6] Crump, 16-40; Mario Di Cesare, *The Altar and the City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 61-93; Richard Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, trans. Hazel and David Harvey and Fred Robertson (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 68-94; Ralph Hexeter, "Imitating Troy: A Reading of *Aeneid* 3," in *Reading Vergil's Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*, ed. Christine Perkell (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 64-79; Hans-Peter Stahl, "Political Stop-overs on A Mythological Travel Route: from Battling Harpies to the Battle of Actium," in *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*, ed. Hans-Peter Stahl (London: Duckworth, 1998), 37-84.

[7] H.W. Stubbs, "In Defense of Troughs: A Study in *Aeneid* III and V," *Vergilius* 44 (1998): 75; Nicholas Horsfall, "The Aeneas-Legend," *Vergilius* 32 (1986): 15.

[8] *Iliad* 20.347-56.

[9] Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 715-16.

the Mediterranean claimed to be the site of Aeneas' tomb, and he became the focus of many local legends.[10] No single itinerary became accepted as the orthodox account.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus records the most detailed extant description of Aeneas' voyage that predates Vergil,[11] and one of the striking features of his narrative is the number of stops it contains. Using Dionysius and a collection of more obscure sources, Robert Lloyd has identified no fewer than seventeen locations that were common destinations in the Aeneas legend that Vergil inherited.[12] Yet, Vergil elected to include only six of these[13] while adding three others that appear to be his own invention.[14] Even among the traditional stopovers he chose to keep, the poet has altered elements of the story, sometimes grafting material from elsewhere in the tradition onto the scene and at other times fashioning new events for conventional places. Clearly, then, Vergil has shaped a particular itinerary for his hero. He has weeded out too many conventional stopovers and cultivated too many new scenes for Book III to be a haphazard collection of vignettes, even if the narrative as a whole is less polished than the rest of the poem.[15]

It is my contention that Vergil selected these nine stopovers for their imperial symbolism and crafted them to expose and comment on the positive and negative ramifications of conquest.

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[10] Dionysius Halicarnassus 1.54.1.

[11] Ibid., 1.45.1-55.1. Dionysius himself was a contemporary of Vergil, writing in the latter half of the 1st century BCE, but he cites much older sources, e.g. the 5th century Greek historian Hellanicus (1.48.1).

[12] Lloyd, "Legend," 382-83.

[13] Thrace, Delos, Actium, Buthrotum, Castrum Minervae, and Drepanum.

[14] Lloyd, "Legend," 395, could not find any precedent for Aeneas' stops at Crete, the Strophades, and the land of the Cyclopes.

[15] In addition to some of the apparent contradictions mentioned above, the relatively unrevised state of Book III is evidenced by the fact that 3.340 is the only half-line in the *Aeneid* that interrupts the flow of the narrative and that lines 3.684-86 make little since as they stand. See Williams (1962), 126, 202.

Crete, Thrace, Buthrotum, Drepanum, Delos, and Actium all have historical ties to the political and/or military aspects of empire building. The Strophades and the Land of the Cyclopes are mythical and largely ahistorical episodes, but they resonate with imperial overtones under the guidance of Vergil's skillful hand. Anchises' prophecy, made at Castrum Minervae, clearly frames the future with borders of both war and peace. Thus, Aeneas' journey from Troy to Drepanum is a voyage *per imperium* from start to finish. The spirit of Rome's future empire permeates the whole of the book and accompanies the Trojans wherever they go.

However, the images of empire evoked in *Aeneid* III do not always mesh with the sanitized vision of Roman dominion cast by Jupiter at 1.278-96 and reiterated by Anchises in the Underworld at 6.851-53. In his depiction of events in the third book, Vergil combines staunch nationalism, which celebrates Roman primacy, with sober realism, which does not whitewash the path to empire that Rome has traveled, and is still traveling, as it settles into its role as master of the Mediterranean world under Augustus. Like the journey of the Aeneadae, it is a path fraught with twists and turns, diversions and setbacks, cruelty and aggression, hardship and hard work. The symbolism that resonates from these nine settings and the Trojans' actions within them counters the claims of many scholars who wish to see the *Aeneid* as either blatant Augustan propaganda or subtle but subversive anti-Augustan polemic.[16] Rather, Book III reflects an honest, realistic, and astute evaluation of both recent and distant Roman history.

Chapter 1 will examine Aeneas' stops in Crete and the Land of the Cyclopes in Sicily. Through a discussion of the mythical and historical ties between Crete and Sicily and Aeneas' own experience in these two locales as he makes his way westward, I will show the two

[16] For a summary of the "pro-Augustan" and "anti-Augustan" views, see Perkell, 14-16. For a more detailed survey, see S.J. Harrison, "Some Views of the *Aeneid* in the Twentieth Century," in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 1-10.

islands to be brackets for the journey of the Aeneadae and exempla for the transfer of power from the Greek East to the Roman West. Crete, the land of one hundred cities in the *Iliad*, is portrayed as a cursed wasteland unfit for the establishment of the new Trojan (Roman) city. Its time as the cultural center of the Mediterranean has passed. The bygone era of Greek dominion is further symbolized by Achaemenides' haggard and half-starved appearance when Aeneas and his companions find him near Mt. Etna. Ulysses has left him behind, and now he appeals to the Trojans—his former enemies—for help. The meaning of Achaemenides' name and its implications will be explored, followed by a discussion of why Vergil moved the location of Daedalus' landing from Sicily to Cumae. Vergil's depiction of all of these events will be shown to emphasize Rome's triumphal ascent to the heights of power and glory once enjoyed by Greece.

Chapter 2 will address the dark side of that triumphal ascent. Following a brief recounting of the uncertain and unstable times in which Vergil lived, the episodes set in Thrace, Buthrotum, and Drepanum will be discussed. All three sites have connections to tragic, bloody, and/or protracted campaigns in Rome's military history. The imagery and events of these scenes will be explored in the light of this violent background to suggest that Vergil is reminding his readers that the celebrated glory of empire was achieved only through the strain, stress, and carnage of war.

Chapter 3 will focus on Delos, the Strophades, and Actium, episodes that speak to both the grand and grim aspects of Rome's rule. These thematically diverse scenes are bound together by the presence of Apollo. Following a discussion of Apollo's history and influence in Rome, Delos is shown to be a very optimistic and thoroughly pro-Western setting, while the Strophades reveal an aggressive and devious side to the hero and his companions. Vergil's

treatment of Actium, the most blatantly Augustan stop in the book, proves to be a much more complex scene than the surface narrative reveals. It is a place that exudes both hope and caution with regard to the future.

Finally, Chapter 4 concludes the study with a look at the Trojans' brief landfall at Castrum Minervae, where Aeneas and Anchises see four white horses on the shore. The symbolic connection of these horses to Roman triumphal processions will be examined and the episode will be put forward as a useful summary for the spectrum of imperial imagery that spans Book III.

CHAPTER 1

THE TRIUMPH OF WEST OVER EAST

With the meteoric rise of Rome and the spread of her influence in the third century BCE, power in the Mediterranean world quickly began to shift from the old Greek East to the new Latin West.[1] Just as Aeneas slowly moved his gods and his people westward from Pergamum to Hesperia, Rome steadily marched eastward, displacing the Hellenistic kingdoms as the seat of political, military, and cultural authority in the last three centuries BCE. Mainland Greece fell in 146 BCE, less than one hundred years after the end of the First Punic War and the onset of Roman expansion outside of Italy. Augustus himself delivered the final blow following the Battle of Actium when Egypt—the oldest and most renowned kingdom of all—lost its autonomy in 30 BCE. Thus, at the time when Vergil began writing his epic in 29 BCE, Rome stood at the threshold of the empire without end that Jupiter foretells in *Aeneid* 1.279. The theme of Rome's pre-ordained greatness pervades the *Aeneid* as a whole, but Book III symbolizes the transfer of power from east to west perhaps more vividly than any other section of the poem. The book contains Aeneas' account of his travels from Troy to Sicily and it illustrates Rome's pending domination by showing the loss of Greek prestige and control in the Mediterranean as Aeneas moves away from Troy and the Greek triumph there. Troy is in the past; Italy is the future. Indeed, Troy never *actually* appears in the *Aeneid*. It is only remembered through conversation,

[1] By East and West, I refer to Roman Italy on the one hand and the Hellenistic kingdoms of Alexander's former empire on the other.

art, and tradition. The landfalls that Aeneas makes on Crete and Sicily, in particular, vividly portray the diminished role that Greek culture will play in this new world order.

Crete and Sicily have literary and historical ties with each other involving migration that stretch far back into the Greek tradition, so their joint appearance in the *Aeneid* as stopovers on the Trojans' journey to Italy is not unusual and is highly symbolic, not only for their mythic connections but also for their geographic location in the Mediterranean and their placement in Vergil's narrative. These two large islands, one in the East and the other in the West, form brackets of a sort around Aeneas' journey and serve to anchor the migratory east-west pattern of Book III. Crete is where the Trojans finally learn that Hesperia (Italy) is their destination, and Sicily is where they arrive immediately following their first, and very brief, landfall in Italy at Castrum Minervae (3.531). It is on Crete that they, as the starving victims of an agricultural blight, leave the polluted Greek world behind,[2] and on Sicily where they rescue a half-starved Greek who has been victimized by Ulysses.

Mythic and Historical Ties Between Sicily and Crete

In the eighth century BCE, when the city states of mainland Greece began to send out colonists to establish new settlements in the western Mediterranean to help ease the burdens of overcrowding, Crete, too, sent settlers west to southern Italy and especially to Sicily. Cretans comprised one of the principal groups who established both Syracuse and Gela along the eastern and southern coasts of Sicily at the very end of the first phase of Greek colonization.[3] In the fifth

[2] Crete is not the last Greek stop the Trojans make, geographically speaking. However, Vergil characterizes places such as Actium and Buthrotum in ways that make them non-Greek in the world of *Aeneid* III.

[3] Thucydides 6.4; M. I. Finley, *Ancient Sicily* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1979), 21.

century BCE, Cretan mercenaries would return to Sicily against their former colony, fighting on the Athenian side in the naval disaster at Syracuse which ultimately would cause Athens to lose the Peloponnesian War.[4] Cretan involvement in Sicily as settlers and invaders is mirrored in mythology by two stories, both preserved by Diodorus. The first is a little-known tale about the Cretan Meriones and his men finding their way to Sicily after the Trojan War. They were welcomed at the city of Engyum, granted citizenship, and helped to build the "temple to the Mothers, the powers that had watched over the infant Zeus in his Cretan cradle."[5]

The more famous myth connecting these two islands, however, is the story of Daedalus and Icarus.[6] Daedalus, the great master builder and inventor, served king Minos of Crete with his skills for many years after fleeing Athens to avoid prosecution for the murder of his nephew. Among other things, he constructed for Minos the great royal palace and the Labyrinth in which he housed the horrible Minotaur. However, when Minos discovered that Daedalus had aided in the creation of the Minotaur by helping queen Pasiphae to have intercourse with a bull through a device of his design, he turned his wrath against Daedalus. In some versions, Pasiphae hid Daedalus from her husband and supplied him with a boat so that he might flee, but the most common rendering of the myth has Daedalus imprisoned by Minos in the Labyrinth along with his son, Icarus. To escape, Daedalus fashioned his legendary wings from feathers and wax and flew to freedom. But regardless of the method of transport, he landed in Sicily. In his new home, Daedalus took up residence at the court of king Kokalos and began serving him as he had served Minos. When Minos learned of Daedalus's presence in Sicily, he sailed to the island with

[4] Thucydides 6.43; Finley, 68.

[5] Diodorus 4.79; Edward Freeman, *The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), 116.

[6] In this summary, I follow Diodorus 4.76-79 and Apollodorus *Epitome* 1.12-15. For other accounts, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.183-235; Horace *Odae* 1.3.

a fleet and demanded that Kokalos turn him over for punishment. However, either King Kokalos or his daughters killed Minos while he was taking a bath in the palace. Minos' troops quarreled among themselves after his death and eventually decided to stay in Sicily rather than go home.[7]

It is important to note that in all of the historical and mythical accounts cited above, Sicily is the land that triumphs in and/or benefits from the exchange with Crete. In the cases of Minos and the Athenian fleet, both are defeated by their Sicilian adversaries. Meriones, Daedalus, the colonists of Syracuse and Gela, and Minos's soldiers all transport Cretan (and therefore Greek) culture to Sicily where it is amalgamated and utilized for Sicily's improvement and advantage.

Daedalus also proves to be a trailblazer of sorts for Aeneas in the *Aeneid*. Several places where Daedalus spends time during his exile from Athens appear in Aeneas' itinerary: Crete, Sicily, Naxos, and the Icarian Sea. At 6.1-41, Daedalus precedes Aeneas at Cumae as well. Upon his arrival there, Aeneas ponders the doors to the Sibyl's citadel, which Daedalus constructed and on which he depicted his own story. But even though Vergil has altered the location of Daedalus' refuge,[8] he certainly could not have been ignorant of the other versions of the myth, and he clearly seems to have expected the reader to be familiar with Daedalus' exploits. He begins his account in Book VI with the words *Daedalus ut fama est* (6.14), establishing from the outset that the events about to be described are famous and noteworthy. Vergil then proceeds to tell Daedalus' story in only 28 lines (6.14-41), preferring allusion to detail in his narrative technique. For example, he devotes only one line (6.27) to the cryptic labyrinth Daedalus built for Minos and the word *labyrinth* does not appear in that line, even

[7] The settlements of Minoa and Engyum are both attributed to these soldiers. Diodorus 4.79.1-6.

[8] I will discuss the implications of Daedalus' altered flight plan in detail at the end of this chapter.

though Vergil uses it in Book V when describing the maneuvers of a mock cavalry battle at Anchises' funeral games.[9] He only mentions the thread Daedalus offered the Greek hero to help him traverse the maze. Furthermore, when Vergil recounts Theseus' triumph over the Minotaur at 6.28-30, he does not mention Theseus or Ariadne by name.[10] Thus, anyone unfamiliar with Daedalus' legend would have difficulty comprehending much of Vergil's description of the bronze doors Aeneas is beholding. The reader must fill in the particulars, and a reader steeped in Daedalus' legend enough to recognize *hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error* (6.27) as a reference to the labyrinth would certainly have recognized the oddity of the great architect's presence at Cumae in Book VI. Sicily is Daedalus' usual destination in the story etched on these doors.[11]

When this more conventional version of Daedalus' itinerary is considered, the connections between Aeneas and the Greek artist become even more pronounced. Both characters share Sicily as the country in which they recommence their lives following the deaths of dearly beloved family members. Daedalus has just lost Icarus when he lands in Sicily and Aeneas will lose Anchises at Drepanum at the close of Book III. Vergil's choice to set Anchises' death in this Sicilian location and his treatment of the narrative leading up to it considerably tighten the link between the two characters and the two islands. As he navigates the coast of Sicily on his way to Drepanum, Aeneas says that he passes by the regions of Gela, Acragas, and Selinus.[12] All three of these places have ties to Crete, either historically or through Daedalus.

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[9] Gregory Staley, "Vergil's Daedalus," *Classical Outlook* 79, no. 4 (2002) : 140.

[10] William Fitzgerald, "Aeneas, Daedalus, and the Labyrinth," *Arethusa* 17, no. 1 (1984): 54.

[11] See Gantz, 275, for the different variations of the Daedalus myth. S.P. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 215-16, discusses non-extant dramas by Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, et al., that chronicled Daedalus' adventures in Sicily.

[12] *Aeneid* 3.702-06.

Gela, as noted above, was established by Cretan colonists. Acragas and Selinus, along with Eryx/ Drepanum, are among the four places that Diodorus names in relation to Daedalus while giving an account of his exploits in Sicily.[13] Acragas was the site of the great city Daedalus constructed for king Kokalos, named Camicus after the river on which it lies and considered to be impregnable.[14] At Selinus, he devised a sanctuary inside a grotto with a heating and ventilation system so advanced that those coming to the grotto for healing would not sweat while inside. Eryx was the home of a famous shrine to Aphrodite and Drepanum served as the port for both the city and the temple complex. The importance of Eryx in this context cannot be overstated. According to the Aeneas legend, this temple was either founded by Aeneas or lavishly embellished by him when he stopped at Eryx on his way to Italy.[15] Daedalus is said to have built the ingenious protective wall surrounding the sanctuary and adorned it with a statue of a golden ram so perfectly crafted that it appeared to be alive.[16] Thus, Aeneas' travels in Book III end with the Trojans surveying no less than three Sicilian cities where men from Crete have left an indelible mark on the landscape, and Eryx/Drepanum provides a specific point of contact where the myths of Aeneas and Daedalus not only overlap geographically but also mirror one another in the acts of devotion performed by the two heroes at the temple of Aphrodite.[17] The

[13] Diodorus 4.78.

[14] See Strabo 6.2.6. The palace here was the site of Minos' death. However, Apollodorus *Epitome* 1.13 says that Daedalus lands in Sicily at the already constructed city of Camicus.

[15] Vergil makes Aeneas the founder of the temple at *Aeneid* 5.759-60 while Diodorus 4.83 supports the other version, making Eryx (another son of Aphrodite) the founder of the sanctuary before Aeneas' arrival.

[16] Diodorus 4.78, 83.

[17] In addition, Michael Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs* (New Haven: Yale University Press,1998) : 75, 88-91, has drawn convincing ties between Daedalus and Anchises in *Aeneid* VI by demonstrating the thematic parallels between Daedalus' relief sculpture on the doors of the Sibyl's temple and the prophecies given to Aeneas by Anchises in the Underworld.

connection between Crete and Sicily in the narrative flow of Book III, therefore, cannot be ignored.

Crete

Occupying a spot where the Mediterranean and the Aegean seas meld,[18] Crete played a central role in the institution, propagation, and promotion of civilization in the ancient world for many thousands of years.[19] Strabo gives an extensive history and description of the country and its people in Book X of his *Geographica*. Long before this ethnography, however, Homer celebrated Crete in his epics, calling it the land "of a hundred cities," and some of the bravest warriors in the Greek contingent at Troy call these cities home.[20] In mythology, the island boasted that it was the birthplace of Zeus[21] and many of the most storied tales in Greek myth take place in Crete, including the legends of Minos, Theseus, and Daedalus and Icarus, as mentioned above. Tradition holds that, under Minos, Crete was the first nation to command a navy and master the sea,[22] while Daedalus produced many of humankind's most useful inventions at the workshop in his palace. Minos was also renowned as a great lawgiver and both he and his brother Rhadamanthys functioned as rulers and judges in the Underworld.[23]

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[18] Strabo 10.4.1 says that the shores of Crete are washed on the north by the Aegean and on the south by the Libyan Sea.

[19] Crete lay along very important trade routes between mainland Greece, the Levant, Egypt, and Cyprus. Lucia Nixon and Simon Price, "Crete, Greek and Roman," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3d edition, ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 409; R. F. Willetts, *Ancient Crete: A Social History from Early Times Until the Roman Occupation* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1965), 23.

[20] *Iliad* 2.744; *Odyssey* 19.72, although here it is Crete of only ninety cities. The Cretan king Idomeneus, who will be discussed in more detail later, was one of the nine men who volunteered to face Hector in one-on-one combat. See *Iliad* 7.161 ff.

[21] Hesiod *Theogony* 475-80; Strabo 10.3.11; Martial 9.20.6.

[22] Thucydides 1.4.

[23] Pindar *Olympian Ode* 2.75; Plato *Gorgias* 523e, *Apologia* 41a; Strabo 10.4.8; *Aeneid* 6.566.

By the dawn of the Classical age, the radiance of Crete's political and military importance had faded considerably, although trade remained a vital component of its economy and its position in the Hellenistic world and the Roman Empire.[24] Minos' famous ports became a haven for pirates, second only to Cilicia, in the first half of the first century BCE. Crete thus became one of the primary targets of Pompey's campaign to free the shipping lanes of the Mediterranean from the clutches of piracy.[25] Victory on the island came rather easily. Rome invaded Crete in 69-67 BCE with troops led by Q. Caecilius Metellus (later called Creticus) and overwhelmed the Cretan resistance.[26] Only five cities had to be taken by force.[27] Thereafter, Crete enjoyed an extended period of relative peace and prosperity as a Roman province.[28]

Bearing in mind this traditional image of Crete as a prosperous and productive land, a place imbued with a lengthy heroic past and a stable if not thriving present, the scene of Aeneas' arrival in this place in *Aeneid* III is startling. The Trojans travel to Crete after receiving a prophecy from the oracle at Delos that they should seek out their ancient mother, *antiquam matrem*, as the location for their new settlement (3.94-96). Anchises interprets the prophecy to mean Crete, the birthplace of Teucer, one of Troy's founders. News that Idomeneus, son of Deucalion and commander of the Cretan forces that fought for Agamemnon,[29] has been forced to

[24] The Cretans' reputation also began to suffer in the early Roman era, a fact reflected in Polybius' negative opinion of their customs and their constitution. Plato and Aristotle, on the other hand, were very impressed by aristocratic government of Crete. Cf. Polybius 4.8.10, 6.43-47; Aristotle *Politica* 2.10; Plato *Republica* 8.544c; G. W. M. Harrison, *Romans and Crete* (Amsterdam: A. M. Hakkert, 1993), 20-25.

[25] Cicero *Pro Lege Manilia* 35; Diodorus 40.1; Strabo 10.4.9.; Fritz Heichelheim, Cedric Yeo, and Allen Ward, *A History of the Roman People*, 2d edition (Englewood: Prentice-Hall, 1984), 200-201.

[26] Appian *Sicelica* 6; I. F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1982), 3-4.

[27] Harrison, 57.

[28] Nixon, 409.

[29] *Iliad* 1.171.

abandon his father's kingdom serves to validate the choice. The shores of the island are waiting for the Trojans, free of their enemies, *desertaque litora Cretae hoste vacare* (3.122-23). After a failed attempt to found a city in Thrace, Crete appears to be the land of their destiny. What they find there, however, is far less than a paradise.

The story of Idomeneus' departure foreshadows what the Trojans will encounter in the land of Knossus. In his commentary on the *Aeneid*, Servius recounts that, on his way back from Troy, Idomeneus promises Poseidon that he will sacrifice the first living thing he sees on Crete's shores to the god if Poseidon will deliver him safely home. Tragically, upon his arrival the first thing he happens upon is his son. Realizing the consequences of his brashness, Idomeneus decides that he still must fulfill his vow and kills the boy. However, the other gods apparently view the act as a murder and not a sacrifice. Consequently, a plague descends upon Crete in retribution for this sin. In order to appease the gods, Idomeneus is forced to abandon his country.[30] Gantz asserts that the story is suspect because Servius, writing in the fourth century CE, is our first and only source,[31] but it seems unlikely that Servius would have invented such a tale. Still, without further evidence its antiquity cannot be traced with any certainty. If the story does have its roots in pre-Vergilian myth, however, the poet's utilization of it as background for Aeneas' experience on Crete is telling.

The Trojans arrive on Crete full of enthusiasm and anticipation. They immediately set to work building homes, plowing fields, and starting families.[32] Aeneas himself begins giving laws when pestilence suddenly strikes:

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[30] Servius, 3.122; Williams (1962), 80.

[31] Gantz, 698.

[32] At 3.136, Vergil writes that the youth were busy with planting and marrying, *conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus*. If *novis* is taken with *conubiis* as well as *arvis*, it could imply that the Trojans are wedding local

Subito cum tabida membris
Corrupto caeli tractu miserandaque venit
Arboribusque satisque lues et letifer annus.
Linquebant dulcis animas aut aegra trahebant
Corpora; tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros,
Arebant herbae et victum seges aegra negabat. (3.137-42)

Suddenly, from a tainted region of the sky, a wasting, pitiable plague came to our limbs and to the trees and to the crops—a deadly year. Young men were relinquishing their sweet spirits or dragging around their sick bodies; then the Dog Star burned the barren fields, the grass withered, and the diseased crop denied us food.

All living things on the island are under attack. Nothing will grow. The Crete of a hundred cities will not even support one now. In desperation, Anchises urges Aeneas to return to Delos to pray for the god's favor and discover what should be done to end their suffering. When Aeneas goes to sleep, however, the Trojan *Penates* appear to him in a dream and deliver a message from Apollo. They stand before Aeneas bathed in a bright light, *astare multo manifesti lumine*, where the full moon shines in through the open windows, *plena per insertas fundebat luna fenestras*, a scene soothingly contrasted with the scorching heat of the day (3. 151-52). This time, the oracle's meaning is put more plainly:

non haec tibi litora suasit
Delius aut Cretae iussit considere Apollo.
Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaebae;
Oenotri coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem
hae nobis propiae sedes…

…Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva (3.162-67, 171)

Delian Apollo did not recommend these shores to you or command you to settle in Crete. There is a place, an ancient land—the Greeks call it Hesperia—powerful in arms and rich in fertile soil. Oenotrians cultivated it. Now it is said that

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girls, which would mean that the island is not completely deserted. Even so, the population is scant enough that the Trojans do not meet with any resistance while setting up their city.

their descendents have named the country Italy after one of their leaders. This is your home….

…Jupiter denies you Dictean fields.

When Aeneas tells Anchises about his vision, Anchises remembers that Troy in fact had two founders who sailed to Troy from Italy, Teucer and Dardanus. With this news, the Aeneadae abandon the city and head west towards Hesperia, leaving only a few of their number behind who do not wish to continue the journey.

Thus, Aeneas, like Idomeneus, is driven from Crete by the gods. The details about the plague reinforce this comparison, as it originates *corrupto caeli tractu*,[33] and line 171 uttered by the Penates, *dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva*, makes it plain that the Trojans cannot stay here. There are other parallels with Idomeneus as well. Just like the Cretan king, a deity different from the one from whom he originally sought guidance about his destination evicts Aeneas. The interpretation Anchises gives to the prophecy given by Apollo at Delos is not erroneous. Crete meets the criteria. Yet Jupiter forbids them to settle there. That is why the second prophecy given by the *Penates* is so direct: there are *two* viable options for Aeneas' journey, yet Italy must be the one he chooses. But why is Crete out of the question? Here I think the Idomeneus story provides another clue. Crete was polluted before Aeneas got there. Servius does not give specific, descriptive details about the nature of the pestilence that drove Idomeneus from his homeland, so we cannot know if Vergil borrowed his description of the plague from accounts of the Idomeneus myth, but Servius does say that it was brought on by the abominable murder of a son by his father.[34] Now this same kind of plague revisits the Aeneadae even though they have

[33] Servius 3.138 comments that the plague in this episode follows the pattern set forth by Lucretius: first the air is infected, then the water and land, followed by the animals. Williams (1962), 85.

[34] Servius 3.121.

no connection to the wicked deed. There are two possible explanations for this recurrence. First, because the origin of Servius' tale about Idomeneus is unknown, it could conceivably be a conflation of Aeneas' troubles on the island with earlier stories about the Homeric Cretan king. In order for such conflation to occur, however, the Idomeneus story would have to post-date the composition of the *Aeneid*, since Aeneas' visit to Crete appears to be a Vergilian invention.[35] Thus, I think it is more likely that Vergil made use of an existing Idomeneus myth in order to comment on the nature of Crete's diseased fate. Like Troy, the kingdom of Minos, once so powerful and blessed as the birthplace of Zeus, is now forsaken. And like Thrace, the first location Aeneas tried to colonize after leaving Ilium, Vergil depicts Crete as a land now cursed because of past atrocities and therefore unfit to be settled by the Aeneadae.[36]

Aeneas' future clearly lies in the west. The episode on Crete stands as a stark reminder of that for both Aeneas and the readers of the *Aeneid*. The glorious history of the island makes it, in Book III, a symbol of the Greek world as a whole. Aeneas does not try to settle any other Greek territory in his subsequent travels after the pain and the prophecy received on Crete. The potency and primacy of the Greek world has passed. The new seat of power lies with Jupiter in the west on the Italian peninsula in the city of Rome, not with Dictean Zeus and the eastern wasteland that is Crete.[37]

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[35] Lloyd, "Legend," 395. The presence of a place called Pergamum on the island in historical times may however suggest prior Trojan presence. Velleius Paterculus 1.1.2 however, says that the town was founded by Agamemnon.

[36] *Aeneid* 3.13-68. The Trojans' first failed attempt at a settlement in Thrace will be discussed below in chapter 2.

[37] Vergil's depiction of Crete as a thoroughly uninhabitable place for Aeneas may be colored also by the island's role in the civil wars that followed Julius Caesar's assassination. Brutus and Cassius were made joint governors of Crete and Cyrene, possibly as a way to get them both out of Rome. Appian *BCiv* 3.8. After their defeat at Philippi, Crete fell under Antony's control and he turned a portion of the island over to Cleopatra in 37/6 BCE. Dio 49.32. The cities of Lappa and Cydonia apparently sided with Octavian, however, since he granted them independent status after Actium. Augustus also established a colony at Knossos. Dio 49.14; Velleius Paterculus 2.81. See also Sanders, 4-14.

Sicily and Achaemenides

Not only will Rome's power and culture supersede Greece's, but it will also absorb it. Any Roman of Vergil's day walking among the marble temples and colonnades of the city and reading about Rome's legendary founder in an epic written in dactylic hexameter would have been cognizant of this fact. The encounter with Achaemenides near Mt. Etna in Sicily, the home of the Cyclopes, has long been viewed as a symbol of the generosity and clemency Rome shows to her vanquished foes. Many scholars have also recognized parallels between this scene and the Sinon affair in Book II.[38] Yet, I think the broader picture painted in this episode—that of Aeneas literally carrying a Greek with him to Italy as a subordinate companion—and the implications stemming from it have largely been overlooked. A careful comparison of what Achaemenides and Sinon do and say will make the ramifications of this scene more apparent.

When the Aeneadae first arrive near Mt. Etna, they are awed by the flames and the thunder emanating from the volcano, lighting up the night and blotting out the stars. Such a fiery and horrifying introduction to the episode is no doubt for literary effect, providing a chilling welcome for Aeneas and the reader to the land of the Cyclopes; however, the flames also represent the ancient belief that the entire island of Sicily was "hollow beneath the ground, full of rivers of fire."[39] Mt. Etna is only one of several volcanoes on Sicily, but it is perhaps the most famous mountain in Greek literature other than Mt. Olympus. The giant Typhon was said to be imprisoned beneath it and the volcano houses Hephaestus' forge where the Cyclopes

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[38] A. G. McKay, "The Achaemenides Episode: Vergil, *Aeneid* III, 588-691," *Vergilius* 12 (1966) : 31.

[39] Strabo 6.2.9; R. J. A. Wilson, *Sicily Under the Roman Empire* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1990), 9-10.

fashion the thunderbolts of Zeus.[40] The hyperbolic blotting out of the stars in lines 585-87 reinforces this divine connection. It also emphasizes the importance of the location of Aeneas' landing on Sicily. Mt. Etna is on the east coast of the island and the plains between the volcano and the shore were the site of some of the first Greek settlements in Sicily.[41] Therefore, Aeneas' arrival at this spot places him in the midst of a Greek territory, both historically and mythically. As I will show, the outcome of this meeting between Trojan and Greek is all the more striking because of this setting.

On the morning following Aeneas' landing, a stranger emerges from the woods, half-starved and dressed in rags. He tells the Trojans that his name is Achaemenides and that he was formerly a companion of Ulysses. However, when the Greek hero made his escape from Polyphemus' cave, he and the other *immemores socii* left Achaemenides behind. The abandoned Greek throws himself upon the Trojans' mercy and Aeneas agrees to take him with them. The Trojans then spy Polyphemus himself coming their way and hastily make their escape (3.588-683).

Similarly, in *Aeneid* 2.57-198, when a group of Trojan shepherds brings Sinon before Priam, he tells the king and the surrounding crowd about how he was intended as a blood sacrifice by the Argives to ensure their safe passage back to Greece, but he escaped. He laments that there is now no place for him in the world because both his countrymen and his enemies wish him dead. Priam has pity on him and because of his tale the Trojan Horse is taken inside

[40] Pindar *Pythian Ode* 1.15; Aeschylus *Prometheus* 365; Strabo 5.4.9, 13.4.6; Cicero *De Divinatione* 2.19.43-4; Wilson, 8.

[41] Finley, 18.

the gates, leading to the downfall of the great city. The major difference between the two episodes is that Achaemenides is telling the truth and Sinon is not.[42]

Closer inspection reveals that the middle portions of the speeches by these two Greeks are practically identical, while the beginning and the end are quite different, reflecting the true nature of the person speaking. For example, when beginning the body of their speech, both Achaemenides and Sinon tell the Trojans that they are poor.

> nomine Achaemenides Troiam genitore Adamasto
> paupere (mansissetque utinam fortuna) profectus. (3.614-15)

[I am] named Achaemenides. From my poor father Adamastus I set out for Troy. (O that fortune would have remained!)

> pauper in arma pater primis huc misit ab annis. (2.87)

My poor father sent me here [to Troy] in arms from my first years.

Next, each man says that Ulysses slighted him.

> hic me dum trepidi crudelia limina linquunt
> immemores socii vasto Cyclopis in antro
> deseruere. (3.616-18)

While leaving the cruel entrance, my frightened and forgetful comrades left me here in the vast cave of the Cyclops.

> hinc mihi prima mali labes, hinc semper Ulixes
> criminibus terrere novis, hinc spargere voces
> in volgum ambiguas. (2.97-99)

Henceforth from the first slip of misfortune for me, always Ulysses frightened me with new accusations [and] spread obscure rumors about me among the troops.

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[42] One strong indication that he is indeed telling the truth is the fact that his words to the Aeneadae at line 639 mirror very closely those of Polydorus, a trusted Trojan ally, at line 44. Lloyd, "New Approach," 137. For analyses of other parallels between Achaemenides and Sinon, see Putnam (1980), 15; W. F. Jackson Knight, "Pairs of Passages in Virgil," *Greece and Rome* 13 (1944), 10-14; K. Quinn, *Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description* (London, 1968), 61; and E. Römisch, "Die Achaemenides-Episode in Vergils Aeneis," in *Studien zum antiken Epos* (Meisenheim, 1976), 208-27.

After thus establishing their identity and their enmity toward one of the Trojans' most hated adversaries, each goes on to recount what happened to him just prior to his meeting with the Trojans.

> vidi egomet, duo de numero cum corpora nostro
> prensa manu magna medio resupinus in antro
> frangeret ad saxum sanieque aspersa natarent
> limina; vidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo
> manderet et tepidi tremerent sub dentibus artus.
> haud impune quidem; nec talia passus Ulixes
> oblitusve sui est Ithacus discrimine tanto.
> nam simul expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus
> cervicem inflexam posuit, iacuitque per antrum
> immensus, saniem eructans et frustra cruento
> per somnum commixta mero, nos, magna precati
> numina sortitique vices, una undique circum
> fundimur et telo lumen terebramus acuto
> ingens, quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,
> Agrolici clipei aut Phoebeae lampadis instar,
> et tandem laeti sociorum ulciscimur umbras. (3.623-38)

With my head bent backward I saw when, in the middle of the cave, with two of our number clutched in his huge hand, he broke them against a rock and the spattered doorway floated in blood. I saw when he ate their members, flowing with black gore, and the warm limbs trembled under his teeth. But not without punishment! The Ithacan Ulysses did not permit such things or forget himself in so great a crisis. As soon as [the Cyclops] laid back his neck, filled with his feast and drunk with wine, and stretched himself out through the cave, spitting up bloody pieces [of flesh] mixed with wine in his sleep, we, having prayed to the great gods and drawn lots for our role, spread out around him on all sides and with a sharp spear pierced his one giant eye, which lay hidden under the grim front of his brow, like a Greek shield or the torch of Apollo, and happily avenged the shades of our comrades at last.

> saepe fugam Danai Troia cupiere relicta
> moliri et longo fessi discedere bello:
> fecissentque utinam! Saepe illos aspera ponti
> interclusit hiems et terruit Auster euntis;
> praecipue, cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis
> staret equus, toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi.
> suspensi Eurypylum scitantem oracula Phoebi
> mittimus, isque adytis haec tristia dicta reportat:
> "sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa,
> cum primum Iliacas, Danai, venistis ad oras:
> sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum

Argolica. Vulgi quae vox ut venit ad auris,
obstipuere animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit
ossa tremor, cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo.
hic Ithacus vatem magno Calchanta tumultu
protrahit in medios; quae sint ea numina divum,
flagitat. Et mihi iam multi crudele canebant
artificis scelus et taciti ventura videbant.
bis quinos silet ille dies tectusque recusat
prodere voce sua quemquam aut opponere morti.
vix tandem, magnis Ithaci clamoribus actus,
composito rumpit vocem et me desinat arae.
adsensere omnes et, quae sibi quisque timebat,
unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere. (2.108-31)

> Often the Greeks have desired flight from Troy and despaired, weary from the long war. If only they had! [But] often winter hindered them with rough seas and the south wind frightened those setting sail; especially when this horse, built with maple beams, was erected, the clouds in the whole of the heavens thundered! Puzzled, we sent Eurypylus to inquire at the oracle of Apollo, and he reported these sad words from the sanctuary: "Greeks, when you first came to the shores of Troy, you calmed the winds with the blood of a sacrificed maiden: [now] with blood [you] must seek a return and gain favor with a Greek life." When this report came to the ears of the troops, their spirits were dazed and an icy tremor ran through the marrow of their bones—for whom were the fates preparing, whom did Apollo demand? With a great commotion, the Ithacan dragged the seer Calchas out into the middle of the crowd and demanded [to know] what the will of the gods was. Even then, many were prophesying the cruel scheme of the contriver for me. They saw what was coming, but remained silent. For ten days the seer was silent and, having hidden himself, refused to betray anyone with his voice or expose anyone to death. Finally, led by the great shouting of the Ithacan—according to the agreement—he broke his silence and marked me for the altar. All were agreed and they spread the word that the things which each man feared for himself had turned to the destruction of one poor soul.

Many of the same themes emerge in the speeches. Both say that they were abandoned by those whom they had earlier considered friends. Blood and human sacrifice also figure prominently. Sinon is to be an offering to the gods, just as Iphigenia had been earlier. Achaemenides' two devoured companions also may be seen as sacrifices of a sort: their deaths buy time for the others, and Polyphemus' wine-and-food-induced slumber allows all but Achaemenides to escape.

The repetition of *sanguine…sanguine* in Sinon's oration at 2.116-18 is echoed by the gory description of Polyphemus' eating habits in Achaemenides' narrative at line 3.621-29.

Finally, Achaemenides and Sinon both describe their escapes.

> tertia iam lunae se cornua lumine complent,
> cum vitam in silvis inter deserta ferarum
> lustra domosque traho vastosque ab rupe Cyclopas
> prospicio sonitumque pedum vocemque tremesco. (3.645-48)

Three times the moon filled its horns with light since I have been dragging out my life in the woods among the deserted lairs and homes of wild animals, watching the enormous Cyclopes from the cliff, and trembling at the sound of their feet and their voce.

> eripui, fateor, leto me et vincula rupi
> limosoque lacu per noctem obscurus in ulva
> delitui, dum vela darent, si forte dedissent. (2.134-36)

I admit, I escaped from death, broke my chains, and hid myself in the grass of a muddy swamp, until the Greeks set sail, if by chance they had.

Here, both evade their would-be killers by hiding in the countryside. Thus, judging solely by what they have to say, Achaemenides and Sinon almost appear to be the same person, or at least to be giving the same speech.

The start and finish of each oration, however, are quite different. Even before they start to speak, each man's approach to the Trojans marks him as distinct from the other. Achaemenides comes desperately seeking help and as a suppliant, *procedit supplexque manus ad litora tendit* (3.592). Sinon, on the other hand, comes as a bound prisoner, captured by a band of shepherds (or so it seems): *ecce manus iuvenum interea post terga revinctum astores…trahebant* (2.57-58). In the next lines, however, Vergil explains that Sinon's apparent helplessness is a ruse and his purpose is treacherous: *hoc ipsum ut strueret Troiamque aperiret Achivis obtulerat*. (2.60-61). From here, the distinctions grow. Achaemenides checks himself as he is coming towards Aeneas and his men, as if he is having second thoughts, but then begins to pray and

weep: *Troia vidit / arma procul, paulum aspectu conterritus haesit / continuitque gradum mox sese ad litora praeceps / cum fletu precibusque tulit* (3.596-99). Sinon, however, despite his apparent compromised position, is brimming with confidence, *fidens animi* (2.61).

Once they come face to face with the Trojans, they begin their pleas in very different ways. Achaemenides' opening words are ones of entreaty: *per sidera testor, per superos atque hoc caeli spirabile lumen, tollite me, Teucri* (3.599-601). Sinon, in oratorical fashion, begins by promising to tell the truth: *cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque, fatebor* (2.77). He beseeches the Trojans only at the very end of his speech, after he has won their sympathies, although he uses very similar words to those of Achaemenides:

> quod te per superos et conscia numina veri
> per si qua est quae restat adhuc mortalibus usquam
> intemerata fides, oro, miserere laborum
> tantorum, miserere animi non digna ferentis. (2.141-44)

> I beg you through the gods and the divine powers which know the truth, if there is any faith that still remains pure among mortals, have mercy on such great labors, on a soul enduring without dignity.

Moreover, at the very end of their petitions they ask for very different things. Achaemenides asks the Trojans to kill him: *vos animam hanc potius quocumque absumite leto* (3.654), while Sinon, as noted above, asks for pity, *miserere…miserere*.

Perhaps the most striking and important difference between the two episodes, however, is who makes the judgment in each case. Each scene takes place before a compassionate Trojan leader, Anchises and Priam respectively. Yet, in Achaemenides' situation, he makes no self-evaluation of his circumstances or what he feels he deserves. He simply humbles himself at the Trojans' feet. It is they who decide he is worthy to be rescued after Achaemenides has finished speaking, *recepto supplice sic merito* (3.667). Sinon, however, makes the pronouncement

himself before Priam has the opportunity to respond, referring to his trials as undeserved, *non digna* (2.144). Priam thus merely confirms what Sinon has already stated when he grants him amnesty.

Achaemenides is freed from a gruesome death and displays himself as one of the more sympathetic and genuine characters of the poem, while Sinon accomplishes one of the greatest and most famous deceptions in all of Western literature. Which episode was written first and which character was a model for the other has been the subject of much debate.[43] Bruére's estimation that Achaemenides was designed to show that the Trojans are magnanimous, rather than gullible, in light of Sinon's deceit, is especially attractive.[44] Nonetheless, I believe that geography is what defines each of these characters and what allows them to be who they are.

As Aeneas' narration shows, Sinon appears to be helpless but in fact is approaching the Trojans from a concealed position of power. The poet, the readers, and the narrator (retrospectively) all know that the entire Greek army is just across the strait on Tenedos. Certainly there is some peril in his situation: if his trick were exposed, he would be killed. But he is a co-conspirator with Ulysses, not the object of his guile; he is an instigator not a castaway. Achaemenides, on the contrary, is exactly what he seems—a helpless victim of fate. The validity of his story is confirmed with the immediate appearance of Polyphemus as soon as finishes speaking (3.655-57).[45] The only thing the two really have in common is their Greek heritage, and that is the crux. Sinon is a Greek operating in the epic world of the Eastern Mediterranean, the

[43] McKay, 32; R.D. Williams, "The Mythology of the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 11 (1965), 13, has even suggested that Vergil might have cut the Achaemenides episode in the final revision of the poem, given its relatively unrevised state.

[44] Richard T. Bruére, review of *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos LiberTertius*, by R. D. Williams, *Classical Philology* 58, no. 3 (1963): 185; McKay, 32.

[45] McKay, 33.

sphere in which the Greeks are in control. Achaemenides is not. He has been left behind in the West; he is no longer part of the Greek epic in which he began his journey and thus he is out of his element. Sicily was Rome's first imperial acquisition. The west is Rome's territory. That Sicily is squarely under Trojan (and thus Roman) hegemony is further underscored by the fact that Aeneas succeeds in the land of the Cyclopes where Ulysses failed. He gets Achaemenides off the island. Ulysses could not.

The image, then, of Aeneas taking Achaemenides on board his ship is a literary reflection of the cultural synthesis occurring in Rome's burgeoning empire. At 3.691, Achaemenides becomes something of a guide for the Trojans, pointing out to Aeneas and his crew the Homeric stops he made with Ulysses before his unfortunate abandonment. There is also much symbolism housed in the poor Greek's name, which most likely is derived from Persian.[46] James O'Hara and Richard Heinze have asserted that "Achaemenides" is a compound of Ἀχαιός and μένω, meaning "the left-behind Greek."[47] But since *Achaemenius* is the Latin adjective for "Persian," and it is a poetic word utilized by both Horace and Ovid,[48] McKay's analysis seems much more likely. The Achaemenid dynasty ruled the Persian Empire at its height,[49] and the Parthian kings of Vergil's day claimed descent from this line.[50] One of, if not the, greatest diplomatic triumphs of Augustus' reign was negotiating the return of the standards Crassus lost to the Parthian army

[46] Putnam (1980), 12, follows McKay, 33-37, who gives a detailed account of Roman-Parthian relations in the first century BCE. Ἀχαιμένης is the Greek rendering of the eponymous ancestor of Cyrus the Great, Achaemenes. See Herodotus 3.75.

[47] Heinze, 112; James O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 147.

[48] E.g., Horace *Odae* 3.1.44 and Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.212.

[49] In addition to Cyrus the Great, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius were all Achaemenids. See J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983), 266.

[50] Arrian *Parthica* fr. 1, quoted in Photius 58; Neilson Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 10. Specifically, they claimed Artaxerxes II as their forebear.

in 53 BCE.[51] Aeneas' compassionate attitude toward Achaemenides may very well be an artistic nod by Vergil to this long awaited event and to the amnesty Augustus offered to several deposed Parthian rulers in the years following Actium.[52] This connection makes Aeneas' incorporation of Achaemenides into his company even more noteworthy, for this man, who should be a wealthy, powerful king whose armies could rival even Rome's, is here reduced to hunger, poverty, and subservience.[53] The message is clear: Eastern authority has no power in the West. Everyone, Greek or Persian, prince or pauper, is subject to Rome's mastery in the post-Homeric age. Aeneas' relationship with Achaemenides shows, however, that the sword of Rome's might is forged from an alloy of conquest and clemency. Vergil's Sicily is to Achaemenides what Kokalos' Sicily was to Daedalus, and Aeneas' voyage from Crete to Mt. Etna reinforces the idea already present in Daedalus' story that Crete is a place to flee from, while Sicily is a place to flee toward. The West has now become both the seat of power and the repository of peace.

Cumae

All of this overwhelmingly pro-Western symbolism involving Sicily still leaves one question unanswered, however: why does Aeneas not cross Daedalus' path on the island in

[51] The standards were presented to Tiberius on May 12, 20 BCE, who received them on Augustus' behalf. The negotiations for their return began between 29-26 BCE. Ovid *Fasti* 545; Suetonius *Augustus* 21.3; McKay, 35. Vergil died on September 21, 19 BCE. Most scholars believe that Book III was one of the first books Vergil composed. See Williams (1962), 22. But Heinze, 71-75, has argued that it was among the last portions of the *Aeneid* to be written. Regardless of which theory is correct, Vergil had ample time (nearly a year and a half) to incorporate the triumphal return of the standards into the poem. Donatus, 123, relates that Vergil had gone east for the specific purpose of revising his epic when he fell ill. McKay, 36, also sees an allusion to the standards at *Aeneid* 7.604-06.

[52] McKay, 37.

[53] Putnam (1980), 12.

Vergil's narrative? The mythic tradition supports Daedalus' presence on Sicily, and an Aeneas-Daedalus connection on Sicily certainly would reinforce the emblematic transfer of authority from East to West by adding a cultural/artistic element to the theme. I would submit that Vergil alters the setting of the Daedalus narrative in order to take the transfer of power one step further. *Imperium* is not coming ubiquitously to the West; it is coming specifically to Italy. By moving Daedalus' final destination from Sicily to Cumae, Vergil shifts the center of events closer to Rome and frees the Daedalus story from its associations with the foundation myths of Greek colonies on the island.

Vergil certainly appears to be building suspense for the change. He entices the reader with subtle and sometimes veiled allusions to Daedalus during both of Aeneas' visits to Sicily in Book III and Book V so that someone well versed in mythology would expect to hear mention of the great architect at any moment. The aforementioned route that the Aeneadae follow on their way to Drepanum whisks them passed no less than three sites where Daedalus constructed well-known edifices during his sojourn in Sicily (3.701-08).[54] Vergil makes a more direct allusion to Daedalus during the Trojans' second stop in Sicily after they have left Carthage. In the course of Anchises' funeral games, Vergil compares the intricate military maneuvers of the Trojan youth to the labyrinth of ancient Crete (5.588-92). Thus, the specter of Daeadalus pervades the island, but Vergil does not mention Daedalus' name until Book VI or place a concrete Daedalean structure in Aeneas' path until the Trojans arrive in Italy and visit the temple of Apollo.

[54] Gela, Acragas, and Selinus. Drepanum itself was the port for Eryx, where Daedalus is said to have built the temple to Venus. See page 12.

The change of setting affects the symbolism of the memorial Daedalus has left for Aeneas to see.[55] By etching his story into the bronze doors of the temple, Daedalus has enshrined the events but also fossilized them. Minos, Theseus, Ariadne—the memory of this retinue of Greek heroes has been frozen in Daedalus' frieze. Their time is over. They come alive again only through the eyes of Aeneas the Trojan, the prototypical Roman, who has now taken his first steps toward the culmination of his (and Rome's) destiny by finally reaching Hesperia. This scene of Aeneas describing Daedalus' etchings for the reader is thus highly emblematic of the changing of the guard, especially in light of the events of Book VI. In the Underworld, Anchises introduces Aeneas to the future spirits of notable Romans. On the temple doors, Aeneas sees the likenesses of bygone Greeks. The frieze is the static antithesis of Aeneas' Underworld experience, which is kinetic and brimming with promise.

> Hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto
> Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis
> Minotaurus inest, Veneris monumenta nefandae
> hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error (6.24-27)

> Here is the cruel love of the bull and Pasiphaë, set beneath [him] in secret and [their] mixed and double-formed offspring, the Minotaur, a monument of abominable love. Here is that labor, that house and that wandering unable to be unraveled.

> Ille, vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta
> proxima sorte tenet lucis loca, primus ad auras
> aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget
> Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles
>
> proximus ille Procas, Troianae gloria gentis,
> et Capys et Numitor et qui te nomine reddet (6.760-63, 767-68)

[55] Vergil is thus once again establishing Italy as the land of the future. It is interesting that the poet moves Daedalus from Sicily to Italy, and moves the burning of the ships (5.604-63) to Sicily. Plutarch *Moralia* 265b and Dionysius Halicarnassus 1.72.2 both place the arson, which was a traditional part of the Aeneas legend, in Italy. The women burn the ships because they are tired of wandering, so the implication is that Italy became the land the Trojans settled by default. By moving the ship burning to Sicily, Vergil transforms it into an attempt by Juno to stave off destiny. Thus, geography makes a difference in how events are perceived.

> That pure young man, you see, who is leaning on the spear; by lot he holds the nearest place of light. He rises to the upper air as the first mixed with Italian blood, Silvius (an Alban name), the last of your children. The next one is Procas, glory of the Trojan race, and Capys and Numitor and the one who returns with your name.

Cumae is itself quite suited to be the setting for this transition to Italy. It is a liminal place, not only between the realms of the dead and the living, but also between the Greek and Roman worlds. Cumae was the first Greek colony planted on the Italian mainland circa 750 BCE.[56] It flourished in the latter half of the eighth century and founded colonies of its own at Neapolis (Naples), Dicaearchia (Puetoli), and Messana (Messina).[57] However, it quickly became Romanized when Rome's power and influence began to spread in the fourth century. Cumae faithfully supported Rome in the first and second Punic wars and in 180 BCE abandoned Oscan as its official language in favor of Latin.[58] In many ways, it became a model of Roman *municipium* and many Roman aristocrats owned villas there.[59]

There are other significant connotations surrounding Cumae's presence in the *Aeneid* as well. The cult of the Sibyl there is quite old, making its first appearance in Roman "history" during the monarchy in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, though it had declined by the first century BCE.[60] Augustus revived it and restored the temple Aeneas sees.[61] Thus, there is a definite imperial overtone to the episode. Furthermore, Cumae was the site of a naval battle that

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[56] Livy 8.22.6; Williams (1962), 460; Kathryn Lomas, "Cumae," in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3d edition, ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 412.

[57] Livy 8.22.5; Michael Grant, *A Guide to the Ancient World* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1986), 198.

[58] Livy 40.42.13; Grant, 198; Lomas, 412. Cumae was a *civitas sine suffragio* and as such had to petition Rome in order to adopt Latin as their official language. Thus, the decision was not forced upon the Cumaeans.

[59] Lomas, 412.

[60] Priscus reigned (if he reigned) from 616-579 BCE. See Dionysius Halicarnassus 6.17; Lomas, 412.

[61] *Georgics* 2.161; Williams (1962), 460. The doors are the product of Vergil's imagination.

figured in Octavian's rise to power. In the aftermath of the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, Sextus Pompey, Pompey the Great's younger son, continued to challenge Octavian and Marc Antony for control of Rome. Prior to 44 BCE, he began to harass the governors of Spain appointed by Julius Caesar with an army comprised of his late father's supporters. After Caesar's murder, the Senate, under the direction of the Triumvirs, declared him an outlaw in Rome and he moved his army and a fleet to Sicily, where he took control of the provincial government, sheltered refugees from the proscriptions of Octavian and Antony, and used the island as a base for a naval blockade of southern Italy.[62] The blockade caused food shortages in Rome, and the threat of starvation sparked a riot there in 39 BCE. Sextus was the most serious threat to the Second Triumvirate in the West, and he was proving formidable. Antony and Octavian brokered a peace deal with Sextus in the spring of 39, but it did not last long. Hostilities resumed that autumn and Octavian began building a fleet with which to oppose Sextus' naval strength and challenge the blockade.[63]

Octavian and his commanders began planning a pincer attack to dislodge Sextus from Sicily. In the spring of 38 BCE, Octavian sailed from Tarentum while his admiral Calvisius Sabinus proceeded down the west coast from Etruria. At the same time, Marcus Agrippa led an army of Octavian's troops south from Rome. Calvisius' fleet soon caught sight of a contingent of Sextus' ships coming toward them under the command of Menocrates. Not wishing to engage in combat and risk jeopardizing the pincer movement, Calvisius diverted his fleet into the Bay of Licola just above Cumae and waited for nightfall. He then weighed anchor and attempted to sneak through the channel between Cumae and the island of Prochyta. Menocrates had

[62] Dio 45.10.1-48.17.6; Appian *BCiv* 3.12-4.84; Moses Hadas, *Sextus Pompey* (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 37-74.

[63] Appian *BCiv* 5.9; R. F. Paget, "The Naval Battle of Cumae," *Latomus* 29, no. 2 (1970) : 364.

anticipated this maneuver, however, and had sent ships to guard the southern end of the channel. He attacked and trapped the front of Calvisius' fleet in the channel. But Calvisius' rear admiral Menodorus realized what was happening, steered the rear of the fleet out of channel, and swung the ships around to attack Menocrates' flank. When Menodorus spotted Menocrates' ship, he rammed it and a fierce battle ensued. Menocrates was killed in the fight and his ship was sunk. It was a small but important triumph. Calvisius' squadron had been decimated in the battle, having lost several ships and suffered damage to nearly all of the remaining vessels. Nevertheless, with the loss of their commander, Menocrates' vice admirals decided to retreat and returned to Sicily, even though they could have easily destroyed the remnants of the enemy fleet.[64]

In terms of casualties, the battle was clearly a win for Sextus. However, Marcus Agrippa managed to turn a physical defeat into a tactical victory. After Sextus' fleet had gone, Agrippa secured Cumae and ferried troops across the channel to take control of Prochyta and the adjacent island of Aenaria, while Calvisius and Menodorus salvaged the few ships they could and continued on to rendezvous with Octavian. Agrippa realized the strategic importance of the area. Prochyta and Aenaria gave Octavian control of the Bay of Naples, the only suitable port for a fleet of ships along the 200-mile stretch of coast between Naples and Sicily. Without a port to rest his oarsman, Sextus would have no hope of sustaining any type of attack against Rome or the west of Italy. It was a tactical blow that proved fatal to Sextus' cause. Agrippa constructed a harbor at Cumae that served as a base of operations and a dockyard for the rebuilding of

[64] Appian *BCiv* 5.9; Paget, 366-67.

Calvisius' lost ships. By the end of the year, Sextus had fled from Sicily and Octavian was well on his way to establishing full control over the island. Sextus was captured and executed in 36.[65]

Cumae thus proved to be one of the significant battles in the war between Octavian and Sextus Pompey.[66] Victory over Sextus figured prominently in Octavian's rise to sole power in Rome.[67] By ending the blockade and alleviating the food shortage, he won much needed popularity and support within Italy and the Western provinces, support he desperately needed in the brewing conflict between himself and Antony.[68] Therefore, Aeneas' landing at Cumae would have been especially meaningful for Augustus as a place where his commanders had made the most of a disastrous situation in much the same way that Daedalus used his grief as a source of inspiration.

There is one more Cumae connection to consider. Aeneas' arrival at Cumae gives Vergil a personal foothold in the narrative as well. The poet's involvement in the *ekphrasis* of 6.1-41 is first evident in the tone of the scene, which expresses great empathy for Daedalus as a fellow artist struggling to master a subject for which he seems inadequate and which triggers powerful emotions. At 6.30, Vergil even breaks directly into the narrative to tell Icarus why his father could not finish depicting his fall into the sea: *tu quoque magnam / partem opere in tanto sineret dolor, Icare, haberes / bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro/ bis patriae cecidere manus*.[69] But Vergil has other personal ties to the scene. He spent much of his adult life from 37 BCE

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[65] Appian *BCiv* 5.9, 139-40; Paget, 367, 369.

[66] Paget, 369.

[67] Augustus alludes to his triumph over Sextus Pompey in *Res Gestae* 25.1: *Mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum qui fugerant a dominis suis et arma contra rem publicam ceperant trigenta fere millia capta dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidi*.

[68] P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 66.

[69] Staley, 142.

until his death in 19 BCE in Naples, which lies only 10 miles southeast of Cumae.[70] There he composed the *Georgics* and he came to love the region so much that he chose to be buried there.[71] He no doubt knew Cumae very well.

Thus, Cumae serves as a junction where the artist, the subject, and the patron of the *Aeneid* find common ground at the foot of a monument consecrated to the glory of the god who brought both Aeneas and Daedalus forward on their journeys and dedicated to the memory of a glorious Greek age that has passed into the mists of history. Sicily could not have provided such a poignant meeting ground for all three. Yet, this crossroads at Cumae, where the personal stories of Vergil, Aeneas, and Augustus intersect, is a place of somewhat tense gathering. Vergil only came to Campania (Naples) after his family was forced off their land in northern Italy during the civil wars.[72] The empire that knows no end did not fall fully-formed from Jupiter's lips. It was forged with much blood, sweat, and pain as Vergil himself knew only too well, and that pain will be symbolized in other stops that Aeneas makes in Book III.

[70] Grant, 198.

[71] Donatus 25, 89, 123; Williams (1962), xi.

[72] Donatus 25.

CHAPTER 2

THE DARK SIDE OF EMPIRE

Vergil was born near Mantua, just north of the Po River valley, in 70 BCE in the waning years of the Roman Republic. The power and influence of the military and its commanders were steadily eclipsing the authority of the senate and altering the course of the traditional channels of authority within the government. Social and political unrest threatened to pull Rome's social fabric apart at the seams. In the twenty-five years preceding Vergil's birth, a group of Italian city states allied with Rome rebelled to obtain citizenship,[1] Sulla occupied Rome twice,[2] and Spartacus led a revolt of some 70,000 slaves.[3] In the twenty-five years following his birth, Catiline conspired to usurp the consulship with a military coup,[4] Pompey the Great, Marcus Licinius Crassus, and Julius Caesar exercised power through the formation of the first triumvirate, and two civil wars erupted in the wake of it all.[5] It was a tumultuous and uncertain time.

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[1] The Italian or Social War, 91-87 BCE. See Appian *BCiv* 1.33-106; Michael Crawford, *The Roman Republic*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 138-44; H.H. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, 3d ed. (London: Methuen and Company, 1970), 66-70.

[2] 88 and 83/2 BCE. Appian *BCiv* 1.33-106; Plutarch *Sulla* 9.5-7, 29.4-31.1. Crawford, 146-51; Scullard, 71-72, 81-82.

[3] Appian *BCiv* 2.1-35; Plutarch *Crassus* 8.1-11.8; Scullard, 95-96.

[4] See Sallust *Bellum Catilinae* and Cicero's four orations *In Catilinam*. For a synopsis of events, see Scullard, 112-14.

[5] The first triumvirate was formed in 60 BCE. The contest for power between Caesar and Pompey spawned the first civil war. Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsalus in 48. Caesar was then assassinated in 44, which inaugurated the second civil war. Dio Cassius 41-44; Appian *BCiv* 2.32-117; Scullard, 138-58.

Yet it was also a period of prosperity for Roman imperialism. The empire continued to grow and expand its reach across the Mediterranean. In the East, Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey spread Roman control across Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, while Julius Caesar subdued Gaul in the West.[6] These were just the latest in a long line of provincial acquisitions Rome had made since it annexed Sicily in 241 BCE.[7] In a span of 53 years, from the Second Punic and Illyrian Wars in 219/18 to the final defeat of the Macedonian monarchy in 167, Rome had conquered almost the whole of the Mediterranean world.[8] By the time Vergil published his first collection of poems around 39/8 BCE,[9] Rome controlled most of the territory from Spain to the eastern edge of the Black Sea, Syria, and the northern coast of Africa between Mauritania and Egypt.

These conquests brought much wealth and glory to Rome. The Republic's armies were feared and its accomplishments were envied.[10] But there were consequences to the political and military preeminence Rome had achieved. More than two hundred years of nearly constant warfare produced drastic, and often devastating, changes within Roman society. Most Romans of the early- and mid-Republic made their living in small-scale agriculture. In fact, citizens had to meet minimal land requirements to join the army. But imperialism upset this traditional Roman way of life. Not only did large numbers of Roman men die on the battlefields, which made farming untenable for their wives and children, but many of those who survived the perils

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[6] Plutarch *Lucullus* 27-28, *Pompeius* 38; Dio Cassius 37; Caesar *De Bello Gallico*; Scullard, 104-08, 130-38.

[7] Diodorus 28.4; Wilson, 17.

[8] Polybius 1.1.5; Crawford, 57-66, 80-87.

[9] For the controversy surrounding the date of publication of the *Bucolics* (*Eclogues*), see R.J. Tarrant, "The Addressee of Virgil's Eigth Eclogue," and G.W. Bowersock, "The Addressee of Virgil's Eighth Eclogue: A Response," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 82 (1978) : 197-202.

[10] Dionysius Halicarnassus (1.4.2-1.5.2), a first-century BCE Greek historian who was fascinated by Rome's rise to supremacy, actually attempted to prove the Romans were in fact Greeks and to dispel notions that Rome was founded by barbarian slaves, as many "ignorant" Greeks supposed.

of war came home to find their farms overrun with weeds or their homes seized by creditors or greedy neighbors. Scores of ex-farmers streamed into the cities, especially Rome, in search of work or in hopes of starting a small business. The political unification of the Mediterranean under Rome's auspices had created an expanded market and a favorable business environment, but the rapid influx of immigrants from the countryside also created numerous urban problems. Housing shortages led to real estate inflation and price gouging. Shoddy apartment buildings went up all over Rome and the overcrowding encouraged by these complexes compromised public health, sanitation, and safety. These *insulae* bred disease, caught fire easily, and frequently collapsed due to their hasty and flimsy construction. Meanwhile, wealthy landowners snatched up smaller farms all over Italy and created expansive agricultural plantations called *latifundia*, the massive yields of which made them even wealthier.[11]

Urban migration also caused problems for the new breed of military commanders, such as Julius Caesar, Marc Antony, and Octavian. The minimum property requirements for military service were abandoned by Gaius Marius in his efforts to raise an adequate army to defeat the Numidian king Jugurtha in the late second century BCE.[12] This reform led to an influx of poor and greedy recruits who agreed to serve in exchange for a share of the spoils and personal rewards of money and/or land at the end of their term of service. As a result, soldiers gave their loyalty to their generals rather than to Rome itself, and generals made lavish promises that they had to keep sooner or later. This new military dynamic raised the stakes of combat and contributed to the violence and the chaos of the civil wars, for generals had to find new ways to

[11] Heichelheim, 133-34. Even more than as a traditional occupation, farming was seen as an ideal way of life by Republican aristocrats. E.g., Cato the Elder (234-149 BCE) *Origines* and *De Agri Cultura*. Vergil's own *Bucolics* and *Georgics* evoke this idealized view of pastoral life.

[12] Heichelheim, 171-74; Sallust *Bellum Iugurthinum* 84.1-5; Plutarch *Marius* 9.1-2. The Jugurthine War lasted from 107-104 BCE.

offer their soldiers compensation.[13] In the aftermath of Julius Caesar's assassination, for example, Antony and Octavian proscribed thousands of their political opponents, including Cicero. Eliminating potential challengers to their authority was one reason for doing so, but a more pressing reason was their need to confiscate money and property with which to pay the forty-three legions they commanded in preparation for the war with Brutus and Cassius.[14]

Satisfying soldiers' demands thus took precedence over many other political considerations during the late Republic and significantly contributed to the turmoil into which Vergil was born. Biographies of Vergil from antiquity indicate that he and his family were victims of the oppressive tactics employed by the Triumvirs when the spoils of combat and/or initial arrangements for compensation failed to sate soldiers' appetites. The fourth century CE Vergilian commentator Aelius Donatus relates that Vergil and his family lost their land in the confiscations following Octavian and Antony's victory over Brutus and Cassius at Philippi.[15]

Following the battle, Octavian was given the task of resettling the veterans in Italy. He and Antony had identified eighteen cities in fertile areas of the peninsula for veteran settlement before the civil war. But after the victory was won, they discovered more land was needed to provide for all of the veterans, so more land was confiscated. Mantua was one of the regions hardest hit by the mass evictions.[16] According to Donatus, Vergil did not abandon his family's property without a fight and was chased by a sword-wielding soldier until he escaped by jumping into a river and swimming across to the opposite bank. He later regained his property through

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[13] Heichelheim, 172.

[14] Ibid., 236. For the specifics of the proscription, see Appian *BCiv* 4.6, 8-30; Suetonius *Augustus* 27; and Francois Hinard, *Les proscriptions de la Rome républicaine* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1985).

[15] Donatus 262.

[16] Ibid. See also Appian *BCiv* 4.3; Pat Southern, *Augustus* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 54.

his connections with Maecenas, Asinius Pollio, and others within Octavian's inner circle, for the Triumvir and future emperor became fond of his poetry,[17] but there can be little doubt that harrowing experience remained etched in his memory,[18] along with the sufferings of the other numerous farmers in his native region who were not as fortunate. The trauma clearly had an impact on his poetry. Allusions to the land confiscations are readily apparent in the *Bucolics*, especially the first poem, which is a dialogue between the shepherds Meliboeus and Tityrus.[19]

It is my contention that the continuous pain, turmoil, and disruption of civilian life spawned by Rome's quest for imperial dominion, and its generals' ambition for domination of the empire, influenced Vergil's composition of the *Aeneid*. Against the backdrop of Rome's imminent and predestined glory, as painted in episodes like the Aeneadae's adventures on Crete and their encounter with Achaemenides, Vergil also portrays the darker and more burdensome side of imperial aspirations in the epic. In particular, three of Aeneas' stopovers in Book III echo the pain, the suffering, and even the defeat that Rome endured in the process of building its empire. Rome's hard-won honor never fades from the picture, but in his depiction of events in Thrace, Buthrotum, and Drepanum, Vergil evokes the memories of Rome's repeated foreign interventions, the political upheaval they caused, and the human toll they exacted. All three locations have ties to battles or wars that Rome fought in the process of forging its empire, conflicts that bear witness to the hardships of war. Vergil's treatment of these three scenes thus

[17] Donatus 65, 262.

[18] Assuming that this and other details of Donatus' *Vita* of Vergil are reliable. Many modern scholars question the validity of Donatus' sources. But even if the details are doubted, any one living in Mantua at the time of the confiscations would have been painfully aware of and impacted by the such a large scale displacement. Some interpreters also see an allusion to the confiscations at *Georgics* 2.198.

[19] See especially *Bucolics* 1.1-36, 74-79.

serves to temper the acritical celebration of Rome's greatness and manifest destiny found at 1.257-79 and elsewhere in the poem.

Thrace

The first place where the Trojans land once they leave the shores of Ilium is the coast of Thrace. Even though Aeneas encountered the ghost of Creusa in the pillaged streets of Troy before his departure and she instructed him to seek his new home in Hesperia (2.781), he and his followers still begin their journey uncertain of their destination. In 3.10, Anchises bids the Trojans to entrust their fortunes haphazardly to the fates, giving the impression that no one had formulated a plan—or even a notion—as to where they should venture. Seemingly afraid to travel too far from familiar territory, they attempt to find a new home close to Troy.

Aeneas does not use the name Thrace explicitly to label the place where he first makes landfall, choosing instead to call it the land of Mars, *terra Mavortia*, where the *Thraces* farm and cruel Lycurgus used to rule (3.13-14). Thus, from the outset the theme of war is introduced into the episode. Aeneas goes on to say that the people of this land had an ancient alliance with Troy (3.15-16) and this, surely, was one reason why he found the location attractive. The Aeneadae immediately begin constructing a city on the shore, but the folly of their decision to settle here soon becomes apparent. As *pius* Aeneas is preparing an altar for the worship of his mother and the gods of new undertakings, he begins pulling branches of cornel and myrtle from a nearby thicket. As he does so, dark blood, *ater sanguis*, begins to flow from the plant and stains the earth (3.28-29). Again, suggestions of war enter into the scene. Indeed, the action becomes even more warlike as the episode progresses, for Aeneas, despite his horror at what he has seen,

begins to pull up more branches, *tertia…maiore hastilia nisu*, in search of the cause of this ill-fated omen, spilling more and more blood (3.31-40). A vivid and concrete image of combat then emerges as Aeneas uproots a third shrub and the ghost of Polydorus addresses him, revealing that the branches Aeneas has been tearing from the ground are not branches at all, but spears which had taken root in Polydorus's corpse (3.45-46).

When Polydorus identifies himself, Aeneas and the reader are transported back to events that unfolded during the Trojan War. Polydorus was a son of Priam, whom the *infelix* king had sent to Thrace with a large quantity of gold to be reared by the Thracian monarch in safety.[20] However, when it became obvious that Troy was doomed, the king deserted the Trojan cause and killed Polydorus for his treasure. After Aeneas relates the events of this experience to the other Trojans, a proper funeral ceremony is held for Polydorus and it is decided that the settlement must be abandoned because the place is tainted by such a brazen violation of the guest-host relationship (3.49-68).

While the story of Polydorus in Thrace is well established by Vergil's time and Aeneas' coming to Thrace is a traditional part of the hero's post-war wanderings, Aeneas' encounter with Polydorus appears to be a Vergilian invention, as does the bizarre narrative about the bleeding branches.[21] In Euripides' account, Polynestor kills Polydorus and tosses his body into the sea, where it is later recovered and buried by Hecuba.[22] Ovid follows the same basic course of events found in Euripides in telling the story of Hecuba and Polyxena in *Metamorphoses* 13.429 ff. He

[20] Vergil does not mention the name of the king here, although earlier Aeneas has described Thrace as the land where Lycurgus once ruled (3.14). In the classical tradition, the king was Polynestor. Cf. Euripides *Hecuba* 3-10, 767-82, 1132 ff. In Homer (*Iliad* 20.407 ff.), however, Polydorus is killed by Achilles. Williams (1962), 57.

[21] Stahl, 43. For the presence of Thrace in Aeneas' pre-Vergilian travels, see Lycophron 1236; Dionysius Halicarnassus 1.49.4; Livy 1.1.4.

[22] *Hecuba* 25 ff; Lycophron 1287-88. Polynestor admits to killing Polydorus at *Hecuba* 1132-36.

makes brief mention of Polydorus in his summary account of Aeneas' travels at *Metamorphoses* 13.628-30, but certainly the link to Aeneas was heavily influenced by the *Aeneid* episode. Other Roman authors cite variations of the story, but nothing so drastic and inventive as Vergil's treatment of the tale here.[23] The question then remains to be asked why Vergil added the episode to Aeneas' wanderings, if it was not already part of the tradition, and why he developed it with such gruesome details. Certainly, he must have had some special design planned for the Thracian stopover to alter the scene so significantly. In fact, the only piece of traditional material Vergil borrows from his predecessors is the connection of Thrace with the name "Aeneadae," as Aeneas is often connected with the founding of the Thracian town of Aenus at the mouth of the Hebrus.[24]

R. D. Williams has suggested that the chilling and disconcerting omen surrounding the discovery of Polydorus' body is intended to convey to the reader a sense of the tragedy and despair with which the voyage to Italy was undertaken. He contends that Vergil further emphasizes this melancholy tone early in the narrative by referring to Aeneas as a "ghost of Troy" rather than a "father of Rome."[25] Hans-Peter Stahl has linked the Polydorus episode with Octavian's struggle with Antony and Caesarion in the battle over who was the rightful heir of Caesar. As Priam's son, Polydorus is naturally linked to sovereign authority and Aeneas is not in the direct royal line of succession. Helenus, another of Priam's sons, is still alive and has a legitimate right to challenge Aeneas for leadership of the surviving Trojan population. Stahl asserts that by having Aeneas confront such a grotesque and fantastic force as Polydorus' ghost

[23] Cf. Hyginus 109 and Dictys Cretensis 2.18-27.

[24] Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 4.11, 43; Williams (1962), 56.

[25] Williams (1962), 58.

and deal with it piously and compassionately, Vergil grants legitimacy to Aeneas. Anchises' son is not in direct line for the Trojan throne, but his clemency raises reader sympathy for his cause, just as the adopted Octavian had to cultivate sympathy and legitimacy for himself in the face of opposition from Antony, who claimed that Caesarion was Caesar's rightful heir by birthright.[26]

Both of these interpretations have some merit (though both, especially Stahl's, are highly speculative), but I believe that the imagery of the Polydorus episode has imperial implications that neither Williams nor Stahl has discerned. Thrace was a vassal-kingdom to the Roman Empire during the reign of Augustus and it later became a province under Tiberius and Claudius,[27] but Roman involvement in the region reaches back much further. The Thracians often resented Rome's presence and interference in their affairs and thus Thrace was a land in which Rome found itself fighting to preserve its authority on more than one occasion. Roman historians record several wars that were fought on Thracian soil during the Republic and early Empire, the details of which provide historical precedent for the conspicuous flow of blood and the element of betrayal in the Polydorus story.

During the war with Antiochus the Great between 192 and 189 BC, a Roman army passing through Thrace, led by L. Scipio and under the protection of Philip V of Macedon, was attacked and suffered heavy casualties. Thrace was subsequently, though temporarily, taken over in 185.[28] Later, in 171 BC, a contingent of nearly three thousand Thracians sided with king Perseus of Macedon against Rome during the Third Macedonian War, even though an

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[26] Stahl, 43.

[27] Albino Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, trans. J.R. Foster (London: Methuen), 65-66, 122-23. Tiberius initiated the conversion of the territory into a province and Claudius finished the process. During the intervening years of Caligula's reign, Thrace enjoyed an increased measure of independence. See Tacitus *Annales* 2.64-66.

[28] Livy, 38.46.9; 39.23.13.

alliance between Rome and Thrace had been established just prior to the hostilities.[29] It would not be the last time a Roman-Thracian treaty would be violated. Even after King Cotys of Thrace traveled to Rome to sue for peace and personally apologize for reneging on his promise to support the Roman cause,[30] other Thracian leaders would refuse to recognize the agreement. Roman military involvement in Thrace was far from over.

Florus reports that a large number of Thracians once again supported the Macedonians against the Romans during the revolt led by Andriscus in the Fourth Macedonian War, although a Thracian prince with whom Andrsicus had taken refuge eventually turned him over to Roman authorities.[31] Several other mentions of battles fought in Thrace can be found in the summaries of Livy's late Republican and early Imperial books. In 136-34 BCE, the praetor M. Cosconius is listed as having waged a successful campaign against the Scordisci in Thrace.[32] Trouble with this same tribe erupted again in 114 BCE and this time the army of consul C. Porcius was defeated. This loss was soon avenged, however, by consul Livius Drusus in 112-111 BCE. [33] Further rebellion arose in 109-08 but proconsul M. Minucius successfully quelled that uprising.[34] In the first century BCE, the Dardanians in Thrace became rebellious and the proconsul Curio

[29] Ibid., 42.9.6-8.

[30] Ibid., 45.42.11.

[31] Florus 1.39.

[32] Livy *Epitome* 56.

[33] Ibid., 63. Eutropius (4.24), however, seems to indicate that Porcius' defeat might actually have taken place in Macedonia. Drusus' victory may be alluded to in Horace *Ode* 4.4. Florus (1.39) describes the Scordisici conflict as the "Thracian" war and comments that the Scordisci ultilized especially savage and gruesome tactics against the Roman troops. In order to subdue this tribe, he says, the Romans eventually had to resort to the same methods, even though they found them appalling.

[34] Livy *Epitome* 65.

won two contests with them in 75 and 73 BCE.[35] C. Antonius, however, had little success in his war with the Thracians in 61-60 BCE.[36] Even after Augustus ushered in the *pax Romana*, Thrace continued to be a trouble spot for the Roman army. In 11 BCE, the Thracians invaded Macedon and L. Piso was given charge of repelling the invasion, a campaign that lasted three years.[37] Ovid also mentions another unspecified war against Thrace that caused Augustus anxiety.[38]

Thrace's involvement in Rome's civil wars, however, is perhaps the most pertinent historical connection to the present argument. Thrace participated in almost every phase of the internal Roman conflicts that occurred between 49 and 31 BCE, each time supporting the losing side. Julius Caesar lists the Thracians, under the leadership of king Rhescuporis, among the supporters of Pompey, and this same king also sided with Cassius and Brutus against Antony and Octavian.[39]

The entire episode, then, is rife with the connotations and consequences of war, both foreign and civil. Polydorus was murdered with an "iron crop of spears," *ferrea telorum seges* (3.45-6), which were weapons of battlefield combat thrown from a distance—even though Polydorus was not a soldier. Those spears had taken root and produced the thicket of cornel wood and myrtles that Aeneas rips apart.[40] But these plants are not a glorious memorial to the dead. This is the grave of a murdered man whose corpse was discarded and forgotten. It has

[35] Ibid., 92 and 95. See also Sallust *Historia* 2.80.

[36] Livy *Epitome* 103. See also Dio 38.10.

[37] Seneca *Epist. Moral.* 83.14.1.

[38] Ovid *Tristia* 2.1.226.

[39] Caesar *BCiv* 3.4.3; Grant, 653.

[40] *Tela* can refer to any kind of hurled weapons or weapons in general, e.g. Cicero *Phil*. 14.36, but the fact that the thicket is of cornel wood suggests that in this case it means "spear," since both cornel and myrtle were commonly used in the making of spear shafts. See Vergil *Georgics* 2.446-48; Williams (1962), 59.

been reclaimed by nature. There is no grave marker for Polydorus. His ghost must identify his body and show Aeneas that this overgrown mound of earth is a tomb and not a natural hill; otherwise Aeneas never would have known the difference. This is the savage reality of war that is not commemorated in marble relief. Soldiers are not the only ones who die in war.

Moreover, the Thracian setting of the episode suggests the long-term commitment and sacrifice that conquest and provincial government requires. As mentioned above, Rome first did battle in Thrace in 192 BCE. Augustus was still clashing with various Thracian tribal factions 181 years later. Two of Rome's conflicts with Thrace coincided with the fighting of the Macedonian wars, of which there were four. There were also three Mithridatic wars, two Illyrian wars, and, most famously, three Punic Wars. Thus, Aeneas' uprooting of Polydorus' brushwood cenotaph, the reopening of his old wounds, and the spilling of more blood in the same spot, not once but several times (3.27-40), is highly symbolic of the Roman provincial experience: foreign occupation that required recurrent military intervention.

Buthrotum

The burdens that a state must bear as a result of military expansion and success continues as a theme when the Trojans reach the Epiric town of Buthrotum. The stopover here has long been recognized as a pivotal episode in Book III, since it is the lengthiest episode in the book (around 210 lines) and it occurs in the middle of the dramatic scheme. I intend to demonstrate that, through his literary treatment of the scene, Vergil uses Buthrotum as the linchpin for the idea that power in the Mediterranean world now lies with the descendents of Troy. Yet, it is not power that the gods have simply doled out to Aeneas and his progeny. This power will come at a

cost, a cost to which the poet alludes through his choice of setting. Aeneas' landing at Buthrotum both prefigures the completeness of Trojan (Roman) hegemony over the Greek world; but the site also imbues the episode with strong, and sober, military connotations.

Vergil brings the displacement of Greek power to the reader's attention in the opening lines of the episode. After landing in the harbor of Chaonia, the Trojans walk up to the *celsa* city of Buthrotum. Already, the Aeneadae have been physically and, as I hope to show, metaphorically raised up as the events of the scene begin to unfold. Only after they arrive at the elevated city itself do they learn that Helenus is alive and ruling over this kingdom. Vergil's wording is very specific. He does not write that Helenus rules over the *urbem* or over *Buthrotum*, but *Graias per urbis* (3.295). Not only has Helenus regained a station worthy of his regal birth, but he—a Trojan—now rules over the Greeks of the region.

The tale becomes more fascinating as the Trojans learn more. Helenus has gained the throne by succeeding *coniugio Aeacidae Pyrrhi sceptrisque* (3.296). He is not ruling in place of just any Greek sovereign, but in place of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, the insolent son of Achilles who killed Priam during the fall of Troy. Aeneas also hears that Helenus has married Andromache, Hector's widow, whom Pyrrhus had hauled off from Troy as a slave along with Helenus (3.297). Therefore, in this *celsa* city, the Trojan servant has become the master, the conquered have not only been liberated but empowered, and Trojan has reclaimed what was rightfully Trojan. The reversal of fortunes has come full circle.

As they walk on, the Aeneadae see Andromache pouring a libation at a cenotaph she has built for Hector outside the city and mourning the loss of her once mighty husband. Aeneas notes that she is conducting this ceremony by the banks of a river that is very similar to Troy's river Simois. When Andromache sees Aeneas and his men, she faints, thinking she has seen ghosts

(3.300-09). As Aeneas tries to revive her, he tells her that what she is seeing is true, *vera vides*, and begins to ask questions about what has happened to her once she left Troy (3.315-19). Andromache tells him that she endured the bonds of slavery primarily in her master's bed and in fact bore Pyrrhus a son. But soon Pyrrhus tired of her and turned his attention to a Spartan woman, Hermione, daughter of Leda. However, Orestes also loved Hermione and when he learned that Pyrrhus planned to marry her he attacked and killed Pyrrhus on the altar Pyrrhus had built in memory of his father Achilles.[41] At Pyrrhus' death, part of his kingdom then passed to Helenus.[42] Now freed from bondage and restored to a regal position, he renamed the area Chaonia after Chaon of Troy and constructed a city called Pergamum (3.321-36).

What Vergil reveals in this speech—and what he does not reveal—is very intriguing. The Greek presence in Buthrotum has been almost entirely erased. Not only has Helenus founded a new city named after Troy, but he has also renamed the whole of his kingdom "Chaonia" after Chaon of Troy. It is as if these Greeks have been conquered, for the new ruler has changed the name of their state. Also, Vergil's use of the epithet "Chaonia" in this context is curious because the name is most often associated with Dodona, the nearby city where Aeneas encounters Helenus in his pre-Vergilian travels.[43] Dodona was renowned in the ancient world as the seat of the oldest oracle of Zeus in the world.[44] The connecting of "Chaonia" with

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[41] Thus Pyrrhus's death contains an element of irony and poetic justice, for he dies in a manner very similar to Polites and Priam, whom he killed at the altar in Troy. The traditional location of Pyrrhus' murder is the temple at Delphi and some sources indicate that Apollo takes vengeance on the young Greek for his brutal and irreverent treatment of Priam. Cf. Pindar *Nemean Ode*. 7.34.ff; *Paeanes Ode*. 6.110 ff.; Euripides *Orestes* 1653 ff., *Andromache* 1073 ff.

[42] The general story behind this transaction is that Helenus, using his powers as a seer, prophesied that the voyage home for the Greeks would be perilous and urged Pyrrhus to return by land. In gratitude for this service, Pyrrhus bequeathed to him Andromache and part of his kingdom. Servius 2.166; Williams (1962), 117.

[43] Dionysius Halicarnassus 1.51.1

[44] Herodotus 2.55; Homer *Iliad* 16.233-35, *Odyssey* 14.327.

Buthrotum and with Chaon of Troy appears to be Vergil's own.[45] If so, then this specially created detail further broadens the scope of Trojan (and therefore Roman) supercession in Epirus, for it suggests that even the most ancient oracle of the king of the Greek gods ultimately receives its epithet from Troy. The Trojan Helenus is now reclaiming it for his kingdom, which, as will be seen, is a recreation of his fallen homeland.

Vergil's identification of Hermione in line 328 also appears to be carefully crafted. Andromache refers to Hermione's lineage only by her grandmother's name, Leda, omitting the names of both of her parents: Menelaus and Helen. The same is true of Vergil's first identification of Pyrrhus in line 296, where he is referred to as *Aeacidae*. In Buthrotum, he is not the son of Achilles but the grandson of Aeacus. It is as if the generation of Greeks who fought at Troy never existed. Within just a few years, the names of the warring and victorious Greek heroes of the *Iliad* are fading into obscurity in this developing new world order where Trojan progeny will be the new ruling class.[46]

Vergil's repeated use of the name Pyrrhus to refer to Achilles' son also has relevance in this context of Roman assumption of Greek authority. The name Neoptolemus is only employed twice by Vergil in Book III, once at line 333 and again at line 469. Metrical utility may be one reason for this difference in identification, but both uses of the name Neoptolemus occur in association, either explicitly or implicitly, with the death of Achilles' son. In all other

[45] Cf. Dionysius Halicarnasus 1.51.1-2; Chaon is not attested elsewhere and the general tradition holds that the Chaonians existed before the Trojan War. Williams (1962), 116, 125. Servius, 3.334 ff, mentions that Helenus had a friend named Chaon for whom the region was named.

[46] Both Aeacus and Leda have ties to Troy, though they themselves have no connection to the war. Tradition holds that Aeacus helped Apollo and Poseidon build the walls of Troy when the city was founded. See Pindar *Olympian Ode* 8. Two of Leda's children, Helen and Clytaemnstra, figure prominently in the events leading up to and following the downfall of Troy, but neither of them have positive relations with the Greek warriors who destroyed the city. Helen chose the Trojan prince Paris over her royal Greek husband, Menelaus. Clytaemnestra married Agamemnon, but she and her lover, Aegisthus, promptly murdered him upon his return from Troy. See Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 1345.

circumstances, Vergil addresses him as Pyrrhus. At line 333, Andromache speaks of his murder at the hands of Orestes, and at line 469 Helenus presents Aeneas with the *arma Neoptolemi* as a gift when the Trojans are preparing to leave Buthrotum. In the epic tradition, the taking of an opponent's arms by another warrior only transpires when that opponent has been vanquished.[47] Thus, Helenus is giving these weapons to Aeneas as a trophy from a fallen foe. Νεοπτόλεμος literally means "new war"[48] in Greek, but in the world of the *Aeneid* the superiority of Greek military power has ended. His victory has come and gone; new—and more extensive—victories will belong to Aeneas and his offspring.

A Roman reader in Vergil's day no doubt would have made another connection with the name Pyrrhus as well, especially in this Epiric setting. In 282 BCE, the Romans came into conflict with the Greek city-state of Tarentum in southern Italy. The Tarentines frequently called in Greek mercenaries to help them in their struggles against the Samnites, Lucanians, and other Italian tribes who were competing for control of the same territory. One of these mercenaries, Alexander of Epirus, had made a treaty with Rome in 334 in which the Romans agreed not to come to the aid of the Samnites (with whom Alexander was currently fighting), and part of this agreement was that no Roman ships would venture into the Gulf of Tarentum. When Alexander was killed in battle, the Romans considered the agreement null and void, but the Tarentines, who were already growing jealous of and nervous about Rome's increasing power, considered the treaty to be binding. When, in 285, the nearby Greek city of Thurii came under attack from the Lucanians, Thurii appealed to Rome for help instead of turning to its sister state, Tarentum, and the Tarentines became very wary of Roman intentions in the area. When a Roman squadron of

[47] Williams (1962), 155.

[48] He was so called because he only arrived at Troy to fight after Achilles had been killed. Thus, he was *new* to the war. Cicero *De Oratore* 2.63.257; Servius 2.263; O'Hara, *True Names*, 133.

ships entered the Gulf of Tarentum after victory at Thurii had been won, Tarentum attacked without warning, sank four ships, and killed the commanding Roman officer. They scoffed at Rome's demand for reparations and, knowing that war was imminent, sent for another Greek mercenary to help in their fight: King Pyrrhus of Epirus.[49]

This war with Pyrrhus was Rome's first experience with battling an enemy from outside the Italian peninsula. Pyrrhus brought with him an army of twenty-five thousand Greek mercenary soldiers and a unit of Indian war elephants, which the Romans had never seen before, much less fought against. Between 280 and 276, he fought a series of battles with the Romans, each time winning a tactical victory but suffering such heavy losses that his ambitions were consistently thwarted. He returned to Epirus in 275 without having lost a single battle in Italy. [50] Nevertheless, his Italian campaign was a failure, since he left without anything to show for his efforts. This encounter, while not glorious for the Roman people, proved the effectiveness of their military organization against the Greek hoplite phalanx, demonstrated the strength of their system of alliances—for none of Rome's Italian allies defected to Pyrrhus, and paved the way for their future involvement in Sicily and other regions beyond Italy, which eventually would carry them down the path to empire. In fact, Rome's entanglement in the First Carthaginian War can be traced to events that transpired during the Pyrrhic Wars.[51] Thus, Vergil's presentation of Buthrotum—a city of Epirus—and the surrounding territory as now thoroughly Trojanized in name, leadership, and even appearance (as the next segment of the episode will reveal) suggests

[49] Heichelheim, 77-78; Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 8.2-6; Livy *Epitome* 12.

[50] N.G.L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 569; Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 26.2.

[51] Heichelheim, 78.

the waning effectiveness of Hellenistic political and military strength that began with Rome's repulsion of king Pyrrhus of Epirus.

Vergil soon demonstrates that the mere Trojanization of Buthrotum is insufficient for the fulfillment of Aeneas' destiny. There is more that needs to be done. After Aeneas' initial conversation with Andromache draws to a close, Helenus himself sees the arrival of his old friends and comes down to greet them personally (3.345). As Aeneas walks with Helenus around the settlement, he recognizes replicas of familiar landmarks that have been built to recreate the surroundings of old Troy: a citadel modeled on Troy's great Pergamum, a dried-up stream that Helenus calls "Xanthus," and a "Scaean Gate," which Aeneas embraces with deep-felt joy. The other Trojans are overcome with strong emotions as well (3.350-52). Yet, this Troy is *parva* and the dried up "Xanthus" is evidence that there is little vitality here. Because of its small scale, Charles Saylor has labeled Helenus's creation "toy Troy" and effectively compares its reduced stature to a fading memory.[52] Vergil's message is that Aeneas must push forward and leave Troy behind. The future for him and the other Trojans does not lie here in a futile attempt to recreate a past now lost, but in Italy, in a new city which will forge its own and even grander memories.

Fittingly, then, it is at this juncture in the narrative that Aeneas asks Helenus for a prophecy concerning his destiny and Helenus reveals many of the struggles and dangers Aeneas will have to overcome before his journey is complete. The oracle from Helenus is lengthy, comprising almost 130 lines (356-481), and while it is not a complete foretelling of all that is to come, it is certainly the most detailed account of his fate that Aeneas has received in the poem thus far. The over-arching message of Helenus's vision is summed up well in line 383: *longa*

[52] Charles Saylor, "Toy Troy: The New Perspective of a Backward Glance," *Vergilius* 16 (1970) : 26.

procul longis via dividit invia terris. As discussed above, the fact that Aeneas receives this prophecy here in Epirus, the dominion of Rome's first foe outside of Italy, is indeed appropriate. But even though Aeneas learns that his wanderings are far from over, Helenus' prediction contains a considerable amount of hope. The white sow will provide a definite sign that Aeneas has arrived at the right place, and no matter how grim the Aeneadae's circumstances might appear, *fata viam invenient aderitque vocatus Apollo* (3.395).

Still, by locating the pivotal stop of Book III at Buthrotum, instead of Dodona, Vergil is perhaps drawing attention to one of the *longae viae* that the Romans faced as their empire grew: the difficult and sensitive issue of what to do with and how to reward the veterans who made it all possible. Sometime shortly before his death, Julius Caesar planned to create a veterans' colony at Buthrotum for some of his soldiers. As previously stated, land confiscations to provide farms and a means of civilian life for ex-soldiers became a very contentious issue within Roman society, and one with which Vergil had personal experience. The attempted settlement of troops at Buthrotum exemplifies the divisive and explosive nature of the practice.

Cicero's letters preserve a partial record of the uproar surrounding the establishment of the colony. His good friend Atticus, who had an estate there and was a patron of the town, objected heavily to the widespread land confiscation that such a plan would require. The issue becomes a topic of discussion in their correspondence between May 8 and July 8 of 44 BC, though few details about the situation surface. Cicero does promise to speak with Antony about Buthrotum in *Ad Atticum* 14.19, and by June 9 Atticus reports something *bene de Buthroto* in *Ad Atticum* 15.12, though Cicero says nothing more about it. The situation apparently turned violent, however, for in a follow-up letter dated a month later Cicero is inquiring of Atticus about

news that the "land grabbers" are being cut down, *agripetas Buthroti concisos*.[53] Two letters written by Cicero on Atticus' behalf to praetor-elect L. Plancus between July 3 and 6 help to clarify what must have happened. Cicero writes that he had negotiated a deal with Caesar whereby the colony at Buthrotum would not be established if Atticus provided cash compensation for the soldiers. However, being the consummate politician that he was, Caesar did not want to risk upsetting the would-be colonists before they left Rome, so he did not alert them to the change of plan. Instead, he planned to arrange for them to be diverted to an alternate location once they landed in Epirus. It might have worked had Caesar not been assassinated while the veterans were en route. In the confusion following his death, the scheme was not executed with the precision and diplomacy it required.[54] It stands to reason that when the colonists arrived they either did not receive a warm welcome or they did not react kindly to the news that they had been deceived. Presumably, the soldiers were settled elsewhere without much delay, but even under the best of circumstances interactions between the in-coming veterans and the long-time resident civilians would have been highly volatile. Thus, Buthrotum stands as a stark reminder of the social upheaval that empire can and does inflict on the conquerors as well as on the conquered.

Aeneas leaves Buthrotum soon after receiving Helenus' prophecy and the departure is tearful on both sides. Part of Aeneas longs to stay and he is jealous of what Helenus has found for himself here: *vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta iam sua…vobis parta quies* (3.493-95). But Aeneas, after hearing the seer's words, now knows more than ever that his fate lies elsewhere, away from the old Troy he loved so much. At this point, there is no turning back.

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[53] Cicero *Ad Atticum* 16.1.

[54] Ibid., 16.16a and c.

Vergil, too, realizes there is no turning back from all that has transpired and come to fruition during his lifetime. At the time of the *Aeneid*'s composition, Augustus was in firm control of the government and, though there was peace, there was also no hope of returning to the old Republic that existed before the outbreak of the civil wars. A new Rome lay ahead not only for Aeneas at this juncture, but also for Vergil and his contemporaries. The imperial road that Rome began constructing for itself against Pyrrhus of Epirus still loomed *longa* [*et*] *invia*.

Drepanum

The final allusion to Rome's *longa et invia* military struggle in Book III comes in the last place that Aeneas stops before being driven off course to Carthage by Juno's storm: Drepanum, on the western coast of Sicily. Aeneas's account of what occurred here is very brief, occupying a mere twelve lines of the poem, but in those twelve lines one of the most pivotal and significant events of the entire *Aeneid* transpires. Father Anchises dies. Thus, Book III—a book fraught with disappointment and failure—ends on a particularly somber note. The shock of Anchises' death at this point in the narrative strikes Aeneas and the audience especially hard because of Anchises' very active role in the action of Book III. Aeneas relies on his father for guidance just as much as Anchises relied on his son to carry his frail body from the ashes of Troy in Book II.[55] Throughout the book, Anchises directs the departure of the Aeneadae whenever they leave one location for the next and he is the chief interpreter of the various signs and portents that they

[55] Robert Lloyd, "The Character of Anchises in the *Aeneid*," *Journal of Roman Studies* 88 (1957) : 47-49, has argued quite convincingly that the seemingly different images of Anchises which Vergil portrays in Books II and III should not be viewed as inconsistency on the part of the poet. Even though his role is much more direct and active in Book III, he holds sway as a *pater familias* and guides the action of Book II.

encounter on their voyage.[56] In short, he is Aeneas' primary guide and confidante for the duration of their wanderings between Troy and Sicily.[57]

That Anchises does not live to see the Trojans reach their final destination is an established element of the Aeneas legend,[58] but the setting of his death varied widely in the pre-Vergilian tradition. In one version, he dies as early as the stopover in Thrace,[59] while in others he expires in Onchesmus or Samothrace.[60] With these (and no doubt other) options from which to choose, Vergil could have inserted the scene almost anywhere. The episode may even have been more dramatic if he had opted to place it at another of the Aeneadae's landfalls.[61] But, it would not have been as ironic if he had done so. Given that Dido is the primary audience for this account, the port of Drepanum is highly significant. Rome suffered a startling defeat here during the First Punic War. While the conflict with Pyrrhus had been Rome's first war with an external foe, the war with Carthage was her first military venture into territory outside of Italy.

The first ten years of fighting went particularly well for the Romans. They had succeeded not only in building a full-scale navy for the first time,[62] but with the help of skilled

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[56] Lloyd, "Anchises," 47.

[57] Anchises' importance in this capacity is made even more central due to the conspicuous absence of Venus in Book III.

[58] Servius (3.708) reports, however, that Cato the Elder remarked in his *Origines* that Anchises in fact did reach Italy. Williams (1962), 211.

[59] Theon *ap*. Steph. Byz., s.v. Αίνεια; Williams (1962), 211.

[60] Procopius 8.22.31 and Pausanias 8.12.8 respectively; Lloyd, "Legend," 384-86.

[61] Putnam (1980), 15, laments the anti-climactic nature of Anchises' death, which is overshadowed by the Achaemenides episode. However, Lloyd, "Anchises," 50, finds Vergil's brevity highly appropriate, since Aeneas' grief could never be expressed adequately with words.

[62] Previously, the only other Roman "navy" had been an outfit of twenty triremes constructed in 311 BCE, but most of those ships had lapsed into decay after 278. Heichelheim, 87; Livy 40.18.7, 41.1.2-3. For accounts of the building of this full-scale navy, see Polybius, 20.9-10; Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 16.192; Florus 1.18.7; Orosius 4.7.8.

sailors from their Greek allies in southern Italy, they also succeeded in defeating the much larger and more experienced Carthaginian fleet, which until that time had been the naval master of the western Mediterranean. Triumph on the high seas, coupled with military victories on land, had Carthage completely on the defensive by 255 BCE.[63]

During the spring of that year, however, disaster struck. The consular army led by C. Atilius Regulus was soundly defeated in Africa as it pressed towards Carthage to deliver the finishing blow. Only two thousand men survived the ordeal and Regulus himself was taken prisoner. A correlative disaster befell the Roman navy days later. After defeating a Carthaginian squadron off Cape Hermaea, the Roman armada picked up the survivors from Regulus' army and headed back towards Sicily. As they neared the Sicilian coast, a sudden storm caught them off guard and all but eighty of the two-hundred-and-fifty ships were lost.[64] Such a tragic turn of events greatly reduced Rome's newfound naval advantage, but an even greater catastrophe loomed just over the horizon.

In 249 BC, Publius Claudius Pulcher was elected consul and traveled to Lilybaeum in Sicily to take over command of military operations there. Rome had pushed Carthage almost entirely from the island by this point. Only Lilybaeum and Drepanum remained Punic strongholds and both were under blockade. The siege at Lilybaeum had been going on for some time and the Roman garrison was running into problems. Polybius reports that the besieged were

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[63] Nigel Bagnal, *The Punic Wars* (London: Hutchinson, 1990), 72-3.

[64] The severe losses suffered by the Roman fleet during this and other storms was in part due to the weight of the *corvus*, a type of gangway with which all Roman ships had been equipped. Basically a wooden bridge with a spiked "beak" at one end (hence the name), it could be lowered onto an opposing vessel, thus allowing the Romans to board the enemy ship and essentially turn a naval contest into a land battle. The *corvus* was largely responsible for much of the early success Rome enjoyed against the Carthaginian navy, but since it was stored upright against the mast, its added weight made the ships more top heavy and thus much more likely to capsize when faced with strong winds or high waves. After 255 BC, their use was largely discontinued. Heichelheim, 88-89; Polybius 33-34, 36; Orosius 4.9.9.

confident in their fortifications and that the Carthaginians had even made a few successful counter attacks against their foe. Diodorus adds that Rome had difficulty supplying its forces with adequate food and that many of the soldiers had become infected with a debilitating illness after eating bad meat. Cavalry raids originating in nearby Drepanum further impeded the effectiveness of Roman operations on land and the presence of a significant number of Carthaginian ships there also disrupted Roman efforts to furnish reinforcements and supplies by sea.[65] Because of these various complications, Claudius determined to attack Drepanum.

The consul set sail from Lilybaeum late at night and arrived in Drepanum at dawn, apparently hoping to take the enemy by surprise.[66] Popular legend holds that the sacred chickens on board Claudius' ship refused to eat before the battle—signifying an unfavorable omen for the Roman side—and that Claudius exploded into a rage, impiously ordering the chickens to be thrown overboard exclaiming, "If they won't eat, let them drink!"[67] Whether or not this incident actually took place, the expedition certainly was ill fated. Initially the Carthaginians were caught off guard, but quickly rallied and managed to bring their fleet out into the open sea instead of being blockaded in the harbor. Claudius made the mistake of positioning his ship at the rear of the Roman squadron and so when the Carthaginians initially fled, he encountered great difficulty in getting the other ships turned around. The result was that the Carthaginians not only had time to regroup but the Romans found themselves trapped between the opposing fleet and the shore, with little room to maneuver and no room to retreat. When the two sides engaged, the more experienced sailors and the faster ships of the Carthaginians soon gained the upper hand over the

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[65] J.F. Lazenby, *The First Punic War: A Military History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 130-31; Polybius 48.10; Diodorus 24.1.4; Zonaras 8.15.

[66] Lazenby, 133; Polybius 49.6-7.

[67] Cicero *De Natura Deorum.* 2.7; *De Divinatione* 1.29, 2.20, 71; Livy *Epitome* 19; Valerius Maximus 1.4.3; Suetonius *Tiberius* 2; Florus 1.18.29. Polybius, however, does not mention it in his account.

less skilled Romans, who were now fighting without the benefit of *corvi*.[68] Claudius was soon routed and only thirty of his one-hundred-and-twenty-three ships escaped with him.[69] Roman losses in the battle thus totaled more than seventy five percent, proportionally the worst defeat on either side during the war and, surprisingly, the only Carthaginian victory.[70] Soon afterwards a second Roman fleet was completely destroyed, partly by enemy vessels but mostly by another sudden storm, and Rome suddenly found her naval capabilities decimated. The siege at Lilybaeum was broken, communications between Rome and Sicily were severed, and Carthaginian forces raided the Italian coast with impunity. Carthage now clearly had control of the sea and the war.[71]

Like the loss of Anchises, the reversal of Rome's fortunes in the First Punic War at the battle of Drepanum was unforeseen and unexpected. The war would drag on for another eight years and then be narrowly decided instead of coming to a swifter and much more decisive end. But, like Rome, Aeneas is forced to persevere and he becomes stronger because of the tragedy. Without Anchises, Aeneas must now take the reigns of leadership more firmly than ever before. It is at the point in the epic—and at this location—where the Aeneas who will eventually conquer Turnus begins to emerge. At the close of the story (3.716), Vergil refers to Aeneas as *pater* for the first time, an epithet hitherto reserved only for Anchises. Aeneas faces the pleasures and temptations of Dido alone and becomes sidetracked from his mission for some time. But when he finally leaves Dido and Carthage behind and finds himself back in Drepanum to commemorate the anniversary of Anchises' death, Aeneas truly assumes the mantle of an epic

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[68] See note 39 above.

[69] Lazenby, 134-136; Polybius 49.7-51.12.

[70] Lazenby, 136.

[71] Heichelheim, 89.

hero, symbolized by his taking control of his ship's rudder after Palinurus falls overboard.[72] With Anchises still alive, that evolution of character never would have occurred. Likewise, Rome's defeat at Drepanum forced the Romans of the third century BCE to truly demonstrate their resolve and commitment to winning the war. From the wreckage of Drepanum, Rome would build a new fleet, funded by the private donations of her wealthiest citizens, and with it Lutatius Catulus soundly defeated the Carthaginian fleet in 241 BCE near the Egadi Islands.[73] Shortly thereafter, victory was secured.

With the loss of Anchises, Aeneas is forced to abandon the past. Throughout the whole of Book III, he has been trying to recapture and preserve what used to be, to found a new Troy instead of a new Rome. Anchises represents Aeneas' last adult family link to Troy. Ascanius still remains, but he, like Aeneas, is destined for great accomplishment in Italy. Only when Aeneas, like Rome, overcomes Carthage and continues on with his mission, are his sights firmly fixed on the future. But it takes the struggles of Book III and the distractions of Book IV to show him that the past must be left in the past. After the First Punic War, Rome, too, can never turn back to what it was before. If she had lost, her power most likely would have been permanently dissolved. Because she won, she gained Sicily as her first non-Italian possession. Rome had now embarked on the road to overseas rule and both the city and her people would be changed forever as a consequence. As Cicero phrased it, Sicily was "the first to teach our ancestors what a fine thing it is to rule over foreign nations."[74]

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[72] *Aeneid* 5.868.

[73] V. Tusa, "Drepana," in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. Richard Stillwell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 282.; Lazenby, 156; Polybius 60.6-61.7.

[74] Cicero *In Verrem* II.2.2; Finley, 122.

CHAPTER 3

THE BLESSING AND CURSE OF APOLLO

In the episodes considered thus far, the radiance of Rome's political and military mastery has illuminated Aeneas' path as he and the Aeneadae have made their way toward Italy. The new kingdom that awaits him there,[1] and the unbounded empire which will spring from it,[2] have already arrived through the sites and symbolism of his journey. Greek dominion is declining or has been supplanted along the Trojans' route, as the events on Crete and the Sicilian realm of the Cyclopes clearly demonstrate. But this same imperial radiance also casts a shadow, a shadow of violence, pain, and hardship that accompanies the grandeur of what will be Rome. The empire without end will not fall from heaven fully formed or readymade. And it will come at a cost. The poet's treatment of Aeneas' adventures in Thrace, Buthrotum, and Drepanum offers a sobering reminder of the blood, sweat, and struggle that lie beneath the surface of Jupiter's proclamation of Roman greatness.

Vergil uses this same combination of glory and shadow to paint the three pericopes that remain to be considered: Delos, the Strophades, and Actium. Delos and Actium are arguably the most pro-Roman landfalls in Aeneas' Vergilian itinerary, but their exalted imperial overtones are balanced by the hostile, bellicose intimations of the Trojans' experience on the Strophades. All three stops share one common characteristic and that is the appearance of Apollo in each

[1] Creusa's prophecy at 2.781-84.

[2] Jupiter's prophecy at 1.257-96.

episode. These are not the only scenes in Book III that feature Apollo; the god plays a prominent role in two of the stops already discussed, Crete and Buthrotum. However, Apollo figures differently in these three encounters than he does elsewhere. In every other episode in which Apollo appears, he speaks and does so through an agent sympathetic to the Trojans cause, such as the Pentates or the priest/prophet Helenus. On Delos, Aeneas has an unmediated experience at the temple of Apollo. The god speaks directly to him. The oracle that the Trojans receive on the Strophades is mediated through the Harpy, Celaeno, but it is unique among the Apolline prophecies given to Aeneas in that (1) it is a curse rather than a blessing or an oracle of guidance, and (2) it is a divine pronouncement that has not been sought.[3] This fact, along with a range of other striking contrasts, makes the Strophades the geographic and prophetic foil for Delos in the narrative paradigm of Book III. Thus, it is only fitting that the islands be considered together. Actium is the only setting in Book III in which Apollo appears but remains silent. Nevertheless, the sighting of his temple sets the tone of the episode. Given the strong political connection between Augustus and Apollo in the propaganda of the Augustan regime, Aeneas' visit to Actium can hardly be discussed apart from its Apolline connotations.

Apollo

Apollo is a pervasive presence in Book III. Of the thirty mentions Apollo receives in the *Aeneid*, close to a third of them occur in the third book; and of the thirty-six occurrences of his

[3] The Penates' prophecy on Crete also may be viewed as unsought in the sense that it is unexpected. However, just prior to the dream in which the Penates appear to Aeneas, Anchises urges the Trojans to leave Crete and consult Apollo at his Ortygian oracle so that they may properly discern the god's will (3.143-46). Thus, the Trojans were indeed looking for an oracular response at the time; they simply did not anticipate that it would come to them.

epithet "Phoebus" in the poem, eleven appear in Book III. As the Trojans make their way from Troy, Apollo serves as their primary divine *paedagogus*. That he fills this role in the narrative is interesting for three reasons. First, Venus has been the Trojans' most vehement advocate among the gods throughout Books I and II. Yet, she is nowhere to be found in this portion of Aeneas' journey. Second, Apollo did not figure in the pre-Vergilian accounts of Aeneas' coming to Italy even as a supporting character, much less as the principal guide; his prominence in the story is a Vergilian invention, insofar as the extant literary evidence reveals.[4] Third, Apollo was not widely recognized as a quintessential member of the Roman pantheon until Octavian came to power. Prior to 28 BCE, only one Apolline temple stood in Rome: the temple of Apollo Medicus, which was dedicated in 431 BCE in the wake of a plague. The Sibylline books prescribed its construction and, significantly, the consul who dedicated it was C. Julius, an ancestor of Julius Caesar.[5] The Julii claimed Apollo as an ancestral god, along with Venus, but Venus received much more attention from the clan. With the exception of the temple of Apollo Medicus, they offered him no major public displays of honor.

Before Augustus, credit for Apollo's revival in Rome belongs to Sulla and his family. One of the dictator's forebears, P. Cornelius Rufus, established the *ludi Apollinares* in 212 BCE during the Second Punic War, and Sulla is reported to have carried a small silver likeness of Apollo with him wherever he went. He claimed the idol helped him win the battle of Porta Collina in 82 BCE.[6] However, Apollo must not have aided him sufficiently to warrant a

[4] Richard Heinze, *Vergil's Epic Technique*, translated by Hazel and David Harvey, and Fred Robertson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 69.

[5] Livy 4.25.3, 4.29.7; Fritz Graf, "Apollo" in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 123; Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 12.

[6] Plutarch *Sulla* 29.11; Livy 25.12; William Smith, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythography* (New York: AMS Press, 1967), 232; Weinstock, 13.

monument commemorating the victory. Sulla built a temple to Venus following the battle, but Apollo received no recognition.[7] After Sulla retired from public life, Apollo seems to have receded into relative obscurity once again. Catullus, Cicero, and Lucretius, writing in the middle years of the first century BCE rarely mention him.[8]

Julius Caesar provided the catalyst for the second Apollonian revival. To what extent he himself honored Apollo as his ancestral god is not entirely clear. Like Sulla, Caesar did not construct any monuments to glorify Apollo, but he did hold the *ludi Apollinares* at his own expense in 45 BCE.[9] Ironically, his assassination is what truly restored Apollo's popularity among the Roman people. Four months after his murder responsibility for holding the *ludi Apollinares* fell to Brutus. Although he was absent, the games were held under his auspices and were celebrated with particular splendor. The spectacle was a tremendous success and, at least for a time, they turned popular sentiment in Rome toward the conspirators.[10] Soon after, Brutus and Cassius issued coins in Greece bearing Apollo's image, asserting the god's endorsement of their cause.[11] Perhaps in response, Antony and Octavian used "Apollo" as the password for their camp at Philippi.[12] Soon thereafter, when Antony and Octavian won the battle against Caesar's assassins, Octavian began to identify himself with Apollo, since the victory demonstrated that

[7] Plutarch *Sulla* 29.11; Weinstock, 13.

[8] Weinstock, 13.

[9] Dio 43.48.3; Weinstock, 13.

[10] Cicero *Ad Atticum* 15.18.2, 26.1; Appian *BCiv* 3.24.90; Plutarch *Brutus* 21.3; Weinstock, 14.

[11] E.A. Syndenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London: 1952), 202-204; Michael Hoff, "Augustus, Apollo, and Athens," *Museum Helveticum* 49, no. 2 (1992): 227; Weinstock, 14.

[12] Valerius Maximus 1.5.7.

Apollo must be on the side of the Julii.[13] It was under his program of political consolidation and religious renewal following the end of the civil wars that Apollo became a preeminent figure of Roman religion.[14]

Apollo assumed his place at the forefront of public interest in 28 BCE, when Octavian dedicated the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill amid much pomp and circumstance, fulfilling a vow he had made in 36 BCE coinciding with his defeat of Sextus Pompey.[15] The façade of white Luna marble glowed in the sunlight. Intricate ivory reliefs danced on the doors and the many colonnaded porticoes housed a renowned collection of sculpture. Octavian constructed the sacred complex adjacent to his own house, but considered it a complex for the people, since the sanctuary contained a public library in addition to the artwork. It was by far the most magnificent temple in the city and would remain so for many years to come.[16]

The extent to which Octavian identified himself with Apollo prior to 36 BCE is a matter of scholarly debate. The traditional view, espoused by Lily Ross Taylor, Stefan Weinstock, and Paul Zanker, among others, is that between Philippi and Actium Octavian steadily and intentionally adopted Apollo as his patron deity. Citing a handful of stories and anecdotes that illustrate various levels of connection between Octavian and Apollo,[17] they see the dedication of

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[13] Lily Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown, Connecticut: American Philological Society, 1931), 118-19; Zanker, 49.

[14] Smith, 232.

[15] Dio 49.15.5; Velleius Paterculus 2.81.3; Robert Gurval, *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of Civil War* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 113.

[16] Josephus *Bell. Iud*. 2.80-81; Velleius Paterculus 2.81.3; Gurval, 123. To what extent the "public" actually used the library is uncertain. See Nicholas Horsfall, "Empty Shelves on the Palatine," *Greece and Rome* 40, no. 1 (1993) : 58-67, especially 62-63.

[17] See, for example, Suetonius *Augustus* 50, 70, and 94 for Octavian's use of the sphinx on his signet ring as a symbol of the *regnum Apollinis* foretold by the Sibyl, the scandal of the "Banquet of the Twelve Gods" at which Octavian dressed up as Apollo, and the fantastic tale of his mother's impregnation by Apollo disguised as a snake.

the temple to Apollo on the Palatine as the crowning jewel of Octavian's Apollo-centric political program, a victory monument giving thanks to Phoebus for his help in bringing about Antony's defeat.[18] Robert Gurval has challenged this view, arguing that the Palatine temple is the beginning, not the culmination, of Octavian's Apolline propaganda, and that Octavian never envisioned the temple as an Actian memorial.[19] The specifics of this modern debate matter little to the present discussion, however. Whatever the literary or archaeological evidence may be, Vergil clearly saw a connection between Apollo and Augustus and between the Palatine temple and the victory at Actium. In the *ekphrasis* of Aeneas' shield at 8.675-722, the poet depicts the battle against Antony and Cleopatra, the triple triumph of 29 BCE, and an image of Augustus seated on the threshold of the Palatine temple together in the centerpiece of the shield.[20]

Thus, it is apparent that the unexpected and predominant presence of Apollo in Book III can most readily be explained as a symbol of and/or homage to the Augustan regime. This imperial symbolism will be very important to the analysis of Aeneas' actions and experiences at Delos, the Strophades, and Actium. However, Apollo's traditional spheres of influence should not be forgotten in the analysis. Vergil is not creating a new deity in the *Aeneid*, and his divine attributes contribute to the shaping of the scenes in which Apollo appears.

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[18] Gurval, 87-90.

[19] Ibid., 90-136. Gurval's primary concern is that the literary evidence for the Octavian-Apollo connection cannot be easily dated. Citing the scarcity of epigraphic and numismatic evidence for Octavian's identification with Apollo, he views the stories recorded in Suetonius et al. as by-products of the poetic imagination of the later Augustan age and not as indications of a systematic propaganda campaign.

[20] T.P. Wiseman, "Cybele, Virgil, and Augustus" in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, ed. Tony Woodman and David West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 125.

Delos

In the Aeneadae's second stop after departing from Troy, Apollo enters the scene ahead of Aeneas. Before the Trojans land on Delos, Vergil begins his description of the island with a pair of allusions to its mythic history, in which Delos is most famous as the birthplace of Apollo. First, the poet describes Delos as a place dear to the mother of the Nereids and Neptune (3.73-74). The mother of the Nereids is Doris, the wife of Nereus in the primordial genealogy of the gods in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Nereus is one of the five children of Gaia and Pontus. Their fifty daughters, the Nereids, became sea nymphs. The connection to Delos is not entirely clear, but one of the Nereids, Amphitrite, is named in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* as one of the goddesses who come to Leto's aid when she is giving birth to Apollo on Delos.[21] Amphitrite is also described as the wife of Neptune.[22] Neptune himself has a much more direct connection to the island. Mythology holds that the sea god created Delos at the dawn of time,[23] and Neptune and Apollo are said to have built the high walls of Troy.

The second allusion is more directly about Apollo, referring to a famous honor Apollo bestowed upon Delos.

> …pius Arquitenens oras et litora circum
> errantem Mycono e celsa Gyaroque revinxit
> immotamque coli dedit et contemnere ventos (3.75-77)
>
> Wandering around coastlines and beaches, the pious Archer bound [Delos] off of lofty Myconus and Gyaros and gave [it], immovable, to be farmed and to despise the winds.

[21] Hesiod *Theogony* 233-264; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 94; Gantz, 16-17, 38.

[22] *Theogony* 930.

[23] Hyginus *Fabulae* 140.

Stories of Apollo's birth on Delos vary, but the common thread running through all of them is that Juno pursued his mother Leto (Latona) in anger after Jupiter, in one of his many extramarital affairs, impregnated her with twins. Leto finally found sanctuary on the wandering island of Delos, which floated aimlessly on the waves of the sea. Following his birth, Apollo is said to have fixed Delos in its present location as an act of gratitude for the shelter it offered his mother.[24] Thus, the scene is weighted heavily with Apollo's presence even before the story begins to unfold.

When the Trojans arrive at 3.78-79, the island welcomes them *placidissima*, most peacefully. They are also greeted by Delos' priest-king Anius, who is an old friend of Anchises. The next lines find Aeneas worshipping at Apollo's temple and offering prayer. He beseeches the god, whom he addresses as "Thymbraee," for a home—walls, a race, and a city that will endure. He also requests safety for himself and his band of Trojans, whom the Greeks and pitiless Achilles left behind. In addition, he asks for an *augurium*, a sign, so that he and his band will know where they should go from here (3.84-89).

Scarcely has he finished speaking when the whole hill on which the temple sits begins to shake—a surprising and ominous event since Delos was thought to be immune to earthquakes.[25] Aeneas and his companions fall prostrate on the ground and a voice resonates from the shrine. Apollo does not speak to or through Anius, but addresses Aeneas and the Trojans directly. In his pronouncement, Apollo addresses the Trojans as *Dardanidae duri*, hard Dardanians, and instructs them to seek their ancient mother. He reassures Aeneas that he will find a home that

[24] Williams (1962), 70; Gantz, 37-38. The fullest and most detailed accounts of Apollo's birth are given in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* and *Hymn to Delos*. Pindar fr 33d SM is the earliest extant source to mention Delos' wandering. Diana (Artemis) is Apollo's twin sister.

[25] Herodotus 6.98 knows of only one in the island's history. W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1933), 61.

not only will endure but also rule over the world for generations to come (3.94-98). Confusion then spreads through the Trojan ranks. What does Apollo mean? Where are they to go? Who or what is their ancient mother? Anchises interprets the oracle to mean Crete, which was the home of Teucer, father of the Trojan race. Aeneas and his comrades are convinced and, after sacrificing a bull to Neptune, a bull to Apollo, and a black sheep to the storm god, they set sail (3.99-120).

Two things stand out in the scene. The first is Aeneas' use of the epithet "Thymbraee" in his invocation. The term is derived from Thymbra in the Troad, site of another temple of Apollo.[26] Since Trojan Aeneas is praying to Apollo for a new home, it is not surprising that he would evoke the god with a title related to his old home. What is remarkable is the symbolism contained in this epithet.[27] As mentioned above, even in Vergil's day Apollo's entrenchment in Roman religious life was only just beginning to occur under Augustus. Apollo was still thought of primarily as a Greek, i.e., foreign, deity—one who sided with Troy during the Trojan War, but a foreign deity nonetheless.[28] Yet there is no hint of his foreignness in Vergil's treatment of him here. The Apollo on whom Aeneas calls is very much a national god of the Troad.[29] Moreover, the mention of Thymbra evokes a very anti-Greek image of Apollo. Servius relates that the temple at Thymbra is the one in which Apollo helped Paris kill Achilles.[30]

The second notable characteristic of this Troy-centered prayer further marginalizes the Greek nature of Apollo. Aeneas receives an oracle of Apollo in a place where an oracle of

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[26] Williams (1962), 73. Cf. *Georgics* 4.323.

[27] Graf, 122, quotes W.F. Otto, who deemed Apollo "the most Greek of the Greek gods."

[28] Gurval, 90-91. In the *Iliad*, Greeks and Trojans worship the same pantheon of gods.

[29] Stahl, 47; Richard Jenkyns, *Virgil's Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 438.

[30] Servius 3.84.

Apollo is not known to have existed. Certainly no one in Vergil's day consulted a Delian oracle. If they did, there is no literary evidence to support such a claim. All of the ancient sources that speak of a Delian oracle postdate Vergil and probably inferred the existence of such an oracle from this passage in Book III.[31] Pre-Vergilian authors are silent on the subject. Homer only mentions Delos once in a reference to the palm tree that grew beside Apollo's altar there.[32] In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Delos asks Leto for a temple and an oracle as a reward for allowing her to give birth on its soil, but Leto does not promise an oracle, only an altar and a temple.[33] Likewise, Greek authors from the classical period offer no supporting evidence, and no inscriptions substantiating the seat of an oracle have been discovered on the island.[34] And, while Aeneas' landing on Delos is an established stop in the legend of his wanderings, no oracular encounter is evident in the tradition prior to Vergil.[35] Clearly, then, Vergil is making a statement of some sort through his innovative treatment of the episode. Furthermore, what he leaves out of Aeneas' journey may say as much about his intentions as what he has added to the story.

Michael Paschalis has observed that Vergil completely omits the very famous Apolline oracle at Delphi[36] from his work—not only from the *Aeneid* but from the *Bucolics* and the

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[31] See Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.17.32, 3.6.7; Stephan of Byzantium *Art*., s.v. Delos; Servius 3.73, 4.143; Laidlaw, 2.

[32] *Odyssey* 6.162.

[33] *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 79-82; Laidlaw, 18.

[34] Ph. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Delos a l'epoque hellenistique et a l'epoque imperiale* (Paris, 1970), 147; Laidlaw, 19.

[35] Dionysius Halicarnassus 1.50.1, 159.3; Lloyd, "Legend," 324, 393.

[36] That Delphi was the most famous and important oracle of Apollo in the Greek world is well established. The second, oracular half of *The Homeric Hymn to Apollo* deals exclusively with Delphi. Both Herodotus 1.49 and Strabo 9.3.11 assert that it was the most truthful oracular seat, and most of the oracles in classical literature are

Georgics as well. This stands in sharp contrast to other writers of the Augustan era, who frequently mention the Delphic oracle.[37] Livy records several consultations with the Pythia throughout Rome's early history, all of which are tied to events of political and religious significance.[38] It is as if Vergil wants to forget Delphi exists or that Rome ever had anything to do with it. Yet, his description of Aeneas' experience on Delos is very Delphic in character. For example, when the earthquake strikes Apollo's sanctuary just prior to the divine utterance, Vergil specifically mentions that the laurels of the god shook and the tripod moaned, *tremere… laurusque…mugire adytis*. Both of these objects are specifically associated with Delphi and are not universally characteristic of Apolline oracles. Callimachus uses the laurel tree as a symbol of Delphi, contrasting it with the palm tree, which was associated traditionally with the Delian cult.[39] Vergil says nothing of the palm tree in reference to Aeneas' visit to Delos, but has transferred the laurel from the mainland to the island. Likewise, the tripod at Delphi was synonymous with the mantic prophecies of the Pythia. Its presence, especially in the absence of a medium for the divine message, is indeed striking.[40]

Thirdly, Apollo's message is delivered in the cryptic manner for which the Delphic oracle was famous.[41] One of the most well known of the enigmatic Delphic oracles is related by

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Delphic. Herodotus also relates the widely-held belief that Delphi was the center of the world. See Joseph Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 4-7.

[37] Michael Paschalis, "Virgil and the Delphic Oracle," *Philologus* 130, no. 1 (1986): 46-47. E.g., Propertius 2.31.16; Tibullus 2.3.27; Horace *Odae* 1.7.3-4, 1.16.6; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.8-18. Delphi is particularly prominent in Ovid.

[38] E.g., Livy 1.56.4; 5.21.2; 22.57.5; 38.48.2; Paschalis, 47.

[39] Callimachus *Hymn to Apollo* 1.1.

[40] Paschalis, 55. The symbolic connection of the laurel and tripod to Delphi has also been noted by Bruneau, 146.

[41] Heinze, 70. These ambiguous, enigmatic oracular responses appear to be primarily a literary convention, however. Non-literary oracles seem to have been more straightforward. Cf. the anonymous "Oracles of

Herodotus. When Croesus asked the Pythia whether he should invade the land of the Medes, the reply came that if he should stage an invasion, a great kingdom would fall. Confident in his prospects for success, Croesus attacked the Medes and was soundly defeated. The kingdom to which the oracle referred was his own. In the Roman literary tradition, a more relevant example is the story of the downfall of Rome's last king, L. Tarquinius Superbus. Troubled by the ill-omened presence of a snake in the palace he was constructing, he sent his sons, Titus and Arruns, together with their cousin L Junius Brutus, to Delphi to consult the oracle. Brutus had intentionally feigned mental impairment in order to protect his life from his paranoid royal uncle, who routinely disposed of those whom he saw as a threat to his power. While in Delphi, Titus and Arruns decided to ask a personal question. They were anxious to know which one of them would become king after their father. The Pythia replied that the first one to kiss his mother would gain power in Rome. On the way home, Brutus pretended to fall down. He kissed the ground, for he surmised that the oracle was in fact referring to Mother Earth. Later he led a revolt against Superbus, overthrew the monarchy, and became one of the first two consuls following the establishment of the Republic.[42] On Delos, the oracle Aeneas receives certainly fits this mold. The answer, "seek your ancient mother," is intentionally vague and is open to more than one interpretation. Anchises misreads the prophecy and directs the Trojans to sail for Crete; but even though Crete proves to be an incorrect interpretation, Anchises' deduction is not wrong

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Asrampsychus," translated by Randall Stewart and Kenneth Morrell, in *Anthology of Ancient Greek Popular Literature*, ed. William Hansen (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1998), 285-324.

[42] Livy 1.56; H.W. Parke and D.E.W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1956), 266-67.

in the sense that Crete does fit the criteria of the response. He simply overlooks a small but critical clue, which is Apollo's use of the term *Dardanidae*.[43]

Thus, it would seem that Vergil is trying to supercede Delphi rather than simply overlook it. By transferring these characteristic elements of Delphic prophecy to Delos, Vergil is "Romanizing" the ritual.[44] Not only does he shift the essence of Apollonian prophecy away from central Greece to the Troad, but he also overlays it with distinctly Roman features. The epiphany of the god takes the form of an *augurium* (3.90-92) and Paschalis asserts that the voice emanating from the tripod is reminiscent of a phenomenon frequently mentioned by Roman writers: accounts of disembodied voices coming from graves, shrines, and tombs.[45]

Still, it seems somewhat odd for Vergil to be embarking on a program of literary *damnatio* with regard to the Pythia, given the established tradition of Rome consulting the Delphic oracle, instead of incorporating it into the legend. Having the Delphic oracle prophesy Rome's foundation certainly would have given legitimacy to Aeneas' quest and Rome's preeminence, especially in the recently conquered Eastern Mediterranean. Delphi was not only the most renowned Greek oracle, it was also associated with the establishment of new settlements.[46] The history of Rome's prolonged relationship with Delphi may hold the key to the answer to Vergil's intentions.

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[43] This feature of the episode in particular raises questions about the authenticity of an established oracle on Delos, since the writers of later antiquity who mention the oracle also attempt to explain the etymology of the island's name, Δήλος (clear, apparent), in relation to the clarity of the oracular responses. E.g. Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.17.32. Laidlaw, 2, 18.

[44] Paschalis, 55.

[45] Ibid., 55-56.

[46] Heinze, 70. E.g., Herodotus 4.51.

Most of the Roman stories involving the Delphic oracle transpire before the turn of the second century BCE. They belong to the budding years of Rome's political and military power. In addition to the Delphic connection to the downfall of the monarchy, Roman historians record consultations of the Pythia in relation to the siege of Veii, the Samnite Wars, and the First and Second Punic Wars.[47] After that time, the Delphic oracle ceased being favorable toward Rome, perhaps in response to the empire's continuing encroachment into the Greek world, and the Roman government never officially conferred with Delphi again.[48] Parke and Wormell set forth a set of oracles preserved by the encyclopedic writer Phlegon as an example of the Pythia's anti-Roman sentiment. The oracles date from the time of Antiochus the Great, the Seleucid monarch who battled Rome from 192-189 BCE, and warn of an avenging war coming from the East.[49] The Delphic oracle survived, as something of an historic site and a literary device, as Augustan literature demonstrates, but Rome's overwhelming political and military might soon rendered obsolete Delphi's pronouncements on matters of state.[50] The Senate became the Pythia of the new world-order. Hellenistic princes had to seek Rome's counsel for their endeavors, not Delphi's, or else face the possibility of war and/or the annexation of their territory. In the waning years of the Republic, Rome's leaders paid little attention to Delphi. Sulla, as mentioned above, displayed renewed interest in the oracle because of his devotion to Apollo, but the historical record shows that he viewed Delphi more as a treasury to be tapped than as a shrine to

[47] Parke-Wormell, 267-274. See Livy 5.21.2, 25.10, 28.2; Valerius Maximus 1.4.1, 5.6.8; Plutarch *Camillus* 5.829c, 8, *Marc*. 8.

[48] Parke-Wormell, 274, 277. Individual Roman citizens continued to visit Delphi, however, e.g., Sulla.

[49] *F. Gr. Hist*. 257 f. 36; Parke-Wormell, 276.

[50] Parke-Wormell, 277. Delphi remained a cultural center of the East, however. L. Aemilius Paulus erected a monument at Delphi commemorating his victory over Perseus because he knew reports of the triumph would disseminate from there.

be venerated. In his war with Mithridates, Sulla confiscated Delphi's treasures to fund his campaign. He promised to repay what he took, but there is no evidence to indicate that he did.[51] Later Roman generals appear to have ignored Delphi on their campaigns in Greece. Augustus reorganized the Delphic Amphictyony to allow the city a place in local provincial affairs, but made it subordinate to his newly founded Nikopolis at Actium, which became the urban center of the region.[52] He never visited the site, and the temple complex remained poor and neglected during his reign.[53]

Rome's relationship with Delos, on the other hand, was very different. Rather than becoming isolated by Rome's rise to power, Delos developed into a cosmopolitan center of trade, at least for a time. In 166 BCE, Rome handed control of the island to Athens as a reward for Athens' faithfulness during the Third Macedonian War. Athens had ruled Delos previously and sought to regain some of its lost territory in the wake of the defeat of Perseus of Macedon. Rome also declared Delos a customs-free port, in part to punish Rhodes. The commercial giant had meddled in the war with Perseus and thus suffered the consequences of Rome's displeasure.[54] As an equally viable and much cheaper port, Delos prospered while Rhodes declined. Commerce on the island boomed especially after the Roman destruction of Corinth in 146 BCE diverted even more traffic to its waters. Delos quickly became known as the "common market of Greece."[55] Merchants flocked to the Delian ports, attracted not only by the duty-free harbor but

[51] Plutarch *Sulla* 12, 19; Appian *Mithridates* 54, 122; Pausanias 9.7.5; Parke-Wormell, 279-80.

[52] Pausanias 10.8.3-5; Paschalis, 48.

[53] Strabo 9.3.4-8; Paschalis, 48.

[54] Polybius 30.21; Laidlaw, 131-32, 169; Heichelheim, 121.

[55] Pausanias 8.33.2.

also by the sacrosanctity of the Apolline temple complex.[56] But of all the foreigners who frequented Delos' docks, the Romans were the most numerous.[57]

Delos' economy continued to grow for some 50 years, until the wars between Rome and Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus. Mithridates desired to free the Eastern Mediterranean from Roman control and carve out an empire for himself. He already controlled most of the area around the Black Sea and much of Asia Monor. Wishing to add mainland Greece to his domain, he began advancing across the Aegean. In 88 BCE, his navy descended upon Delos. The island was sacked and Appian reports that twenty-thousand people, mostly Italians, were massacred.[58] If this assault had been the island's only misfortune, it might have recovered, but within twenty years it was sacked again, this time by pirates in league with Mithdridates, who was at odds with Rome once more. The Senate attempted to restore Delian prosperity in 58 BCE through the issue of decrees freeing the island from taxation. But Delos' time had passed. Not only had the two attacks devastated its infrastructure, trade patterns in the Mediterranean had shifted again. Many Eastern territories now began trading more directly with Rome following Pompey's conquests, and Julius Caesar re-established Corinth as a Roman colony. Wounded and facing renewed competition from other ports, the community on Delos survived but it remained a shadow of its former glory.

Ultimately, Delos—like Delphi—suffered decline as a result of Rome's political, military, and economic maneuvering. But when Aeneas lands there, he lands at and receives an

[56] Livy 44.29.1-5 relates that in 168 BCE, during the Third Macedonian War, Roman, Macedonian, and Eumenian soldiers mingled in the sanctuary on Delos because the holiness of the place precluded them from fighting.

[57] Strabo 10.5.4, 14.5.2; Laidlaw, 170. Strabo uses the word 'Ρωμαῖοι, but he may have meant Italians. Cf. Appian *Mithridates* 28.

[58] Appian *Mithridates* 28. Pausanias 3.23.2 and Strabo 10.5.4 also describe the invasion. In addition, see Laidlaw, 259-62; Heichelheim, 182.

oracle from a sanctuary of Apollo with a distinctly Roman past. Delphi could never be separated from its thoroughly Greek identity. Greece had made Delphi, but Rome had made Delos. While arguing in favor of giving Pompey command of the war against Mithridates, Cicero evoked Delos as an example of how Rome's earlier leaders had kept even the utmost reaches of the empire free and prosperous.[59] Therefore, the island is a fitting emblem of Roman imperial expansion and success, and a thematically appropriate place for the Trojans to receive their first oracle concerning Italy. The geographic symbolism of Delos fits the Trojan quest in another way as well. As the birthplace of Apollo, the island connotes new beginnings. The final purpose of Aeneas' journey is to found a new city, to establish the Trojans in a new home whence Rome will be born. And, as a center of trade, Delos is a point of docking and departure, not a final destination, in contrast to Delphi, which is rarely a detour or a stopover on a grander itinerary in ancient literature. Aeneas has come to Delos seeking guidance; and now that he has it, he is off to find his destiny—a destiny in which the house of Aeneas will rule over Delphi and the whole world.

The Strophades

The Trojans leave Delos and sail to Crete following Anchises' mistaken interpretation of Apollo's oracle. After suffering through a mysterious plague, the Penates visit Aeneas in a dream and inform him that Italy, the ancient home of Dardanus, is the Trojans' proper destination. They abandon their cursed settlement and head for Hesperia.

Yet, even on the open sea, Aeneas and his companions cannot seem to escape the misery of Crete. They hit rough waters. A storm overtakes them and high winds and enormous waves

[59] Cicero *Pro Lege Manilia* 18.55-56.

batter the ships. Clouds blot out the sky and soon they are blown off course. For three days they wander aimlessly. Finally, on the fourth day, land comes into view and the Trojans row ashore.

Before telling what happens next, Aeneas comments that the Trojans have landed on the shores of the Strophades, a pair of islands in the Ionian Sea where Celaeno and the Harpies have dwelled since the days when they tortured Phineus. He describes the Harpies as birds with women's faces and clawed hands, fierce monsters that drop the foulest filth and are perpetually gaunt with hunger. Nothing more baneful ever arose from the Styx, he says (3.209-18). When the Trojans enter the harbor, they see herds of unattended cattle and goats grazing on the land. They draw their swords and rush to attack the animals, praying to the gods to share in the spoils. After butchering their kill, they prepare a feast on the beach and eagerly indulge themselves (3.219-24).

Suddenly, the Harpies swoop down from the mountains, shaking their wings with a loud clanging. They spoil the Trojans' food with their filth and fly away. Aeneas and the others move their banquet to a shaded glen. There they relight the fires and begin cooking more meat to replace what was lost. But once again, the Harpies attack and the meal is ruined. Aeneas then orders the Trojans to gather their weapons and assail the hideous creatures. They hide their swords in the grass and conceal their shields to give the appearance that they are unarmed. Then they wait. Misenus is posted as a sentinel in a high vantage point, *specula alta*. When the Harpies return for a third sortie on the feast, he sounds the alarm. The Trojans charge, attempting what Aeneas terms "new battles," *nova proelia temptant*, as a means to "despoil" the Harpies with their swords, *ferro foedare*. But the counterattack is in vain. Their blades do not harm the horrid creatures, and the Harpies easily fly out of reach after defiling the food (3.225-44).

One Harpy remains behind, however. Celaeno perches herself on a rock, rebukes the Trojans, and issues a terrible prophecy.

> bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuvencis,
> Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis
> et patrio Harpyias insontis pellere regno?
> accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta
> quae Phoebo pater omnipotens mihi Phoebus Apollo
> praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.
> Italiam cursu petitis ventisque vocatis
> ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit
> sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem
> quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis
> ambesas subiugat malis absumere mensas.

> War also? For the slaughter of cattle and felled steers, are you preparing to wage war and drive the innocent Harpies from their father's kingdom, sons of Laomedon? Therefore, receive my words and fix these things in your spirits. That which the all-powerful father has foretold to Phoebus and Phoebus Apollo to me, I, the greatest of the Furies, disclose to you. Italy you seek and you call for the winds. You will go to Italy and you will be allowed to enter its ports. But you will not surround the given city with walls before dreadful hunger, and the injury of slaughter done to us, compels you to eat your gnawed tables (3.247-57).

Having thus spoken, Celaeno flies off. The Trojans' blood is frozen with fear, *sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis / deriguit*. They drop their weapons and lift their hands in prayer. They command Aeneas to make peace with the Harpies. Anchises also entreats the gods to turn aside this threat and save the guiltless (Trojans). He then gives the order to raise the sails and the Trojans return to the sea.

This is the most fantastic episode in Book III, comprising Aeneas' only direct encounter with mythic creatures.[60] Thus there is no history *per se* to analyze in relation to these events. However, the literary characterization of Aeneas and the Trojans on the Strophades forms a

[60] The Trojans *see* Polyphemus on Sicily, but the Cyclopes remain in the background of the scene. The encounter near Mt. Etna is with the very human Achaemenides.

significant component of Vergil's depiction of empire within the narrative confines of the third book. And even though the story is mythic, Vergil has gone to great pains to place it in a very temporal setting. Aeneas' comment that the Strophades are islands situated in the Ionian Sea firmly fixes the episode in this world. More specifically, his explanation that "Strophades" is their Greek name (3.210) places the episode firmly in the Greek realm.

Στροφάδες is derived from the verb στρέφεσθαι, meaning "to turn, circle, or revolve." Interestingly, Apollonius of Rhodes states that, at one time, the Στροφάδες were instead called Πλωται, or "Floating Islands."[61] This detail makes them the second formerly floating locale that Aeneas has visited in his wanderings, Delos being the first. Such parallelism is highly suggestive of a narrative link between the two scenes.[62] The geographical location of the Strophades adds another dimension to the connection. The two island regions lie along the same basic line of latitude, but they are separated by the Peloponnese. Greece literally divides them.[63] Given that Aeneas had underscored the Greek-ness of the Strophades in his preface to this episode, and Delos has been shown to have considerable Roman connections in its history, it appears that Vergil is inviting the reader to compare the two localities.

More will be said about this comparison in a moment. In order to appreciate the parallelism, however, it is first necessary to examine Vergil's literary models for the Strophades. The opening lines of the scene clearly reflect *Odyssey* 12.260-402. Ulysses and his men come to the island of Heperion Helios, where the god grazes his herds. The lowing of the cattle and the bleating of the sheep remind Ulysses of the seer Teiresias' earlier warning to avoid this territory.

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[61] Apollonius *Argonautica* 2.296-97; Servius 3.210; O'Hara, *True Names*, 138-39.

[62] Williams (1962), 99, observes that Vergil would not have called attention to the *Graium nomen* of the Strophades unless he wanted the reader to reflect on its meaning.

[63] For a map, see Stahl, 41.

He orders his men to row the ship back out to sea, and even tells them about the oracle, but Eurylochus convinces the crew to stay on dry land for the night. Ulysses reluctantly consents, but makes his men swear an oath that they will be content with the rations they received from Circe and refrain from killing any cattle or sheep. They so swear, but adverse winds trap them on the island for some time. As long as the rations are plentiful, the crew remains calm, but once the stores begin to dwindle, Eurylochus convinces the men that it would be better to have an angry god strike them down than to slowly starve to death. One day, while Ulysses is away from the camp praying to the gods for direction, his comrades slaughter some of the cattle grazing near the ship.

The primary model for the episode, however, is the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes. An educated reader would have easily recognized the third-century epic as Vergil's inspiration, especially with the reference to Phineus in line 212. In fact, Aeneas' encounter with the Harpies is something of a continuation of Apollonius' narrative. In Book II of the *Argonautica*, the Harpies torment the aged Phineus as agents of Zeus. Apollo had granted Phineus, son of Agenor, the gift of prophecy, but Zeus became angry with him for too freely and too accurately revealing his divine will. As punishment, Zeus extended Phineus' life to an unnaturally old age, robbed him of his sight, and sent the Harpies to defile his food whenever he attempted to eat. The few morsels the Harpies left behind in their frenzy reeked of rot and filth, but hunger compelled Phineus to swallow them. He lived out his life thoroughly devoid of pleasure in his house by the sea in Bithynia. But Zeus gave him an oracle that one day a band of men would visit him and he would be able to enjoy his food once more. When the Argonauts happened by one day on their way to find the Golden Fleece, Phineus tells his story to them and Calais and Zetes, the sons of Boreas, are moved to pity. They agree to help him and prepare a

feast in order to lure the Harpies into a trap. As Phineus prepares to eat, Calais and Zetes stand on either side of the old man, swords in hand, so that they can strike down the Harpies when they rush at him. As soon as Phineus touches his food, the Harpies swoop down out of the sky with a fearsome screech. Despite the trap, they manage to devour every bite of the meal. They flee across the sea, but the sons of Boreas pursue them, for Zeus had given them tireless strength. They chase the Harpies to the Πλωται islands and there they would have killed them except that the goddess Iris intervenes. She forbids them to continue their assault, but promises them that the Harpies will no longer disturb Phineus. Calais and Zetes accept the compromise, turn, and go back to Bithynia. It is from this "turning" away that the islands receive their new name, Στροφάδες (*Argonautica* 2.178-294). The Harpies later return to their lair in Crete (2.299).

Unmistakably, this episode from the story of the Argonauts inspired Vergil's treatment of the Harpies. He has adopted Apollonius' characterization of the beasts as ravenous monsters that not only devour food but defile it in the process, leaving behind an almost unbearable stench, traits which cannot be traced to authors earlier than Apollonius.[64] Their lightning speed and seemingly omniscient knowledge of the Trojans' attempts to eat, regardless of location, have also been incorporated into the *Aeneid*, and the Trojans' plan to set a trap for the Harpies recalls the strategy of Calais and Zetes. Yet, it is equally evident that Vergil has revised and, in some instances, significantly altered elements of the story. Vergil's description of the Harpies is much more detailed than Apollonius' and the name Celaeno is not found earlier than the *Aeneid*.[65] But the most crucial difference between the two storylines is that the Harpies do not target the Argonauts in the same way in which they assail the Aeneadae. Zeus has sent them on a specific

[64] Damien Nelis, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 2001), 33; Williams (1962), 99-100.

[65] Ibid.

mission in the *Argonautica*, whereas they harass the Trojans of their own volition in the *Aeneid*. Stated another way, the Trojans prompt the Harpies' attack.[66] Furthermore, when compared to the sons of Boreas, the Trojans look helpless, pathetic, and even dishonorable in their attempts to ward off the monsters. The Harpies evade Calais and Zetes' trap, too, but Apollonius is very clear that they would have dispatched the beasts if not for Iris' intercession. The Trojans fail to threaten or harm the Harpies in any way. Moreover, the Trojans' battle plan is much more devious than that of the Argonauts. Calais and Zetes use the meal as bait to lure the Harpies to them, but they stand in the open with swords drawn. The Trojans, on the other hand, hide their weapons in the grass so as to appear unarmed. They waylay the Harpies in an ambush.

Vergil has also tinkered with the traditional Aeneas legend in relation to this stopover. The encounter with the Harpies itself appears to be original to the *Aeneid*, as is the landing on the Strophades,[67] but Vergil has transferred a few basic elements of the story to this episode from elsewhere in the itinerary. In earlier versions of the Trojans' wanderings, they came to Zacynthus, a larger island just north of the Strophades.[68] No doubt Vergil's choice to relocate the stop further south was influenced, at least in part, by the islands' connection with the Harpies. As will be seen in the next section, he also moved much of what originally transpired on Zacynthus to Actium; thus there was little incentive for Vergil to keep Zacynthus.[69] The climax of the Strophades episode is also quite traditional. The prophecy of the tables was a well-known feature of the Aeneas myth, but it does not seem to have developed firm ties to any one

[66] Nelis, 33-34.

[67] Lloyd, "Legend," 395; Williams (1962), 99.

[68] Lloyd, "Legend," 385.

[69] Zacynthus is also well-established Homeric territory. See *Odyssey* 1.246, 9.24, 16.123, 250, 9.131. H. W. Stubbs, "Vergil's Harpies: A Study in *Aeneid* III," *Vergilius* 44 (1998) : 5, also points out that Vergil places the Harpies where Calais and Zetes left them, not where Apollonius ultimately said they went, i.e. Crete.

stop in the voyage.[70] Servius quotes Varro as saying the ill-omened prophecy was given to Aeneas by the oracle of Zeus at Dodona,[71] Dionysius of Halicarnassus records that the Idean Sibyl uttered it,[72] and Naevius attributes the curse to Venus, who delivered it to Anchises.[73] Much more so than the Harpies' appearance, this prophecy is what transfixes the Trojans with fear. In due course, it proves inconsequential to the plot of the *Aeneid*, for Helenus assures Aeneas that he and his comrades have nothing to fear from Celaeno's words (3.263-4) and the oracle is humorously and innocuously fulfilled in Italy (7.112-119). But for the time being, Aeneas is terrified and the time being is what matters most in the interpretation of the scene.

This ultimately insubstantial portent is couched in the strongest possible language. Celaeno emphasizes the fact that the source of her pronouncement is none other than Apollo, who received it from Jupiter. Jupiter related it to Phoebus, and Phoebus Apollo related it to her (3.251-52). This is the only line in the whole of the poem in which the emphatic designation "Phoebus Apollo" is used. In all other instances, Apollo is addressed either as Phoebus or as Apollo, never as both. Vergil does not leave any doubt as to the source of the curse, and the reader should not allow foreknowledge of Book VII to dilute the authoritativeness of Celaeno's statement, for it is crucial to understanding the episode. By situating the Harpies and this traditional prophecy on the Strophades, Vergil has created a negative parallel to the Delian pericope. If the sequence of events on Delos is compared directly to the sequence of events on

[70] Lloyd, "Legend," 385; Nicholas Horsfall, "Virgil and the Conquest of Chaos," in *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, ed. S. J. Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 472; Stubbs, "Harpies," 5-6.

[71] Servius 3.256.

[72] Dionysius Halicarnassus 1.55.4. "Idean" refers to Mt. Ida in the Troad.

[73] Naevius frag. 13a.

the Strophades, bearing in mind the adjustments Vergil has made to his Homeric and Apollonian models, as well as to the traditional Aeneas legend, the parallels become even more striking.

Consider the following. As noted above, Vergil writes that the island of Delos itself welcomes the Trojans even before they clasp hands with Anchises' old friend Anius in happy reunion. The scene on the Strophades opens in a polar opposite fashion, with the Trojans storming the beaches and pillaging the land. Hostility pervades the episode from the first line to the last. On Delos, the Trojans pay homage at Apollo's city, *Apollinis urbem*. On the Strophades there are no cities; there is no civilization. Michael Putnam has observed that the opening lines of the scene reflect a kind of golden age existence, with cattle and goats running free and unattended.[74] On Delos, Anius invites the Trojans into his home, *tecta subimus*, and (presumably) entertains them there. On the Strophades, the Trojans do not wait for an invitation before setting up camp and making their own accommodations. They are not just unwelcome; they are attacked and repulsed, as any invading army would be. They make new enemies instead of rediscovering old friends. Finally, the centerpiece of each episode is a startling and dramatic prophecy from Apollo—but startling and dramatic for different reasons. On Delos, the god speaks directly from a trembling temple and forecasts a new home accompanied by power and glory for Aeneas' descendents. On the Strophades, the prophecy issues from the mouth of the *Furiarum maxima*, and her oracle is as horrible as her appearance: the promise of famine so great the Trojans will gnaw on their tables before it ceases. The two visions could not be more different in tone and prospect. The endings of the episodes also show remarkable similarities in terms of narrative structure. First, the Trojans react emotionally to the prophecy. Then Anchises

[74] Putnam (1980), 4.

speaks in reaction to the message, sacrifices are performed or prescribed, followed by departure from the island.

On one level, it would seem that the Strophades adventure is emblematic of the hostility between the Greek and Trojan (Roman) worlds. Yet, it goes beyond that, for the hostility the Trojans encounter is not from Greeks but from Greek mythological creatures. Like Crete, the Strophades appear to be deserted and the islands have been reduced to a mythic realm, one that is unnatural, frightening, and inhospitable, even if it is rich in livestock. On another level, however, the Strophades are markedly different from Crete. Try as Aeneas and Anchises might—and they do try—the Trojans cannot truthfully represent themselves as victims here. This is the only occasion in Book III where Aeneas qualifies his account of events with prefatory remarks. Aeneas attempts to deflect attention away from the ignoble nature of the Trojans' attack at the beginning of the scene by speaking of the Harpies' foul and wicked nature before telling the story, as if their monstrosity justifies the raid. At the end of the scene, Anchises asserts Trojan innocence (3.266) after Celaeno has asserted the Harpies' innocence (3.249); however, the events of the narrative clearly portray the Trojans as the aggressors. The Harpies are only trying to protect "their father's country" (3.249). The Trojans bring the Harpies' rage upon themselves. Given the overarching imperial overtones of Book III, Vergil's depiction of the Trojans in this situation is certainly unexpected. This is the one episode in the book in which the ancestors of the mighty Romans attempt a military operation, and the result is rather embarrassing. But the villainy of their actions is what is most striking about Vergil's characterization of the Trojans here, especially in light of the story Aeneas' told in Book II about the treachery involved in the fall of Troy.

In this scene, the Trojans become marauding invaders who land their ships on foreign soil and take what they find for themselves. This attitude is confirmed by Aeneas' reference to the cattle as *praeda* (3.223). Unlike *saevus Ulixes*, whose home is not far away,[75] Aeneas takes part in the rampage and encourages it, rather than trying to restrain his men from gutting unguarded herds. They even pray to the gods to share in the slaughter (3.222).[76] In addition, the Trojans' battle plan against the Harpies is unsettlingly reminiscent of the Trojan horse, featuring intentionally concealed weapons and a lookout to spring the trap. It is a sneak attack. But it does not work. The Harpies succeed in spoiling the food while the Trojans fail to land even a single penetrating blow.

The Trojans fail at war on the Strophades—and that is what Aeneas calls it, *bellum… gerendum* (3.35). Having come recently from Delos, where they have been told that their descendents will one day rule the whole world (3.97-98), this result is somewhat dumbfounding. Thus, the Strophades, like Thrace, expose the realities of war and empire building. The differences between the victor and the vanquished are not always readily apparent, and world domination brings with it both blessings and curses. Just as Thrace embodied the atrocity and bloodshed associated with conquest, the Strophades calls attention to the greed, deceit, and potential for disaster inherent in such enterprises, even for those as divinely favored as the Trojans (Romans).

In fact, Vergil has linked the Strophades with Thrace through the repetition of a very emotive and descriptive line. Upon seeing the black gore that pours from the broken cornel and myrtle thicket that has overgrown Polydorus' body, Aeneas says:

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[75] The Trojans, in fact, pass by Ithaca at 3.272-73 on their way from the Strophades to Actium.

[76] Stahl, 48, sees the prayer as an act of piety, but it reads more like an act of irony as the scene unfolds. The Trojans' attack is unprovoked; the Harpies' is not.

mihi frigidus horror
membra quatit gelidusque coit formidine sanguis (3.29-30).

Cold fear shakes my limbs and my icy blood freezes with dread.

And when the Trojans comprehend what Celaeno has prophesied, Aeneas says:

at sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis / deriguit (3.259-60).

But my comrades' cold blood froze with sudden fear.

Empire is thus not a wholly glorious endeavor. The same Trojans who were blessed by Apollo have now been cursed by Apollo. In light of what follows, such an occurrence is indeed compelling.

Actium

Vergil's account of the Trojans' stop at Actium is quite brief, comprising only sixteen lines (3.274-290). At first glance, such limited space seems highly inadequate for a tribute to the Trojans presence in such an epoch-defining location. But brevity may in fact be quite appropriate, for it does not require many words to impart dramatic significance to this small promontory in Epirus whose name practically drips with meaning. The mere mention of the word in a passing reference would have been enough to make it one of the pivotal stops in Aeneas' Vergilian itinerary, for in Vergil's day, as in ours, Actium denoted one thing and one thing only: Octavian's victory over Antony and Cleopatra in 31 BCE, the victory that (according to Octavian) marked the end of the civil wars and placed sole control of the empire in the hands

of the soon-to-be Augustus.[77] The triumph quickly became a focal point of Augustan propaganda. It is difficult for contemporary readers to understand just how large Actium loomed on the political landscape of the early Principate.[78]. Thus, utmost care should be taken in analyzing Aeneas' stop here, for like all of Vergil's pericopes, much lies beneath the surface.

After fleeing the Strophades and the ominous prophecy delivered by Celaeno, the Trojans head north. They bypass a few islands on the way, including Ithaca, which they curse (3.273). Soon Mt. Leucata comes into view followed by the temple of Apollo, which Aeneas says is dreaded by sailors, *formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo* (3.275), and toward this shrine they sail. They disembark at a little town and, after making offerings to Jupiter, they celebrate Ilian games on the shores of Actium, *Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis* (3.280). The Trojans wrestle one another and are glad for having slipped by so many hostile Greek states without incident.[79] Vergil indicates that Aeneas and his companions spend the winter there, but no details are given as to their activities. Just prior to leaving in the spring, Aeneas mounts a shield on the pillars of the temple, *postibus adversis figo*, a shield once carried by a great Greek named Abas (3.286-87). He dedicates it with an inscription that reads:

> AENEAS HAEC DE DANAIS VICTORIBUS ARMA
>
> Aeneas [dedicates] these arms [taken] from victorious Greeks.

Having thus left this gift, he bids the Trojans to man the ships.

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[77] In fact, the civil war lasted another year after Actium. Antony and Cleopatra made one last stand in Alexandria in the summer of 30 BCE. It was there that they committed suicide and Octavian had Caesarion, Julius Caesar's son by Cleopatra, murdered.

[78] Stahl, 49.

[79] There is irony in this statement because Epirus is clearly Greek territory. However, the comment shows that Vergil (Aeneas, narrating) see Actium in a purely Roman (Augustan) light. Augustan propaganda promoted the battle of Actium as a victory over the forces of the East, not as a civil war. Dio 50.24-30; Jenkyns, 643.

Debra Hershkowitz observes that, on a purely narrative level, there seems to be little reason for Aeneas to stop at Actium, much less celebrate games at this point in the journey.[80] They have, after all, just received a curse from a monstrous prophet of Apollo; they have not traveled very far from their last landfall, and they have not avoided that many hostile Greek domains. Clearly, then, there is another purpose for the celebration beyond what the narrative reveals.

This stop is a traditional part of the Aeneas legend, however, so there is no reason to believe Vergil forced the Actian landfall into the narrative solely because of its connection to Augustus. However, Vergil's Actium bears little resemblance to that of his predecessors. Dionysius of Halicarnassus includes the stop, though his account is even briefer than Vergil's. He does not provide many details of Aeneas' activities, but he does mention that the Trojans anchored at Actium and constructed the temple of Aphrodite Aeneais and a temple to the great gods before they left.[81] A few lines earlier, he states that the Trojans established games in the region, but did so at a previous stop in Zacynthus.[82]

The basic elements of Dionysius' version remain intact in the *Aeneid*, but Vergil has turned the historian's account on its head by locating the games at Actium and reducing Zacynthus to a feature of the seascape in the background of Aeneas' travels.[83] In addition, Vergil's Aeneas finds a temple already in existence on the promontory. The poet writes nothing

[80] Debra Hershkowitz, "The Aeneid in *Aeneid* III," *Vergilius* 37 (1991) : 74. She suggests viewing this scene, in part, as a miniature *katabasis* prior to Buthrotum, just as the funeral games for Anchises are the *katabasis* prior to Book VI.

[81] Dionysius Halicarnassus 1.50.4.

[82] Ibid., 1.50.3.

[83] Zacynthus receives a brief mention at 3.270 in a list of places the Trojans see from their ship as they make their way across the sea.

that would imply that the Trojans build another one during their stay and Vergil's temple is a temple to Apollo, not Aphrodite (Venus).

The third key element of the Vergilian episode, the shield, is also a borrowing from another point in the traditional Trojan itinerary. Servius reports that Aeneas dedicated the shield of Abas at Samothrace in his pre-*Aeneid* travels.[84] Vergil has eliminated the Samothrace stop altogether so his decision to keep the shield dedication must be highly symbolic. Otherwise, it would have vanished from the story along with its conventional setting. The shield's importance is further highlighted by the fact that Vergil chose to retain this one particular dedication, while dispensing with many other memorials Aeneas was said to have established along his path from Troy to Italy. This is the only dedication Aeneas makes in Book III.[85]

Vergil's Actium, then, is a collage created from various fragments of the Aeneas tradition. Therefore, in seeking to understand the Actian episode it seems prudent to focus attention on the temple, the games, and the shield, which Vergil has assembled together at Actium for the first time. In order to appreciate the interrelation of these three features within the Actian episode, however, it is first necessary to put Actium in its context as an Augustan icon.

Following the victory, Octavian faced the difficult task of consolidating his newly acquired authority as the last triumvir standing.[86] The mythology concerning Actium developed quickly and seems to have been fuelled by Octavian himself.[87] There were at least six poetic

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[84] Servius 3.287.

[85] J. F. Miller, "The Shield of the Argive Abas at Aeneid 3.286," *Classical Quarterly* 43, no. 10 (1993) : 447; Heinze, 103.

[86] The two consuls for the year 31 and more than two-hundred senators were on Antony's side during the battle. Jenkyns, 643.

[87] Ibid., 642.

treatments of the battle composed during his lifetime.[88] And while each of them is different and reflects the individual poet's own sensibilities, all seem agreed as to the overall picture of the conflict. According to these poets, the battle was fought on a colossal scale. The result was absolute, with the enemy being destroyed, not simply repelled or forced to surrender. It was a foreign, not a civil, war waged against an Eastern foe (who is not named, but who is obviously Cleopatra). And in the center of it all, Augustus stands as the supreme figure, the courageous general who orchestrated the glorious triumph.[89]

Historians, both ancient and modern, paint a slightly different picture of the event. Some indicate that Antony's fleet was composed of larger ships, if not more ships, than Octavian's,[90] but beyond that no historian portrays the battle with the same heroic flair that the poets employ. Dio reports that Cleopatra had urged Antony to retreat even before the fighting began, but that, once the contest started, it was indecisive for some time.[91] Eventually, however, the agony of the suspense became too much for Cleopatra and she took flight, leading her subjects away with her. Antony soon followed, and their departure gave Octavian the upper hand.[92] Plutarch reports a similar story[93] and later comments that, even after Antony and Cleopatra's retreat, their fleet fought valiantly until the "tenth" hour. Only then, after their ships had been damaged severely

[88] Horace *Epode* 9, *Carmen* 1.37; Propertius 4.6; a lost poem by Rabirius, the anonymous *Carmen de Bello Actiaco*, an anonymous Greek epigram, and *Aeneid* 8.675-728. However, Vergil's treatment of the battle is significantly different from the others in certain ways, as will be seen. Ibid., 643.

[89] Jenkyns, 643.

[90] Livy Epitome 132; Dio 50.23.2-3, 50.29.1-4; Velleius Paterculus 2.84.1.

[91] Dio 50.15.1-4, 50.33.1.

[92] Ibid., 50.33.1-3

[93] Plutarch *Antony* 66.4-5.

by high seas, did the commanders surrender.[94] Furthermore, both Dio and Plutarch are in agreement that M. Agrippa played a pivotal part in the battle in his customary roles as Octavian's personal advisor and field commander. Indeed, Plutarch credits Agrippa with the decisive maneuver that put Cleopatra to flight.[95] But if one were to read the poetic accounts (other than Vergil's) exclusively, one would never know Agrippa was present, much less involved.

A blow-by-blow analysis of the battle is not important to this discussion,[96] for the fighting does not figure into Vergil's treatment of Actium in Book III. What is important is the prolificacy of Actium as a subject in the poetic literature of Vergil's day and the decidedly different way in which prose historians remembered the event in later years, because Vergil does not imbue Actium with same degree of Augustan mythology as do his contemporaries. As already noted, the episode in Book III is brief and subdued. Vergil paints a much more vivid and dramatic portrait of the victory later in Book VIII as the centerpiece of Aeneas' shield, adorned with the full array of epic ornament and laced with glaring pro-Western sentiment. However, a measure of evenhandedness is evident even within these lines, grandiose as they are. Unlike the

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[94] Ibid., 68.1.

[95] Dio 50.31.1-2; Plutarch *Antony* 66.3.

[96] There is in fact a considerable debate surrounding the nature of the battle at Actium, a sometimes heated discussion that has been on-going since the dawn of the twentieth century. On one side are scholars following in the footsteps of J. Kromayer, who blames Cleopatra for Antony's defeat and asserts that Antony's strategy from the beginning was to withdraw and find a more favorable location at which to make his stand. On the other side are scholars influenced by W.W. Tarn, who largely mistrusted the ancient historians' accounts and viewed them primarily as fictions contaminated by Augustan propaganda, although he believed an alternate, more accurate version of the contest could be reconstructed from uncontaminated strands within the extant material. He argues that Antony intended to fight and win, but ultimately lost due to incompetence among his officers. He also maintains that the actual fighting was limited and largely unimpressive. See J. Kromayer, "Kleine Forschungen zur Geschichte des zweiten Triumvirats, VII. Der Feldzug von Actium und der sogenannte Verath der Cleopatra," *Hermes* 34 (1899): 1-54; W.W. Tarn, "The Battle of Actium," *Journal of Roman Studies* 21 (1931): 173-99. G. W. Richardson, "Actium," *Journal of Roman Studies* 27 (1937): 153-64, is a response to Tarn. William Murray and Photias Petsas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 79, no. 4 (1989): 131-37 provide a detailed summary of the debate and the major issues involved. Murray and Petsas, 137-52, also reanalyze the battle using archaeological evidence from the campsite memorial at Nicopolis. See also John Carter, *The Battle of Actium* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1970).

other poets, he mentions Agrippa;[97] and not only does he mention him, he places him in a position of prominence. In fact, he portrays Agrippa (almost) on par with Octavian.[98]

> Parte alia ventis et dis Agrippa secundis
> arduus agmen agens cui belli insigne superbum
> tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona (8.682-84)
>
> In another part [of the scene] lofty Agrippa, whose temples
> gleam with the crown of naval beaks, proud symbol of war,
> leads his contingent with gods and winds following.

This is not to say that Vergil is denouncing Augustus in either of his two portrayals of Actium; it is to suggest that Vergil is presenting a more balanced view of the event grounded in what happened more than in what Augustus would like people to think happened. All three of the central features of the Actian stopover in Book III are firmly rooted in the reality of Augustus' response to his victory there. Instead of adding another layer to the Augustan myth, Vergil is highlighting (and critiquing) the propaganda already in place.

First, the temple of Apollo. With the exception of Mt. Leucata, this temple is the first thing the Trojans see as they near Actium (3.275). The mention is pithy and unadorned, but the god's presence is intensified by Vergil's choice of words. *Templum* does not appear anywhere in the line; rather, the poet uses *Apollo* by metonymy to signify the shrine.[99] This figure of speech is not uncommon in reference to temples (Vergil uses it again at 3.552) but the effect is to emphasize the presence of the god over the existence of the structure. To the first time reader/ hearer of this verse, it may seem as if Apollo himself has materialized on the crags overlooking

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[97] Jenkyns, 644.

[98] Compare, for example, Propertius 4.6.37 ff where Augustus is the only person mentioned and Apollo lays the world at his feet. There are some scholars, though, who believe this poem is a mocking exaggeration. See J.P. Sullivan, *Propertius: A Critical Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

[99] Williams (1962), 111. Cf. Horace *Odae* 3.5.12 for a similar usage.

the harbor. Given Augustus' strong political connections to Apollo, especially concerning Actium, such an imposing Apolline presence is not surprising. In Book VIII, Vergil actually represents Apollo watching the battle from the vantage point of his temple, bending his bow, and scattering the Egyptian forces (8.704-06). What is surprising is the epithet with which Vergil pairs this metonymic usage of Apollo's name. He calls him Apollo, dreaded by sailors, *formidatus nautis* (3.275). Aeneas' sighting of the temple is not welcoming, comforting, or hospitable.[100] In fact, it is rather fierce and foreboding. Apollo looms menacingly over the scene; he does not convey the sense of victory and triumph with which one might expect Apollo to greet Augustus' great Trojan ancestor, the same Augustus who expanded and restored this temple after his Actian victory.[101]

Vergil says no more about Apollo. The Trojans sail past the temple and on to Actium proper. Yet, it is important to remember that Apollo's presence hovers over everything else the Trojans do on the Actian shores. This subtle but disconcerting portent sets the stage for what follows.

The Trojans land and, after purifying themselves to Jupiter, *lustramurque Iovi*,[102] celebrate "Ilian" games on the shores of Actium, *Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis* (3.279-80). Like the name of Actium itself, this celebration could only represent one thing in the minds of Vergil's contemporaries. In the aftermath of his triumph, Augustus founded a victory city, Nicopolis, near Actium and there instituted Olympic-style Actian games. Unfortunately, history

[100] Cf. Propertius 4.6.18 where the poet describes Apollo's temple as "an easy passage for sailors' prayers."

[101] Suetonius *Augustus* 18.2.

[102] That Jupiter would be mentioned here, rather than Apollo, is puzzling given the close proximity of the temple and the Augustan connection to Apollo. Lloyd suggests that it is not, in fact, unusual since the fulfillment of fate is Jupiter's domain, and that is what the Trojans are celebrating. See Robert Lloyd, "On *Aeneid* III, 270-280," *Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1954) : 297.

has not preserved much detailed information about them. Nothing found among the ruins of Nicopolis sheds light on the *ludi*. There was no Pindaresque poet who eloquently preserved the athletic achievements of the champions; only a meager list of winners can be pieced together from surviving fragments of documents and inscriptions.[103] The extant authors of the Augustan age and subsequent decades offer no specifics, either. Dio and Strabo constitute the two main sources. Both writers confirm that the *ludi* were quinquennial, held every four years in the manner of the great Panhellenic games. Strabo states that Octavian also conferred "Olympian" status upon the Actian games, meaning that they were to be esteemed with the same honor.[104] Dio adds that the games featured musical and gymnastics contests, including horseracing. He also says the games were part of a sacred festival, at which there was a distribution of food.[105] Epigraphic evidence indicates the games were quite popular and were in fact imitated in other cities across the Eastern Mediterranean.[106]

One other fact is known about these games. Strabo records that games of this kind were not new to the area. Long before the battle of Actium, the inhabitants of the surrounding country competed in games in honor of their local god.[107] Thus, Octavian did not create this festival from scratch. He either revived an ancient athletic competition that had ceased to be celebrated on a regular basis or, like Vergil, transferred the traditional *ludi* to a new home in Nicopolis. In

[103] Gurval, 74-75.

[104] Strabo 7.7.6. There is no evidence to suggest that Octavian intended these games to be a replacement for the Olympian contests, as some scholars have suggested. See Gurval, 75.

[105] Dio 51.1.1-3.

[106] *IGRR* 4.497, 4.1064; *SEG* 14; Gurval, 77-78. See also Horace *Epistulae* 1.1.30.

[107] Strabo 7.7.6. Cf. Suetonius *Augustus* 18.2.

either case, Octavian raised them to a higher level of prestige.[108] No doubt the increase in status attracted more and better athletes to the competition and created more public interest in them.

The positive reception with which the games were met contributed to the revitalization of the area. The Nicopolis Octavian built was designed to be more than a venue in which to hold games in honor of Apollo and display victory monuments. The new city became the political, economic, and social center of the region,[109] a living monument to Octavian's victory, not a museum.[110] It also stood as a living testimonial to the amplitude of Roman control over the area. The Actian games were an enhanced version of previously existing contests. The temple of Apollo was an enlarged and aggrandized reconstruction of an old edifice. But the city was a new foundation. It was formed primarily through the forced resettlement of residents from surrounding communities. Pausanias reports that the Aetolians, the Ambraciots, and the Anactorians were among the displaced. Statues and other treasures were also transported to the new municipality.[111] But perhaps the most overtly imperial characteristic of Nicopolis was its political function. It replaced Ambracia as the capitol of the region. The renowned king Pyrrhus of Epirus had lavishly adorned Ambracia during his reign and made it the site of his royal residence. Over the years, Ambracia had remained the acknowledged political hub of the area, even though the protracted military operations of both Macedonians and Romans in its vicinity had left it and other nearby cities near ruin.[112] Now, the last vestige of the glorious old kingdom of Epirus was overshadowed and marginalized.

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[108] Strabo 7.7.6. Strabo indicates Octavian increased the prizes for the competition.

[109] Gurval, 66. Strabo 7.7.6 describes Nicopolis as a thriving and bustling city in his day.

[110] Murray-Petsas, 5.

[111] Pausanias 5.23.3, 10.38.4, 17.18.8.

[112] Strabo 7.7.6.

Octavian thus marked the creation of a new area by not only enshrining his military success at Actium but also by dedicating a new, Romanized capitol city. Pliny the Elder and Tacitus record that Octavian established a colony at Actium.[113] Strabo does not mention it and no archaeological evidence has surfaced to substantiate it existence, but it is quite possible that a synoecism of Roman veterans and Greek civilians coexisted at Nicopolis. A similar arrangement is known to have existed at Patras, which Augustus also founded.[114] Dio and Suetonius both remark that Octavian spent the winter after Actium on Samos but had to return to Italy for a time in order to address the grievances of some veterans.[115] Murray and Petsas speculate that plans to build Nicopolis may have originated, at least in part, in these negotiations.[116] Unification of the various political and social factions inside and outside Rome was Octavian's chief concern in the immediate aftermath of Actium.

Hence, the Actian games and the Nicopolis that hosts them not only symbolize Octavian's triumph over the forces of the East but also represent the potential for regeneration, renewal, and reconciliation. It must not be forgotten that all the Eastern provinces had been under Antony's control since the Treaty of Brundisium in 40 BCE. There can be little doubt that Octavian established these *ludi* and the corresponding festival as part of his program of political consolidation, as a way to promote his image not only as a powerful conqueror but also as a gracious and generous ruler. Victory at Actium meant nothing without the backing of the formerly Antonine territories of the eastern Mediterranean. The inscription adorning the campsite

[113] Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 4.5; Tacitus *Annales* 5.10.

[114] Gurval, 69.

[115] Dio 51.4.1; Suetonius *Augustus* 17.3.

[116] Murray-Petsas, 126.

memorial at the Nicopolis proudly claimed PACE PARTA TERRA MARIQUE,[117] ushering in a new age. At least that is what Octavian wished everyone to believe.

The allusion underlying Aeneas' dedication of Abas' shield challenges this "new age" assertion. There has been much discussion as to the identity of the Abas to whom this shield formerly belonged. Servius recognizes him as the son of Lynceus and Hypermnestra, a hero whose famous shield continued to bring victory to his kingdom of Argos even after his death and identifies him as one of the men whom Aeneas killed on the streets of Troy in Book II along with Androgeos.[118] A difficulty readily apparent in this Servian designation, however, is that this Abas of Argos lived many generations before the Trojan War. Aeneas could not have killed him unless Vergil committed a gross anachronism.[119] J. F. Miller argues on behalf of Servius' identification of Abas by focusing on Aeneas' use of the word *magni* to describe him and Vergil's selection of the word *Danais* for use in the inscription. Danaus was Abas' grandfather and *magni* is a phrase Vergil utilizes only in reference to famous individuals.[120] Miller confirms Forbiger's resolution of the anachronism by suggesting Aeneas obtained the shield by defeating one of the *magnus* Abas' descendents, who inherited the shield. Miller stops short, however, of identifying this descendent with one of the nameless companions of Androgeos in Book II.[121]

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[117] Ibid., 128.

[118] Servius 3.286. Aeneas kills Androgeos and a contingent of other Greek warriors at *Aeneid* 2.370-401.

[119] Such chronological difficulties are not unknown in epic; e.g., the scholia in the *Iliad* that relates the story of how Peleus hid a young Achilles in drag among the daughters of Lycomedes to save him from service in the Trojan War. However, before the war is over his grown son, Neoptolemus, arrives to fight also. Σb *Iliad* 19.326; Gantz, 581-82.

[120] Miller, 445-48.

[121] Ibid., 446, n. 5.

Whoever this Abas may be, Vergil's point is that Aeneas dedicates a shield from a vanquished *magnus* foe, not just any Greek warrior whose path he may have crossed. Otherwise, it would hardly merit an inscription. That the inscription memorializes a captured enemy weapon is also critical, for there can be little doubt that by this action Aeneas prefigures on a small scale what Octavian has done on a monumental scale.

On the spot where Octavian had pitched his tent prior to the battle of Actium, he errected a colossal memorial and adorned it with *rostra* (battle rams) from the captured ships of Antony's navy,[122] a fact confirmed by archaeology.[123] Such dedications were common practice among the Romans. Roman soldiers often displayed in their homes trophies they had won in single combat, and victorious generals were allowed to make such displays publicly.[124] The dedication and display of ships' rams in particular dates to the early Republic when C. Maenius attached six rams to the front of the speaker's platform that stood in front of the Comitium in the Forum Romanum in recognition of his victory over the Volsci. Henceforth, the platform came to be called the Rostra.[125] But no one had ever made a dedication of *rostra* as large as the one Octavian installed at Actium.[126] In addition to the rams, he also commemorated ten intact ships, one for each class of vessel represented in Antony's fleet.[127] It truly must have been *mirabile visu*.

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[122] Dio 51.1.3; Plutarch *Antony* 65.3.

[123] Murray-Petsas, 18-20.

[124] Livy 10.7.9, 23.23.6, 38.43.11; Suetonius *Nero* 38; Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 35.2.7; Murray-Petsas, 92.

[125] Livy 8.14.2; Murray-Petsas, 118.

[126] Murray-Petsas, 124. The face of the platform that held the Actium *rostra* display measured 62 meters, compared to the *Rostra Augusti* in Rome, which measured 24 meters.

[127] Ibid., 116.

By comparison, Aeneas' single shield appears almost pitiful. Certainly, Vergil would not have wanted his hero to upstage his emperor, but even if Aeneas had dedicated one hundred shields he could not have competed with, much less eclipsed, Octavian's construction. There is a solemn humility to Aeneas' dedication. It is self-congratulatory, yes, but it is not self-aggrandizing, as Octavian's was. The comparison is ironic, especially in light of Augustus' regular promotion of his modest lifestyle.[128]

The irony of Aeneas' dedication has long been recognized, for his verse reads *victoribus* instead of *victis*, as would be expected.[129] The Greeks from whom this weapon was taken are described as victorious rather than defeated. Miller exposes another irony underlying this dedication. If this *magnus* Abas is the famous hero from Argos, then he previously dedicated this shield to Hera (Juno),[130] patron goddess of Carthage and chief Trojan nemesis throughout the *Aeneid*. Aeneas now sanctifies it to Apollo, principal guide of the Trojans in Book III and personal patron deity of Rome's new champion. The Greeks may be *victores* now; but the coming age will see the Greeks as *victi*. There is a third level of irony present, however. If Servius is correct and this *magnus* Abas (or descendent of this *magnus* Abas) was one of the Greek warriors Aeneas slew during his last desperate stand in Troy's final hours, then the manner of the shield's acquisition is rife with implications.

The Greeks overcame Troy by way of Sinon's treachery and Ulysses' cunning. The wooden horse that the Trojans thought was an offering to the gods turned out to be an instrument of war. The Trojans were deceived into letting the invaders into their city. But when Aeneas

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[128] Suetonius *Augustus* 72-73.

[129] Miller, 448.

[130] Hyginus 170 and 273; Miller, 446.

and his comrades venture into Troy's burning streets to make their final stand, they adopt a similar tactic. Donning Greek armor, they trick unsuspecting Greeks into thinking they are allies and then attack. This small band of Trojans takes the Greeks by surprise. Vergil's description of the death of Androgeos is the most vivid and detailed of these roguish assaults. He even compares Androgeos to someone who steps on a snake hidden in the grass (2.377-82). Thus, the *victi* become the *victores*, if only briefly, through use of the same means, not just in achieving the same ends.

A similar irony is present in Octavian's campsite memorial. Murray and Potsas note the Greekness of the monument. The *rostra* mark it as a decidedly Roman structure, as does the relatively subdued ornamentation; but the intact ships and the sheer size of it all are much more reminiscent of the mammoth, almost baroque monuments of the Hellenistic monarchs.[131] Specifically, they point to the similarity between the campsite memorial and the Asklepeion at Cos,[132] the famous temple to the god of healing largely financed by the Attalid kings of Pergamum.[133] It appears that Octavian was asserting himself, at least at Actium, as a Hellenistic monarch in his "victory city," which is itself a Hellenic concept.[134] Combine these two Greek predilections for ostentatious monuments and Nicopoles with the fact that games such as the Actia were connected closely to the institution and practice of monarch worship in the East, [135] and there seems little doubt that Octavian was indeed portraying himself in this manner. The

[131] Murray-Petsas, 116-17, 124.

[132] Ibid., 124.

[133] Grant, 193.

[134] Gurval, 69. Pompey's Nicopolis in Pontus, commemorating his victory over Mithridates VI, is the only known Rome precedent for a "victory city" prior to Augustus.

[135] Ibid., 74.

irony is that Octavian exploited Antony's fondness for Eastern airs and aesthetics in the propaganda war that preceded the actual fighting at Actium. He portrayed Antony as a foreigner who would make Rome subject to an Eastern monarch (Cleopatra). With Antony out of the way, however, Octavian seems to be embracing that Eastern image rather than opposing it. In the iconography of Nicopolis, a new king had ascended the throne.

Perhaps this is why Apollo looms. In Rome, Octavian will dedicate a temple to Apollo, which, though vowed for another victory, will be connected to Actium because of Apollo's presence at the battle.[136] Here all of the glory goes to Octavian himself, and the impetus behind this grandiose display is political if not personal. Octavian would not have dared to build such a monument in Rome, claiming to have restored the Republic.[137] But the political climate of the East was different. There, divine or semi-divine dynasts were the norm and Octavian appears to be casting himself in that mold. Just like Aeneas and his disguised Trojan comrades, the difference between Octavian and Antony is not quite so diametrical in the post-Actian world.

[136] Other *rostra* from Antony's fleet were attached to the pedestal of the statue of Actian Apollo that stood in front of the Palatine temple. Hoff, 229; Zanker, 85-86.

[137] Murray-Petsas, 124.

CHAPTER 4

CASTRUM MINERVAE: THE BALANCE OF LIGHT AND SHADOW

As stated in the Introduction, this analysis of Book III is not intended to suggest that Vergil was a closet Republican in Tacitus' mold who disparaged anything and everything to do with the imperial designs of Rome or its newly crowned potentate, Octavian. It is no accident that the Aeneadae leave Actium and land next at Buthrotum, where Trojan subjugation of the Greek world is complete and seemingly uncontested. It is there that Aeneas, through Helenus, receives Book III's most detailed prophecy and learns that there is no need to dread Celaeno's menacing words. The Apollo who set the Trojans on their course at Delos will see them through. After Actium, there is less to fear in the narrative world of Book III.

There was less to fear in Vergil's world, too. The civil wars were over and what seemed to be a real promise of peace and stability rested on the horizon. Octavian was the undisputed master of Rome. Reconstruction and recovery could begin. Yet, the promise was still on the horizon when Vergil was writing the *Aeneid*. Actium did not eliminate all of Octavian's troubles, nor did it end Rome's, no matter how much Octavian wished for Rome's inhabitants to believe that it did. Augustus boasted that he closed the doors of the Temple of Janus three times during his reign,[1] symbolizing the cessation of war across the empire. But each time they were soon reopened as Rome's armies marched back to the battlefields. In the midst of the grand

[1] *Res Gestae* 13; Brunt, 54-5. At least two of the closings took place while Vergil was writing the *Aeneid*. The first closing occurred in 29 BCE marking the end of the civil war. The second was in 25 BCE following the defeat of the Cantabrians in Spain. The date of the third closing is uncertain. Vergil alludes to these closings in *Aeneid* 1.248-86.

building program that supposedly transformed Rome from a city of brick into a city of marble[2] and the other beneficent accomplishments for which he wished to be remembered, there were several plots made against Augustus' life—three during Vergil's lifetime.[3] While the Princeps focused attention on the new monuments to Rome's glory and his own, old memories of how he attained that glory still lingered in the minds of those, like Vergil, who knew Octavian before they knew Augustus. Thus, Vergil's word is a word of caution: celebrate the glorious achievements of Rome and Octavian, for they are great; but do not forget the tribulations and the tragedies of the past that accompany that glory, and be wary; for the foundation upon which the present is built is formed from blocks of toil as well as of triumph, and confiscations as well as conquests, and political maneuvering as well as divine endorsement.

The final landfall to be considered in *Aeneid* III is emblematic of Vergil's tempered optimism. After leaving Buthrotum, the Aeneadae head north to Ceraunia, which offers the shortest point of passage between the Balkans and the Italian peninsula. Having rested there, they cross the channel and at long last catch sight of Italy, the land of their destiny. A joyful cry issues from their ranks. Anchises prays for favorable winds and the ships head for a port where a temple of Minerva overlooks the waters (3.522-31). As they draw near to the shore, they see that the harbor is curved. "Turreted" cliffs, *turriti scopuli*, let down "arms" of twin walls into the sea and the temple flees, *refugit*, from the shoreline (3.533-37). Aeneas subsequently spots four white horses grazing. Anchises sees them, too, and interprets their appearance as a portent. He addresses Italy directly. "War you bring, O hospitable land," *bellum O terra hospita portas*. Then he tells Aeneas that horses are equipped for war and that this "herd" threatens war.

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[2] Suetonius *Augustus* 28.

[3] Ibid., 19; Dio 54.3.5-6; Gary Miles and Archibald Allen, "Vergil and the Augustan Experience," in *Vergil at 2000*, ed. John Bernard (New York: AMS Press, 1986), 29.

However, horses are also accustomed to the bridle, so there is also hope of peace. The Trojans do not stay long at this place, which Servius identifies as Castrum Minervae.[4] Coming ashore, they pray to Pallas (Minerva) and offer sacrifice to Juno, as Helenus had instructed them.[5] As soon as their *voti* are complete, they continue on (3.538-50).

Castrum Minervae is a conventional stop on the Trojans' voyage and the traditional place where Aeneas first sets foot on Italian soil,[6] but not much is known about the historical site.[7] It was most famous for the temple that Aeneas and his companions see,[8] but Varro reports that there was also a town there, an *oppidum* founded by Idomeneus,[9] which may explain the profusion of fortification metaphors. Vergil certainly portrays it as a foreboding place. Michael Putnam has noted that Vergil has imbued the entire landscape of Castrum Minervae with images of warfare. The harbor is bent into a bow, *portus…curvatus in arcum*; the cliffs are like fortified bulwarks; the temple retreats as the Trojans approach; the Pallas to whom they pray is *armisona*, "sounding with arms." Even before the Trojans catch sight of Italy, in fact, Vergil fills the air with suggestions of war. The dawn that illuminates the Italian shoreline puts the stars to flight as it turns the sky red, *rubescebat*. Vergil also uses *rubesco* at 8.695 to describe the waters around Actium reddening with blood.[10] Thus, the figurative language used to describe the scene clashes with the Trojans' joyous reaction to it.

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[4] Servius 3.531.

[5] *Aeneid* 3.437-40.

[6] Dionysius Halicarnassus 1.51.3.

[7] For a general discussion of the extant material concerning Castrum Minervae, see Smith, 563-64.

[8] Strabo 6.3.5; Lycophron 852-55.

[9] Probus *ad Virg. Ecl*. 6.31.

[10] Putnam (1980), 10, 18 n. 21.

The white horses form the centerpiece of the episode and the symbolism underlying their presence is rich. Anchises ascribes a double meaning to the portent of the stallions. On the one hand, they forecast war; one the other hand they foreshadow peace.

> Bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur.
> Sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti
> quadrupedes et frena iugo concordia ferre
> spes et pacis ait (3.540-43).
>
> Horses are armed for war, these herds threaten war.
> But nevertheless the same horses that are accustomed to submit
> to the chariot at times are also accustomed to bear the bridle
> with the yoke in harmony. [Thus there is] also hope of peace, he says.

A Roman of Vergil's day would have recognized the validity of such a seemingly contradictory interpretation because four white horses were a central feature of triumphal processions.[11] Over three hundred of these conqueror's parades were celebrated between the founding of Rome and the reign of Vespasian,[12] and they were grand public spectacles indeed. At the head of the procession, the spoils, trophies, and captives from the conquest were displayed for all Rome's residents to see. Dancers and musicians often accompanied the *praeda* to entertain the crowd.[13] Soldiers from the Roman army who won the victory also marched in the parade. But the focus was on the *triumphator*, the victorious general to whom the senate and the people had awarded the triumph. The triumph was the highest honor a Roman citizen could receive,[14] but the procession was more than a tribute to the general. It was also a religious rite, for the *triumphator*

[11] For a general description of the traditional triumphal ceremony, see Dio 6.23; Zoraras 7.21.

[12] Orosius 7.9.8.

[13] Robert Payne, *The Roman Triumph* (London: Robert Hale, 1962), 42.

[14] Livy 30.15.12.

was seen as the bringer of good fortune to the city.[15] The *triumphator* entered the city standing in a special triumphal chariot pulled by four white horses. These horses drew him down the Via Sacra to the Capitoline, where he made a sacrifice at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on behalf of the city.[16]

Thus, the genesis of Anchises' prophecy is clear. As the steeds of the triumphator, these four white horses are emblematic of both peace and war. The blessing(s) and good fortune brought to Rome by the *triumphator* were harvested from the battlefield. Dionysius of Halicarnassus records some interesting details of the triumphal ceremony that add further nuance to Anchises' words. According to Dionysius, a bell and a whip were fastened to the triumphal chariot, signifying potential misfortune. The whip was an instrument of corporal punishment and it implied that even a *triumphator* could fall from grace. Dionysius explains that the bell was a symbol of death. Criminals sentenced to die for their crimes wore bells to mark them as condemned persons so that others could recognize them and avoid them lest they become ritually contaminated. In addition, a public slave was supposed to ride in the chariot with the *triumphator* and to repeatedly whisper in his ear, "Look behind! Look behind!"[17] as a reminder for the victorious general not to become too proud or arrogant in his present fortune.[18] At the end of his description of the triumphal ceremony, Dionysius also quips that he has just recounted

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[15] H. S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development, and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 371-83. That the triumph was considered more than recognition of an individual's exceptional deeds is evidenced by Cn. Fulvius Flaccus' exile in 211 BCE when he refused the triumph offered to him. See Valerius Maximus 2.8.3.

[16] Dio 6.24.1; Versnel, 392.

[17] *Respicere* is a significant word in Vergil's poetry, and one used in connection with Aeneas in the *Aeneid* at several important junctures. It often appears in scenes where Aeneas is being reminded of fundamental things he has forgotten. Cf. 2.615, 4.225, 4.236, 4.275. It is also the word used at 5.3, when Aeneas "looks back" and sees Dido's funeral pyre as he and the Trojans are sailing away from Carthage.

[18] Dio 6.23; Zonaras 7.21; Tzetes *Epistles* 107.

the format for triumphs of yesteryear. Various powerful and unnamed factions have since made changes to the rites in his day.[19] He does not say what those changes were, but he seems to imply that the discretionary reminder against arrogance may have been dispensed with.

These comments cast an interesting light on Anchises' remarks about the four white horses, for it seems that he is heeding the public slave's advice. In the triumphal procession, the focus was on the victory and the good fortune that it brought to Rome. As the conveyors of the *triumphator*, the horses represented glory and bounty; they were heralds of the joy and peace to follow now that the fighting was over. But when Anchises sees these four white horses at Castrum Minervae, he thinks first of war, then of peace. He is thinking of the struggle that must be won, the violence that must be suffered for victory to be achieved and celebrated. He is looking behind; he is remembering what precedes the ceremonial, triumphal peace in this place where both sky and land teem with images of war.

Yet, he does see the potential for peace beyond the battlefield. In Anchises' estimation, these horses are by no means a harbinger of doom or hopelessness. Even in the ominous landscape upon which the horses are grazing, the imagery is not wholly negative. The temple of Pallas "retreats" as the Trojans approach. This is most likely a poetic attempt at perspective, describing the optical illusion that occurs as Aeneas draws closer to the harbor and he sees that the temple is further inland than it appeared when the Trojans were out at sea.[20] But the literal meaning of the word Vergil selected to connote this phenomenon is unmistakable. *Refugere* means to retreat, to take flight. The temple is personified as a cowering opponent. That this is the temple of Pallas Athena (Minerva), staunch supporter of the Greeks at Troy and to whom the

[19] Dionysius Halicarnassus 6.24.1.

[20] Putnam (1980), 11; Williams (1962), 167.

Trojan Horse was dedicated, according to Sinon (2.183-94), is no minor point. The victorious goddess who was so intimidating and powerful in Asia appears helpless and terrified now that the Trojans have landed in Italy, future home of the Romans.

Varro's claim that Idomeneus was the founder of Castrum Minervae adds another paradoxical or ironic dimension to the scene. Castrum Minervae is the second stop in Book III that has ties to this Greek hero. News of Idomeneus' departure from Crete was one of the motivating factors that led the Trojans to attempt a settlement there. A close inspection of the two episodes reveals that, in many ways, Castrum Minervae is the mirror image of Crete. Crete appeared to be a place of promise and hope. Indeed, it was a place of promise and hope. The island fit the description of the land of which Apollo spoke on Delos. Idomeneus, who fought with the Greeks at Troy, had abandoned Crete. All seemed well. But it turned out to be a menacing place, a place of famine and plague where crops, people, and livestock die.

By contrast, Castrum Minervae appears to be a menacing place. Indeed it is a menacing place. Images of hostility abound in the landscape. The four white horses portend war. Yet, it also turns out to be a place of promise, a place where horses graze amidst fortress-like cliffs and bow-shaped ports, a place where horses prophesy peace as well as violence. There is a lining of hope underneath its grim exterior. And that is the crux of Castrum Minervae. The *same* horses that foreshadow war forecast peace. It is a realm of complex reality, as is the whole of *Aeneid* III. This journey that Vergil has crafted for the Trojans is a saga of layered images, moods, and extremes. The hero Aeneas and his companions are at once merciful, as they are towards Achaemenides, and aggressive and deceitful, as they are with the Harpies. They are blessed on Delos, and cursed on Crete. They long for the past at Buthrotum at the same time as they push on toward their future in Hesperia.

In so doing, the Trojans mirror Rome in their exploits, specifically the Rome Vergil knew. Vergil's Rome was one of foreign dominion and civil strife. Its generals celebrated many triumphs, but also suffered defeats like the one at Drepanum and endured long, protracted campaigns of pacification like the ones in Thrace. Its new *Princeps* claimed to restore the Republic, but also constructed a Hellenic king's monument for himself at Actium. He ushered in *Pax Romana* but carried out proscriptions and land confiscations in the process. Aeneas models and experiences an equally varied range of extremes, for such is the voyage *per imperium*.

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